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Wilson and Nigeria

THERE is no doubt that Mr. Harold Wilson invited Col. Ojukwu to meet him outside Biafra only after receiving assurances from Umuahia, through a distinguished private emissary, that the invitation would be accepted. The muted tone of Biafran broadcasts, which had constantly accused Mr. Wilson of organising federal "genocide", confirmed this in the days preceding his Nigeria visit. All that had to be done, it seemed, was to secure Federal agreement to a meeting, and then to arrange transport.

Col. Ojukwu could have found his way, as he did last August, to Addis Ababa, to meet Mr. Wilson as a fellow guest of the Emperor. And the Federal Government, whatever misgivings there were about Mr. Wilson's visit, could scarcely object to a meeting after he had shown himself to be firmly on the Federal side. Matchet says in a report from Eastern Nigeria, the Prime Minister's mere presence in the capitals of the two new states, and his acceptance of the position of the Ibo Administrator of the Federally held areas of the other, were enough to show his complete adherence to Nigeria's new structure. He went further, declaring in Enugu itself that he now knew, at first-hand, that Ibos could live in peace under the Federal Government. After that there could be no Federal objection to his repeating to Col. Ojukwu anywhere, except in Biafra, what he had said in Nigeria itself (there never was any question of "mediation").

The British Government had made considerable preparations for an Ojukwu-Wilson meeting, even arranging transport for British journalists who had come to Nigeria. And, at a time when he is very hard pressed at home Mr. Wilson seems to have been ready to postpone his return from Africa until the last possible moment. Why, then, did Col. Ojukwu finally decline a meeting, and why have Biafran broadcasts resumed their former tone?

There can be only three possible reasons. First, Col. Ojukwu has accepted the view of lieutenants who, perhaps rightly, see as a humiliation any meeting with Mr. Wilson which does not imply recognition of Biafra. Secondly, reports of what Mr. Wilson had said, and of where he had been, in Nigeria may have persuaded Col. Ojukwu that, after all, the Prime Minister really did completely support the Federal Government and that, leaving aside their excesses, Biafran broadcasts had not been so wrong.

The third reason, however, is the most likely. In spite of Mr. Wilson's presence at the headquarters of First and Third Divisions, the Federal forces had about this time at last begun the long expected final assault. Biafran reports do not now deny that even Umuahia is in danger; at such a time Col. Ojukwu could not possibly leave.

There should be no surprise that the Federal attack has started. The rains are near. The Government knows of the dismay among its friends caused by reports of Biafran civilian casualties in air-raids. It is believed that the build-up, particularly of ammunition, over recent months, allows the Federal forces to launch an all-out attack. There is considerable restiveness among Nigerian civilians about prolongation of the war, and (even if recognition of Biafra by Haiti is more likely to be retaliation against the British for Mr. Graham Greene's novel *The Comedians*, and the film based on it, than a serious international exercise) there is always the possibility of Biafra gaining more international support so long as the sufferings of its civilians continue.

Mr. Wilson cannot claim to have brought the war's end any nearer. This, however, he has never claimed to be able to do. In Nigeria he was always most careful to steer every speech or discussion in the direction of relief and other forms of British aid rather than of politics or the war—though he appears to have assured the Federal Government both of the continual supply of British arms and of his genuine concern about the air raids. Whatever he intended by suggesting to General Gowon that he would like an invitation to Nigeria, he put himself to a large degree in the hands of his courteous host, whose position, in spite of the earlier criticisms of the visit, can only have been strengthened by Mr. Wilson's speeches and travels in Nigeria.

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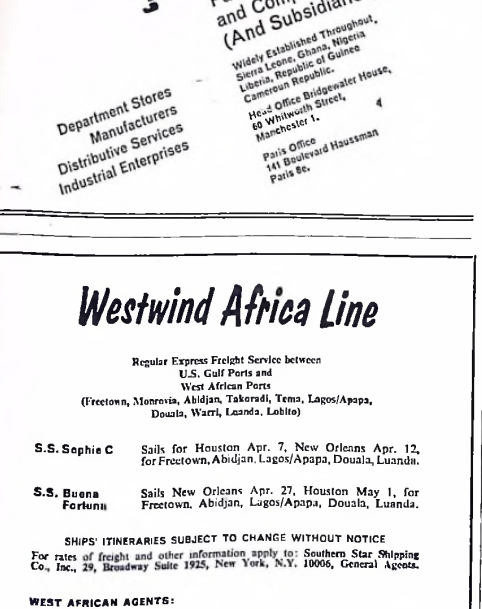
"COLD CHOP"
New Light on the Coup

EASTERN NIGERIA
£400m. for Rehabilitation?

THE GAMBIA
Letter from Up-River



It is said that Mr Wilson's visit dictated by his position in the Hou Commons and his party—although last debate showed only limited port for Biafra. Mr. Wilson need worry about that charge. There reason why he, alone among politic should act always on altruistic gro The important thing is that until his Mr. Wilson had not only incurred hostility of Biafra, but had fallen u suspicion (still fanned by the Russ in Nigeria. Now, Britain's Nig account, at least, is straight.

£400m. for Post-war Repairs?

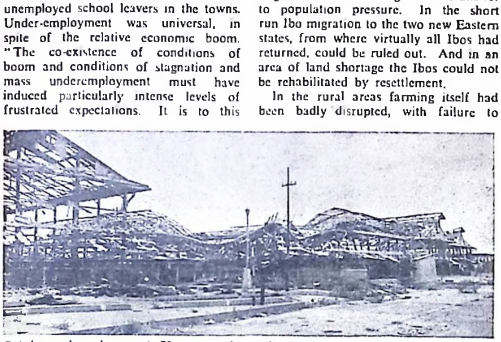
From a correspondent

EIGHTEEN months after his appo ment as administrator of Federally-held areas of the East Cen (Ibo) State, Mr. Ukpabi Asika announced a provisional figure £N400m. as the possible cost of rehab tating areas affected by the civil w In a lecture at the conference on natio reconstruction and development Ibadan University last week, Mr. As said that the figure covered reconstr tion of communications, provision utilities such as electricity and wa construction of low-cost houses for homeless, and restoration of servi such as education. The Federal Gove ment could not meet such expendit without external help. If aid was sou it should be in the form either of gra or interest-free loans.

Reviewing the origins of the cond and the social problems of the form Eastern Region, Mr. Asika said th before 1966 the population was alre unevenly distributed. In certain P areas density exceeded 2,000 per squ mile and occasionally 3,000. But many non-Ibo areas it was below N Uneven distribution corresponded w ethnic division. In addition, the den populated areas tended to have po soils, heavily exhausted. Non-Ibo are tended to be far more fertile. Most the population lived in villages, and per cent. were engaged in agricultu But the rural economy was stagnant a investment tended to consist of build houses. In the meantime, there w intensive urban development and ma handicrafts were replaced by import goods. An archaic system of land ten meant hopeless fragmentation in dens populated areas. From these there h developed a pattern of migration—M where in Nigeria, to Cameroon, Gha Fernando Po and the growing to of Eastern Nigeria itself. Migra tended to stay away for the whole their active life, but even before P political considerations had begun limit migration. Now migration outs Nigeria was virtually impossible.

Inside Nigeria considerable tens had developed before 1966 as a result migration from the East, although mi tion inside the East had contin

strongly, particularly because of rapid urban development and the growth of the oil industry. In addition, there was much seasonal migration of agricultural workers inside the region, from the thickly populated areas to the others, where they sometimes acquired land temporarily. But even this met difficulties before 1966, and such seasonal migration may no longer be possible. It was the most able-bodied and the most educated, said Mr. Asika, who tended to migrate and by 1970, war or no war, Eastern Nigeria would have reached a crisis caused by the vast number of unemployed school leavers in the towns. Under-employment was universal, in spite of the relative economic boom. "The co-existence of conditions of boom and conditions of stagnation and mass underemployment must have induced particularly intense levels of frustrated expectations. It is to this



Onitsha market: the town is 70 per cent damaged.

already unstable and explosive region that large and sudden inputs of repatriated populations were destined as a result of the crises in 1966."

Apart from the pressures caused by the new arrivals, their former cash remittances were cut off, so those who had previously depended on the more affluent migrants now found they had to maintain them. Even the family system, although it prevented an immediate breakdown, could not meet the situation and many of the refugees, already urbanised, began to drift to the congested towns.

Mr. Asika then explained that, although he did not suggest that the Ojukwu government had deliberately allowed the situation to develop, it had concentrated on absorbing and resettling civil servants and educated people, so "disarming" these articulate groups who might otherwise have been highly critical. But the masses, for whom nothing was done, provided fertile soil for the extremist political propaganda of the government itself, which was able to persuade them that secession was the only answer.

The war, said Mr. Asika, had largely been a struggle for control of cities and the roads to them. So actual physical disruption in smaller towns and villages was limited. Even some of the larger towns were scarcely affected, but in some cases disruption was on a scale to render whole populations homeless. It was his strong impression that the earlier pressures on the kinship structure, the return of the migrants, and the later wartime displacement and disruption, might have a permanent effect. When considering rehabilitation they might no longer be able to rely on the "extended family" to cushion the effects of homelessness, unemployment and poverty. The family might no longer be regarded as a unit of "welfare and rehabilitation". Yet in the long run such a change might affect economic development, exposing people to innovation.

They must also, however, realise that migration could no longer be the answer to population pressure. In the short run Ibo migration to the two new Eastern states, from where virtually all Ibos had returned, could be ruled out. And in an area of land shortage the Ibos could not be rehabilitated by resettlement.

In the rural areas farming itself had been badly disrupted, with failure to plant, failure to harvest, inability to market. There had been much "pauperisation" of the rural population. Domestic capital goods such as sewing machines and bicycles had been destroyed, as had furniture and clothing and farm implements. Savings had disappeared and a pauperised population could not be expected to contribute significantly to the cost of rehabilitation, which itself must generate new sources of income.

The Administrator went on to say his experience convinced him that the problems of peace would be much greater than those of the present war. Apart from physical restoration, the people had to be reassured that they had a future, since propaganda had held out the hope of a "Biafran Utopia" and the threat of poverty, starvation and death at the hands of the Federal Government. People who had been misled must be shown that those "whose main concern is to carve out an empire for themselves" had cared nothing for their welfare.

Relief and Rehabilitation

Relief, now of greatest importance, was merely a short-term emergency measure. Able-bodied men and women could not be fed and clothed by outside agencies for ever; in any case the aid-giving organisations could not provide relief indefinitely. If food was to be provided, for example, for 2m. displaced people at the minimal cost of 2s. each per day, this would mean £1m. for 10 days. Such expenditure generated absolutely no income, and it was impossible for a poor country to afford it. Relief must as rapidly as possible become rehabilitation.

Describing individual towns he had visited Mr. Asika, said that in Onitsha, Awka and Ikot Ekpene, heavy fighting had resulted in damage to some 70 per cent. of property. In Enugu, Abakaliki, Port Harcourt and Udi, on the other hand, damage to buildings had not been extensive. Everywhere, however, utilities had been disrupted.

If relief must give way as soon as possible to rehabilitation, that in turn must be followed by redevelopment and reconstruction. At present the possibility of massive employment in the affected areas was very limited, and relief remained the main task. Public works should soon not only assist to revive the economy, but should provide jobs.

The loss of schooling, in some cases for two years, is one of the most serious problems of large areas of the former Eastern region, Mr. Asika declared. This was the region where the greatest premium was placed on education; how is the loss of these years to be made good? There could be no lowering of standards, since certificates issued anywhere in the Federation must be of equal value anywhere else. What Mr. Asika asked, however, was that during the next four years, was it wise to insist on a uniform age for pupils to enter secondary schools or colleges? If a settlement was to be based on the equality of all Nigerians, there would have to be equality of opportunity for those in the former Eastern region who had lost periods of education. If the uniform age for entry for secondary schools and colleges was insisted on, these children would be denied this equality. Private efforts would be important and might even enable some children to reach universities. But unless the problem was properly tackled many would end up having to take menial jobs, so forming "the hard core of a disgruntled and dissatisfied group."

What farmers required was seedlings and implements as well as extension services. A rough survey had shown that in the liberated areas of the East Central State alone over 13m. yam seedlings were needed, of which some 40 per cent. would have to come from outside, at a total cost of £400,000. 500,000 tons of maize and 250,000 of okro seeds would also be needed.

Salary and wage earners would almost immediately be rehabilitated when the economy, both public and private, was once again able to employ them. The real problem would be that vast number, which Mr. Asika estimates at about twenty-five per cent. of the population, who were not engaged in wage earning but were self-employed, particularly petty traders. Short term expedients might help, but the only real answer was complete restoration of the economy.

A Talk With Hamani Diori

ONE of the foremost themes of the President of Niger, El Hadj Hamani Diori, whenever I have met him in the past, has been the need for co-operation and ultimately unity between English-speaking and French-speaking Africa. Like President Senghor, he deplores the rivalries of the ex-colonial powers on Africa, and resists the idea that any differences between Britain and France should find reflection there. He has himself positively declared his support for British entry to the EEC because of the beneficial effect this would have on co-operation in Africa.

As I talked to him in his hotel room overlooking the Thames, with the sun receding over the Palace of Westminster, the President, benign, accessible and frank, enlarged on this theme in the context of regional groupings in Africa. As President of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (OCAM) he assured me there was no objection to any English-speaking African state joining OCAM provided they accepted the charter: "There is already an English-speaking member, Mauritius, and there are French-speaking countries, such as Mali and Mauritania, which are not members of OCAM." He pointed out that English- and French-speaking states work together in *ad hoc* groupings such as the Chad Basin Commission and the Niger River Commission; he seemed particularly enthusiastic about the possibility that Ghana might join the Council of the Entente (the five-nation grouping of which Niger is a member).

He stressed that the objective of a common market in West Africa through the 14-nation grouping could only progress slowly, because of different currencies, tariff, tax and legal systems, and different foreign commitments. Although the Entente was represented at the Monrovia summit a year ago by Upper Volta, he and other colleagues had not gone because they felt that the problems of the grouping should have been properly worked out before taking the matter to summit level: "You don't go to a conference for the pleasure of going." He saw unity in two stages—first of all in harmonisation in the francophone states; after that should come the integration of French- and English-speaking countries. In the meantime, however, co-operation could proceed in, for example, telecommunications, transport, health and cultural exchanges.

On the Nigerian crisis, he said that the OAU Consultative Committee of which he is a member, is meeting, in principle, in Monrovia on April 17 and 18. "We were very disappointed that the talks last year came to nothing", he said, reminding me that the preliminary talks in Niamey, Niger's capital, last July, had been the only time General Gowon and Col. Ojukwu had both been persuaded to attend, even if not together. This had been arranged with the help of "my friends President Houphouet-Boigny and President Hongo", with whom his relations were still very cordial in spite of the fact that they had recognised Biafra. He understood their act of recognition had been an "act of conscience" to alert world opinion to the fratricidal struggle, and the measure which they thought would help bring a solution to the problem. "This is not my point of view. We can alert world opinion without going as far as recognition." Niger, said the President, was particularly anxious for the war to end because of the side-effects it was having on the Niger economy. Although the Nigerians

had done everything to help, difficulties w being experienced in evacuation of produ notably groundnuts; Niger had had difficu in meeting advance commitments to Eu pean buyers. The difficulties of conver of the Nigerian pound had caused m problems, because the Nigerians were unl to pay in cash for the goods they bou Niger's revenue from the cattle trade t especially suffered. This, he told me, w also affected by competition from Ch which has lost its Eastern Nigerian mar There was a serious black market in Niger currency, which had been *de facto* devalu The shortage of medical supplies in Niger northern states meant an increasing strain Niger's health services, he added.

Lastly, when I asked him about apparent difficulties in the negotiations the renewal of the Yaounde Convention *report on page 380*, he assured me t it was only a question of negotiating te niques. The difficulties were not seriou and he was still confident that agreem would be reached before May 31.

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Letter from Up-River

By a correspondent

Georgetown

You need to travel in both Senegal and The Gambia to get an idea of proportions. Just as the scale of Dakar cannot remotely be compared with Bathurst (300,000 people as against 30,000), so you need to travel outside both cities before you can begin to understand the problems facing both countries, in many respects the same problems. In Senegal the dichotomy between town and country, between urban worker and peasant, is posed especially acutely; for although there is considerable dialogue between the two, the size and advanced development of Dakar compared with the poverty and lack of resources of much of the rest of Senegal are extremely striking to the visitor, excellent roads notwithstanding.

On a smaller scale the split between Bathurst and the rest of the country is also a fact of life in The Gambia. Despite the integration of colony and protectorate, you can easily find people up-river who will denounce the fleshpots and political chicanery of Bathurst, which, from a village's eye view, still acts as a magnet for the young men. For here the majority can only live by agriculture, which, throughout Africa and further, has little appeal for the young men. James Ndow, the headmaster of Armitage School (the only secondary school in The Gambia outside Bathurst), told me that the question of making agriculture educationally attractive had been the subject of a thesis he had written at Oxford during a recent sabbatical year, and he was trying to put it into practice at Armitage. He showed me, for example, the thriving market gardening allotment of "The Future Farmers of the Gambia".

The Chinese (Formosan variety) also have a beautiful market garden at Sankule Kunda on the south bank of the Gambia by the southern ferry over to MacCarthy Island, where they grow vast marrows, aubergines and Chinese melons. There is not much sign that the fashion in Chinese melons is spreading; it may be true, as John Ardagh wrote in an interesting article on aid in *The Times* of London last week, that: "partly because of their mysterious English and their lack of the right kind of human touch, they have made little headway in spreading their example locally". This does not apply, however, to the rice-growing project which is the main reason for their being there, and which has so interested the Gambian government that, following the Prime Minister's visit to Formosa last year, the Chinese have been asked to double the size of the scheme. There are over 20 Taiwanese experts, based mainly on Yoroberikunda (known locally as YBK), a former agricultural station to the south of here, who have set up experimental paddyfields between Mansa Konko (below which the river becomes too salty for rice cultivation) and Basse. Talking to the more communicative of the Chinese in their chalet at "YBK" I gathered that in spite of the serious rice failure because of last year's drought, which affected possibly 50 per cent. of the crop, the farmers who have been trying to follow the Chinese example were not discouraged. I can confirm that among the workers I met at Sankule Kunda, there was great enthusiasm for growing rice the Chinese way, because of the obvious short-term advantages. The Georgetown postmaster told me that he had started his own field, as had several other local worthies.

Food Shortage and Aid

The Chinese seem to have met with less success in Basse ("the people of Basse are too fond of trade" I was told). The Commissioner in Georgetown, Mr.

The wharf at Basse

H. M. M. N'Jie (Oxford-educated son of a wealthy Bathurst merchant and brother-in-law to the Prime Minister) told me that the drought had been more serious in Lower River Division; in MacCarthy Island Division the wheat had not been affected and should prevent the worst hunger (Catholic relief services have already given over 1,000 tons of sorghum to the Gambia, and a further 4,000 tons from the FAO should arrive by May, when the food shortage is likely to become acute)

On the splendid new hard laterite road recently completed by Wimpeys on the north bank, which runs through Kuntaur and Kaur (site of the groundnut oil mills), you can sometimes see the little horses and carts which are typically Senegalese. My attention was drawn to them ("you will never see a horse in The Gambia") because of the difficulties which have arisen with Senegal over the question of smuggling from The Gambia into Senegal. These horses are perhaps a hint of the other side of the coin, the traffic of groundnuts from Senegal into The Gambia. For a number of reasons this commerce has sharply increased this year. In an average year it is apparently expected that about 20 per cent of an average crop in The Gambia of 100,000 tons is likely to come from Senegal, simply because of geographical proximity. After forecasts last year of a lower than average groundnut crop because of the drought, the end of the buying season of March 31 saw an anticipated total of a record 125,000 tons. This would seem to include about 40,000 tons from Senegal, double the usual amount. It is not surprising that the Senegalese are worried by the increase in this traffic, but it still forms a very small percentage of the Senegalese total expected, even in a bad year, to be 600-700,000 tons.

One is constantly being reminded of the way in which natural economic forces are at work trying to give to the Gambia River its role as a great commercial waterway, for which it seemed destined by geography, and of which it was deprived by history. The town of Farafenni, for example, on the north bank, has an estimated one-third of its population from Senegal (you can see the signs saying "magasin", "bijoutier" and even "yé-yé"). he low level market (flooded in the rainy season, for Basse is a split-level town which evacuates to higher ground from May to October) is full of Senegalese, Malians and Guineans; Radio Guinea is the most popular listening, and the labourers at the wharf are almost entirely Guinean. The good citizens of Basse prefer to trade. "Basse is a town which lives on trade", I was told; and much of it has to be trade over the border, situated as it is near the Upper Casamance centre of Velingara (with which it was recently twinned). Blue-clad Serahuli Alhajis I came across in the market, sitting at their sewing machines, told me that the Senegalese had tightened their border controls recently. But the market still seemed to me to be booming.

Georgetown itself, although it has a fairsized market and might even have pretensions to being the second town of The Gambia, seems more of a commercial backwater, situated as it is on an island, accessible only by two lengthy ferry services, and immersed in its own history. You can see the large fort built by the British in the 19th century, now roofless and grassy underfoot. Although there was a Mandinka village there before, it was in 1823 that it was named MacCarthy Island and Georgetown was founded (named after George IV), and Wesleyans established a settlement of West Indians some of whose names still survive in a small Aku community. All through the 19th century the future of the settlement was in the balance, not least because of the frightfulness of the climate, to which Africanus Horton testifies (I too can testify that in March Georgetown is very hot and humid, and of an evening the scent of the neem trees is almost suffocatingly sweet). In 1866, when the Gambia and Sierra Leone were temporarily merged, the British garrison was withdrawn from Georgetown, and the small community there seemed likely to be engulfed in the Soninki-Marabout wars which were endemic at that period, but for the organisation of a special constabulary under Horton. Later there was a continuation of educational traditions begun by the Wesleyans with the establishment of the Armitage School in 1927, the great nursery of protectorate politicians.

CAMEROON

Party Meets in North

By a Correspondent recently in Cameroon

"GAROUA welcomes you with warmth of heart and of climate"—the welcome given by the Mayor of Garoua at the First Congress of the ruling, and only, political party in the Cameroon—the Cameroon National Union. This welcome was no idle jibe at the sweating visiting journalists and diplomats; every one of the delegates was suffering under the peculiarly airless climate of the town, surrounded by a wind-break of mountains.

But beyond this inevitable problem, the town authorities and the party leadership between them brought off an enormous organisational feat. Over 600 delegates had to be flown in and housed. Extra secretarial staff had to be borrowed from the government and Presidential secretariats, and even the OCAM offices in Yaoundé provided some of the stenographers and translators. The Ministry of Information made quite sure that the Congress received as much publicity as possible from abroad; a group of journalists from Europe and Russia was invited by the Cameroon government, and the diplomatic corps in the capital was shifted up to Garoua *en bloc*.

The importance of the Congress was seen to be the way that it symbolised the ruling party's coming of age, and there was no pretence that any unexpected issues were likely to emerge during the Congress. There was little, if any political bickering, except over complaints about the malfunctioning of the simultaneous translator microphones. The delegates had been carefully chosen and in the early stages of the Congress the Sessional chairman and his secretaries were elected unopposed. Even the minority English-speaking West Cameroonians felt that they were adequately represented in the political bureau, and among the office holders; throughout the hall, the delegates were men committed to the success of the party.

Too Many Parties

The *Union Nationale Camerounaise*, to give the party its French title, was presented consistently as the single party of a unified nation, with the unity of the party directly representing the unity of the nation. With Cameroon as proud as it is of its unity, it was felt to be unthinkable that there should be any appearance of disunity in the party during the dramatic presentation of its first national Congress.

The argument of the Cameroon leaders is that the situation before the formation of the CNU in 1966 was quite untenable. There were more than 4 political parties in Cameroon, a divisions between the parties of W Cameroon and those of the East wa deep. But the supposedly voluntar liquidation of the old political groupin and their reformation within the C was linked with the disappearance the customs barrier between the East a the West parts of the Federation, in 19 As one of the official handouts put "the small political tribal groupings the past had not been able to resist realism and wisdom of Presid Ahidjo."

The Congress was dominated throug out by the figure of the President; h general policy report provided the ba for discussion in the closed sessions, a after the main business of the Congr was over, he gave a press conferen which allowed him to clarify even furth the achievements of the Cameroon in t last ten years.

But it was significant that in the pre conference the President allowed him to be drawn into a statement of h general policy on Nigeria—a stateme which has been seen as placing Camero in a much less neutral position th before. It was yet more significant th the French ambassador was present. Th President gave himself plenty of time think, and then launched into a cle attack on those whom he considered to be to blame for the continuation of t war. He said that it was scandalous see that African states who talked freedom of the Ibos and of their sel determination did so without being ful informed of the problem; too muc African states, he said, were dominat by their own internal problems. H ended up by pointing out that if t Nigerian civil war goes on, it is t responsibility of those who give encou agement to the secessionists. The nat tion would be for those who help Biaf to advise her leaders to be mo realistic.

Economic Model

Naturally, the President's treatment the Nigerian question aroused a gre deal of interest in Garoua, particular as West Cameroon has such close lin with Eastern Nigeria, but he did not de with it in his general policy report, t major part of which was a detail economic review of the nation. T economic model which he presented w of a continual struggle to disinvolve t country from the financing of develo ment from abroad; this was provi impossible because of the weakness domestic investment. In spite of t overall healthy picture of the econom Cameroonians were not involving the selves enough in the economy of country . . . they should involve the selves in it in the same way as they in the country's political unity; t motto, *Peace, Work, and Fatherland*.

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letters to the editor

NO NIGERIAN NATION?

SIR,—Your reviewer of Leonard Barnes' book *African Renaissance* (Feb. 8) states, "he is as obsessed as any Biafran propagandist with the idea of 'Backward North-Progressive East', and flatly asserts that creation of new states in the North had modified the power-structure there in no way—tell that to the Tiv, or the Yoruba."

Surely your reviewer cannot have read Chief Awolowo's latest book *The People's Republic*. The chief not only impliedly said what Mr. Barnes said, but went further when he wrote, "The so-called common Nigerian nationality—which is a complete misnomer, as there is no such thing as a Nigerian nation anyway—is a veneer or façade consciously or unconsciously put up by some Nigerians to cover up what many of their fellow men see quite plainly as rabid nationalism." A case in point is the loyalty of some Mid-West Ibos to their kin across the Niger

OLU FADARIO

SECESSION OR SECURITY

SIR,—One cannot help being disturbed when journalists showing rare fairness and objective analysis are subjected to attacks such as that by Mr. Ekong's letter (March 22) on the leader "Secession or Security".

The article was forward-looking, frank and impartial. It emphasized the fact that the Secessionists have a case, so also have the Federalists. While the Secessionists' case rests on the events of 1966, the Federalists' case looks painfully into the future association or dissociation.

In answer to the Secessionists' case, the Federalists promised security guaranteed for a while by agreeable powers. And they assert that with the concept of 12 States structure, 1966 will never repeat itself.

There are two solutions to our problem: one based on the concept of Biafra; the other based on one Nigeria. The concept of Biafra was seemingly feasible with the South Eastern and Rivers States added. Biafra without these two states is no longer tenable and will be incompatible with national security and peace. Dr. Azikiwe, himself a secessionist and an illustrious son of Africa, saw this. We should face the reality that the South Easterners and the Rivers people will not abandon their hard-won states.

There are three possibilities if we accept the concept of Biafra. First, secessionism as a wave will blow all over Africa and the secessionists will be strengthened in their resolutions. Secondly, within Nigeria, one successful secession will lead to another (a Yoruba secession is not an unlikely event). Then, as Biafra is, with due respect, synonymous to Ibo, an independent Republic of Biafra, surrounded in all respects except air by Nigeria, will sooner or later fight for an outlet. Two hostile governments, one surrounded by the other, and both having their foreign friends, can only promote instability.

Secession, though seemingly meaningful in 1967, has lost its attraction and meaning in 1969. Security, which was the basis of secession, requires quite a different solution, which secession cannot now sincerely offer.

SOLA OMONIRA.

RUSSIA AND NIGERIA

SIR,—Your leader and the article on the above subject (February 22) are puzzling and contrary to reality. Establishment of diplomatic relations by Russia with other countries is always her first step of making an inroad into areas where she formerly had no access. Activities of Russia's espionage ring everywhere always operate behind the smokescreen of her diplomatic establishments. In African countries, this subversion in the guise of diplomatic relations is of paramount importance.

Russia's manoeuvres in Nigeria have followed her classical pattern. Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, South Arabia and Algeria went the same way and now the spread of Russia's spheres of influence in these countries has led to the emergence of Russia's naval power in the Mediterranean. Russia does not precede her infiltration by open declaration of her real intentions.

The pattern is complete with Nigeria. Russia says she likes the conglomeration of incompatibles that made up that pseudo-nation that was Nigeria "one." Yet Russia still, by sheer force of arms, keeps Germany (whose peoples are naturally one) artificially divided, 24 years after the end of the Second World War. From 1960 Russia attempted to dominated Ghana, Mali and Guinea, and a typical manoeuvre to fish in troubled waters was what Russia did in the Congo in 1960. In January, the BBC's West African Correspondent expressed alarm at what he saw first hand in Nigeria as massive Russian influence there and doubted whether the Nixon administration would dare provoke a head-on clash with the Russians against their entrenchment in Nigeria.

Russia's captive peoples of Eastern Europe are still not free. In August 1968, Russia savagely raped the attempted independence of Czechoslovakia as she did that of Hungary in 1956. Russia has not abandoned her aim to establish a global communist empire subservient to Moscow. Towards this end, Nigeria is of importance to Soviet strategists. They want to secure Nigeria as a staging outpost for their naval presence in the South Atlantic, as a base for communist expansion in Africa, and as a staging post for convenient communication link with Cuba and subversive agents in Latin America, and to bypass America's defence from the rear. The fact that British politicians want control of Biafra's oil wealth, and would not mind co-operating with the Russians to achieve this short-sighted objective, does not mean that Russia's policy has changed.

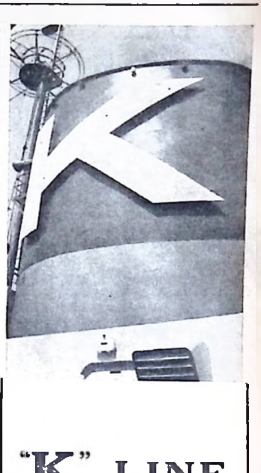
SAMUEL C. UZOKA.

SIERRA LEONEANS' STUDIES

SIR,—Permit me, through your columns, to congratulate the Sierra Leone authorities for their belated advertisement (in *West Africa* of 22 March) of scholarship and other awards for 1969-70.

As one who is very much involved in the Sierra Leone Students movement overseas, I think much suspicion and controversy on the part of Sierra Leone students overseas especially private students, can be alleviated by giving corresponding publicity to the results of the final awards to the various student organisations at home and overseas.

F. WOSNI KAMARA, Chairman.
Sierra Leone Students Union,
London Branch



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EEC AND ASSOCIATES

Yaoundé Convention Talks in Crisis

By a correspondent

MINISTERS of the EEC and the Eighteen African Associates will meet again on May 29 for talks on the renewal of the Yaoundé Convention, which is due to expire two days later after being in force for five years. This was decided at the ministerial meeting in Brussels last week, which made no progress. M. Konan Bedié, Ivory Coast minister of Economy and Finance, spoke at the meeting in the name of the Associates, and made several criticisms and demands to which the Six did not immediately reply.

Expressing "anxiety and surprise" at the attitude of the Six, M. Bedié accused them of placing in doubt that tariff arrangement which the Associates had thought to be settled. The EEC's proposals for reduction of its tariff on certain tropical imports from non-Associates and for generalised preferences in favour of exports of manufacturers from developing countries were contrary to the first aims of the Association, he said, and would further harm the Eighteen's commercial position within the Association. The EEC, he alleged, had "yielded to the blackmail" of developing countries and the USA, and were "robbing the Association agreement of most of its substance."

M. Bedié said the Eighteen thought the third European Development Fund should be raised to $1200m. over five years, and the European Investment Bank's loans should no longer have a fixed ceiling; while the Convention should provide for price supports to reduce the impact of world price commodity fluctuations and guarantee Associated states' purchasing power, to serve as an example for conclusion of world commodity agreements, and to help the transformation of "certain situations inherited from the recent past."

Two days earlier the Six had defined their position on certain points not covered fully in their declaration of March 14. They said they wanted to conform to the world preference system called for by Unctad II, but without changing the Association's tariff-free entry system, and member-states' autonomy in tariff policy applied to relations with third parties. They rejected the Associates' claim that their own export duties should be treated as within the bounds of national sovereignty, as internal taxes already were. They refused to negotiate, in the course of the Yaoundé renewal talks, on the Banana and Green Coffee protocols attached to the Treaty of Rome, which allow West Germany to buy bananas, and the Benelux states coffee, from non-Associate states without imposing the EEC duties. On the question of "reverse preferences" granted to the EEC by Associates, the Six disagree, France wanting them preserved and the Neither calling for their abolition or reduction.

Deferring a statement of intention extraordinary aid, and on measure encourage investment, the Six said agreed with the Eighteen on effe co-ordination of EEC aid, involving a ment of projects within the framework plans and middle- and long-term dev ment prospects. They also said they prepared, subject to detailed examina of methods, to aid marketing and promotion for their imports from Eighteen. They did not want to financing of isolated projects of "ad strative infrastructure," but might agree financing of such projects within a l plan.

No Increase in the Fund ?

For the first time the EEC announced intention to introduce, with the agree of its partners, a regulation applicable all markets financially supported by EEC. It said it would agree to a tra three-year repayment period for loans Stabilisation Funds, regardless of the the Convention stayed in force (at pr all such loans must be repaid before expiry of the Convention), there sho however, be penalties for non-payment the period specified, if loans continued be interest-free in that period.

The proposed mixed commission experts to study the problem of disparities in technical assistance is considered unnecessary by the EEC. On the size of the E one report suggests the EEC will be unwilling to accept anything above $710m. figure for the five-year period just c cluding. If this happens, it will cause c siderable despondency and disillusionm among the Associates.

After this statement, the foreign mini of the Six discussed the points in dis with the Eighteen. In a compromise p posal on tariffs it was suggested that Associates should be allowed to m alterations in their tariffs correspondin the Six's alterations in favour of t parties. Four countries accepted this France did not. It was suggested by s that reductions of remaining tariffs some products should be promised, with specification, but France opposed any s reductions. On exceptional aid, they sai should be in the form of grants with a fi "ceiling," given case by case, to comp sate to some extent for dangerous falls prices of raw material exports.

M. Bedié said the Convention had l led to the big increase in EEC Associ trade that had been promised. Several ot spokesmen for the Eighteen spoke of "ga nation" of their exports.

The ministerial meeting had been expec to end in general agreement, and it ha seems likely that the failure to achieve will make it impossible to conclude a n Convention before the present one expi an interim arrangement will be need although the last European Developme Fund is not yet quite exhausted.

Partial Association agreements made the EEC with Tunisia and Morocco ha now been signed in Tunis and Rabat, a await ratification. They provide for exte sive tariff cuts but not for financial a The EEC Commission has asked for mandate to renegotiate the Associati agreement with East Africa, which ne came into force and expires on May 31

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ROUNDABOUT

President, Petrol, and Pilots

A correspondent who travelled last weekend from Lagos to London tells me that the normal Lagos—London Nigerian Airways—BOAC flight to Niamey last Sunday was diverted to pick up President Hamani Diori and his party for the Niger President's official visit to London. A senior BOAC engineer was sent ahead to Niamey, and a French speaking BOAC administrative official was aboard the aircraft. Unfortunately confusion over the passenger list held the aircraft up in Kano for an hour or so and by the time they arrived at Niamey, one of the hottest places in West Africa, the temperature was something like 120°. This meant that the VC10 would require a longer run than usual to get airborne, or else a smaller load. The Niamey runway is short, so it had to be a lighter load. This meant leaving without sufficient fuel to reach London on one hop as had originally been intended, and an unscheduled diversion to Rome. Arrangements for this diversion took quite a long time, and they were well over 2½ hours late leaving Niamey, with a patient President who had been obliged to sit in the aircraft for a very long time before take-off. The Rome diversion and the time spent there finally meant that they reached London at midnight, some five hours late. The President was polite about it all, and was very ready to talk in the cabin about the prospects of Mr Wilson's efforts in the Nigerian conflict. At least he, and the Foreign Office, had been saved from the terrible complications which would have arisen had his journey been timed a day later. For then, because of the pilots' strike, there would have been no aircraft at all.

Zana Bukar Dipcharima

The same correspondent was talking to Zana Bukar Suloma Dipcharima in the Lagos-Kano aircraft a couple of hours before he was killed in a small aircraft taking him from Kano to Maiduguri. He was his ebullient self, reflecting the success of the private business (particularly, I believe, government buying and transporting), in which he had been engaged for most of the time since January 1966. But business was not new to him, since from 1948 to 1954 he was a manager for John Holt in his native Bornu. He then became a District Head in Bornu, where such appointments are very significant (hence his title of Zana). But in Nigerian national politics he will always be remembered as an early Northern member of the NCNC who went to London with Dr. Azikiwe in the famous 1947 delegation to protest about the proposed constitution. At that time he was a teacher, but after joining John Holt he dropped out of politics, though returning to public life when he became a member of the Bornu Native Authority. In 1954, however, he was elected to the Federal House, now as an NPC man, and his ministerial appointments culminated in his becoming Minister of Transport in 1964. It was he, as the most senior Minister available, who was in the chair at the rump cabinet meeting on January 16, 1966, which agreed to invite General Aguiyi-Ironsi to assume full power to deal with the emergency caused by the disappearance of the Prime Minister and the murder of other leaders. Whether he would ever have gone back to politics I don't know, but he was one former Northern leader who had every prospect of returning to popular favour.

Crocodiles, Monitors and Other Beasts

Only 11 people, it seems, were allowed to hunt crocodile in Congo-Brazzaville until last month. The country was divided into 11 sections, one for each of the licensed hunters, who could of course employ helpers in the hunting, but were alone entitled to sell the crocodiles' skins. Now, under a new decree, any citizen of the Congo who wants a licence to hunt crocodile can have one and will be able to exercise it all over the country on payment of taxes—50,000 CFA francs for simple hunting, 150,000 francs for sale of skins (there will be an extra tax of 120 per skin). The state has fixed the purchase price of the skins of both crocodile and monitors, the giant lizards living in the country. Tourists will be given licences to kill up to two crocodile and two monitors, or a special licence to kill three of each. Meanwhile I see that the President of Togo has successfully hunted a more unusual beast. It is, according to a report from Lomé, a marine mammal never seen before off the Togolese Coast: a black animal nearly 25ft. long with a mouth nearly 5ft. wide, weighing more than 10 tons. President Eyadema put out from Lome Harbour after it had been sighted and shot it with a service rifle. It sounds as though this was a real animal and not one of the fabulous monsters still recorded now and then, but it is a pity no more details are given of what sort of an animal it was. I suppose it was a medium-sized whale or large dolphin, or some other such long-mouthed sea animal. Whatever it was, it will no doubt be preserved as a monument of the President's skill in the chase.

Coupons for the Commonwealth

How can the foreign exchange cost of books, especially educational ones, be lowered for developing countries, which need them so much? Many ways have been suggested, including Unesco's coupon scheme, working for several years now, and the very controversial Unesco agreement to exempt developing countries from copyright payments due under the Berne Convention. Now, it seems, the Commonwealth may adopt a scheme like Unesco's Coupon Scheme, by which coupons are supplied to a developing country for purchase from publishers, who return the coupons to the international organisation supplying them, and receive cash for them in their own currency. This arrangement, which saves foreign exchange for countries short of it, would need a new Commonwealth fund to pay for the coupons. This was proposed in a "lead paper" prepared for last January's Commonwealth Conference. To meet developing countries' needs (which it described and illustrated at length) the paper also supported the idea of regional "book development councils" as agencies for promoting local book production. These ideas are still very tentative; if they go ahead, they may be discussed at first by the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee, now co-ordinating much intra-Commonwealth activity from Marlborough House, where the Commonwealth Secretariat—which would administer a coupon scheme—also has its office. Any such scheme would preserve the Berne Convention on copyright; most Commonwealth governments feel that abandoning it would be a false economy, as it would deter authors from writing. The decision in 1967 to exempt developing countries from copyright payments has been losing support ever since.

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MATCHET'S DIARY

Calabar

IN the long years of the association of this city and port with Britain no British Prime Minister has ever been here. So even if there were no war, and even if this was not the capital of the new South-East state, whose people are immensely enthusiastic about their separation from the Eastern Region and from what they regard as Ibo domination, Mr. Harold Wilson's visit would have been enormously popular. As it is, the visit is regarded as final proof that the state has come to stay. Mr. Wilson's carefully moderate and non-commital greetings were received with immense acclamation since his mere presence, and his acceptance of the state's Governor and administration, encourages even those who might still wonder in their hearts if the prize might be snatched away. He himself must have been impressed with the place still held in the hearts of the people of the Southern part of this state by Mary Slessor, the "mill-girl missionary", on whose grave he laid a wreath. He might, with his own non-conformist background, have noticed, too, among the placards that greeted him, the one that proclaimed "Woe unto Ojukwu," with its biblical ring. The atmosphere has been relaxed and very friendly and Calabar, now positively booming even compared with the days before 1966, shows few of the signs of war and disorganisation which make Enugu and Port Harcourt, the other two state capitals in this former Eastern Region, still depressing places to visit.

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Yet in both these cities, too, Mr. Wilson's visit, though as short as the one here, was very popular and in both, again, though carefully moderate, he said enough to satisfy the most fanatical supporter of the Federation that the British government supports not only the Federal case in general but the creation of new states in the former Eastern Region, and the legitimacy of the administration established for the East-Central, Ibo, state under Mr. Tony Asika. In Port Harcourt, capital of the Rivers State (there are now far more people there than I found on my last visit), Lt.-Commander Diete-Spiff, the military governor, emphasised that treaties of friendship with representatives of the British Crown were made by Rivers Chiefs centuries before Nigeria had been heard of. The Governor suggested that it was Britain's long experience of Africa which led Mr. Wilson's government to understand how disastrous for the continent would be a secessionist victory. As in Calabar, Mr. Wilson also heard in Port Harcourt the bitter complaint that nobody bothered about the sufferings of the non-Ibos in Biafra before Colonel Ojukwu's forces were driven back—the complaints are as much about the world's indifference to those sufferings as about the sufferings themselves. In a very long speech Chief Ashirim Unosi, representing the rulers, who, some with their traditional top hats, were present in force, took Mr. Wilson back to the 16th century, to Queen Victoria, and to the Oil Rivers Protectorate. He gave a horrifying but specific account of alleged Biafran atrocities in Port Harcourt and the Rivers area, names of prominent people who had been in Biafran detention camps (some are still there), and of atrocities against Rivers people at large. Both the placards carried by those waiting for Mr. Wilson and the cheering during the speeches showed an emphasis on two things—Britain must supply more arms to the Federal forces, and Port Harcourt, however many Ibos formerly lived there, is for ever Rivers territory.

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It was, however, in Enugu that Mr. Wilson gave the clearest declaration of British support for the Federal case. For there, standing on the steps of the Government House where successive British Chief Commissioners, Lieutenant-Governors, and Governors had lived, and where the Ibo administrator, Mr. Asika, now has his headquarters, Mr. Wilson declared that there was no doubt at all in his mind or that of his government about the sincerity of Federal assurances that equal citizenship for Ibos would be ensured within a united Nigeria. He himself, he said, in the big relief centre at Udi, some 17 miles away, and in the British-staffed hospital in Enugu, had seen that Ibos could live in safety under the protection of the Federal Government. He felt that the task of reconciliation had already started. Mr. Asika had already told him that in his view the Ibos did not require special guarantees for their liberties, but only to share the rights enjoyed by every Nigerian.

At Calabar: a word with Col. Udo Esuene Military Governor of the South-East State.

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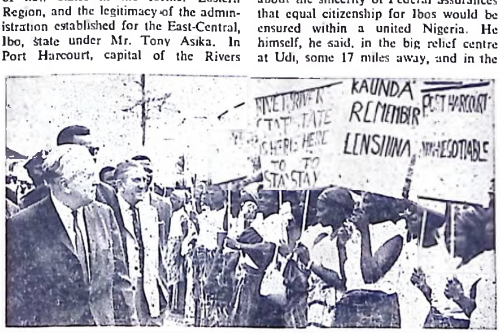
The two days during which Mr. Wilson visited the former Eastern Region were very hot and very long. But his energy was remarkable (and the arrangements made for him were very efficient). He flew each day from Lagos in a Fokker Friendship of Nigeria Airways, a safe but not very fast aircraft, piloted by two Nigerians. There were hand-shakings at the airports, speeches and answering speeches, introductions, and walks around refugee camps. He never wilted and, on the second day, after visiting both Calabar and Port Harcourt, he returned to Lagos for General Gowon's big reception, to be followed by a private meeting with British businessmen, and then by a conference aboard *Fearless*.

●

It is still difficult to be sure exactly why *Fearless* came to Lagos. She was used as a meeting place by the British delegation and she did accommodate some of them, although they could have met in complete safety in State House, where Mr. Wilson is staying, and those aboard could have been put somewhere else. I am inclined to think the main point of *Fearless* is that she could communicate with Colonel Ojukwu's headquarters, which would not be considered appropriate for the signals of the British High Commission. Her helicopters suggested all sorts of exciting possibilities, but I don't think they were ever part of any plan. It probably was intended, however, that the RAF Hercules, one of the two aircraft accompanying Mr. Wilson's VC10 to Lagos, should be available to transport journalists to any meeting the Prime Minister might have with Colonel Ojukwu, while *Fearless* herself was in the end offered as an improbable meeting place to the Biafran leader.



At Port Harcourt: Rivers women make their case, and Sir David Hunt appreciates it.

books and publications

NOT SO COLD CHOP?

A Myth is Broken, *by Major-General A. K. Ocran (Longmans Green, Ghana only, 1 new cedi).*

Operation Cold Chop, *by Peter Barker (Ghana Publishing Corporation for Peter Barker, 95 pesewas).*

THE military *coup* of February 24, 1966, in Ghana has been exceptional in Africa in that not only have some of the participants started writing about it, but there has also been an extraordinarily free (in the sense that it takes liberties) third-party account in the shape of *Operation Cold Chop.* With Colonel (now Brigadier) Afrifa's account published in 1966 under the title *The Ghana Coup,* there is now a basis of published raw material for history, which is so far lacking for any other *coup* in independent Africa.

Half of General Ocran's honest and readable book deals with the background to the *coup*: above all, how Nkrumah's insensitivity and abuse of the rules of the game made it possible to justify a similar departure from the rules by the officers of the Ghana Army. We are made to understand forcibly the resentment felt at the building up of the President's Own Guard Regiment (POGR) at the expense of the army proper. As well as systematically running down the army's equipment there was a plan to form a President's Own Field Regiment: "In all this plan to build a second Army one thing stood out prominently: and that was a plan gradually to strangle the Regular Army to death."

The book fills in many details which were not included in Brigadier Afrifa's fairly terse account. For example, our understanding of why the late General Barwah had to be got out of the way (not necessarily killed) is made more complete when we see the role he had been given by Nkrumah. Barwah, says Ocran, had been promoted over the heads of more senior men, had been given secret assignments by Nkrumah, was responsible for contacts Russian and Chinese officers and secret training camps, and had ba the abortive plan to introduce "pa education into the army. He "blinded to such an extent by his and loyalty to the person of Nkru that he ended by caring for him and for the troops which he was given command".

Ocran admits that he was only into the secret of the *coup* by the General Kotoka on February 22, days before it was due to take p but that when Kotoka, who had c to Accra from Kumasi, where he commander of No. 2 Brigade, a Ocran to join the *coup*, he acce with alacrity. Ocran's support Commander of the Accra-based N Brigade, was absolutely essential.

What emerges with blinding cl from the Ocran version is the way awful element of chance meant that hours the success or failure of the c was in the balance. Ocran expresses anxieties he felt in banal terms ("Lord! What a situation to be put at this awkward time"), but his desc tion of how for three and a half h he carried out a strange, almost fant deception of the Air Force Comman Air Marshal Otu, who had been ale but clearly did not know what happening, is graphic and extrem hair-raising. One realises how import the question of the chain of comm was: that in the absence of Gen Aferi, the next most senior officers w Otu and the Navy commander, Com dore Hansen (who was understandi annoyed later at not having been t of the *coup*, and would have joined as Air Force and Navy Commanders they were in a position to foul action unwittingly merely by giving ord from the operations room, and Oc once General Barwah had been s was obliged to place himself under t direct command.

As Ocran says, "it was a tense a critical moment indeed when the fai the operation, and even the cou seemed to hang in the balance" that finally only overcome when the tempor arrest of the two commanders was c trived, so that Ocran could explain them what had happened. In the me time Afrifa had taken the radio stati Kotoka had made his six o'clock broa cast, and the battle for Flagstaff Hou was on.

More details still are provided *Operation Cold Chop* (this is the of mistic tag which the planners gave to t *coup* exercise—although it was not in t event as easy as all that). What is t clear is the status of this remarkable bo which like Ocran's is partly well kno background and partly what the Fren call "the film of events". The auth is, one is told, a British minister of religi and TV personality working in Ghan says in his foreword that the work h been read "in whole or in part" by t leading figures in the story. Certain

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the way in which the book describes the intimate thoughts of, say, Mr. Harley suggests that the book has official sanction. But the author has chosen, presumably to make it more readable, to present some of the action described in terms of quasi-fictional dialogue ("But if we had the advantage of surprise . . ." "Do you realise what you're suggesting? "). This gives the narrative a slightly strip-cartoon flavour, and inhibits credibility, which is unfortunate, because there is a lot of extremely meaty stuff here. We are told, for example of an embryonic *coup* in the summer of 1965, of which Nkrumah got wind (he sacked Generals Otu and Ankrah accordingly), and there are countless "coup" anecdotes such as the attempt by Kofi Baako to convene the Presidential Commission in the Ambassador Hotel at 4 in the morning.

The absolutely central role of Kotoka, which comes across from both Afrifa and Ocran, is here completely established; and we learn a little bit of why the heavily armed second battalion of the POGR, up in the Shai Hills, never came to the rescue of the 1st battalion. It seems that their commander had been obscurely warned of what was to take place, and on hearing Kotoka's broadcast had decided to join the *coup*: had they not done so, it could have changed the course of the *coup*, especially in view of the mix-ups and delays. Here, too, names are named in greater profusion than elsewhere, which is important, as February 24 was a kind of St Crispin's Day for the Ghana Army, a day on which heroes were made. **K.W.**

Diagnostic de l'Evolution Economique du Tiers-Monde 1900-1968 *by Paul Bairoch (Gauthier-Villars, 26 NF).*

The third edition of M. Bairoch's general survey on Africa, Asia and Latin America (with statistics which actually go back considerably before 1900 in some cases) has several new features, including forecasts of population growth until the year 2000, and an analysis of the evolution since 1900 of the division of the active population by economic sectors. It also has new information on external trade and the terms of trade as they affect developing countries, and a supplement of more than 20 pages on changes in the third world in 1967 and 1968.

There are important detailed statistics in the chapter on agriculture, partly based on FAO estimates (but qualified by the inadequacy of statistics in Africa and some other areas, to which M. Bairoch draws attention). Among the tables there are some showing the increase in the male population working in agriculture, and the average yields of certain crops in some areas. There is also an important chapter on population growth and on the extractive and manufacturing industries; here, too, the changing proportions of people employed in these sectors are tabulated. In the chapter on education there are statistics on the growth of literacy and the number of students of engineering and agriculture; while the chapter on macro-economics has varied information, including the growth in the rate and formation of capital in several individual developing countries, and a study of Chinese economics.

M. Bairoch forms several general conclusions. For example, he says that the great expansion in extractive industry (mainly mining) has more negative than positive aspects for developing countries. His conclusions concern particularly China and its relationship with the rest of the developing world, the growth by economic sectors of the non-Communist third world, and possible policies to solve the "crucial problem" of under-development, of which (he points out) the problem of rapid population growth and much less rapid growth in agriculture are a very serious aspect. Improvement in agricultural productivity, reduced by the growth in the number of people living on the land, is necessary for several reasons, he says, including the need to make farmers able to purchase the products of new industries.

China, says M. Bairoch, seems to have succeeded in its economic "take off"; despite the problem of adequate statistics, this success is obvious and is "brilliant above all by comparison with the non-Communist under-developed world." China seeems "to have recognised the priority which in our opinion must be given to agriculture" and this seems to have had some success. He does not seem much concerned at the human cost of agricultural progress in China, nor at the disaster of the "Great leap Forward", and his praise of the Chinese experiment seems rather uncritical. He uses it, however, to stress a point (that the agricultural sector, which employs 75 per cent of the people in developing countries, must be developed if there is to be progress in those countries) on which experts are now more and more agreed. **J.D.**

Origins of Rhodesia, *by Stanlake Samkange (Heinemann, 50s.).*

A sequel to his *On Trial for my Country* (1966), a historical novel involving Cecil Rhodes and Lobengula, this excellent new work by Mr. Samkange is the history of events leading to the British conquest of Rhodesia. It is thoroughly researched from official archives and contemporary papers, many of them South African, and its extensive quotations show how much documentation it has drawn upon. Mr. Samkange, now a lecturer at Fisk University in the USA, was formerly General Secretary of the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia, his home country. He explains in his preface that he and other African children in Rhodesia have been given a distorted view of their country's recent history, and he has tried to offset this. And he has succeeded in writing a history both scholarly and very readable.

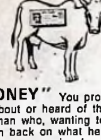
It starts with the history of the Shona people in the 19th century, and examines all the agreements made with Lobengula by the white men and subsequently broken by them. Most interesting, in some ways, are the passages on the British Government's attitude to Rhodes' enterprises—a story of occasional protests and objections, followed by acquiescence.

At the present time, when defiant Rhodesian settlers still celebrate with great nostalgic fervour the coming of the "pioneers" in 1890, and the outsider not knowing about the country's history may not know the unpleasant facts behind that event, this new history is very welcome. While treating objectively the side which won and which has had history written from its side, the book portrays excellently the view of the Africans who were at the receiving end. I hope it will be widely read in the author's own country and elsewhere. **D.J.**

The **London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine** has published its **Annual Report for 1967/68** describing the very varied work of the school and of its departments, which deal with bacteriology, human nutrition, parasitology and many other branches of tropical medicine. Staff appointments, visitors, overseas visits, and congresses and research are all summarised. Examples recorded of the school's work are the research by Mr. R. Killick-Kendrick in the department of parasitology into the life cycles of the new Nigerian rodent malaria parasites, which he discovered in 1967; a contribution to the conference in Tunis last year on onchocerciasis (river blindness), where it was decided that the Volta River Basin (where work was already begun) was the first area for their operations against this disease; and a tour in West Africa by a doctor from the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene to test the methods of control of the malaria mosquito. *(The Report is obtainable from the Institute.)* **J.L.**

Systems, States, Diplomacy & Rules *by J. W. Burton. Cambridge University Press, (£2).*

Dr. Burton follows his *International Relations—a General Theory* with a scientific study of relations between states, derived from analysis of conflicts within and between states. His is a determinist analysis, suggesting that conflicts are the result of clashes of inherent tendencies in various forces and interests. The problems of this interpretation are well known, and Dr. Burton's book is unfortunately heavy reading as well, and of interest chiefly to the specialist in international relations. He concludes with a series of propositions on states and their conflicts. **R.J.**



"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 fed 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 all*

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.

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Labelling Africa's People

ARE you perhaps a Caucasoid? Or a Negroid or a Melano-African or just possibly a Mongoloid? Has it ever struck you that you might be a Cafro-Malagasy or a Hamite or, forgive me, a Sub-Negro? So many problems, as Brecht remarked, so many questions. False problems and silly questions, you may stoutly reply. But the fact remains that learned scholars have devoted more than several lives into trying to classify the populations of Africa into groups with names like these. And many ordinary people, in the cloud of their unknowing, have followed in their track.

The weakness or the simple wrongness of familiar racialist labels has long been obvious. Seligman's are probably still the best known, and, although much modified by later classifiers, Seligman's undoubtedly remain of considerable "background" influence in the world at large. Writing in 1935, he divided all Africans into two major groupings, Caucasoid and Negroid. The former, he said, consisted of Semites and Hamites; and it was the Hamites, he argued who carried civilisation to the second major grouping, the Negroids; who mingled with the Negroes to produce "Half-Hamites", "Nilotes", and Bantu; and with the "Bushmen" to produce the "Hottentots" (Nama and others).

Now Seligman himself was not a racialist, it was simply that he thought in categories framed by the colonial atmosphere of his times. But others latched on to this "Hamitic hypothesis" as good evidence to show that "the Negroids"—that is, the bulk of the populations of colonial Africa—were indeed inferior beings who owed whatever of civilisation they possessed to the intrusion of outsiders—Hamitic outsiders—whose initial origins were Caucasoid: i.e. European or at any rate not African. Hence a great deal of racialist nonsense and confusion.

The "Hamitic hypothesis" is now thoroughly exploded, and nobody with any scholarly right to speak upon the subject gives any more credence to it. But it has proved more difficult to displace Seligman's classification with a satisfactory one. Von Eickstedt tried in 1937; Vallois in 1944; Biassuti in 1959; and they were not alone. If the Hamites disappear from these new classifications, other strange beings such as Cafro-Malagasies and Melano-Africans take their place. Finally, in 1961, Garn simply listed sub-Saharan populations as East Africans, Sudanese, Negroes of the Forest, Bantu, Pygmy Africans, and Khoisan: safe, perhaps, but not very helpful.

Today, at last, there comes a breakthrough. Anthropologists for some years have wrestled with the problems of correlating genetic differences or variables with differences or variable climate, vegetation, humidity, temp ture, and so on. Working through d thickets of doubt, through wide jun of scientific ignorance caused by of detailed research, these anthrop gists have steadily approached con sions which move right outside familiar jargon of racial classificat Now we have a book of quite first importance upon this whole tortu subject*. I am bound to say stra away that it is an extremely diffi book to read, and there are certa some specialist parts of it that I my have completely failed to follow, b feel sure, from what I have understo that it marks a turning point in a tudes to African racial origins. We m hope that Dr. Hiernaux will give u "general reader's" version for the be fit of non-mathematicians. Meanwh let me rehearse some of its main poi

"Statistic Δg"

What Hiernaux and his colleag have done is to take available anth biological data for 460 ethnic groups south of 22 degrees N. (roughly so of the northern frontiers of Mali the Republic of the Sudan), and correlate these with a number ecological variants (climate and vege tion). Then they concentrate their att tion on 101 of these groupings— about one-tenth of all the ethnic gro ings south of 22 degrees N—in or to produce a chart of anthropologi correlation. In Hiernaux's words, "t degree of biological similarity betwe two ethnic groups can be evaluated computing a general distance betwe them for a set of biological variab Such a distance (the statistic Δg) b been computed between all pairs of populations living in Subsaharan Afr on which at least six common variab have been measured or determined. So you get a list of "biologi distances" expressed in values wh range, for the 101 populations part larly studied, between the figure 7 a the figure 2,871. At the bottom o of the scale, compared groupings a obviously very like each other; th become more different the further t the scale you go.

The results are of startling intere Though still hypothetical, they are least based on all the revelant inform tion that we have, and, what is mor they show a strong mutual compatibili

* Jean Hiernaux, *La Diversité Humai en Afrique Subsaharienne*. Institute Sociology of Free University of Brusse 1968, price 820 B.frs. See also an importa article in the *Jnl. of African History*, 4 1968: J. Hiernaux, "Bantu Expansion—C fronted with linguistic and archaeologic evidence from physical anthropology co evidence".

Hiernaux cites them against Seligman with devastating effect. Seligman, for instance, grouped the Bembe and Bushong as Bantu (for both speak Bantu languages), while separating the Bushong from the Zande (who do not). Yet the Δg distance between the Bembe and Bushong comes out at 674, while it is only 65 between the Bushong and the Zande. Similarly the people nearest to the Hausa, by Δg distance, are the Nyaturu of Tanzania, far away in East Africa, and previously classified as belonging to quite a different "race", while the Δg distance between the Baiote of "Portuguese" Guinea and the Nyamwezi of Tanzania is only 31, or, in anthrobiological terms, very small indeed. Δg distances likewise undermine the Seligmanite theory that the Bantu are "Hamitised Negroes", or that the Hottentots are "Hamitised Bushmen".

Thus freed from what Hiernaux calls the carapace of classification by race, we can approach these problems with a new vision. It becomes possible to say that all the people of Africa are descended from ancient Stone Age stocks (of which we know little or nothing); that some of them were modified, also in a fairly remote past, by mingling with intruders from outside (notably the Near East); and that thereafter, multiplying over the past 2,000 years from a few millions to many millions, they have acquired their rich diversity of form and appearance through intermingling among themselves, through genetic mutation, and, not least, through the selective influences of climate and other natural factors. All are Africans, and none of them is "more African" than any other. *Exeunt* Caucasoids, Negroids, Melano-Africans, Mongoloids, and other phantoms like them. It is not before time.

Basil Davidson

A CATTLE CURSE REMOVED?

WEST Africa's cows do not respect national frontiers. Action against the major cattle disease in the area, called rinderpest in English and *peste bovine* in French, must therefore be tackled jointly by all the countries affected, which means most countries of West Africa, since the area is the home of the Adamawa breed—one of the most vulnerable to the disease. The programme for eradication of rinderpest has been in progress since 1962 and is mainly financed by the European Development Fund of the EEC, but this does not aid projects in countries not associated with the EEC, so the USA is also helping the project, for the benefit of countries like Nigeria.

Rinderpest is endemic and a permanent threat to a head whose total worth is thought to be about $1,000m. The former colonial authorities and successor governments have carried out vaccination campaigns which prevented such outbreaks as that of 1928 in Cameroon, which killed 200,000 head of cattle out of 350,000. Although the disease was cut down, in 1962 Cameroon lost more than 2,000 cattle through this disease and Chad about 8,000, while in Northern Nigeria an average of 6,000 to 8,000 died every year.

Diagnosis of this disease occurred only fairly recently, as is made clear in the FAO's new publication *Diagnosis in Rinderpest*,† a scientific survey of the disease which according to its preface can be compared with the bubonic plague. The origins of the disease, which is caused by a virus like human measles virus are discussed in this publication, together with all other aspects. One chapter points out that many cattle have a built-in immunity, the West African breed being one of the exceptions. The author, a consultant to FAO, points out that maintenance of immunity involves annual vaccination of calves.

The eventual diagnosis of rinderpest, achieved after research and experiments in Africa and elsewhere, made possible large-scale vaccination such as is now

being carried out in West Africa. There is an account of this in the OECD's *1968 Review of Development Assistance*,* which cites it among other examples of the projects which external aid can help.

Talks on joint action against the disease began in 1960. In the following year the Inter-African Bureau of Animal Health arranged for a conference in Kano where a project was drawn up. In 1962 financial agreements were signed between the USA and Nigeria, and the EDF and the Associated States involved.

The first phase began in October 1962 and went on to May 1965. It was carried out within a radius of 600 km of Lake Chad, in Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon. Vaccination here proved that there were many more cattle than had been thought. Only about 5·6m. had been registered in the area, but nearly 12m. were eventually vaccinated, at a cost of $2·8m.

The second phase was begun in October 1964 and completed in 1967. Over 9m. cattle are estimated to have been vaccinated in Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Mali, Niger and Ivory Coast. Each animal should receive three vaccinations; a total of 24m. vaccinations were performed in the second phase. The total cost of this phase was $3,560,000. (It was in this area that another disease, foot-and-mouth, was reported early in 1968 in Northern Ghana.)

The third phase began in 1966 and is scheduled for completion this year. It covers Mali, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Mauritania, and it is estimated that over 8m. head of cattle will be vaccinated at a cost of $2·3m. There is another campaign in East Africa. In the area of the third phase the Gambia has already begun its own operation against the disease; in January over 90,000 cattle were vaccinated in North Bank Division. In that campaign cattle owners have been warned of the importance of a second vaccination to follow the first. This is a problem found throughout the campaign in West Africa, the "follow-up" required after vaccination includes tracing and vaccination of all animals missed in the first campaign, and the vaccination of all calves born after that. It also requires the exchange of information between countries on any new outbreaks that occur, drastic measures to control these outbreaks include slaughter of infected cattle and vaccination of others in the area, and close collaboration in surveillance of the grazing routes.

The campaign was based on immunisation centres in places where cold storage facilities were available. Vaccines produced in African laboratories were concentrated in these centres, from which teams went forward after cattle owners had been informed by radio, newspapers and word of mouth about the vaccination. On completion of the three vaccinations in any area, entry of cattle was restricted there, and non-vaccinated cattle were immunised. The owners did not have to pay anything for the vaccination. Veterinaries were recruited from EEC member States, and assistants from a number of countries. Few difficulties were encountered with owners.

So far the campaign is reported to be highly successful. In Niger there were 377 outbreaks in 1958-59 and four in 1964-65. And in Nigeria there were 293 in 1961-62 and only two in 1964-65. While bearing in mind the need to "follow up" it is possible to record the removal of a threat to thousands of people's livelihood.

† *By G. R. Scott; Food And Agricultural Organisation, Rome; price 20s.*

* *Published by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris; price £2. Reviewed in "West Africa", March 29, p. 362.*

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commercial news

Cost of Living Rises in Ghana

CONSUMER price indices in Ghana rose during 1968 in all sectors covered by the *Statistical Newsletter**, and in both urban and rural areas. Taking as 100 the index used in each case as the base, viz., the index in March 1963, the national average consumer price index was 161·8 in January 1968 and 176·8 in December. For the urban areas the index rose from 148·8 to 165·1; for rural areas from 165·8 to 180·5. Particularly large increases were registered in prices of local food. Already higher at the beginning of the year, in relation to the March 1963 base, than the price indices for anything else listed (except that for durable goods), they rose nearly 20 points in rural areas and 25 in urban areas (150·3 to 175·8). For imported food and drink and tobacco the increases were much less (less than 10 points in urban and rural areas). The increase was considerable for fuel and light (more than 20 points in rural areas), and very slight for durable goods except in the towns, where there was an increase of just over eight points. The prices of health and hygiene, clothing and transport and communications all rose, though by relatively small amounts.

Figures for nine major urban areas on the last four months of 1968 show considerable variations. The local food pr indices rose sharply in Tamale but fell e more in Cape Coast and Ho, and also in Koforidua. They fell slightly in Kum and rose sharply (130·5 to 154·7) in Sunya For imported food the variations both were generally less, except in Tamale considerable increase) and in Cape Co (a fairly sharp fall). There were very li changes in rent indices except for increa in Ho and Kumasi. Similarly prices health and hygiene and transport and co munications changed very little, as d clothing prices, apart from unusually sh increases in Koforidua and Bolgatang Drink and tobacco prices were fairly sta

Overall indices rose slightly in Acc Sekondi and Bolgatanga during the fo months. The rise was sharper in Tam and sharper still in Sunyani; but in Ke ridua and Kumasi there were falls of a fe points, and in Cape Coast and Ho an ev greater fall. Cape Coast prices are, ho ever, the highest in relation to the Mar 1963 base—more than double that figure September 1968, while the overall index the town was 185·7 in December. F Accra the overall change in the fo months was from 159·4 to 161.

On the whole the indices for 1968 sh an increase of eight per cent. (Ghana's co sumer price indices relate to household with an income of 1,200 cedis p.a. or less)

* *Published by the Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra.*

Cocoa and UK 1968

British imports of cocoa beans in 1968 were worth £18·19m. compared with £17·93m. in 1967, according to the *Overseas Trade Accounts of the United Kingdom** for December 1968. Imports from Ghana (£7·68m. to £9·5m.) rose but fell from Nigeria (£8·2m. to £6·29m.).

Of the £8·98m. worth of groundnuts imported into the UK in 1968 (£8·6m. the year before) Nigeria provided £3·79m. in 1968 (£2·4m. in 1967) and other Commonwealth countries £2·96m. (£2·8m.). Nigeria provided more than half the imports (worth a total of £3·6m.) of palm nuts and kernels into the UK in 1968, its share being £2·15m.; but both the Nigerian share and the total showed a sharp decrease compared to 1967 (from £4·24m. and £5·35m.), mainly because of the Nigerian war. Nigeria remained as before a relatively small supplier of crude rubber (both natural and synthetic and reclaimed) to the UK, although it is the biggest producer of natural rubber in Africa. But Nigeria was (with £2·78m.) the third largest tropical African exporter of wood and lumber to the UK, following Ghana (£6·04m.) and Ivory Coast (£5·2m.).

Vegetable oils and fats imports into the UK rose from £38·02m. in 1967 to £48·1m. in 1968. Nigeria's share rose from £11·86m. to £13·3m., this share consisted largely of groundnut oil.

* *HMSO, £1 10s monthly.*

Mr. John Jennings, director of Samu Jones, shows Lt.-Col. Ambrose Genda, Hi Commissioner for Sierra Leone, the fi issue of a new self-adhesive Sierra Leo postage stamp to mark the fifth anniversa of the world's first no-lick stamp, which al came from Sierra Leone. The new stamps were issued on March 1. During the pa five years, Samuel Jones and Co., a Wigge Teape company widely known for the pressure-sensitive labels for industry, ha supplied papers for more than 15m. Sierr Leone stamps. Printed by Walsall Securit Printers the Sierra Leone stamps are th world's only regular postage stamps to b self-adhesive, and they come in unusual fre form shapes.

Cocoa Pact: Ivory Coast Obstacle

UNITED STATES experts attending meetings in London have been quoted as saying that there are poor prospects for an international cocoa agreement.

The Ivory Coast remains the only producer in the Cocoa Growers' Alliance unwilling to adhere to the agreement other producers signed in Geneva last summer. The American sources said Dr. Raul Prebisch, former Secretary-General of Unctad, had received a final, negative, reply to his written appeal to the Ivory Coast to ratify the agreement.

The agreement set the guidelines for a technical mechanism on export quotas, selectivity and buffer stocks. The Ivory Coast opposed the agreement, contending that its basic export quota was too low. (It has undertaken a wide-sweeping replanting scheme which in two years' time should more than double production and justify a higher basic export quota.)

If Ghana and Nigeria this year again have bad harvests, the price of cocoa, the American experts forecast, may soar to 5l per lb. (about £933 a ton), says this report (by AP), adding that already American chocolate and cookie manufacturers are replacing cocoa butter (now very expensive) with a mixture of powdered cocoa from low-grade or broken beans which they are mixing with other vegetable oils. This helps keep chocolate prices at a reasonable level.

Meanwhile the Food and Agriculture Organisation cocoa study group's statistical committee, which meets twice yearly to forecast world production and grindings, has postponed its next meeting in Rome from March 30 to April 28. FAO officials said this was because estimates of grindings for the first three months of 1969 "of a major consumer" were not yet available.

● *Our Manchester Correspondent writes:* Lancashire's exports of cotton goods to the West African markets made rather a mixed showing in January compared with a year ago. To Ghana went 777,000 sq. yds. valued at £154,000 compared with 504,000 sq. yds in January, 1968, valued at £90,000. Nigeria on the other hand only received 25,000 sq. yds valued at £7,000 compared with 362,000 sq. yds valued at £67,000.

The Sierra Leone market remained small with 16,000 sq. yds. valued at £5,000 compared with 5,000 sq. yds. valued at £2,000 in January, 1968. At the same time Nigeria was a very useful market for textile machinery with exports in January totalling 710 tons valued at £221,000 compared with exports to other West African countries of 72 tons in January 1968, worth £33,000.

● The 10,000th Bedford commercial vehicle to be built in Nigeria, a 34-seater bus for the Benin City Council, has been jointly completed and sold by UAC subsidiaries, Niger Motors and Federated Motor Industries. The vehicles are assembled in Lagos from completely knocked down (c.k.d.) parts exported from the UK, but differing body and chassis requirements are also covered by the Federated Motor Industries' activities.

● The UN Development Programme has lent the Research Vessel *Awefu* to Sierra Leone for five years. The vessel, which will work with the Fisheries Department, will provide facilities for fishermen to test equipment, and will be used for exploratory fishing as well as extending the fishing season and areas.

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER DEMPSTER LINES
SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—DARU slg. Liverpool Apr. 21; FOURAH BAY slg. Liverpool Apr. 3; DUNKWA slg. Liverpool Apr. 10; OTI due Matadi Apr. 4.
From Swansea/Glasgow/Dublin:—DONGA due Tema Apr. 5.
From London:—FALABA slg. London Apr. 11; EBANI slg. London Apr. 15; EGORI due Apapa Apr. 4.
From Middlesborough/Hull:—OWERRI due Warri Apr. 9.
From Continent:—FIAN slg. Rotterdam Apr. 9.
NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—PERANG due Dublin Apr. 4; KOHIMA due Liverpool Apr. 4; AUREOL slg. Lagos Apr. 9; DUMURRA due Freetown Apr. 8; OBUASI due Monrovia Apr. 10.
To Dublin/Belfast:—TWEEDBANK due Takoradi Apr. 6.
To London:—EBOE due Madeira Apr. 5; KADUNA slg. London Apr. 9; ONITSHA due London Apr. 5; PATANI due London Apr. 18.
To Continent:—CORCADOS due Lagos Apr 6.
EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada:—DALLA slg. New York Apr. 10.
WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada:—DEGEMA due Takoradi Apr. 6; DUNCOVE due Norfolk Apr 9; DUMBAIA due Freetown Apr. 5.
From India/Pakistan/Burma:—INVERBANK due Matadi Apr. 10.
BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE
OUTWARDS—TEMA due Lagos Apr. 7, thence Warri; CORNEVILLE due Freetown Apr. 7, thence Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lome, Lagos/Apapa, Victoria, Douala, Warri and Takoradi; FERNWOOD due sail New York Apr. 8, Halifax (NS) Apr. 11 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, San Thome and Takoradi.
HOMEWARDS—TEMA due load Lagos N. Bound about Apr. 7, Takoradi Apr. 12, Abidjan Apr. 15, Buchanan/Monrovia third week Apr.; CORNEVILLE due load Lagos S. Bound about Apr. 16, Victoria Apr. 19, Douala Apr. 21, Lagos/Ghana N. Bound fourth week Apr., Abidjan early May, Buchanan/Monrovia first half May.
JAPAN "K" LINE
WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong and Cape) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc:—DENMARK MARU sld. Japan Mar 14, due Lagos Apr. 22.
EASTBOUND—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Cape and Hong Kong):—DENMARK MARU slg. Lagos Apr. 27, Tema Apr. 29, Freetown May 3, due Japan Jun. 9.
PALM LINE
SOUTHBOUND — From London:—AKASSA PALM due Luanda Apr. 5.
From Liverpool:—ELMINA PALM due Freetown Apr. 7.
From Continent:—BADAGRY PALM slg. Lagos Apr. 7.
NORTHBOUND — Due London:—AFRICA PALM slg. Abidjan Apr. 8.
Due London:—KATSINA PALM slg. Takoradi Apr. 8.
Due Liverpool:—IKEJA PALM slg. Takoradi Apr. 6.
Due Liverpool:—ENUGU PALM slg. Sapele Apr. 8.
Due Lisbon and North Continent:—SAGA STATE due Victoria Apr. 6.
Due Continent:—BAMENDA PALM slg. Lome Apr. 7.
WOERMANN LINE
MALOJA sld. Lisbon Mar. 31, due Dakar Apr. 4, Matadi Apr. 16, Pointe Noire Apr. 20, Lobito Apr. 23; PONGO sld. Dunkirk Apr. 2, Rouen Apr. 4, due Dakar Apr. 11, Conakry Apr. 14, Sinoe Apr. 18, Cape Palmas Apr. 19.
NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE
EASTBOUND—NOPAL TELLUS sld. New Orleans Apr. 2, due Takoradi Apr. 27. Lagos Apr. 30, Warri May 3; NOPAL LUNA slg. New Orleans Apr. 19, due Takoradi May 9, Lagos May 12, Warri May 15.
WESTBOUND—NOPAL SUN sld. Luanda Apr. 3, Takoradi Apr. 16, due New Orleans May 5, Houston May 13; NOPAL TELLUS slg. Luanda May 19, Takoradi May 26, due New Orleans June 13, Houston June 17.
HOLLAND WEST AFRIKA LIJN
SOUTHBOUND—From Continent:—KATSEDYK due Douala Apr. 8; LIBERIAKUST due Dakar Apr. 8; OFFIN RIVER due Dakar Apr. 15.
NORTHBOUND — To Continent:—TOGOKUST due Rotterdam Apr. 14, Amsterdam Apr. 16, Bremen Apr. 21, Hamburg Apr. 23; OLDEKERK due Rotterdam Apr. 21, Amsterdam Apr. 24, Hamburg Apr. 30; BOVENKERK due Amsterdam Apr. 28, Hamburg May 8.
HUGO STINNES TRANSOZEAN SCHIFFAHRT GMBH
JULIUS HUGO STINNES sld. Rouen Apr. 1, due Sta Cruz Apr. 7, Dakar Apr. 10, Abidjan Apr. 15; ELLEN HUGO STINNES slg. Bordeaux Apr. 8, due Las Palmas Apr. 13, Dakar Apr. 16, Conakry Apr. 18.
WESTWIND AFRICA LINE
SOPHIE slg. Rouen Apr. 7, New Orleans Apr. 12, for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Luanda; **BUENA FORTUNA** slg. New Orleans Apr. 27, Houston May 1, for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Luanda.
HOEGH LINE
HOEGH AURORE sld. Rouen Apr. 4, due Dakar Apr. 11, Monrovia Apr. 14, Abidjan Apr. 17; HOEGH WILRI slg. Rouen Apr. 15, due Dakar Apr. 22, Abidjan Apr. 25, Monrovia Apr. 26.
SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE
SOUTHBOUND—MANGARELLA ldg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during first half Apr. for W.A. during May; MINNESOTA ldg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during second half Apr. for W.A. during May.
NORTHBOUND—HJELMAREN ldg. W.A. during Apr., for Scandinavia first half May; YARRAWONGA ldg. W.A. second half Apr., for Scandinavia second half May.
CHARGEURS REUNIS
TANAGRA due Lagos/Apapa Apr. 16, Freetown Apr. 27; SURCOUF slg. Kobe Apr. 26.
MITSUI OSK LINE
HONOLULU MARU sld. Kobe Mar. 4, due Lagos Apr. 8; **AUSTRALIA MARU** sld. Kobe Mar. 22, due Lagos Apr. 21; **HODAKASAN MARU** slg. Kobe Apr. 4, due Lagos May 7.
MAERSK LINE
JESPER MAERSK slg. Bathurst Apr. 10, due Tema Apr. 13; **HENRIETTE MAERSK** slg. Luanda Apr. 13, due Matadi Apr. 14.
EDWARD NASSAR LINES
TERESA sld. Lagos Apr. 1, due Takoradi Apr. 5, Famagusta Apr. 23, Beirut Apr. 24; **EMIR BECHIR** sld. Freetown Apr. 3, due Monrovia Apr. 4, Lagos Apr. 13, Tema Apr. 16.
FARRELL LINES
HOMEWARDS—AUSTRALIAN REEF slg. Takoradi Apr. 11, for Monrovia Apr. 15, for US Ports; **AUSTRALIAN GULF** sld. Takoradi Apr. 3, for Freetown, Apapa Apr. 22, Monrovia May 4, for US Ports.
OUTWARDS—AUSTRALIAN GULF due Monrovia Apr. 9, for Matadi, Luanda and Lobito; **AFRICAN GLADE** slg. Tilbury Apr. 27, for Conakry, Freetown, Monrovia May 3, Abidjan, Takoradi May 10, Tema, Douala, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito.
GOLD STAR LINE
NOGAH slg. Lagos Apr. 28, Freetown May 6; **TSEDEK** due Lagos Apr. 21, Freetown May 3.
BLACK STAR LINE/SEVEN STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA
WESTBOUND—KORALE LAGOON Tema Mar. 24, New York Apr. 6, Philadelphia Apr. 10, thence Gulf.
BLACK STAR LINE UK/CONTINENT/WEST AFRICA
SOUTHBOUND—OTI RIVER Hamburg Apr. 5, Antwerp Apr. 7, Bremen Apr. 10, Rotterdam April 14, Dunkirk Apr. 15; **OCHI RIVER** Bremen Apr. 29, Hamburg May 3, Antwerp May 5, Rotterdam May 7, Dunkirk May 8.
NORTHBOUND—SAKUMO LAGOON London May 15; **OCHI RIVER** Amsterdam Apr. 25, Bremen Apr. 28, Hamburg Apr. 30.
NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE
SOUTHBOUND—HERBERT MACAULAY slg. Rotterdam Apr. 1; **OBA OVONRAMWEN** slg. London Apr. 22.
NORTHBOUND—EL KANEMI due Liverpool Apr. 19; **NNAMDI AZIKIWE** due Apr. 20.
ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINE from China
INWARDS—HOLLANDIA ldg. Mar. 4 due and Hong Kong sld. Hong Kong Apr. 15, Lome Lagos/Apapa Apr. 9, Cotonou Apr. 21, Monrovia Apr. 24, Freetown Apr. 26, Dakar Apr. 27, Tema Apr. 19, Apr. 26, Dakar Apr. 27, Freetown Apr. 28, Monrovia May 1, Freetown May 2, Tema May 4; due Lagos/Apapa Apr. 30, Conakry May 4; due Lagos/Apapa Apr. 21, Tema Apr. 27, 7, Takoradi May 11.
OUTWARDS—HOLLANDIA slg. Singapore, Hong Kong and China second half Apr.; **STRAAT FRAZER** from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan second half Apr. first half May.

commercial news

Gliksten New Bid's

GLIKSTEN, timber firm importing extensively from Ghana among other places and now building a sawmill in Ghana, has made a second bid for Denny Mott & Dickson, another major British-based timber firm. It offers 16s. in 8½ per cent. convertible loan stock and three-tenths of a 42 per cent preferred share for each ordinary share of Denny Mott. The proposed reverse take over offer by William Mallinson, announced after Gliksten's first bid (which was rejected), is worth 21s. 9d., compared with the 25s. offered by Gliksten now, for each Denny Mott ordinary share.

● Nigeria is losing at least about £46m. annually by exporting raw timber, a senior official of the Federal Forestry Research claimed in an interview with the Ibadan *Daily Sketch*. Nigeria should direct her attention to manufacturing of exported logs into articles such as veneers, plywood and particle boards on a larger scale.

On the outcome of the recent meeting of the All-African Forestry Commission held in Lome, the official said the FAO, one of the agencies financing forestry projects, was urged to assist industrialization in African countries.

● Nigeria has now become a governing member of the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

Anglophone Coffee

● Although the biggest post-war increase in coffee production has been in African robusta, and Ivory Coast, Angola and Uganda are the largest coffee growing countries in the world outside South America, the Commonwealth countries of West Africa are only "among the minor producers," says the annual *Review of Plantation Crops* published by the Commonwealth Secretariat*. Nigeria exported 64,000 bags (of 60 kg. each) in 1967, Ghana 29,000, and Sierra Leone 10,000; Uganda's exports in that year were 2,658,000 bags, Angola's 3,275,000 and Ivory Coast's 2,484,000.

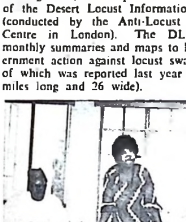
In that year Ivory Coast's production fell considerably and Angola's rose sharply, to make it the world's third coffee exporter. This was after an unusually low Ivory Coast crop in 1966-67; but the following year, after a much higher crop, Ivory Coast "is reported to have destroyed some 330,000 Jufrom its surplus stocks during June-quotas" (International Coffee Agreement at the can that coffee prices are defended Coast's by of accumulating stocks). Ivory in 1967), ecustomer is France (1·1m. bags expanded gether EEC countries have not was hoped, ases from there as much as risen. About th sales to the USA have to the USA in re Angola's crop has gone Nearly half of years.

imports (1,344,000 bag UK's 1967 coffee Sierra Leone provided ame from Uganda; 9,000 *(there is a discrepancy in Sierra Leo's export figures, for which no explanation has been found)*, Ghana 18,000, Nigeria 11,000, Liberia 4,000 and Guinea 9,000.

*Price 20s.

War on Locusts

The fight against locusts is being slowly won despite an increase in their numbers in 1968 and early 1969, the UNDP reports, describing the work of its 42-nation locust control project, now completed after six years. The project established eleven new locust control field stations, improved eight existing ones, and expanded the activities of the Desert Locust Information Service (conducted by the Anti-Locust Research Centre in London). The DLIS issues monthly summaries and maps to help Government action against locust swarms (one of which was reported last year to be 50 miles long and 26 wide).



During a Japanese survey team's recent visit to Ibadan, to study the possibility of establishing petro-chemical and allied industries, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Trade and Industry, Mrs. F. M. Ighodalo (centre, above) said that the fact that Western Nigeria was not under active exploration could not preclude the possible presence of off-shore oil

During the discussion, the Permanent Secretary in the State Ministry of Agriculture, Mr. M. A. Akintomide, spoke of the growing popularity of the use of fertiliser.

In the photograph, with Mrs Ighodalo, are Dr. S. Ueki, leader of the Japanese team (on her right) and Mr. J. O. I. Longe, General Manager of the Western State Development Corporation (on her left).

● The West African Currency Board, which has now stopped issuing coins and notes in all the four Commonwealth West African states, had a total amount of £5,828,000 outstanding in its books on June 30 1968. This showed a fall of only £72,000 in twelve months. The Board's annual report says "considerable efforts" to publicise and facilitate the withdrawal of the old currency have been made and probably not much more can be done except perhaps in the Gambia where withdrawal started very recently. Nearly half the coins still in circulation are nickel, brass and alloy; there is also cupro-nickel bronze and silver. Notes outstanding are worth about £602,000

● The Ghana *Pioneer* alleges some villagers whose homes are threatened with submersion by the new Barekese Dam (to provide water for Kumasi) have not yet been resettled.

● The Nigerian Industrial Development Bank is to lend £2½m. to private industries, and has announced that it will concentrate on small industries.

● Africa and other developing countries are likely to need more steel products in their economic progress, says an article in a supplement on steel in *The Times*.

Lagos-UK Flights Hit

BOAC pilots went on strike this week including the pilots of the Lagos-Londo flights run by BOAC and Nigeria Airway These flights, which have now been su pended, are run by a "pool" agreeme signed in 1961, after Nigeria Airways WAAC (Nigeria) Ltd.—had been separat from the former West Africa Airways Co poration, a BOAC subsidiary. Some of t flights (seven a week, all by VC10) are aircraft using Nigerian Airways colours a some in aicraft with the colours of BOA which owns all the aicraft used. The pilo are all BOAC.

● Consolidated Tin Smelters, wh Nigerian subsidiary Makeri Smelting runs smeltery at Jos, reports a group net profit £1,100,000. Compared with £1,143,000 1967. The group carry forward after app ing £219,000 as its share of bonus capitalis tion by the Nigerian subsidiary and all minority interests, was £2,531,000

● A US industrialist, Joseph D'Angelo, to set up a new company in Ghana partnership with a Ghanaian firm, Symi International Products. It will make pac ages for all exports of food and cocoa pr ducts, and will be called Tycodyne Ghan after the US firm (Tycodyne Industr Corp. of New York) of which Mr. D'Ange is president. He has already set up tw firms in Ghana—TWD Associates and TW Import and Export.

● A 200,000-cedi factory to make in candles, crayons and chalk has been esta lished in Kumasi. Run by a firm call Ink and Chalk Factory (Ghana), it is own 60 per cent by Ghanaian, and 40 per cent b expatriate shareholders.

Storing Crops

Efforts to avoid waste in develop countries agricultural produce began l because waste was taken for granted, b were now going ahead in an "encouragin way, Mr. D. W. Hall, head of the Tropi Stored Products Centre, told a meeting o the Royal Society of Arts (Commonwea Section) last week. Referring to th shortage of protein and calories in th varied food available to the rapidly-growi populations of developing countries, h recalled that storage methods w developed for cocoa and other export pr ducts before the Second World War, whe exigencies forced more research into foo waste avoidance in the UK. The Colon Office and FAO sponsored research later tropical countries, where post-harvest loss amount to 20 per cent on average (a estimated 26-34 per cent for Ghana mai recently), though the cost of good storag has proved a good investment for farme in Nigeria and other countries.

Mr. Hall described the work of his Centr (now attached to the Tropical Produc Institute) and aid given to research an development, by (for example) the Nigeri Stored Products Research Institute. In th 1950s Ghana and Nigeria developed pe control organisations for export crop Later there was special attention to foo storage, and many methods were tried. I some cases 10 per cent savings have bee achieved, Mr. Hall said, but more improv ment is possible and "special considerati of the problems at the farmer level urgent."

IN MEMORIAM

TREASURED MEMORIES of our most affectionate father, Edison Omatshola Kekeke, who died on 7 April, 1960. Fondly remembered by children—Felix and David Kekeke (London) and other children.

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NOTICES

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Wish to thank their relations and friends for sympathy and calls in respect of their father's death.

Our particular gratitude to Messrs. Edeubie, A. Onomakpokpo and C. Okodaso for the memorial ceremony held on our behalf.

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EGBE OMO IBILE ILISHAN-REMO. There will be a general meeting of the Egbe on 6th April, 1969 at 21, Oakfield Road, N.4. Time: 3 p.m. All Ilishanites are invited.—G. S. Odumuye, Assistant Secretary

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Also on Page 392

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dateline Africa

GHANA

No Ministers Outside Parliament

THE Constituent Assembly has decided that no ministers should be appointed from outside the National Assembly. It agreed on this by 70 votes to 47 just before it adjourned until the Wednesday after Easter, without discussing the report of the five committees formed to debate particular parts of the proposed Constitution.

It was on March 26, during its continued debates on certain parts of the constitutional proposals which had been reserved for discussion by the whole house, that the Assembly rejected the proposal by the Constitutional Commission that up to eight of the 17 Ministers could be elected from outside the Assembly. Mr. Justice Azu Crabbe proposed the motion that all ministers should be Assembly members One of its opponents, Mr. Alex Hutton Mills (Accra Farmers' representative) said Ghana could not afford to avoid using people who were not elected, and inclusion of non-MPs among Ministers would not violate the idea of representative government. Mrs. Mary Hyndman (NLC nominee) said, however, that "nobody is better than anybody in Ghana."

A member of the Constituent Assembly has suggested to the House to consider the possibility of Committees sitting for an additional hour, or twice a day, to enable the House to finish its work in time. The member, Mr. T. A. Bediako (National Association of Teachers), said that since the lifting of the ban on political activities was "rightly or wrongly tied up with our work in the House" and since the House "will be blamed by the people if civilian rule is delayed for even a day," the House should speed up its work. He wondered whether politicians could organise national parties within four months and then go in for general elections.

Mr. Salifu Imoru (Bawku Ad. District) a member of the "Miscellaneous" Committee (one of the five special committees) of the House, said it would be impossible to call those who had filed amendments to appear before the Committee if the work of the Committees is to be expedited. Over 1,000 amendments had been submitted to his Committee.

Earlier, Mr. Justice Azu Crabbe, Chairman of the Business Committee, said at his weekly press conference that there had been altogether about 1,200 amendments proposed: out of these, 900 had been dealt with. For the article dealing with "Defence of Democracy" (S.3, Chapter 1) about 500 amendments had been proposed.

Originally, the work of the various Committees was scheduled to end by March 15, but Mr. Justice Crabbe said the volume of amendments had been beyond anticipation. Asked whether the present pace would necessitate a revision of the Government's time table, Mr. Justice Crabbe said this was a political issue, and it is a "matter for the NLC to decide."

On March 27 Mr. Justice Azu Crabbe said the five committees had almost completed their work. He then proposed a recess until April 9, and the House agreed.

● Mr. Azu Crabbe has suggested the ban on politics should not be lifted now, for that would "distract the attention" of Assembly members and renew acrimonious debates. At the moment there was evidence of "group affiliations" but this is in "a loose form" in Parliament House, he said; when party politics was introduced members would be positively committed to endorse certain views, and party loyalty would enjoin them to vote the party line with whips and discipline.

Mr. E. N. Moore, an Accra barrister, has called upon the NLC to lift the ban. He said six months was the minimum period any political leader would require for organising a party on a national scale.

● The National Union of Ghana Students has now won the recognition of the NLC as the official mouth-piece of all students' associations in the country. Mr. E. T. Akuamoah, the general secretary, told a congress that a letter to that effect had been received by the Union's secretariat.

● Mr. John Alex Hamah, editor of the *Comet* and a former Opposition leader in exile, has announced his intention to lead a political party when the ban on politics is lifted. He said his decision arose from his belief that the youth of Ghana must hold the mantle of political leadership in the next phase of this country's development. What the country needed was a change in leadership, ideology, mentality, and a new approach to issues. Mr. Hamah rejected any idea that he was working for another politician.

● General Ankrah has travelled to Sekondi to meet management and unions involved in a dispute over railwaymen's overtime. Engine drivers have decided not to work on Sundays and public holidays because their overtime rates on those days had been reduced by the Railway and Ports Authority.

A decree to convert the Railway and Ports Authority into a state corporation is being processed by the Attorney-General's Department, the *Daily Graphic* reports. The change, expected to take effect in July, follows the Mills-Odoi report on the Public Services.

● Mr. Robert Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), is one of four persons appointed by the Government as consultants to advise on the decentralisation policy (outlined in the Mills-Odoi Report on the Public Service). The others are Mr. A. L. Adu, Deputy Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat; Mr. David A. Anderson, East African representative of the Ford Foundation, and Mr. R. A. Quarshie, resident director of the Commonwealth Development Corporation.

● Nigerians in Ghana are considering protest to the Federal Government against alleged obstacles in the way of Nigerians returning to their country from Ghana, the Lagos *Daily Times* reports. It claims that 1,000 Nigerians have left Ghana because the decree restricting non-Ghanaian participation in some commercial activities.

● Mr. Kwamena Barnes, a member of the Francois Commission which enquired into the Black Star Line, has submitted to Mr. Ankrah a minority report of the enquiry. The majority report has already been submitted.

● Five executive members of the Kumasi branch of the CPP have been discharged after the prosecution at a circuit court failed to establish a case on charges of stealing money from farmers (allegedly the prosecution to have been United Party supporters) in 1960.

● A seven-member commission of enquiry has been appointed into the taxation system. The chairman is Mr. U. V. Campbell, Solicitor-General.

SIERRA LEONE

Strikes and Pay Rises

A wave of strikes has hit Freetown. Workers of the Electricity Corporation, Sierra Leone Airways, two statutory bodies of the Standard Bank of West Africa, and of two Indian firms, K. Chellaram and Sons (Chaitrham, ceased work, complaining variously about attitudes of management, pay and conditions, union recognition and other grievances. The Electricity Corporation strike was called off following intervention by the Prime Minister, the Airways, Chaitrham and Chellaram workers returned to work after the managements had agreed to negotiate with union representatives. But the bank strike has also now been settled through the prime minister's intervention.

A 10 cents increase has been awarded on the minimum rates of pay for daily rated employees of the mining industry, after a meeting of Mining Workers wages Board held in Freetown last week under the chairmanship of the Rev. Dr. S. M. Richards.

The Board also ratified proposals which efficiency differentials were increased for efficiency-tested journeymen as follows: Eight cents for Grade 1 journeymen, 6 cents Grade 2 journeymen and two cents for Grade 3 journeymen.

These awards are in addition to a general increase of 10 cents and will become effective one month after the first official publication in the Sierra Leone Gazette.

The four major mining companies have agree to increases of Le48 p.a. in addition of junior staff now earning under Le1 p.a.

● One of the by-elections held last month as a result of petitions against successful candidates in the 1967 general election has itself been declared invalid after an election petition. The seat, Bonthe North, is retained by the SLPP candidate. Giving evidence for the petitioner, Mr. Justice Cole said there had been impersonation, bribery, intimidation through use of Poro "devils". There had also been physical violence and malicious damage.

● Mr. Mordecai Talabi Coker has been appointed a director of the United Africa Company of Sierra Leone. He joined the company as a clerk in 1947. Now aged 47, he has been administrative staff manager and has attended a number of courses in Sierra Leone and abroad.

● According to evidence given at the treason trial, there is no record that the former Prime Minister, Sir Albert Margai, has left Freetown. It is generally believed, however, that Sir Albert is now living in London.

● A South Korean medical team has had talks with the Health Minister, Mr. J. Barthes Wilson, on the possibility of South Korean doctors working in Sierra Leone. The South Koreans, who are visiting other West African states, are considering other forms of aid to health Services. The Soviet Union has a team of doctors working in the country, and the Medical Department recruits from many countries.

● As a result of the establishment of the new Business Immigration Quota Committee, the influx of foreigners should be brought under control, said the Minister of Trade and Industry, speaking at the committee's first meeting. He said foreigners had been pouring in and the former quota committee had done nothing to control this.

● Rice production in Sierra Leone rose from an estimated 335,000 tons in 1966-67 to 394,000 tons in 1968-69 according to the *Rice Bulletin* of the Commonwealth Secretariat. Sierra Leone is still importing rice from the Far East although it is the staple diet of a large part of the population.

● The first conference for West Africa of US Peace Corps workers has been held in Freetown. It was an "in country training conference" for Peace Corps volunteers and staff workers in Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

MALI

After the signing of a Franco-Malian pact on the application in 1969 of the Dec. 1967 financial agreements (in force for a year now) the Minister of Finance said the talks were needed because in the last months of the Modibo Keita regime the agreements had not been implemented. M. Nègre also said the "radicalisation" of the regime had destroyed confidence among traders and peasants, by establishing all sorts of control and restrictions. Devaluation of the Mali franc in the circumstances prevailing in mid-1967 had not borne the fruits hoped for, and "capital exported secretly did not return."

At the end of the Paris talks France agreed to a staggering of Mali's debt payments and an increase in French investment, for growing of groundnuts and purchase of agricultural material. At the same time a financial aid convention was signed by M. Seydou Diallo, *directeur du cabinet* of the Mali foreign minister, and M. Francis Plateau, head of the French aid and cooperation mission to Mali, on aid to three projects—for development of cotton production, studies on the structures, and functioning of energy in Mali, and modernisation of the radio. These form part of the 1968 programme of the French Aid and Cooperation Fund.

M. Nègre said he hoped the Government's liberalisation of trade would restore confidence, and that the Government could end illegal exports of cattle and dried fish estimated to be worth about 10,000m. Mali francs per year, or the whole of Mali's trade deficit.

● New demonstrations in support of the CMLN have been reported.

SENEGAL

School Strikes Spread

An indefinite strike of schoolchildren at *lycees* in and around Dakar began last week in protest at the dismissal of eighteen pupils at the National School of Rural Cadres at Bambey, following incidents in which, according to a statement broadcast by the Minister for Technical Education, M. Emile Badiane, a teacher was "beaten, stoned and wounded." The original cause of the trouble was, he said, the catching in the act of two pupils selling their school uniform; it was clear, therefore, that the school could not function normally as long as these "bad elements" were there. The Minister appealed to the Senegalese people to help him ensure that schoolchildren should not lose this school year, as they lost a considerable part of last year. The Minister's statement followed an extraordinary meeting of the cabinet and of the Political Bureau of the UPS.

Emile Badiane—"save the school year".

On Friday of last week, the Democratic Union of Senegalese Students (UDEAS) at Dakar University announced that it had decided to call a strike of support for the "just struggle" of the secondary school pupils. The union called for the immediate and unconditional readmission of the sacked pupils, and appealed to the workers and "all democratic organisations in Senegal" to unite behind schoolchildren and students.

● M. Argod, new French Ambassador, replacing M. Jean Vyau de la Garde, has presented his credentials to President Senghor. He has been Ambassador in Cambodia for the last four years.

● The first of four tuna fish refrigerator ships ordered by Senegal from the French firm *Constructions Mécaniques de Normandie* has been launched and christened *Soumbedioune*.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Spanish Civil Guards have now left Rio Muni, after the departure of all remaining Spanish civilians there except for about 50 in Bata and in the interior, who had chosen voluntarily to stay. Announcing this Madrid radio said a "mobile company" had left in "perfect order and with all their arms and supplies." Preparations were now going ahead, it added, for evacuation of Spanish civilians and troops still in Fernando Po.

The new Equatorial Guinea ambassador to the UN, Tomás Malango (appointed to succeed Saturnino Ibongo, who was killed or committed suicide after the alleged coup of March 5), has announced that two WHO officials will visit Equatorial Guinea to study the situation caused by the departure of Spanish doctors.

Earlier, General Franco had told President Macías that the Civil Guards, stationed in Equatorial Guinea under the agreement which preceded its independence, would not be withdrawn until all Spaniards who wished to leave the territory had done so. He was replying to a telegram from the President urging that the exodus of Spaniards should be slowed down. The exodus began after the incidents of late February in Bata, where a quarrel over the Spanish flag led to clashes and allegedly the intervention by Spanish Civil Guards, and continued after the events of March 5, when Atanasio Ndongo and others are alleged to have attempt a coup in Bata.

Spain is now to loan 400m pesetas (about £2·2m.) to balance its budget, it was reported after talks between President Macías and the Spanish ambassador.

TOGO

The commission set up by President Eyadema to resolve the North-South antagonism has held its first meeting; its members are 20 senior civil servants. At the meeting M. Pierre Adossama, *ministre délégué* to the Presidency, spoke of "the economic and socio-cultural unbalance between the regions of one same country, producing social upheavels which often turn into tribal and ethnic conflicts, aggravated by the shortage of jobs and the people's very small purchasing power. Togo is not escaping from a painful situation like this."

DAHOMEY

France is to aid Dahomey to set up its first "republican intervention company" on the lines of France's para-military *Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité* (CRS). France's aid will amount to 14m. CFA francs.

● M. Michel Ahouanmenou has presented his credentials as Dahomey's new ambassador to the UK (resident in Paris).

CONGO-B

Prime Minister Captain Raoul has inaugurated a radio-transmitter built by People's China, which will enable the Foreign Ministry to communicate with its embassies in Peking, Moscow, Cairo and Paris.

● A military mission led by Captain Tesika Kabala has been in Paris.

● A report on the fifth anniversary of the opening of diplomatic relations between Congo-B and the Soviet Union says that

dateline Africa

co-operation between the two countries "strengthens from year to year."

● Major Ngouabi, head of state, has received a delegation from the Catholic church, led by Mgr Theophile Mbemba, Archbishop of Brazzaville. After the meeting the Bishop of Pointe Noire stressed that there were "no shadows on the horizon of church-state relations."

● The Congo-Brazzaville Minister of Public Works, M. Stéphane Bongho Nouarra, has had talks in Brussels on EEC aid for the Congo's new road programme.

The ministers of Information and Industry, MM. Nze and Nithoud, have visited Moscow for talks on cooperation.

● The weekly newspaper *Nouvelle Congolaise* has had an article on the high prices of goods in Brazzaville, saying controls are ineffective.

● Under a new ordnance on operational national defence, six defence zones have been set up, each divided into one or two military districts.

● 12,000m. CFA francs have been allotted for economic projects, including 7,000 m for new cocoa plantations and other agricultural developments.

● The total value of Congo-B's imports from the Communist countries in 1966 was 52,871,000, nearly twice as much as in 1965; the value of the Congo's exports to these countries, $1,562,000, represented an increase of two-fifths over the previous year. The largest single customer was the USSR which accounted for $2,094,000 of the imports and took $470,000 of the exports. Soviet material sent to the Congo included cement and building materials, lorries and non-electric machinery and tools. In return the USSR imported palm oil, palm nuts and kernels, and cocoa beans.

● Captain Jean-Raymond Makosso has been replaced as director-general of security services by M. Jean-Michel Ebaka, commissioner of police.

CAMEROON

The first stone of a new bridge over the Benue at Garoua has been laid by the Prime Minister of East Cameroon. It is to be finished in 22 months, and will be the most important bridge in Cameroon after the Wouri bridge in Douala. The bridge, costed at 376·4m. CFA; aid will be given by the European Development Fund, 440 yards long, it will carry two heavy vehicles to be replaced on the northern [illegible] by a 560-yard [illegible]

[illegible] 57·9m. [illegible] French loans [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

NIGERIA

Talks Plan Fails

AFTER the Biafran rejection of the proposal by Mr. Wilson for a meeting between him and Col. Ojukwu outside Biafran territory (Mr. Wilson having earlier refused the invitation to go to Biafra), the British prime minister has completed his talks in Addis Ababa, where he went on Monday after his Nigerian tour (*reported by Matthew on p. 383*).

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office has said messages reached London before Mr Wilson's departure that Col. Ojukwu wanted to meet him, the prime minister's invitation had been sent through Mr. I. Kogbara, Biafran representative in London, on March 30, and another message on March 31, both messages saying the meeting could not be in Biafra, from March 29 Mr. Kogbara had been warned to be ready for an urgent message.

This statement came after a Biafran claim that the invitation did not arrive until 10 a.m. on March 31. Another Biafran statement later said Mr. Wilson had promised to go to Biafra and should do so, or else he would lend colour to "information available to the Biafran Government" that he went to Nigeria to plan the current offensive. Mr. Wilson was in a better position to go into Biafra than Col. Ojukwu was to leave it, the statement (read by Mr N. U. Akpan, Chief Secretary to the secessionist government) claimed, ruling out any talks outside Biafra. Dr. Pius Okigbo claimed later in a London Press conference that Mr. Wilson had offered to meet Col. Ojukwu outside Biafra between March 31 and April 7; he had sent an invitation on March 25 and offered (Dr. Okigbo alleged) to arrange a truce to let Col. Ojukwu go to the meeting. The list of meeting places then suggested included Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone, of which the Biafrans had chosen the former, the Biafrans also agreed to a proposal that Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, one of Mr. Wilson's party, should go to Biafra. Then, said Dr Okigbo, Mr. Wilson proposed Addis Ababa, Nairobi, Entebbe, Lome, Yaounde, Accra, Monrovia or Dakar, without mentioning Abidjan or the allegedly promised truce, or Biafra's chosen dates. He said the Federal offensive made it impossible for Col. Ojukwu to fly out now.

In Addis Ababa Mr Wilson, after two days of talks with emperor Haile Selassie, spoke of continued efforts by the OAU committee, including the Monrovia meeting on April 17.

● Addressing a news conference in Lagos on March 30, Mr. Wilson said the Federal Government was willing to enter into talks at any time without preconditions but negotiations would have to lead to preservation of Nigerian unity. The Federal Government, he added, would stand by its guarantee for the safety and security of the Ibos, and was willing to offer more, including possible admission of OAU observers, the offers of overland and daylight air transport for relief for secessionist-held areas also stood. Mr. Wilson said he was assured that bomber pilots were under orders to minimise suffering and stringent measures would be taken if the orders were disobeyed. The British position on a cease-fire, he said, was that it must include arms control and would be meaningless without negotiations, though these could be started without a ceasefire or arms embargo.

Mr. Wilson's party included (besides those mentioned elsewhere) Sir Leslie Monson, Deputy Under Secretary at the Commonwealth and Foreign Office in charge of Africa, and Mr. Trevor Lloyd-Hughes, press officer at No. 10 Downing Street, Nigeria's High Commissioner to the UK, Brig. Ogundipe, went with him.

Gen. Gowon told a news conference (before the Biafrans' rejection of the proposal for a meeting outside their territory) that he hoped the meeting would serve to "convince Ojukwu of his impossible position". He said Mr Wilson was "honest, frank and straightforward", he had not come to mediate, and if anything came of his talks with Ojukwu, the OAU Consultative Committee was best able to handle it. The air raids would not stop, as they had been militarily important, he said, though they alone could not win the war, military installations were near civilian centres and Col Ojukwu was capable of "stage managing" evidence of results of air raids, Gen Gowon alleged.

● The report of an alleged Soviet peace plan has been denied in *Izvestia*, which also accused Western capitalist powers of backing secession.

At the Ibadan Conference on Reconstruction: Chief Simeon Adebo, head of the UN Institute for Training and Research, and Mr. Dudley Seers, Director of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

Federal Move on Umuahia

● Federal forces advanced southwards towards Umuahia from the Okigwi area last week, and reached Uzuakoli, a village about ten miles from the temporary capital of secessionist territory. Bruce Loudon of the *Daily Telegraph* reported from Umuahia that the Federal advance began on March 26. Several reports spoke of large numbers of refugees trekking into Umuahia from Uzuakoli and other places, and Loudon said many less seriously ill patients at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Umuahia were being evacuated to make room for wounded soldiers, while some patients had been evacuated there from the huge Methodist leper colony and hospital at Uzuakoli.

Nigerian forces advanced to Uzuakoli, but a Biafran report said the detachment which entered the village was driven back. Loudon's report speaks of a strong counter-attack along the road where the advance is taking place. He also reports that fifty orphan babies at the Uzuakoli hospital could not be evacuated in time, but there have been no outsiders' reports yet on fighting at the village, nor on any damage to the hospital or other places. Heavy gunfire has been heard in Umuahia from the north, but there is reported to be calm in the town, a special elite force raised for the defence of Umuahia is reported to have gone into action, and Col. Ojukwu is said to have visited the front. A Biafran officer said that at one moment, before the counter-attack, there was nothing between the Federal forces and Umuahia.

Nigerian attacks on the southern front have also been reported, in the Aba, Ikot-Ekpene, Upper Iru and Okpuala sectors; and some "widening of the area of operations" in the Onitsha sector.

Nigeria Radio has claimed the capture of Ovim and Ahaba, five miles north of Uzuakoli and at the meeting of roads to Okigwi Umuahia and Arochuku.

● Air raids on the villages of Ndikpa and Nguzu Edda were reported by Biafra late last week, almost the first raids reported on towns or villages for a fortnight.

● Chief Awolowo has declared in a letter to the Lagos *Sunday Times* that he is "irrevocably committed to Federal politics", and had no interest in State politics; and that he would not participate in unelected "or even an electoral-college elected" civil administration "in a military or any setting" (*sic*). Nor did he want to participate in the work of a constituent assembly unless its members were duly elected all over Nigeria by universal suffrage.

He agreed that military regime was an abnormality, but said it should not be ended prematurely for this would be to "court disaster." Military rule should continue until the war was won or until the "political nuisance" which led to military rule had ended.

The Chief (Vice-Chairman of the Federal Executive Council) also said he stood by his statement in May 1967 that if "by any case of commission or omission" the Eastern Region (as it was then) were allowed to secede then the Western Region and Lagos must also be allowed to do so. In any peace settlement, he said, no concession should be given to the Ibos that was not going to be given also to other ethnic groups in Nigeria. On civil rule he said "if . . . I am in the government, well and good. If not I will mount a most vigorous campaign" to impress on those in power what he believed necessary for the people.

● Mr Clyde Ferguson, President Nixon's special envoy for Nigeria-Biafra relief affairs, said after his visit to both sides in the war that tuberculosis was likely to reach "epidemic proportions" during the coming rains in the war affected areas. Infectious diseases were increasing because of the poor physical condition of the people, he said during a visit to Addis Ababa.

● Haiti's recognition of Biafra (reported last week) reportedly followed a mission to President Duvalier led by Dr O. Ikejiani, former chairman of the Nigerian Railways Corporation, and by Mr. Chukuma Azikiwe, son of the former President.

Kaduna radio has had a derisive broadcast on the recognition by Haiti, saying Haiti is "no stranger to civil war and its after effects" or to revolutions or rebels. It also said, "we never knew that the Haitians were off-springs of the Ibos. We thought if they were they would not have

NIGERIA—*continued*

waited for two years" to recognise these secessionists. (President Duvalier said in his statement announcing recognition that the Haitians were partly descended from Ibos.) Biafran radio has reported messages of congratulations to Col. Ojukwu on the recognition of Haitians and thanks to President Duvalier. One message was said to have come from Mrs. Victoria Ironsi, widow of the late Supreme Commander.

● Mr. William Rogers, US Secretary of State, has said his government will respect the wishes of African nations and will not intervene in the Nigerian war; it will support efforts by the OAU and the Commonwealth Secretariat to end the war. He said the US was concerned over the plight of victims of the war and hoped relief could be increased.

● Biafra is producing its own beer from the Independence Brewery once again, Mr. T. Eneli, Permanent Secretary of the Biafran Ministry of Finance and Commerce, said in an interview shortly before the last reported offensive. He told *The Times'* correspondent, who was shown the brewery in Umuahia, that it had closed in May, but now some ingredients for beer had been brought in by air. The report says that the football pools and "business as usual," as well as beer, are signs that the Biafrans "refuse to be downhearted."

● An economic planning commission to formulate polices for postwar planning and reconstruction, including resettlement of ex-servicemen, has been inaugurated in Biafra. Col. Ojukwu, addressing members of the commission said the group was to operate as an important machinery serving the needs of Biafra as an independent country. It was established by edict in 1966 when Eastern Nigeria was part of Nigeria, but in view of changes since then, Col. Ojukwu said, the job of the commission now would be "to assess our human and economic resources, and to co-ordinate their effective use in the overall interest of the nation." He said Nigeria had counted vainly on economic forces to weaken Biafra

● The National Rehabilitation Commission is to spend more than £5 m. annually in the next three or four years on restoring normalcy in the war-affected areas of Nigeria. The public relations officer of the Commission, Mr. A. K. Disu, said it was sending out experts in agriculture, medicine, psychiatry, nutrition and other fields, to survey the war affected areas.

● Mgr. Jean Rodhain, chairman of Caritas International, has reported to the Pope on the organisation's help to war victims on both sides, and on his visit to Nigeria in February, where he was reported to have received full official cooperation and requests for medical help. *Le Monde* says there has been more emphasis in Rome in the recent months on the fact that Catholic relief aid goes to both sides (it has, however, done so since the outset).

In an interview with Philippe Decraene of *Le Monde* Mgr. Rodhain said the relief airlift was expensive and dangerous, though only one aircraft had been lost in the Churches' airlift, which had made over 1,800 successful flights. He said the Biafran "redoubt" has continual contact with areas under federal control; the danger of starvation was worst in the forests outside the Biafran-held area, and especially in the Enugu-Obilago-Afikpo-Awgu area, while on the southern front villages were also being reconstituted. In relief work Ca made use chiefly of local people. The h he hoped, might be able to help by a an enlarged relief airlift.

● The Biafran Rehabilitation Commi claimed 10,000 war victims died e day between May and August last year, with increased relief supplies the rate to 1,000 a day between September December.

News from the States

The Rivers State has dissolved Rehabilitation Committee and establish Rivers State Rehabilitation Commission wider powers. The new Commission, Dr. Obi Wale as Chairman, has been empowered to resettle all displaced per and advise the Government on meas considered necessary. Chief Harold Da Bonsie, State Commissioner for Agricult said the Commission would ascertain extent to which the exodus of persons of Rivers State origin from the State affected the economy of the State, would ascertain the fields which were ma dominated by people of non-Rivers S origins and suggest ways by which the peo of the State could be encouraged to par pate more in such fields.

● The former Olowo of Owo, Pr Olateru Olagbegi, has been released f restriction in Okitipupa where he deported after his deposition in Febru last year. He is still precluded from ing any part of Owo Division, wh another Olowo has been installed "As as the Government is satisfied that presence of the ex-Olowo in Owo Divis is not likely to cause any disruptio peace and order in the area this lat restriction will be lifted" an extraordin gazette said. Oba Olateru Olagbegi wa some years in exile from Owo, and return there was followed by riots and deposition. Politics were said to be involv in the dispute over his position.

● The South-East State Commissioner Home Affairs and Information, Chief Le Edet, has called on the Federal Gover ment to release more funds for the Stat

● The enquiry ordered by the Lagos Sta Government into six people mentioned the report on the Lagos Executive Develo ment Board has completed its hearings.

LONDON

Ford Dennis, son of former Secretary of t Treasury in Liberia, scores a rugby try f Millfield School in Sussex, where is is st studying. He has played for Sussex in repr sentative junior rugby and is also a schoo boy sprint champion of England.

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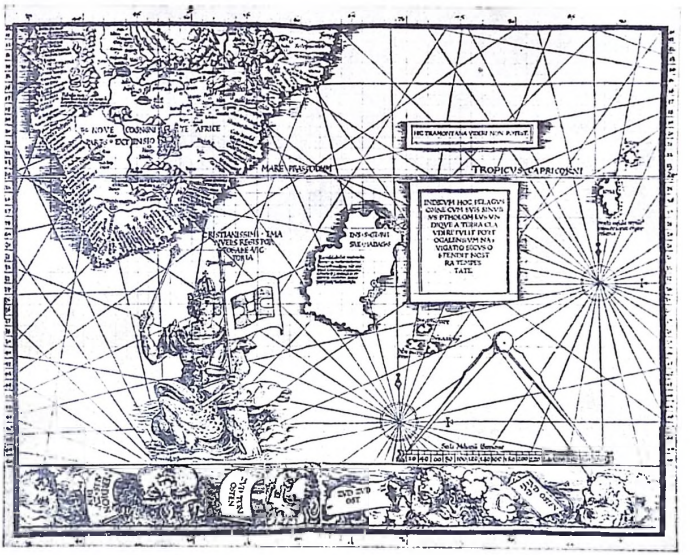

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