

# West Africa

West Africa No. 2696 Saturday February 1 1969

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SECTION

## Ghana's Big Debate

BEFORE starting discussion of the constitutional proposals of the Chief Justice's commission, Ghana's Constituent Assembly, which began its work last week, was involved in an argument about its own position. Some members hotly criticised the idea that the Assembly's findings should be subject to approval by the National Liberation Council, and the assembly has asked for authority to promulgate the constitution itself. Members also argued that the constitution finally drawn up should be submitted to a referendum, if it was to claim popular support.

The arguments on both issues show a proper democratic spirit. But neither issue seems to be fundamental and there is much more important work before the Assembly. Until the civilian government takes over, the NLC holds ultimate authority in Ghana and it is difficult to see how it could, in a matter so important as the new constitution, hand over this authority to the Constituent Assembly. The assembly itself, though widely representative, has been elected and selected in a variety of ways and cannot possibly claim the authority of a parliament. In any case it seems most unlikely that the NLC would reject any proposal that had the assembly's full support, and its approval for the draft that emerges, even if it will not be automatic, can confidently be expected.

A referendum, on the other hand, is not a proper device for testing popular support for the numerous and complex clauses of a constitution. For all that voters would be asked to do would be to accept or reject the document completely. In practice critics would be concerned only with certain clauses, while not all critics would object to the same ones. In this way, a constitution might be rejected although the voters approved it in general, while it is even possible that no constitution could ever secure the necessary majority. It is for the new civilian parliament, as representative of the voters, to consider at leisure what alterations, if any, are needed in the constitution under which the parliament is elected.

What, then, are the main constitutional

issues the assembly has to decide? The draft constitution contains many proposals which have been criticised, although all members of the assembly will accept the reasoning behind them, since they are intended to make it impossible for a single party, much less a single man, ever again to take over the apparatus of government on behalf of a minority. Most members, too, will support the Chief Justice and his colleagues in their desire to ensure that people of standing and integrity could play a significant part in the government without full involvement in party politics. But, as we said when the proposals were published a year ago, the great dilemma is to reconcile two principles enshrined in quotations used by the commission. "The punishment which the wise suffer who refuse to take part in the Government, is to live under the Government of worse men," comes from Plato. "Party organisation is the vital principle of responsible government . . . there never was an election without party," wrote Walter Bagehot in the heyday of Victorian parliamentary democracy. The proposals also enshrine the principle of "one man (or one woman), one vote," and make MPs representatives and not delegates of their constituencies.

To carry out its objective the commission proposes restraints on the executive, that is the Prime Minister and cabinet, which amounts to a division of power between it, the President, and the courts. The President is not "executive", but certain of his powers would be exercised not on the advice of the Prime Minister but in "consultation" with this Council of State, which consists of *ex-officio* members. These powers include appointment of the Auditor-General, the Governor and Board of the Bank of Ghana, and the heads of many other bodies. The President is virtually the only authority in certain matters affecting Chiefs, and if the National Assembly is dissolved it is not the Prime Minister but he who carries the government.

The constitutional commission goes as far as to say it does not intend parliament to be a "sovereign legislature"—a proposition the Constituent Assembly is



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likely to reject. The Supreme would have power to adjudicate "constitutionality or legality" of passed in parliament. The P would appoint the Chief Justice sultation with the Council of Sta all other judges on the Chief J advice. Nobody would object. totally independent electoral con the proposed "Ombudsman" a independent Auditor General wou be acceptable checks on the ex. But it is likely that the Con Assembly will decide that the dra posals go too far in restraining executive, and may lead only to conflict, deadlock, and a general down of the government—althou last, in contrast to the frenze usually misdirected activity of Nkr days, might be no bad thing.

Other subjects likely to produ trovery are the age for voting a position of chiefs. There is stron port in Ghana for the idea of v 18, both because of the very hi centage of the population betw ages of 18 and 21, and becau high proportion of literacy amon compared with older people. N would quarrel with the consti commission's desire to preserv institution of chieftaincy, and tect chiefs from politics. But ma criticise the proposal that two-thirds the members of local councils sho "traditional" and only one-third e in accordance with the conce "basing the structure of local g ment on traditional institutions".

The constitutional commission posals, which include the clauses actual constitution, fill a book o 400 pages. The constitution itse 172 clauses covering methods of a ing the constitution, citizenship, mental human rights, voting, chief the situation of public lands, et well as the powers of the Presiden executive and parliament. By the the working committees and p sessions of the Assembly have fi consideration of all these, the e very with which its work began well have been forgotten. Certain will not be easy to complete the by the end of March, the target but the Assembly now is signific the whole of Africa, and its work be followed throughout the con with sympathy and understanding.

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# Two Sides of War Relief

By a Correspondent

THE International Red Cross is now to fly food and medical supplies once more into the "redoubt" under Biafran control. The base has been moved from Fernando Po, whose government stopped the airlift, to Cotonou, capital of Dahomey.

Flights to Biafra's Uli airstrip (a two-mile stretch of the Onitsha-Owerri road) will take twice as long as those from Fernando Po, especially at night, when aircraft have to skirt round Federal territory. And, unless agreement is reached on day flights, flights will remain restricted to those Uli can take at night when it is used for arms flights as well. The amount of relief which can be flown into Uli in one night has been estimated at between 100 and 200 tons. The total varies, depending on other traffic, weather, and—since November—night air raids. When these started the Federal authorities told the Red Cross that it could fly only at its own risk. But it does not seem that the raids have seriously affected use of the airstrip, where 20 or 30 aircraft may still land in one night.

The greater part of the airlift of relief supplies to Biafra has been the work of the Churches' relief organisations. Caritas began its flights from São Tomé last March, and the World Council of Churches, soon afterwards. Later about a dozen church organisations involved, Catholic and Protestant, banded together for the Joint Church Aid airlift, which increased the number of its aircraft in August and September, as the Red Cross did about the same time. Both airlifts have generally used Dakotas of about 10 tons capacity each. By the end of December Joint Church Aid (whose flights have continued) had flown in over 10,000 tons of relief, the Red Cross about 7,000.

All the main organisations providing relief to Biafran held areas also work on the Federal side, by donation or distributions. The World Council of Churches, for example, has organised shiploads of relief material to go to São Tomé or Fernando Po (for Biafra) and to Nigeria. On the Federal side the Nigerian Red Cross has done large-scale emergency relief work since the war began (and before). International bodies and other Red Cross societies have provided it with food, vehicles and with doctors and other personnel, though most of its staff is Nigerian. The Christian Council of Nigeria's work is comparable. There is now a Federal Rehabilitation Commission.

Other relief bodies were working very early on the Nigerian side, with support from the same sources that supported relief for the other side; support which greatly increased last summer, when the famine was quite as serious in Federally-occupied areas of the South-East State—Uyo and Anang provinces, especially—as anywhere else. Now the situation in Uyo appears to have improved. The observers' final report speaks of satisfactory efforts to deal with malnutrition in the Uyo and Iju areas and even in the badly-hit Ikot Ekepen area, but says more staple food is needed for about 100,000 people.

The success, so far as it goes, of relief in Federally-held areas is all the more remarkable when communications problems are considered. Port Harcourt is still not functioning normally. Calabar is now regularly used for food shipments; recently,

for example, Caritas handed over a large quantity of stockfish there, one of many contributions by this body. But communications to inland areas of the South-Eastern State are only slowly returning to normal, and in the Rivers State there are big natural obstacles to relief distribution. Airlifts from Lagos to Port Harcourt and Calabar, organised by the Red Cross, have added to the supplies, and Unicef has taken food by helicopter from Calabar to Uyo.

A greater problem than communications is the continued reluctance of huge numbers

territory the Red Cross and the government will join in an anti-measles campaign.

Nobody involved believes that the airlift is sufficient; only an enormous increase in supplies can prevent famine. For Biafra's supplies of basic carbohydrates are expected to run out soon (seed yams have been eaten), and the airlift brings mainly protein foods. It is estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 tons of carbohydrates every day will have to be brought in soon, to avoid a "catastrophe".

One Churches' relief worker, the Rev. William Aitken, says only a land or water corridor will do the job. But the Red Cross is going to fly in some Dahomean food, which may include yams and other carbohydrates. Fortunately for the Biafran refugees, larger aircraft will soon be flying



Food piling up for Red Cross use in Santa Isabel, Fernando Po, last summer. Thousands of tons were collected; later these, and more, were flown into Biafra.

of people to come out of hiding in the bush. When they do come out, Red Cross relief teams are often waiting to help them; but in Ibo areas—the Northern parts of Eastern Iboland, and the Ibo provinces of the Mid-West—great numbers are still in the bush.

There has also been considerable difficulty and confusion over handling of food and medical supplies at Lagos, and overland and air supplies to Enugu or Asaba may be no easier than seaborne supplies to the Eastern States. But the distribution system does, it seems, work better than it did. And many of those in need on the Federal side are fortunate in the abundant food supplies near at hand, the Ibo country now suffering shortages is near the big food-growing area of the Benue basin.

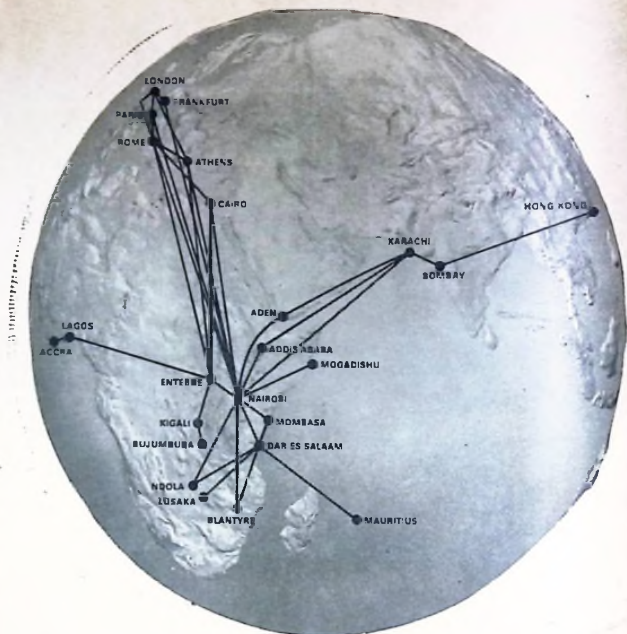
## Biafra's Air Lifeline

Because of the Churches—whose airlift has never had Federal permission—the Red Cross suspension of the Red Cross airlift had less serious effects than it might have been in Biafran-held territory. But it was serious enough. The Biafran relief programme depends on protein foods—dried milk and stockfish are major items—arriving by air. When the aircraft land at Uli they are unloaded quickly, and Red Cross and Churches' lorries take the relief to distribution centres or direct to the large numbers of refugee camps. The Churches' distribution system, on both sides, uses local clergy who know the country—a useful asset. Their work and the Red Cross, has, if only for a time, staved off famine.

Last summer, when hardly any relief was coming in, starving people—especially children—were dying at a staggering rate. Since then things have improved visibly. Measles is now a threat, but 700,000 doses of measles vaccine have been flown in, and more are to follow. In Federal-held

in. They include the four C979 Boeing Stratofreighters given by the USA to the Churches' airlift; these are expected to fly very soon, and so are the four Stratofreighters given by the USA to the Red Cross, carrying up to 20 tons each. Two Canadian Superconstellations are now on the São Tomé food run. With these aircraft several hundred tons might, perhaps, be flown in every night. There have also been a few smaller private ventures in relief flights to Biafra, and the French Red Cross has flown considerable amounts from Gabon. A whole hospital is to be flown in peaceably from São Tomé. But if forecasts prove correct, all these airborne efforts may still be very inadequate.

At the other end of the relief operations are organisations in Europe and North America—National Red Cross Societies, Catholic and other Church humanitarian bodies, Oxfam and other fund-raising organisations and smaller bodies. There are also the activities of Governments (the US has given \$22m, for both sides, and President Nixon, in response to an appeal by over 150 Congressmen, has said there will be more; the British Government, which has given about £1m, for Nigeria only, though it was offered to both sides, and is aiding a hospital in Enugu); and intergovernmental relief work—notably Unicef and the World Food Programme. There are also countless individuals, such as those who have organised a Dutch food ship's journey to São Tomé (whose limited dock facilities affect unloading of food for Biafra) via the USA, where dockers suspended their strike to load her. The flow of funds and food and medicine is not steady, but one can reasonably expect that continued concern over the appalling human results of this war will keep relief flowing, whatever the problems—including political ones—involved in getting it to its destination.



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## 10 YEARS OF ECA: 3

## The Men and the Machine

Next week, at its ninth full meeting, which will be attended by U Thant, the UN Economic Commission for Africa celebrates the tenth anniversary of its founding, in January 1958. Continuing his short series of articles on the commission's work, our correspondent here examines its present organisation.

TO anyone who does not understand the complex problems raised by the small size and scanty resources of the majority of ECA's members, the commission's activities may appear both routine and unfruitful. Taking, for example, its programme of conferences, meetings, seminars and training courses for a sample year, 1966, it might seem that, while organising some of these in centres other than its own headquarters, Addis Ababa might present logistic problems, all are routine. The Nairobi seminar on basic cartographic services, the Yaoundé training course in Organisation and Methods, the Niamey meeting on economic co-operation in West Africa, or the Ibadan pilot course in photogrammetry should not, it might be thought, strain the resources of a big UN body, any more than the Addis Ababa working group on censuses, or training courses in local government finance or in customs administration.

Compared with 1959, however, it was remarkable that already the members saw the point of getting together in this way and were ready themselves to spare the time of senior officials, or in some cases ministers, for co-operation, not merely with those with whom they had been associated in colonial days but with those with quite different traditions and a different official language. ECA, in other words, has actually succeeded in bridging the Anglophone-Francophone gap and in bringing in Liberia, Ethiopia, Somalia and the Arabic speaking states.

As Robert Gardiner, ECA's Executive Secretary, says in his preface to "A Venture in Self-Reliance", ECA's booklet on its first ten years, the commission does not claim itself to have discovered the advantages of co-operation. But "the recognition of need and appreciation of advantages" are not the same thing as "the patient evolution of studies, policies and institutions designed to satisfy the need and achieve the advantages; and it is here that I feel ECA can take most credit. If the multinational approach is becoming, increasingly, an African reality, this is in fair measure because of sustained and reasoned proselytising on the part of the Commission; and the recognition of the importance of multinational co-operation runs through the work of all the substantive preoccupations of ECA—education and training, industry, trade, transport, agriculture, research statistical compilation and the development of natural resources." And if in the first ten years a foundation has been laid, ECA need not apologise if the substantive achievements are limited.

Are the foundations now laid, however? First, the institutional frame work is now sound, even if to achieve it last

year's budget (\$465m.), some nine times the first one, is almost as great as the revenue of The Gambia. Yet the staff and organisation, in the light of the immense task still ahead of the Commission, do not seem extravagant. At the end of 1968 the professional staff numbered 137 and the non-professional 236. Of the professional staff, 40 per cent. were still non-African partly because, as a UN body, it would be inappropriate for all the staff to be African (a target of 75 per cent. has been set) and partly because African governments find it difficult to release the men required. It is also likely that Africanisation could be hastened only by increasing the preponderance (omitting the Ethiopians and the Arabs) of English-speaking Africans on the staff. Some African states, according to a staff list published last August, still had provided nobody for the staff (Central African Republic, Chad, etc.).

On the whole the staff are highly qualified; those Africans who might be regarded as in some way "refugees" from their own countries being among the best. Highly technical work in, for example, demographic studies, cartography and telecommunications, is undertaken and in the absence of existing material, the Secretariat has to do a great deal of basic economic research of a kind probably not undertaken by the UN Economic Commissions in other parts of the world. The resulting body of literature, as Mr. Gardiner claims, "is probably the most comprehensive and intensive study of the problems, opportunities and measures for the economic development of Africa."

Sometimes, indeed, the recipient is overwhelmed by the flood of material and may feel that there is a danger of overdoing it. The members, too, may feel that the number of meetings, etc., is excessive though there have, in fact, been less than two hundred of all kinds since ECA was founded and most were of a training character, another ECA function making heavy demands on manpower. The real problem is a familiar one; precisely those African governments which might need the commission's services most urgently often lack among their own staffs people who could take full advantage of these services.

The "Commission" itself, which directs and supervises the organisation and makes policy, is a public assembly of representatives of the member and associate member States which met annually until 1965. As recommended at the seventh session, it now meets at two-yearly intervals. It has always held sessions in different African cities to foster continental consciousness.

At its plenary session the Commission adopts the programmes of the secretariat and the subsidiary bodies for the ensuing two years; decides on the establishment and terms of reference of the subsidiary bodies; considers proposals for action; makes recommendation to member governments, the specialised agencies, at the UN Economic and Social Council.

Because of the size and complexity of the continent it was decided that as far as possible ECA should work through four sub-regional offices—that for West Africa in Niamey, for North Africa in Tangier, for the East in Lusaka and for Central Africa in Kinshasa. These offices, too, require not only secretarial services but professional officers for headquarters. There are now also seven quasi-permanent "working parties" (on intra-African trade; monetary management and intra-African payments; industry and natural resources; transport and telecommunications; agriculture; economic integration; and manpower training); the Conference of African Statisticians and the Conference of African Planners also meet regularly. These bodies assist in implementing the Commission's decisions in their various fields and ensure regular co-operation and consultation with member states (their meetings are private). But so great has been the strain that the Executive Secretary has been authorised by the Commission to limit the number of meetings and the volume of documentation to "actual resources available."

Although it was as a result of a study prepared by ECA that the African Development Bank, with its headquarters in Abidjan, was established, the bank is not a subsidiary of ECA, even if it operates in the same field. On the other hand, the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, at Dakar, is really part of ECA's training mechanism, providing a nine-month course for senior students together with shorter ones in individual countries or sub-regions.

ECA also works closely with bodies such as FAO, the International Telecommunications Union, and WHO, who have liaison staffs at ECA, and attempts both to use their resources and to avoid any duplication of their work. The commission also operates a regional programme of technical assistance, consisting of a "component" from the regular programme of the United Nations, amounting to some \$654,000 per year, a component from the regular programme of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), amounting to some \$96,000 per year, and a United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) component, which for 1967 and 1968 averaged approximately \$450,000 per year and has been fixed at \$300,000 for 1969.

Co-operation with private enterprise is also sought. It is hoped to expand earlier work on this subject into a "definitive study of the role, behaviour and relevance of private foreign investment in Africa."

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## Guidelines for Ghana's Constitution—2

By a Correspondent

THE Council of State, proposed in the Constitutional Commission's draft Constitution to "aid and counsel" the President, is an innovation; it would consist of the Chief Justice, the Prime Minister, the Speaker, the minority leader of the Assembly, General-Officer Commanding Armed Forces and the Attorney General, former Presidents, Chief Justices, Speakers and Prime Ministers, with certain possible exceptions; and up to 12 other people appointed by the President, including at least four Chiefs. The Council would advise the President on the appointment of the Auditor General, the Governor of the Bank of Ghana, heads of commissions of enquiry, and the Ombudsman, whose office is provided in the constitutional draft.

If the presidency becomes vacant, a presidential commission consisting of the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the Assembly and the GOC will perform its functions until a new president succeeds.

The Prime Minister will be appointed by the President, but must be approved by a vote of more than one-half of the members of the National Assembly; if the Assembly rejects three candidates proposed by the President it will choose a Prime Minister itself, and if it fails to do this the Assembly will be dissolved. The power of dissolution is granted to the President. The cabinet will be nominated by the Prime Minister for approval by the National Assembly, from which at least nine of the ministers must come. Motions of no confidence in the Prime Minister are provided for. The Attorney General, an official, is to be appointed for seven years.

The President, according to article 87 (6) will "be responsible for the administration of the affairs of Ghana" whenever the Assembly is dissolved and there is no cabinet in office. He may make various regulations and instruments during such a period but must lay them before the Assembly within 30 days of the next meeting of this or immediately after a premier has been appointed.

The Assembly, whose life will last five years, can be kept in being in case of emergency, but only for 12 months.

In the Assembly's voting, a simple majority vote among members present, who must be half the total, will be generally sufficient. Votes on amendments to the constitution and on elections to public offices shall be held in secret.

Assembly members will not receive any salary, but will be paid sitting, travelling and rent allowances. The number of members and constituencies would be subject to review, under the draft constitution, at intervals of not less than seven years, and within 12 months of the date of publication of each census.

For the first election under the new constitution, the draft provides that the electoral commission will make rules, and then follow the procedure laid down in the constitutional drafts articles on

elections. This must be started within a month of the coming into force of the constitution.

A member of the constituent assembly has already claimed that article 3 of the constitution, which bans any organisation aiming to establish an anti-democratic system or threatening national sovereignty, could be a cover for suppression of opposition.

The draft has brief proposals on finance, police and prisons, the public service commission and the armed forces. A contingency fund is provided for, to meet urgently needed unforeseen expenditure; if money is drawn from it, the Assembly must be asked to replace the sum. Financial bills may be introduced to the Assembly only by ministers.

On external relations, which are to be within the province of the president, the draft makes two interesting provisions. In the section on citizenship, which generally deals with conditions for granting citizenship to people from outside Ghana and has few notable provisions, commonwealth citizens are given a special status where crimes committed outside Ghana are concerned. More interesting, the government "may accept such limitations upon the sovereign power of Ghana as will promote international co-operation and peace."

Following what it says is a general view that chieftancy is an irreplaceable part of the life of Ghana, the constitutional proposals would "guarantee" the institution. But Local Councils would supersede all traditional authorities—one of the most sweeping changes which the constitutional draft proposes. The chiefs, however, would be able to choose a fixed number of members of local and district councils; local councils will have from 10-16 "traditional" members and from 5-8 elected ones. These local councils will replace the traditional authorities, and will themselves choose one-third of the members of each district council (the rest of these will be elected). Traditional allegiance by one traditional authority to another would be unaffected by the changes. Regional development councils are another innovation provided for in local government. Public lands are to be vested in the President on behalf of and in trust for the people of Ghana. New regions may be created if the commission of inquiry acting on popular demand so decides.

The proposals declare that, with some exceptions, everyone in any office as a result of the NLC's assumption of power, or by decree of the NLC or under its authority, will be deemed to hold that office when the constitution comes into force. Also, the courts will not take any action on proceedings against the government of Ghana or its representatives in respect of acts relating to the establishment of the NLC, the abrogation of the 1960 constitution, or the establishment of the new Constitution.



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# ROUNDAABOUT

## The French Intervention Force

I notice that in the statement criticising the French that Justin Bomboko, the Congo-K Foreign Minister, made just after Christmas, he says that a leading general in the French Armed Forces reminded the military attaché of the Congolese Embassy in Paris that there existed a defence agreement between France and Congo-Brazzaville, and that if there was an attack over the Congo, France would not hesitate to help her ally. It seems to me to tie up rather well with what M. Messmer, de Gaulle's Defence Minister (himself a former colonial Governor of the AEF in Brazzaville) said at a press dinner in Paris last month. France, he stated, can send a paratroop regiment to any African state within 24 hours, to honour the defence agreements France has with most countries of French-speaking Africa. He recalled that France had intervened in 1964 in Gabon, and in Chad last year because of internal subversion. It had also intervened in Mauritania immediately after independence to protect it from the Moroccan threat. France is able to intervene, he said, through the 11th Infantry Division based in South-west France and Brittany; this consists of 25,000 men—two brigades of parachutists, and one air

transport brigade. Under the defence agreements there were French garrisons in Dakar, Port-Bouet (Ivory Coast), Niamey, Fort Lamy, Bangui, Libreville, and Diego Suarez and Ivato in Madagascar (the numbers here were reduced in 1965 to 6,500 men). These garrisons constitute a regiment at the most; Bangui and Libreville have a company each.

### Culture and "Great Power" Prestige

The Minister also referred to French military technical assistance; there were in Africa (including North Africa) 18 military missions, composed of a total of 2,500 officers. France also trains officers in its military schools: in 1968-69 there were 2,600 cadets from Black Africa and Madagascar training in France. Finally, France provides military material, either as gifts or sales. There were also 673 Algerians at French military schools, and a French military mission of 341, half of them officers, in Algerian army. There were 550 French military experts in Morocco, six in Tunisia, 184 in Cambodia and 114 in Laos.

Let us proceed from there to the report that an Egyptian magazine devoted to

international politics has said French military presence in Africa is most effective of the external factor which can influence our continent." other country, says the magazine, equal France in treaties giving a right to intervene. "Moreover France will preserve this situation and has the means to do so." It was more effective than Great Britain, and it seems that the USA does not wish to play a major rôle in Africa at the moment. France's strategy in its former colonies had been modified by General de Gaulle. However, most of the threats to African countries were internal rather than external, the paper, and whatever profit countries may have obtained through French assistance, it was an obstacle to any political, social and economic transformation in these countries, and made French interests their first priority. "Moreover, any policy of reinforcing the links between francophone countries results in the maintenance of the rôle of French culture in the armies of French-speaking countries. Also France's rôle outside Europe, involving especially its legal intervention in Africa, preserves its prestige as a great power." It seems a fairly objective assessment of a country which has caused to be regarded as a major factor in French policy in recent weeks.

*Gric*

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# books and publications

## AWOLOWO'S NEW NIGERIA

*The People's Republic* by *Obafemi Awolowo* (Oxford University Press, £4 10s. in UK, £N2 5s. in Nigeria).

THROUGHOUT the 338 pages of this work, the essential Awolowo is in evidence: Awolowo the realist, the idealist, the lawyer, the constitutionalist, and the practical politician whose main target is still power. Indeed, one wonders, as one reads, which Awolowo will go down in history.

The first 72 pages deal with history in Nigeria from the earliest days, through the European intrusion, to the present time. The Chief is not a romantic historian, as he is the first to admit; the whole of this portion is almost joylessly presented. Rich in facts, statistics and useful material for the researcher though it is, casual readers might be scared by the weightiness of the presentation.

In the first chapter the author outlines how the European came; then "how they ruled". One wishes that the Chief could have been more detailed in the latter chapter, where he tries to define the method of rule the British employed. Nevertheless, his portrait of Lord Lugard and his rather indulgent view of that arch-imperialist reveals Awolowo's basic anglophile inclinations.

In the third and fourth chapters the author sets out his now familiar reactions to British rule in Nigeria. Unlike the preceding chapters, he allows some relaxation with passages such as this on page 55: "In some parts of Nigeria, it was common practice to postpone discussions about prices until after the Nigerian dealer had been made thoroughly drunk on rum. Then all that the Nigerian received for his commodities, whatever their quantity, was an attire consisting of a top hat and a vest, together with a new name like 'Fine Face' or 'Sea-Never-Dry'."

The assertion on page 54 that "there was only one motive behind the activities of the English (later British) nationals; the acquisition of personal wealth by any means, and the consequent enrichment of their motherland" is hard to swallow. But one must understand the attitude of his generation of Africans to European rule to forgive the chief for asking this "bad guy versus good guy" of our colonial past.

In the concluding chapter of this section—"Paradoxical Heritage"—one can really see the dilemma of a generation: the British were no good, yet they

provided the ammunition with which that generation fought for and won independence: the British are responsible for modern Nigeria and therefore the cause of the present permanent crisis situation, yet without that creation Nigerian politicians could not enjoy the prestige they enjoyed during the First Republic. The "paradox" goes on and on.

Of part II the author says one needs "patience and indulgence" to read it through. For the whole of this section is a restatement of the well-known views Awolowo has expounded, from "Path to Nigerian Freedom," written in 1945 while he was a student in London, through his "Thoughts on the Nigerian Constitution" in 1967, to the present work. Awolowo has been essentially three things: a convinced federalist; a principled, if not rigid, politician; and a visionary.

Not that any of these are bad. But the way in which the author sees the Federation being constituted is somehow faulty:

for example, with characteristic candour, but without really putting his feet in the shoes of some other nationalists, he says in the preface: "I therefore confidently predict that with the exception of Kano, Western, East Central and Lagos States, each of these states (i.e., Nigerian states) will pass through a period of internal disharmony, instability and turmoil, until they finally disintegrate and completely disappear in the forms in which we know them" (my exclamation). *This notion of Federalism through tribal ideology leaves one wondering why Chief Awolowo should have clung to this view this long.* If we are to take it for granted that the Midwest, let us say, will disintegrate because of lack of tribal homogeneity, what of the Western State which the author would have us believe is assured of stability? Or are we being told that what divides the Isha and the Bini is deeper than what divides the Ijebu and the Oyo? The point is highly arguable. While not necessarily disagreeing with the author about the ethnic factor in Federations, one cannot help emphasising that it is not the only one. It is not even the most important one in the complexities of the modern world. People come together more out of sheer economic necessity than any other factor.

The chapters on "Constitutional Basis," "The Forces at Work," "The Capitalist System" and "The Socialist Approach" are, as the author says, really an "exposition of principles"; only they are a particular exposition of his principles. Here also he shows his wide

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reading in philosophy, politics and economics, but his rejection of the class conflict is unsustainable; his distinction between government and state while neat is hardly practical and, all through, one tends to feel that the author ignores the coercive element in government.

Well-read economist as he is, Awolowo sets forth with great lucidity the principles involved in the two competing economic ideologies, capitalism and socialism. He is uncompromising in his stand against the capitalist system which, according to him, is "a very imperfect system," and he is so sure that "on all counts, it can be confidently predicted that capitalism is doomed to perish." The only system which "because of its intrinsic harmony with the dialect, has every chance of success now is Socialism."

Yet did not Karl Marx predict exactly this 120 years ago? In 1848, too, one could have been anxiously waiting for the demise of the capitalist system, now predicted by Chief Awolowo. Like Karl Marx, Obafemi Awolowo might not be totally right in underestimating the forces of capitalism.

He has a nostalgia for the pre-"cash-nexus" economy when Africans "like all primitive peoples in other parts of the world, lived a life of simplicity and contentment which was comparatively free from the greed and naked self-interest that are prevalent in capitalist society."

There is no doubt that Chief Awolowo is a democratic socialist. For him, socialism and capitalism can compete,

with the former the obvious winner! So he is implacably opposed to the one-party system. But one might gently remind him that socialism in Africa always tends to drift to the one party system; Nkrumah's Ghana, Sekou Touré's Guinea and Nyerere's Tanzania are reminders.

However, this section is far and away the most important. Even though there is not much scientific analysis of all the "Forces at Work," it has much common sense. It shows a painstaking, penetrating, analytical and, neatly ordered mind.

There is a concluding chapter to this section: "Mental Magnitude," which the author defines as: "In *p'au language*, the regime of mental magnitude is cultivated when we are sexually continent, abstemious in food, abstain totally from alcoholic beverage and tobacco, and completely vanquish the emotions of greed and fear." Lofty ideals for our future leaders indeed! One wonders whether there will be enough of them in the 2nd Republic.

The last section of the book, "Blueprint for self-rule," is really, again, a restatement of former Awolowo positions; the reader of "Thoughts" finds many parallels.

Every Nigerian can conjure up his own idea of Nigeria. But in this author's case, he has allowed this otherwise monumental work to be damaged by his advocacy of states along tribal lines—an arrangement which would launch us on an endless stream of crises. Nevertheless, the book will probably go down as the greatest of its author's works,

indispensable for Chief Awolowo's future biographers. **Osaheni S. Uzamere.**

**Return to My Native Land, by Aimé Césaire (Présence Africaine).**

**Hommes de Tous les Continents, by Bernard Dadie (Présence Africaine). (No prices given.)**

This is the first translation into English of the "definitive edition" of the celebrated *Cahier d'un Retour au Pays Natal* which *Présence Africaine* published in 1956, and to any English-speaker who has never read it before, it is a superb introduction—one is tempted to say unveiling, because its impact is still, 30 years after it was originally written, of one of the most concentrated works of imagination this century, compulsory reading for anyone who ever disparaged *négritude*. It is a pity, therefore, that the translation is in places unsatisfactory, even taking account of the extreme difficulty of translating this particular work, because of its surrealist style and content.

It is perhaps unfair to consider Bernard Dadie's poems (in French) in the same breath as Césaire. Dadie has been little translated into English, perhaps because he writes poetry in that slightly declamatory style of French that often sounds banal in English. But he has a certain rock-hard integrity that make his work a pleasure to read. I am told that French critics enthuse over his poised, deceptively simple use of the French language. **K.W.**

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## letters to the editor

### CHOOSING FRIENDS

SIR.—In the past few weeks there has been an apparently well calculated attempt in some British papers and the radio to discredit Nigeria because she has been brave enough to establish some trade and cultural relations with Russia. We have been told that it is all right to take aid from Britain, America, or W. Germany irrespective of what strings are attached, but it is the height of abomination even to establish some loose ties with the East. Curiously enough, the Western powers are themselves constantly trying to establish a detente with the East.

The Eastern powers are no better in their attitude towards African aspirations. Both powers always view our continent in terms of "Eastern" or "Western" influence.

Inspector-General Harlley of Ghana is reported to have said during the Commonwealth conference that he would advise Nigeria to beware of Russian influence, in view of Ghana's past experience. I wonder whether anyone has bothered to advise Harlley to beware of American influence in his country in view of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic or Batista's Cuba.

It is about time our African leaders were brave enough to tell the big powers—both East and West—to leave Africa alone to develop the way she chooses and be friends with whom she likes.

L. A. MENSAL

### STOKING THE FIRE?

SIR.—In your recent editorial you said, "If the outcome (of the Biafra-Nigeria war) is not the restoration of Iboland to its place in the federation, then a centre of tension will remain, continuously threatening the peace of this part of the world." This can only provoke the resentment of your readership. It does not contribute to a peaceful solution, or allow for self-determination, the cornerstone of liberal democracy. It only stokes the situation and hardens the obduracy of Nigeria.

Perhaps you may wish to absolve Nigeria from war guilt, or make exceptions for the Irish and the Pakistanis, who achieved their destinies. And perhaps, when you have realised that federation has failed in Africa, you may choose to dismantle your bitter campaigns. You have missed three important points: the war is an African problem, a fact which you could help persuade the British Government to understand; the war is not a tribal one, as you say it is, even though it is directed by Nigeria against the Ibos, for a Biafran may be an Elik, an Ogoja, a Kalabari, an Ibo, etc., and the war can never end as long as the British Government insists on arming Nigeria, and Biafrans will never give up defending their inalienable rights to life, property and happiness.

SIMON O. AYAME  
Biafran Students' Association,  
Toronto, Canada.

### DEMONSTRATORS IN LONDON

SIR.—Matchet's comments on Mr. Elemide's letter of Jan. 25 may give rise to a prolonged misunderstanding.

I was at Marlborough House for the Commonwealth Conference. On the first day there were a large number of demonstrators, including Nigerians and Biafrans outside Marlborough House.

Standing from the left were Nigerian demonstrators carrying banners and chanting "One Nigeria" and condemning the Tanzanian and Zambian Governments for recognising Biafra. Between the Nigerians and Biafrans were other groups of African and Asian demonstrators.

No sooner had I approached the group of Biafran demonstrators and their sympathisers than I noticed two men carrying banners with slogans saying: "Yorubas want Oduduwa State" (Oduduwa was wrongly spelt on one of their placards). "One Nigeria is dead," and the like. I talked with these men and, though they responded with some degree of reluctance, I recognised that the two men carrying the banners were Ibos using the occasion as a smokescreen to demonstrate a divided loyalty among Nigerians.

JIMOH GRADAMOSHIL

### GREAT STEAMERS

SIR.—I would like to say how much I enjoy reading your page "West African Shipping News." There is an element of nostalgic poetry about the news, prosaically laid out, that the *Buena Fortuna* is leaving New Orleans for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos and Luanda, or that the *Enur Bechur* has left Beirut for Tema. It calls to mind the wanderings on the high seas of Conrad's novels, or Kipling's "great steamers white and gold" that left "weekly from Southampton" in a past age.

O. F. WILTON-MARSHALL

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**"MONEY"** You probably read about or heard of the gentleman who, wanting to get his own back on what he thought was a very mean local government council, wrote them a cheque on the *living hide of a cow* and led the cow to City Hall! The requisite revenue stamps having been duly affixed, of course, the cow was legal tender! (Its flanks were probably very tender too—after all that scratching about with a red hot quill!) I suppose, in the way that banks return old cheques to their customers, the cow eventually found its way back to home pastures—having been stamped with the Teller's number *et al!*

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

Quite apart from the slight inconvenience to all concerned—of leading an unwilling cow through the traffic to the bank—though National Bank of Nigeria Limited would much rather you used more conventional cheques—like in the National Bank cheque book you get when you open your current account at any of National Bank's branches in Nigeria and abroad! What's more you'll find that National do know about money—money's their business. Savings, transfers, foreign exchange—you name it! If it's money you are talking about you should talk to National Bank of Nigeria Limited—the Bank You Can Trust.



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## MACHET'S DIARY

**T**HE first appointment to his administration announced by President Kennedy was that of Governor Williams as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Mr. Nixon on the other hand has so far not even announced whether Mr. Joe Palmer, the former Ambassador to Nigeria, who now holds Governor Williams's job, is to stay—or whether he wants to stay, but this is an appointment now keenly watched in Lagos and Umuahia, even if in both places it is realised that other officials, too, have a say in US policy towards Nigeria. Mr. Palmer, who was in Salisbury before going to Lagos, was in fact first appointed to his present job in 1956, even before going to Salisbury, and might reasonably now expect a change, probably to a senior embassy. He is, however, a career official, and American Presidents are less ready than they once were to interfere with the appointments of such officials. Even so, Mr. Palmer's deputies, C. Robert Moore and Thomas Quimby, could, like himself, be shifted to other jobs by the President. Probably, however, this does not apply to the "country directors" lower down the scale, such as Roy Melbourne, the director for Nigeria. The President is well aware of the Assistant Secretary of State's long African experience, since Mr. Palmer headed the entourage on Mr. Nixon's tour in 1957, though I would be surprised if he entirely agreed with the then Vice-President's report to General Eisenhower, which laid heavy emphasis on Africa as a "priority target for the international communist movement". Now Mr. Nixon, too, has to concern himself with very practical African matters; the first official meeting of Mr. William Rogers, his Secretary of State, was with the Foreign Minister of Equatorial Guinea, over relief for Biafra. This is not, however, an "Africa-conscious" administration, even if Mr. Maurice Stans, the Secretary of Commerce, includes hunting African game, and learning Swahili for that purpose, among his hobbies.

When he left Liberia's London Embassy 10 years ago Clarence Simpson, who has just died in Monrovia at the age of 73, had held his country's highest offices, except those of President and Chief Justice. He had been Secretary of State, President Tubman's Vice-President, Ambassador to Washington, Speaker of the House of Representatives. His grandfather emigrated to Liberia from the United States in 1879, at a time when thousands of Negro Americans, in the disillusionment following the civil war, wanted a new life in a country where pioneering still offered prospects. Such was this enthusiasm that a

"Liberia Exodus Joint Stock Steamship Company" was established, but could afford the cost of establishing themselves in Liberia. Mr. Simpson, however, managed to raise the money while in Liberia itself. Mrs. Simpson's father, who had emigrated many years earlier, was already Vice-President. Even so, the Simpsons joined the pioneering settlement at Brewerville. Clarence Simpson, then, might well be the most typical of "American Liberians". And he was proud of his American background. But he was proud of something quite different. His own mother was a pure-blooded American and in his book, *The Symbols of Liberia*, he gives the most objective account of relations between "American Liberians" and "tribesmen" I have ever seen from any Liberian. He recounts, in his own experience at the school which his father was headmaster, his mother having died, his father remarried an Americo-Liberian. Because purely Americo-Liberian, he assumed that the new Mrs. Simpson, Clarence's mother, they displayed to a prejudice against the "tribal" boys of the school as being "uncivilised." One day, obliged him to declare publicly to them that he was himself a "Vai" found to his surprise that this act improved his relations with the American Liberians who, he maintains, were displaying the prejudices of Kensington or Long Island, which time can and erode, unlike those based on general racial differences.

It would be difficult to cram many mistakes into a single sentence than J. Francois Chauvel, the French journalist, did in an article last week about Nigeria in the *Paris Figaro*, strike in protest against taxes has been reinforced by the refusal of Hausa, Foulbe and Kanouris to go to the west to serve as conscripts in an army commanded by the Peulhs of the north." After this the Federal Government need not feel perturbed that M. Chauvel also believes the Nigerian economy to be "exhausted by the interminable war".

No Commonwealth Prime Minister made a greater hit with the British public through reports of his speeches than through his television appearances, says Mr. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore. I'm sorry, however, that he had to dig up the stale story of the "golden bed" to illustrate his view that much aid was wasted in African countries. In fact the bed was bought by Mrs. and not Mr. K. N. Edusei, and from her own considerable fortune made as a private trader. I bought it, I believe, so that it might play a worthy part in funeral rites. Other customers contributed to its cost, taxpayers in any other country.

# commercial news

## GHANA

### Ashanti, Lonrho and the New Lease

**A**SHANTI GOLDFIELDS has now obtained a new lease of the Obuasi goldmine in Ghana's Ashanti Region, which it has mined since 1887 under an old lease, originally due to expire in 1986. An agreement, following completion of the takeover of Ashanti by Lonrho, was signed in Accra on January 24, and back-dated to January 1. Mr. A. H. Ball (chairman) and Mr. R. W. Rowland (managing director) signed for Lonrho.

The Adansi Traditional Council, owners of the land where the mine is situated, will receive £30,000 cedis per year (instead of the 398 cedis as before) as occupational rent for 100 square miles of Stool land; it will also receive 300,000 cedis from the mine's annual turnover, and 100,000 in respect of pollution of streams and damage to crops caused by past mining operations.

The new lease will be granted to Ashanti Goldfields itself or a new company incorporated in Ghana, for 50 years from January 1, 1969, at a rate of 300 cedis per year. Lonrho is to issue 20 per cent. of

Ashanti's shares to the Ghana Government as payment for the lease, with an option on a further 20 per cent. at £1 each. If the Government and Lonrho agree to incorporate a new company, Ashanti's undertakings will be transferred to this company. For the present Ashanti Goldfields remains in being in Ghana, and remains the lessee. Lonrho has promised to try to increase the milling capacity of the mine from the present 45,000 tons per month to 80,000; and to compensate the Government if dividend from the 20 per cent. shareholding fell short of royalties under the old lease.

Major-General Sir Edward Spears, Chairman of Ashanti Goldfields for 15 years and now 82 years old, has joined the board of Lonrho.

• The strike of British overseas telegraphists which started this week could affect a number of exporting firms, but several major ones, such as UAC and the Standard Bank of West Africa, have their own telex or teleprinter services.

## Cocoa Prices : Slight Rise

Ghana cocoa purchases last week totalled 6,778 tons, compared with 10,000 the previous week. The total was therefore raised to 302,793 tons. Nigerian purchases are estimated at 138,000.

After three weeks of steady decline London cocoa prices have increased slightly and are now over 400s. per cwt. again most 1969 contracts. Rudolf Wolff, predicting a rise considerably above the recent low levels, says the market "went undervalued," adding, "perhaps new short covering will push an initial rise too far and any large rise may be braked by original selling of the new crop. Chartwise a reaction 'top' is indicated" as mid-1969 contracts near the 410s. per cwt. mark.

• The Cadbury Group's foreign sales of chocolate and food products rose by 26 per cent. in 1968, reaching a record of £7.5 m.

• Rowntree, the UK chocolate and confectionary group, has rejected the takeover bid from General Foods of New York.

• Mr. F. J. Pedler, who retired from the Board of UAC last year, has rejoined the board of the Sierra Leone Development Co. as a non-executive director. For 14 years previously he had represented UAC on the board of Delco, which is owned 95 per cent. by William Baird Mining (of which Mr. Pedler joined the Board last September) and 5 per cent. by UAC.

• Ghana's second International Trade Fair will be held in February 1971. All local firms and representatives of foreign firms have been invited to participate.



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## commercial news

### Cement from Sokoto

THE Sokoto Cement Works in the West State, one of the biggest prizes of the Northern Nigerian (New Nigerian) Development Corporation, has been officially opened in the presence of all six governors of the Northern States.

The decision to build the factory was made in 1962 after surveys had shown a widespread demand for cement in the northern region. The West German firm of Ferrostaal agreed to build a factory with a capacity of 100,000 tons annual capacity, using local limestone. Stanley Engineering (London) had previously examined the site and recommended building a factory on the site chosen at Kalambine; a new company, the Sokoto Cement Company, was formed, with the Federal Government as the sole owner of the enterprise, with the Federal Government owning most of the shares and Ferrostaal the rest.

The factory was completed in 1967. It was then found that capacity was only 10 per cent. of the desired capacity was attributed to peculiarities in the limestone, and new equipment was installed to process it. An article in the New Nigerian claims capacity is now 100,000 tons.

Production eventually began in 1967, a few months after the reconstituted Durling Committee of Enquiry into the NNDC, which led to the reorganisation and renaming of that corporation. The committee criticised the NNDC's handling of the Sokoto cement project. Failure to complete the project due to the difficulty over the limestone, the wasting of money spent in machinery imported across the Sahara; the report that for long there was no technical and even after that was made there was no feasibility report or financial proposal.

Nigeria has another cement plant operating at Ewekoro (Western State) and a cement plant in what is now East Central State stopped production during the war and is reported to be still closed.

### Textile Exchange Sh...

Our Manchester Correspondent reports that the Manchester Royal Exchange has now for the last time. The floor of the Manchester Royal Exchange has been trading centre, more particularly spinning and weaving section of the city, for over 150 years, and the building dates back to the early 17th century. Representatives of African trade have bought their grey cloth on 'Change for over 100 years but the changing structure of the city with big vertical firms and many numbers of traders has made the Exchange uneconomic. Now a new building is being built on the Exchange—on the tradition.

The Western State of Nigeria's Minister for Agriculture has said government intends to establish plantations, either directly on its own account, or in partnership with investors. It also plans to establish plantations of citrus fruit and pineapples to meet the needs of the Lufia Canning Factory in Ibadan, which has had difficulty in procuring sufficient supplies to make it vi-



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## More on Ghana's Lost VC10

Ghana is waiting for the Israeli Government to clarify its position on payment of full compensation for the loss of Ghana Airways VC10 at Beirut airport, before taking any action on the matter.

Mr R. R. Amponsah, chairman of Ghana Airways, has confirmed that the aircraft, leased to Middle East Airlines, was not insured against war risks.

Dr. Edward Boohene, the managing director of the airline (an leave since April, 1968), said he had nothing to do with the extension of the Middle East Airlines lease agreement in July, 1968. When the first agreement was signed in 1967, he said, the Middle East was not rated as a war area, and war-risk insurance of the VC10 was not necessary then. Before the renewal of the agreement—after which there was still no war-risk insurance—he went on leave after a dispute with others on the board. Mr. Amponsah blamed the now dismissed general manager, Mr. G. A. Boughton, for the failure to obtain war-risk coverage, and said he himself had given orders for it to be obtained last April. He and Dr. Boohene both criticised each other's alleged actions in the matter.

● The outgoing secretary-general of UNCTAD, Dr. Raúl Prebisch, has appealed to sugar-importing countries in the developing world to join the new International Sugar Agreement. At present 26 exporting and eight importing nations are members.

In New York Dr. Prebisch said that, although the richer nations might come to need the "third world's" products less, they could not disregard what was going on around them. He added that it was not sufficient to "increase the soil's fertility and reduce man's." He said he was leaving his post "not because I am disappointed, but because the task became too heavy for me." (His successor is to be Sr. Manuel Perez Guerrero of Venezuela.)

● Mr. Tony Wilson, educational manager for Allen and Unwin, is going to Lagos to investigate possibilities for publishing new educational textbooks for Nigeria. Allen and Unwin have been publishing school books for many years; Sir Stanley Unwin was a pioneer of new educational books for Nigeria. Mr. Wilson will be spending five weeks in West Africa discussing new books with teachers and other educationalists.

● Sir Patrick Reilly, former British Ambassador to France, has been appointed a director to the British and French Bank, and will become chairman on April 1, in succession to Sir John Ballfour. The Bank, mostly owned by the Banque Nationale de Paris, owns itself most of the shares in the United Bank for Africa in Nigeria.

● Japanese aluminium smelters have approached African bauxite producing countries with offers of participation in development (Guinea is by far the biggest bauxite producer in West Africa; the other important ones are Ghana and Sierra Leone.

## New Aid for Ghana

Britain is to give Ghana an additional loan of over 1.8 m. cedis. This will bring to over 11.7 m. cedis the 1968 loan to Ghana. The loan will be used for purchase of British goods and services.

● The UN Development Programme has granted the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation \$753,000 to "strengthen the corporation at the policy-making level."

The latest allocation of funds by the UN Development Programme which coordinates technical assistance work (usually carried out by other UN agencies) for pre-finance development projects, includes other large sums for African projects. Among these are a centre for aid to small industries at Douala, in Cameroon (\$696,000); development of the cartographic service (\$1,259,000), a teacher training programme in Bouaké (\$7,009,000), and new aid to secondary school teacher training in Abidjan (\$96,000) in Ivory Coast, aid to state enterprises development in Mali (\$1,023,000); hydrological and railway surveys in Upper Volta, linked to the Tambao manganese mining scheme (\$1,636,000); and a regional project, supported by 19 African states—research into the African migratory locust (\$1,182,000). In each case there is a (smaller) Government contribution to the UNDP-aided project.

● The British Government has informed the International Development Association (IDA) that, subject to Parliamentary approval, it intends to make an interim contribution of \$51.84m. equivalent before arrangements for second replenishment of this World Bank affiliate becomes effective. The interim contribution equals one instalment of the three payments by the UK foreseen under the replenishment agreement.

● Mrs. Mildred Ankrah, wife of the Chairman of the Ghana NLC, has launched the Black Star Line's newly built vessel *M/V Klarte Lagoon* at a ceremony in Cadix, Spain. *Klarte Lagoon*, the second ship built by Naval and Associates, brings the number of Ghana National Shipping Line vessels to 16.

## Africa's Incomes

A table of annual income, political systems, illiteracy, and average life span in most countries of the world, published in the *Daily Mirror*, shows that Upper Volta has one of the lowest annual incomes per head per country about £18. It has also the unusually high illiteracy rate of 82 per cent, and an average life span of 35 years. Mali's average life span is even lower (27) but its annual income is assessed at about £27. Nigeria has an annual income of £31 per head and an illiteracy rate of about 40 per cent. Ghana is one of the most advanced African countries in these respects; its annual income is £119 and illiteracy is only 20 per cent; but average life span is only 38 years even there (in the USA it is 66, in the UK 67, in the USSR 66). Sierra Leone has an average annual income of £53, and 63 per cent illiteracy. Senegal's annual income is higher, but Cameroon's is lower; while Guinea's, at £39, is one of the lowest in Africa (the life expectation in Guinea is 26 years, also one of the lowest).

(More Commercial News, p. 130)

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## WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

### ELDER DEMPESTER LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Liverpool:—AUREOL slg Liverpool Feb. 7. OBUASI slg Liverpool Feb. 6; OUMURRA slg Liverpool Feb. 13. KADUNA due Bathurst Feb. 1.

**From Hull**:—KOHOMA slg Hull Feb. 10.

London Jan. 27:—TAKASI slg London Jan. 28.

EBOSI slg London Feb. 4; PERANG slg London Jan. 31. FALABA due Lagos Feb. 4.

OFFIN RIVER due Warri Jan. 31.

From Continent: FLAN slg Freetown Jan. 29; DALLA due Warri Feb. 1; FULANI due Apapa Feb. 1.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Liverpool:—FOURAH BAY due Liverpool Feb. 9; DNGA due Tema Feb. 2; KABALA due Tema Feb. 3; OBERE due Bathurst Feb. 1.

To Avonmouth:—IRISBANK due Lagos Feb. 3; FENIUBANK due Avonmouth Feb. 10.

To Hull:—CRESTBANK due Hull Feb. 3; DEGEMA due Hull Jan. 30; MAPLEBANK due Hull Jan. 31.

To Dublin:—CITY OF GUILDFORD due Freetown Feb. 3.

To Glasgow:—LUNKWA due Sapele Feb. 9; OJI due Glasgow Feb. 9.

To London:—MONIKA WIARDS due London Feb. 2; KUMBA due London Feb. 3; BHAMO due Freetown Feb. 2. LGORI due Abidjan Feb. 4.

To Continent:—FORCADOS due Amsterdam Feb. 6.

**EASTBOUND**—From USA Canada:—DARU due Tema Feb. 1; FREETOWN due Pointe Noire Feb. 2.

**WESTBOUND**—To USA Canada:—DEIDO due Freetown Feb. 1.

From India/Pakistan/Burma:—NAIRNBANK due Douala Feb. 6.

**BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE**

**OUTWARDS**—TEMA now due sail New York Halifax (NS) to Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos, Apapa, Douala and Takoradi.

**CORNEVILLE** due sail New York Halifax (NS) first half Feb. for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos, Apapa, Douala and Takoradi.

**HOMEWARDS**—FERNWOOD due Boston Feb. 4, thence New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Richmond Va. HIANIA due US North Atlantic mid Feb.

**JAPAN "K" LINE**

**WESTBOUND**—From Japan (via Hong Kong and Cape) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc:—NIPPON MARU slg Japan Feb. 2, due Lagos Mar. 12.

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

**WOERMANN LINE**

**POSEIDON** slg Rotterdam Feb. 2, due Las Palmas Feb. 18, Freetown Feb. 23, Monrovia Feb. 25, MOSEL BAY slg Hamburg Feb. 10, Bremen Feb. 12, due Dakar Feb. 26, Port Genit Mar. 7.

**NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE**

**EASTBOUND**—NOPAL LUNA slg New Orleans Dec. 2, Takoradi Feb. 6, Lagos Feb. 23, arr Warri Feb. 9, Sapele Feb. 11; NOPAL SUN slg New Orleans Feb. 5, Takoradi Feb. 25, Lagos Feb. 28, arr Warri Mar. 4.

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

**PALM LINE**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**ROYAL INTERCOASTAL LINE**

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

**STRAAT FRANKLIN** from Japan slg Kobe Jan. 21 due Lagos, Apapa Feb. 22, Tema Mar. 1, Monrovia Mar. 5, Freetown

Mar. 7, Abidjan Mar. 10, Takoradi Mar. 12, **OUTWARDS**—STRAAT BALI from Nigeria, Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and China first half Feb.; STRAAT FRANKLIN from Nigeria, Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan second half Feb. first half Mar.

### FARRELL LINES

**HOMEWARDS**—AUSTRALIAN GULF slg Sapele Feb. 1 for Monrovia and US ports.

**AFRICAN RAINBOW** slg Takoradi Feb. 7 for Abidjan, Monrovia for US ports.

### EDWARD NASSAR LINES

**EMIR BECHIR** slg Lagos Feb. 1, due Beirut Feb. 2, Gibraltar Feb. 18, Tema Mar. 3, Lagos Mar. 4, Monrovia Mar. 10, Freetown Mar. 11, Freetown Mar. 30.

**SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE**

**SOUTHBOUND**—HELMAREN slg Scandinavia and Bordeaux during Feb. YARRA WUNGA slg Scandinavia and Bordeaux during Feb. 2; MANGARELLA slg Scandinavia and Bordeaux during Mar.

**NORTHBOUND**—INNAVALS slg West Africa for Scandinavia during Feb. MINNESOTA slg West Africa for Scandinavia during Feb. HELMAREN slg West Africa for Scandinavia during Mar.

**CHARGERS RELINS**

**CIRCEA** slg Lagos Feb. 12, Tema Feb. 18, Freetown Feb. 20, TANAGRA slg Kona Feb. 24.

**MIITSU OSK LINE**

**HAYANA MARU** slg Kobe Dec. 30 due Lagos Feb. 4, KINKASAN MARU slg Kobe Jan. 21 due Lagos Feb. 21, IGLISAN MARU slg Kobe Feb. 4 due Lagos Mar. 14.

**MAERSK LINE**

**ANETTE MAERSK** slg Monrovia Feb. 4 due Freetown Feb. 3, TORBEN MAERSK slg Luanda Feb. 17, due Matadi Feb. 15.

**HOOGL LINE**

**HUGO LUKORE** slg Antwerp Jan. 27 due Freetown Feb. 9, Avonmouth Feb. 9, Tema Feb. 11, IJEGUI AILEFIE slg Hamburg Feb. 7, Antwerp Feb. 10, due Dakar Feb. 18, Monrovia Feb. 21, Abidjan Feb. 24.

**HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LIJN**

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Continent:—SCHIEFFING DAKAR Feb. 2; CONGOUST slg Hamburg Jan. 27, Antwerp Jan. 31, Amsterdam Jan. 29, Bordeaux Feb. 3 due Freetown Feb. 11.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Continent:—KAISEN-DYK slg Douala Jan. 30, Takoradi Feb. 4, Monrovia Feb. 7, due Rotterdam Feb. 20.

**LIBERAKUST** slg Pt. Noire Jan. 29, Matadi Feb. 1, Lobito Feb. 3, Port Alexander Feb. 2, Luanda Feb. 6, due Rotterdam Mar. 6.

**NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE**

**SOUTHBOUND**—KING JAJA slg Luanda Feb. 4, ODUDUWA slg Liverpool Feb. 20, RIVER NIGER slg Rouen Jan. 31.

**NORTHBOUND**—NNAMDI AZIKIWE due London Feb. 24; ODUDUWA due Belfast Jan. 26, Glasgow Feb. 3.

**HUGO STINNES TRANSOCEAN**

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**ELLEN HUGO STINNES** slg Rouen Jan. 27 due Las Palmas Feb. 2, Dakar Feb. 5, Monrovia Feb. 8, Abidjan Feb. 12, ATLAS HUGO STINNES slg Bordeaux Jan. 31 due St. Cruz Feb. 5, Las Palmas Feb. 5, Dakar Feb. 8.

**WESTWIND AFRICA LINE**

**WESTWIND** slg New Orleans Jan. 28, Houston Feb. 3, due Lagos, Luanda; SOPHIE C slg New Orleans Feb. 18, Houston Feb. 13 for Luanda, Abidjan, Freetown; BUENA FORTUNA slg New Orleans Feb. 25, Houston Mar. 2 for Lagos, Luanda, Abidjan, Freetown.

**GOLD STAR LINE**

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

**BLACK STAR LINE SEVEN STAR LINE/USN/HWA**

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

**BLACK STAR LINE/CONTINENT/WA**

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

**NORTHBOUND**—KORLE LAGOON Takoradi Jan. 21, Rotterdam Feb. 3; BENYA RIVER Abidjan Feb. 12, Avonmouth Feb. 24, London, Mar. 6.

## commercial news

### Rubber Prices Up

The world price of natural rubber is likely to be stabilised during 1969, says Deputy Controller of Rubber Research Malaysia. World production was likely to catch up with increased consumption.

Rubber prices, which rose last year from an unusually low level to about 100¢ per lb, are expected to stay about a relatively high level in the near future. Consumption, which rose last year, is expected to remain high.

Nigeria and Liberia are the principal rubber exporters in West Africa. Nigeria is the more important (producing 70% mainly in the Mid-West).

Rubber prices in London reached their highest level for 31 years.



Alhaji Aminu Kano, Nigeria's Controller for Communications, visited Coventry headquarters of GEC-ALSTOM communications Ltd, to discuss details of the £8.5m. communication network company is supplying. He is here doing a course with Mr. W. Brander (GEC's lecturer on transmission equipment) of the radio equipment installed in the company's training school, that will be during a course arranged for 51 Nigerian engineers to be trained in the technology associated with the operation and maintenance of the network. GEC is arranging a similar course in Nigeria for 169 engineers.

The greater Lagos area continues to grow at a rapid rate, reports the Bank of Commerce Review. The Apapa and Ikeja industrial areas are almost full to capacity. The available plots at Ilupeju Estate taken for light industry and work is proceeding fast on an estate at Igandu.

All well-organised Nigerian industries producing to capacity and are having difficulty whatsoever in disposing of output straight off the production line. The Review. In a number of cases, production is short of demand. There are reports of types, certain textile prints and even in short supply in some areas.

About £3m. may be required for agricultural census planned to be held in 1970 in Nigeria, scheduled for next year. A. A. Akande—a delegate to a meeting of the senior officials of the Ministries of Economic Planning and Development of the twelve states—has stated that the meeting studied land-use, production of principal products, livestock, rural market prices, and made recommendations to the Federal Government that Nigerians should participate in the world-wide agricultural census being organised by FAO.

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# dateline Africa

## GHANA

### What Happens After the Assembly?

ON the third day of its debate on the constitutional proposals, which began on January 21, the Constituent Assembly adopted a resolution seeking full powers to enact "the Constitution of the Second Republic of Ghana." Adoption of this motion, put forward by the Chairman of the Assembly's Business Committee (Mr. Justice Azu Crabbe, representative of the judiciary), ended three days of confusion over several motions. On January 21 several members demanded that before anything else was discussed, the question should be solved of who should promulgate the finally agreed constitution—whether the NLC should do this, as provided for in the existing decree under which the Assembly has met (Decree No. 299), or whether the Assembly itself should.

Mr. Joe Appiah (Ghana Bar Association) said that if the report of the Assembly were submitted to the NLC like a Commission of Inquiry report, the discussions would be "an exercise in futility." The Speaker, Mr. R. S. Bly, said this question was being looked into; Nene Azu Mate Kole (Deputy Speaker) said the point raised by Mr. Appiah should not be dealt with before everything else, and Mr. Reginald Amponsah (representing the Mampong Ashanti electoral college) said the point should be discussed later. But Dr. Claude-Ennin (Ghana Medical Association) submitted a motion calling for amendment of Decree No. 299 to empower the Assembly to promulgate the Constitution. Then more speakers intervened on this subject, others raised points of order, while some spoke about the Constitutional proposals—certain speakers opposed appointment of ministers from outside Parliament, and Mr. Peter Adjetei (Accra administrative district) said the Chief Justice had too many powers in the draft Constitution, while Mr. Imoru Salifu (Bawku administrative district) said there should be a Minister of Northern Affairs.

The motion proposed by Dr. Claude-Ennin was introduced on the second day. Many members put forward amendments, and the Speaker said there was a "confusion of motions." He eventually called a halt to amendments. Mr. Joe Appiah said the matter was so important that it must be settled before anything else. Some members suggested that the final Constitution should be promulgated by the NLC unaltered, or submitted to a referendum; Mr. Adjetei said promulgation should be left to the NLC, and the Rev. C. G. Baeia (Christian Council) said the Council should be associated with the promulgation. Dr. Jones Ofori-Atta (University of Ghana) said some motions aimed to prevent the NLC from amending the Constitution. On January 24 Mr. Justice Azu Crabbe's new motion seeking promulgating power for the Assembly was carried. But another motion, proposed by Mr. T. D. Brodie-Mendis (Cape Coast Municipal Council) and sug-

gesting a referendum, was defeated. One supporter of this motion, Mr. S. K. Opong (Wawso Administrative District), said the Constitution would be undemocratic if not approved by the people.

More discussions on the draft Constitution followed. Among suggestions made were that chieftaincy need not be entrenched; that public officers should be made to declare their own and their wives' assets; that Article 3 (which would ban organisations seeking to establish a system opposed to democracy or threatening "national sovereignty") could be used to stifle opposition; and that the voting age should be lowered to 18. The discussion continued the next day, when there was also a dispute over the rôle of "standing orders." One proposal was that the head of state should be a chief. Mr. Kwesi Lamptey (Sekondi) criticised what he said was a denial of unions' right to strike, and suggested that chiefs should receive back their courts and stool lands should revert to stools. Mr. P. K. Owusu Anshah (Brong-Ahafo) said care should be taken to avoid changes in Regions, so that no Biafra sprang up in Ghana.

● Mr. Dugumyeli Hebi, former Upper Region secretary of the CPP, was shot dead in Wa, while walking along a street, on Jan. 21. Mr. Hebi, who headed the Kusasi youth movement under the old regime, was among many CPP members detained after the Kulungulu bomb attempt on President Nkrumah's life in 1962. Last November he appeared before the Exemptions Commission headed by Mr. Justice Apaloo, which exempted him from the public office ban on leading members of the old regime, after a hearing which was held in secret—reportedly because it was thought Mr. Hebi's evidence might be harmful to state security if made public.

● Five executive members of the Kukuom branch of the CPP have appeared before the Goaso Circuit Court charged with stealing NC473 40p belonging to 12 farmers of the same town. According to the prosecution they collected various sums of money and drinks from 12 former members of the United Party in 1960 before admitting them into the CPP.

● Mr. Justice E. Akufo-Addo, Chief Justice, has presented instruments of appointment to three new judges. Mr. S. M. Bosson (now chief State Attorney) and Mr. E. K. Wiredu (legal practitioner in Kumasi), have been appointed High Court Judges, while Mr. A. Gogo (legal practitioner in Accra) has become a Circuit Court Judge.

● A total of NC11:29m has been voted by the Government for the work to be done by eight Ministries and Government departments in the Ashanti Region for 1968-69, reports the *Pioneer*. The Ministries

are Education, Agriculture, Health, Welfare and Community Development, Local Government, Public Works and Transport (PWD and Parks and Gardens).

About NC5 49m has been earmarked for development projects in the Central and Western Regions. The University of the Coast had the highest vote (2:13m) and would spend about 1m. cedus on residential equipment. A new hall of residence at Accra would also be built.

● Ten employees of the State Mining Corporation's mine at Prestea were charged with the murder of a corporal during industrial unrest at last May.

## SIERRA LEONE

### Councillors without Foggiest Idea . . .

LOCAL government councillors receive some sort of education for their functions, says the report of the Penang Commission on Freetown City Council. The report says that under the SLPP majority, if not all, of the former councillors "impressed us as people with the type of education," and that they had the foggiest idea of what they had themselves out to do."

The report covers the period from 1964, when the APC won the municipal elections. Later the SLPP, then the ruling party nationally, succeeded in arranging a SLPP majority. The council's performance according to the report fell to irregularities, thieving and corruption. SLPP supporters who appeared before the commission "were in the mistaken belief that they could with impunity do as they pleased."

It was not, says the report, as so alleged, the injection of party politics into the council that caused the trouble, "the presence of banditry". The report alleges that by-elections to the council were not held because Sir Albert Muscatelli was afraid that they would mean the end of SLPP control to the APC.

As reported here last week the commission has ordered Mrs. C. Cummings-John to pay more than £10,000 in losses sustained by the City Council during her tenure of office. Mrs. Cummings-John, who became Freetown's first woman councillor in 1966, has been in Britain since she was seized power in March 1967, and will appear before the commission. The commission also ordered 23 former city councillors to repay over £7,000.

● Increased prices of fuel oil and other commodities, arising from the closure of the Panama Canal and devaluation of the Leone, have increased the Sierra Leone Electricity Corporation's operating costs by some 25 per cent, says the Annual Report for 1967. In spite of these and other increases, the Corporation remains the same mainly because of operating efficiencies and reduction in the number of unmetred and un-supplied units. Devaluation also increased the Corporation's indebtedness to the Bank by over Leones 340,000, and by at least 15 per cent, the cost of spares and equipment.

During the next four years the Corporation is spending over Leones 8m on the expansion and improvement of services.



Mr. Siaka Stevens waves from his car to people lining the twelve mile route from Hastings Airport to Freetown on his return from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers conference. Among those at the airport were Biafrans resident in Sierra Leone, carrying welcome banners.

money will mostly have to be borrowed, particularly from the World Bank. Freetown's King Tom power station will be extended and new power stations started at Kenema and Koidu. In his review the Chairman, Dr. Richard Kelfa-Caulker, says that however unpopular it may be they have no alternative but to disconnect consumers who owe money to the corporation. The operating surplus for the year was over Leones 2m, a small increase on the previous year, and the final balance of revenue some Leones 400,000.

● Mr. Siaka Stevens, reporting to the country on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, said it afforded an opportunity for very frank exchange of views, and for assessing important issues like the Rhodesian situation, and the Nigeria-Biafra conflict. Commenting on his suggestions for the Nigerian problem, the Prime Minister explained that he had tried to get the two sides to meet and give Commonwealth leaders a chance of making proposals for a solution. He was sorry the conference ended without getting the two sides together.

Mr. Stevens also said that he had had fruitful discussions with industrialists in London. In parliament he emphasised that unemployment was the biggest problem facing the government. Little would be gained from the new oil refinery for the next two or three years.

● Dr. Kwonike Thomas has been appointed Professor of Engineering at Fourah Bay. Dr. Thomas, who holds a First Class Honours Degree in Engineering from St. Andrews and a PhD from Leeds, is a Chartered Civil Engineer. Before being appointed Lecturer in Engineering at Fourah Bay, in 1962, he was a Tutor in Civil Engineering at University of Leeds. In 1964-65 he was Visiting Scientist at the University of Illinois, and in 1967 Visiting Reader in Civil Engineering at the University of East Africa, Nairobi.

● A warning to those who, under the cloak of the Youth section of the All Peoples' Congress (APC), or Government security forces intimidate the inhabitants and extort money in parts of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, has been issued by the Government.

The Government denies that these people are acting with the knowledge or connivance of the Prime Minister or any member of his government. The government has also called upon peaceful citizens who may be in hiding to return to their homes.

● Two hundred of those detained under the state of emergency declared in November have been released. The state of emergency, however, continues and the government warned those released to cooperate in the maintenance of order.

● To assist in implementing the Government's policy of developing and rehabilitating mining areas, a representative committee has been set up. It consists of the Minister of the Interior as Chairman and representatives of mining areas.

● Mr. A. K. Fraser has been promoted first Sierra Leonean Manager of Sierra Leone External Telecommunications (SLET).

● Mr. Fraser entered Cable and Wireless in 1941 and was trained as an operator.

● Ten Sierra Leoneans, the second group to go, are to go to Morocco for further studies on scholarships granted to the Sierra Leone Muslim Pilgrim Welfare Association.

## CAMEROON

### Ahidjo and the Multi-Party System

President Ahidjo has been visiting the southern part of Cameroon, near the borders with Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville. Speaking at Ntem near the Gabon border he berated those who were criticising the one-party system on the ground that it was undemocratic. "On September 1, 1966, we were able to bring the vast majority if not all Cameroon citizens into the National Cameroon Union." A multi-party set-up would spell anarchy in a country like Cameroon, which had many different tribes, with different customs, dialects and religions, who warred among themselves. How could a nation be created from such a country with a multi-party system?

Speaking at Sanguelima near the Congo-B. border, he denounced "acts and attempts by irresponsible people and adventurers who think they can conquer Cameroon." The 1967 "Second Front" Movement had been infiltrated by supporters of the banned UPC, operating from Congo-B., who had been trying to set up guerrilla strongholds in the frontier regions of Dja and Lobo. But this attempt had failed, said the President. He affirmed that "Cameroon, a country getting along harmoniously, is among the leading group in Africa." (The last major guerrilla raid in December 1967 from over the Brazzaville border, was beaten back by Cameroon security forces.)

President Ahidjo is not attending OCAM's meeting in Kinshasa (the first summit of the organisation he has not attended) for reasons of "urgent internal business." The first Congress of the UNC is due to be held this month.

## CONGO-B

Major Marien Nguabi, Chairman of the National Revolutionary Council, attending a parade at which 1,000 members of the Youth Movement of the former ruling party (MNR) were officially incorporated in the regular army, said that military bases would be set up in frontier zones "where the spirits of evil are moving against the Congolese nation." He also said the army would take part in the economic life of the country—road building, prospecting for minerals, forestry and agriculture. The armed peoples militia (originally numbering 1,500), formed from the *Jeunesse* of the MNR, were involved in clashes with the army preceding the deposition of President Masisse-Debat by the army last year. Prior to that it had been announced that the militia would come under the army command.

● Among messages congratulating Major Nguabi on his appointment as head of state was one from army officers trained in the USSR. They said they had studied the situation in the country, and fully supported Maj. Nguabi. Their politico-military training in the USSR had been of value to them when they carried out this study "with the shortage of political cadres in our young army in mind, we would like future young officers to be sent to Eastern countries, because these will give them political and military training. We recommend the installation of a political department in the national army as soon as possible".

● Congo-Brazzaville's budget balances at 15,939m. CFA (a little over £27m.). Of this figure a sum of 7,680m. (just over £13m.) CFA is devoted to personnel, including 2,459m. CFA (£4.2m.) on education and 1,832m. (£3.1m.) on defence personnel. In his New Year message, reported last week, Major Nguabi said that since 1962 there had been a budget deficit of over 4,000m. francs (about £6.5m.) caused mainly by bad management. The continuing debt to France was the government's major concern. The budget, he said, would be balanced, not by fresh taxes, but by new economic activities.

● Ex-President Masisse-Debat has received a delegation from his home village of Boko, his first visitors since his house arrest in Brazzaville last year.

## OCAM

## Third Term for Hamani Diori

THE OCAM summit was held in Kinshasa this week from January 27 to 31. It was attended by delegations from 12 of the 14 member countries, and of these 10 were headed by Presidents. Cameroon's delegation was headed by its Foreign Minister, and Rwanda's by a senior official. The absentees were CAR and Congo-B, who had both made it clear that their absence was due to their differences with the government in Kinshasa, not to any objection to OCAM. CAR government said in Bangui that they would have liked to attend the conference, but they could not be sure of the security of their representatives in Kinshasa. Meanwhile efforts to mediate in the various disputes continued. President Diori of Niger, on arrival in Kinshasa, asked about the disputes, said "these family quarrels will soon be settled," and predicted that the OCAM



Presidents Ahidjo and Bongo—"an end to tension."

leaders would find a solution during their talks. President Diori arrived with other leaders of the Council of the Entente, Presidents Houphouët-Boigny (Ivory Coast), Lamizana (Upper Volta), Zinsou (Dahomey) and Eyadema (Togo).

However, two days before the summit opened, CAR broke diplomatic relations with Congo-K, whose ambassador in Bangui had been sent home last November. On January 24, President Bongo of Gabon visited Yaoundé for talks with President Ahidjo of Cameroon. The Gabon President reported on his own mission with President Diori to Brazzaville, Kinshasa and Bangui, the results of which he had earlier pronounced favourable. The two Presidents said they wished an early end to tension in Central Africa, and stressed the necessity to dissociate the problems of UDEAC from those of individual member countries.

Meanwhile the report that the CAR blockade of Chad had been lifted has turned out to be premature. The lifting had been claimed by President Bongo, and by President Tombalbaye of Chad as well as the Bangui weekly *Terre Africaine*, and was denied two days later by President Bokassa, who claimed that there had been a plan by Chad and Congo-K for outright partition of CAR between them. He said "CAR accepts the blockade of Chad, just as it accepts President Mobutu's threatened blockade."

President Mobutu, opening the conference, accused divisive elements, supported by foreign interests, of causing the present troubles. He added that the Congo would support any conciliatory attempts, and praised Presidents Diori and Bongo for their peacemaking efforts.

The conference is being attended by several African and non-African observers, including M. Kisumara, Burundi's Education Minister; and Sir Seewosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, who had flown from Paris with President Tsiranana of Madagascar. In Paris, Sir Seewosagur had said that Mauritian membership of OCAM was "almost a fact"; it was now only a question of procedure. President Tsiranana said on arrival in Kinshasa: "our two islands are sisters, and I have long wished for this adhesion". In Paris, the Mauritian Premier had had discussions on his proposal for an economic grouping of his island with the Malagasy Republic and the French Overseas Department of Réunion.

It is reported as we go to press that the conference rejected an application by a Nigerian representative for observer status; this was taken as a gesture to the pro-Biafran sentiments of some members states. President Houphouët-Boigny, addressing the opening sessions, said that an OCAM peace initiative might bring peace nearer in the Nigerian war. President Senghor of Senegal, who had been on a state visit to the Congo prior to the conference, said when he made an hour's detour to Burundi that Senegal would not recognise Biafra; but he called for an immediate ceasefire and negotiations to find a solution based on the territorial integrity of Nigeria. His visit ended with the signing of a treaty of friendship, and cultural and economic agreements, between Senegal and the Congo. President Mobutu has accepted an invitation to visit Senegal.

The conference got under way by accepting unanimously President Houphouët-Boigny's proposals that President Hamani Diori be re-elected Chairman of OCAM for a third term, until the negotiations on the renewal of the Yaoundé Convention are safely completed. The conference considered over 40 topics passed to it by the Council of Ministers' conference, which met from January 21 to 25.

## SENEGAL

In the course of last month's meeting of Finance Minister Jean Collin had presented his report, which repeated the warning the President had made last November, that 2,500m. CFA francs (about £4m.) would have to be found to balance the 1968-69 budget voted last June, which was 36,750m. CFA francs (£62.9m.) for the recurrent budget, and 12,672m. CFA (£22.4m.) for the capital budget, the latter to be covered by loans. The reasons for the likely deficit were the consequences of last May's crisis, which meant extra wage bills as well as bills for compensation for damage, and the third drought in a row. The report revealed that in 1967-68, 51.6 per cent. of the budget went on civil servants, as opposed to 47 per cent. in 1962-63. There were now over 36,000 civil servants. Over the same five-year period while overall spending had gone up 14.5 per cent., the cost of the civil service had gone up by 26 per cent., material expenses had remained stationary, while expenditure on actual work had dropped by 31.5 per cent. Over the same period

state revenue had only increased 1 per cent. because of successive droughts 1961 all budgets but one (1965) been in the red, and had had to be made up by drawing on previous surplus treasury loans. From 1965 the deficit had been empty.

● The Director of Senegal's Nationale, M. Ousmane Camara, is in Nouakchott for talks with his Mauritanian counterpart.

## LIBERIA

President Tubman is to visit Liberia at the end of February. His visit is seen in part as a preliminary to the meetings of the West African Regional Council, which it was announced in the last week will be held in March. The President will meet in Monrovia and head a mission to Ouagadougou.

● The President has ordered the release of 20 men detained for their complicity in the kidnapping of a soldier of the Guard in a district of Maryland Coast. The men are released on December 1. The men are released on December 1. The men are released on December 1.

● The budget for 1969 totals \$4,213,000 more than last year. It is allocated for administrative expenses \$3,372,000 for financing various projects and \$19,628,000 (one third of the total) for repayment of foreign loans.

● Two Soviet scientific research ships in part in Monrovia as President Tubman took a three-hour cruise on a missile frigate, the *USS Dahlgren*.

## IVORY COAST

Ivory Coast's recurrent budget for 1969 totals 46,500m. CFA francs (about £42m.) as against 43,200m. CFA last year. Total capital budget totals 27,224m. CFA (£45.4m.) as against 20,000m. CFA (£37.5m.) last year. These represent an increase of 7.7 per cent. in recurrent budget and 37 per cent. in development expenditure. The increase in development expenditure is accounted for by the two great projects: the Second Ivory Coast Development Programme, the Kossou dam, and the port of Pedro.

## IN BRIEF

The five-nation advisory committee of the OAU's budget has been met in Addis Ababa. Representatives of Ethiopia, The Gambia, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone have been drawing up the draft budget to be submitted to the Council of Ministers meeting on February 17.

● Lady Chieftess Jawara gave birth to a boy on January 16, two days before her husband the Prime Minister returned from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London.

● On the eighth anniversary of Amadou Toure (January 20, the day the last French troops were asked by President Traoré to hold no parades, but to mark the anniversary a day of austerity and prayer).

● The family of ex-President Sékou Touré Keita, and other political detainees, are to be granted one quarter of their former salaries, under a law of the previous regime.



## dateline Africa

### NIGERIA

## Eve of the "Final Push"?

From a correspondent

**B**IAFRA radio on Wednesday claimed that a big offensive in the Abagana sector of the Northern front opened on that day, with heavy artillery and mortar bombardment, followed by infantry and armoured vehicle attacks. Fierce fighting was continuing. The announcement, although unconfirmed in Lagos, coincides with a visit to the Northern front of Brigadier Hassan, army Chief of Staff. It is not believed, however, that this is part of the "final final push". It is known that the army leaders consider they have to secure the Onitsha-Awka-Enugu road before the push in these sectors can begin. The road is still subject to ambushes along much of its length, and the Biafrans still hold an important salient of territory to the north of the road, including the town of Abagana. There have been heavy reinforcements in recent days of 2 Division in Onitsha. Likewise on the southern front there is still a serious ambush problem on the Aba-Ikot Ekpena road, which is held only tenuously by federal troops, but this is less important as a supply link than the Onitsha-Enugu road.

Brigadier Hassan called a meeting this week of the three divisional commanders—Col. Shua (1 Division), Col. Haruna (2 Division) and Col. Adekunle (3rd Marine Commando). Other officers were also present. This meeting "in the field" is a contrast to many others held in Lagos, or in Divisional Headquarters, and suggests that it is a prelude to greater coordination and closer cooperation than has hitherto been evident. Time will tell, however, whether this meeting is a prelude to the major offensive.

Biafra radio continues to claim progress in Owerri, without ever claiming to have taken the town. On the Federal side, it is stated that all attempts to take Owerri have been rebuffed, it is stated, too, that the village of Afaha-Ise in Itu sector has been taken after fierce fighting, and that attempts to send infiltrators into the Mid-west at Asaba have been foiled. An attack also on the recently captured communications centre of Inyi, has also reportedly been fended off.

## Observer Goes Home

During a farewell visit to Gen. Gowon by Gen. Milroy, the Canadian member of the international observers team, who is being replaced, the Nigerian head of state said that demands by certain people in Nigeria that the observers should "pack and go" stemmed from ignorance of the team's usefulness. He expressed gratitude for the previous observers' reports saying "you have told the world what you have seen." Gen. Gowon also paid tribute to Canada's impartiality in world affairs.

The latest report from the observers covering November 24-January 13 published last week urged the Federal Govern-

ment to move prisoners of war in Lagos from civilian prisons to a separate camp run by the army, and set up a screening organisation with power to release prisoners. "This must be observed if Nigerian authorities wish to follow in their entirety the rules of the Geneva Convention." The report reaffirmed the observers' conviction that there was no genocide, but said no conclusion could be reached on the alleged deliberate attack by the Federal Air Force on the hospital at Awo Omama in Biafra.

Two of the observers were present at a Biafran counter-attack at Owerri last week.

● Lt. Col. David John Brown, Commander 2nd Division (rear) based in the Midwest, has announced new measures for the protection of civilians. A duty officer is now at military HQ in Benin, to whom complaints of maltreatment by soldiers should be made by the public. In the last few weeks there had been cases of maltreatment, but they had not been brought to the notice of the proper authorities.

## France and Biafra

A National Biafra Day is to be held throughout France to collect money for food and medical assistance for Biafra. The day is being sponsored by the French Government. Foreign Minister Michel Debré made a long report to the French cabinet last week on the Biafra situation, at which he said that about £400,000 was needed in the next six months to maintain the French humanitarian programme.

The Paris-based weekly *Jeune Afrique* has claimed that French arms supplies to Biafra have dropped spectacularly in recent weeks. "In mid-September last year French supplies reached 150 tons a week. In mid-October they were up to 300 tons." Since December figures had gone down sharply. The paper questioned whether this was due to the embarrassment of the French at criticism of the supplies, or to financial difficulties of the Biafrans.

● Four French parliamentarians, led by M. Achille-Fould, are currently visiting Nigeria. The Lagos *Morning Post* said the visit augured well for peace, and also alleged that there were certain Americans whose "dubious philanthropy" led them to the side of secession. It also claimed that France did not break into two after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572.

Meanwhile several prominent French writers, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Jules Romains have been invited, by the Biafran Society of Writers, to Biafra. M. Romains was one of several dozen political, literary and scientific personalities who called for French recognition of Biafra.

● Susan Garth, who started last summer an appeal for the evacuation of large numbers of Biafran children, but has been criticised by relief workers and others, has appeared in the New York Supreme Court after the State Attorney General obtained an order calling on her to defend her use of funds raised. He said she had collected over \$20,000, but none of this had been distributed; the order called on her to give reason why she should not be restrained from collecting more funds or spending those collected so far. Miss Garth a 40-year-old Englishwoman, said the money was for shelters for Biafran children in

Gabon, and the delay in transferring it was due to currency difficulties (in Gabon—however, a Ministry of Information spokesman is quoted as saying she was unknown; this conflicts strongly with her own account).

● Col. Ojukwu has sent a message to "several African leaders" (unspecified) thanking them for the role they played in the Commonwealth conference.

In a press conference with foreign journalists Col. Ojukwu claimed that Nigeria had "hurried to the conference table" as a result of some African states recognising Biafra. "Another spate of recognition, especially from European countries will force Lagos to the conference table" he said. He called for an international solution, rather than a purely African one. Once there was a ceasefire it would be difficult for either side to resume the fighting. He admitted to having been "very touched" by certain actions of the Nixon administration.

● Gabon has claimed a Nigerian civil aircraft landed there without permission. It is also reported that police in Libreville have been alerted, because the Government fears saboteurs, allegedly recruited in West Germany by the Nigerian Government.

● British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart has told Labour MP Eric Hefler that the Nigerian Government was justified in requisitioning the Palm Line ship *Enugu Palm* to transport 47 troops, and a large general cargo. Four seaman had decided not to serve on the voyage and were flown home to Liverpool, and had subsequently complained to Mr. Hefler as their local MP.

● The Federal Government has suspended its agreement with the BBC which means cancellation of certain facilities for BBC journalists in Lagos, and recall of trainees in London. The measure is believed to be retaliation for the screening of a pro-Biafra film on the Twenty-four Hours programme during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference.

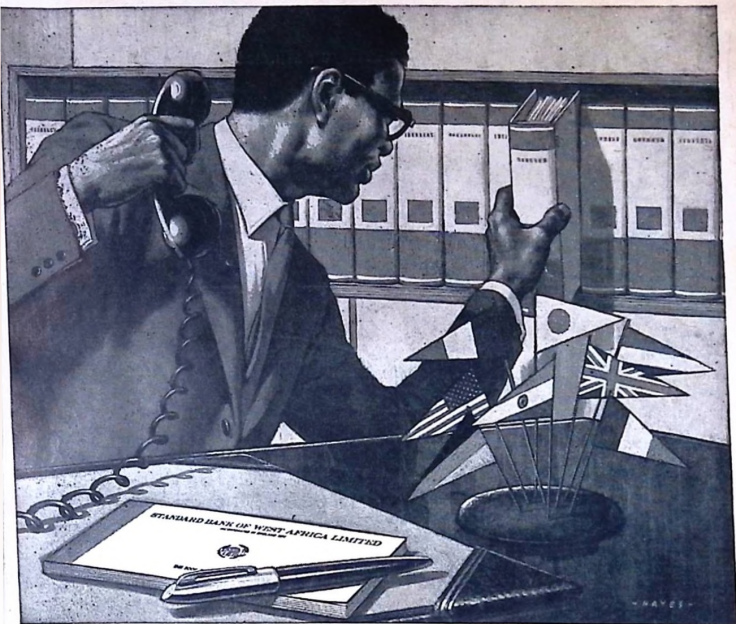
● Dr. Otiue, Biafra's representative in the US, has expressed surprise at a statement by U Thant that "impediments" to relief had "not come from Lagos." Dr. Otiue said Nigeria, UK, and USSR had exerted pressure on Equatorial Guinea to ban Red Cross flights from there. The representative also expressed surprise at U Thant's comparison of Biafra with Katanga.

● More than 40 foreign firms have received permission to establish branches in the new South-East State, including the French company CFAO.

● President Nixon has ordered a comprehensive review of US aid to victims of the Nigerian civil war, and requested recommendations for additional US action.

● More than 100 surgeons in West Africa have met in Accra to study injuries of victims of the Nigerian civil war. They heard papers on surgery of the civil war and fire-arm injuries of the genito-urinary system in the Nigerian conflict, read by Dr. Victor Ngu of the University College of Ibadan, Nigeria. The conference was organised by the Association of West African Surgeons. Four leading surgeons from Great Britain, the USA and Poland were guest speakers.





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