

West Africa

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Secession or Security?

IF Biafra's secession is successful, the argument runs, then not only the rest of Nigeria, but almost every tropical African country, is in danger of fragmentation. Supporters of this argument will be delighted by the news (reported in "Matchet's Diary" this week) that the Liberation Movement of the Sanwi people, an ancient but tiny group tucked away in the South-East of the Ivory Coast along the Ghana border, are now demanding "self-determination", and asking both President de Gaulle and President Houphouët-Boigny to apply to Sanwi the principle they are applying to Biafra.

We doubt, however, that many other secessionist movements will arise to imitate Biafra; such movements must have purely local sources if they are to attract wide support, and their leaders seldom learn much from a study of other countries.

The Eritreans and the Southern Sudanese are unlikely to have been strengthened in their resolution by knowledge of Biafra's secession, while in Ghana's constitutional debate (an article on this appears on page 263) even those from Ashanti and the North, who most strongly supported secession in Dr. Nkrumah's time, now make no reference even to its possibility.

No, the Federal case, which needs restating at a time when the Federal Government is facing heavy criticism everywhere because of the civilian casualties in air raids on Biafra (Matchet also writes on this), does not have to rest on the hypothetical consequences to other African countries of successful Biafran secession. In any case, it would be most unjust to some eight million Ibos to deny them a future of their choice—if it is their choice—simply because a tiny group like the Sanwi might decide to follow them. It is on the consequences for Nigeria, and for the secessionist state itself, that the Federal case rests.

If it is true that one secessionist movement leads to another this would nowhere be more true than in Nigeria itself. Who can doubt that if Biafra's secession was recognised, it would sooner or later be

followed by secessionist movements in the rest of the Federation? And these would be based not on the former regions or even on the present states, but probably on ethnic groups such as the Bini, Kanuri, Tiv, or the ancient kingdom of Kano. Apart from the political instability this would bring, it would mean the end of economic progress in an area which offers more hope of it than most in Africa, quite apart from the damage that would immediately be done if Biafra were a separate state.

But even this, depending as it does too much on hypothesis, is not the essence of the Federal case. Far more important is the virtual certainty that even if the Federal Government finally accepted Biafra's secession, and the Federation remained intact, the uneasy peace that would follow would only be a prelude to another, and probably nastier, war. For one thing is perfectly clear. When talking of any possible sovereign Biafra, one is talking of the Ibo areas of the East Central State. It is now quite impossible for the Federal Government to abandon the two new non-Ibo states created in the former Eastern Region, not only because it has always been a main Federal aim to liberate their peoples from Ibo rule but also because these peoples themselves would not accept any going back to their former status. So when we are discussing Biafra we are discussing the small, landlocked, East Central State.

It is true that by the standards of independent Africa even this could now be called viable (the former Eastern Region certainly could be), but in spite of the ingenuity and high standard of education of the people, they could scarcely be contained indefinitely in this area and would seek, as they have in the past, an outlet in the Federation. The separation of the Ibos from other Nigerians could never be complete.

More important, there are over the Niger half a million Ibos in the Mid-West State. If the East Central State became sovereign, these Ibos might be regarded by both the Lagos and the Benin governments as a threat to security, and might



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themselves be anxious to join the Biafra.

Any measures taken by the Nigerian in these circumstances, however reasonable, might easily supply the pretext Biafra for another war. It is impossible in any case to imagine that an independent Biafra would not seek allies in the Federation, and would not continue to be aided by some at least of the abroad now assisting Col. Ojukwu. A recipe for instability this can scarce be bettered.

Nobody has ever received a mandate permanently to separate any part of Nigeria from the rest. The mass of those Ibos still under Colonel Ojukwu control can show such fortitude because they believe that the alternative resistance is death more horrible even than that from starvation or air bombing, and a total closing of all economic opportunities to them. But their terrible plight now obscures the essential fact that the reason advanced for declaring Biafran secession and sovereignty in the first place was that this alone would secure the physical safety of the people of the former Eastern region. This most clearly theoretical sovereignty has not done, and will not do for them. But now in Umuahia the search for safety has been forgotten; sovereignty it seems, must be preserved for its own sake and at whatever cost.

Waiting Only for Revenge?

It is argued, however, that if the Ibos are forced to remain in the Federation they will only bide their time to make another attempt at secession, and will never develop satisfactory relations with the Federal Government. In fact, not only are a large number of Ibos living outside the former Eastern Region now left in peace, but a small number are returning to the North, in some cases to official employment. Relations between the Federal forces and Ibos in the area recaptured from Col. Ojukwu are often better than relations between soldier and civilians in some other parts of the Federation.

The IBO Communities

Nor have we seen any evidence that the Ibos in the areas now administered by Mr. Asika are thirsting for revenge or plotting against the Federation. The determination is rather to rebuild the own communities, and in this they expect, and will most certainly get, both Federal and international assistance.

There is no easy future now for the inside Biafra. Their choice, if you like is one between evils. But it is still worth choosing the lesser evil; we are confident that a future in the Federation offers far better prospects, not only for the Federation but for the Ibos themselves, than an uncertain and unstable sovereignty.

Politics without Parties

From a Correspondent in Accra

There are several concurrent attractions to interest the visitor to Ghana's capital at the moment. The longest running shows in town are the "assets" tribunals, there are three, headed by Mrs. Justice Annie Jiagge, Mr. J. S. Manyo-Plange (a former judge), and Mr. Justice E. N. P. Sowah; Mrs. Jiagge's was the first to start, in September 1966. There on a good day, when there is a chance of seeing a former big fish humbled, can, I am told, still attract a crowd. I looked in on the Jiagge Commission at the Supreme Court building but the attendance was small for the pedestrian declaration of bank accounts, houses, etc., by the one-time resident Minister in Guinea, the Rev. Stephen Dirasa. The torpor in the courtroom was unrelieved by any humour or drama, though these often burst out at the commissions. There was only a pokerfaced, bespectacled, ex-clergyman, occasionally delving into a large portfolio, saying his piece without emotion.

One must, however, admire Mrs. Jiagge, recently chairman of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, for coping with this marathon month by month in imperfect ventilation, yet still managing to ask alert questions such as: "you mean to say that you built a house for your wife but you collected the rent?"

Unfortunately, the most interesting gathering in Accra—the Amissh inquiry into the Air Marshal Otu affair—is still in difficulties because of lack of proper interpretation for the Soviet trawler captains, so the session I went to was immediately adjourned. Seating for large numbers has been provided in the inquiry room in the old State House, in the shadow of Job 600, Dr. Nkrumah's enormous palace (still untenanted), and on some days when the evidence has been of a sensational kind the room has been packed. There was some amusement when Naval Lieutenant Kwapong, Air Marshal Otu's former ADC complained that the commission record for the day when the last earth tremor occurred (there were two in Accra last month) described his guard as fleeing when, he maintained, it was the guard of Ekow Eshun (former head of the CPP overseas branch, who is also under arrest) who had fled. Mr. Justice Amissh, one of the youngest members of the Ghana bench, whose relaxed yet businesslike manner helps to keep the temperature down, agreed that the record should be changed.

The Constituent Assembly

The event on which I have been concentrating my attention, therefore, has been the Constituent Assembly, now in its sixth week and still going strong—too strong some would say, since it is still showing signs that it will be unable to complete its work on schedule, and so might delay the timetable for the return

to civilian rule. The embarrassing procedural delays of its opening days seem now to have been sorted out, although it is clear that there are still some members who are not fully conversant with the rules, just as it is also clear that there are others who know other rules only too well.

After two days of listening this week to the public debates of the Assembly in the former Parliament building, my most forcible impression is of the extent to which, in spite of the continued ban on party political activity, politics are already intruding on the work of the Assembly, whether anybody likes it or not. On Wednesday, the Speaker, Mr. R. S. Blay, a former judge and an imposing figure, had cause, after a morning full of interest



Dr. Kofi Busia—support from chiefs and professions.

and diversions for the student of Ghanaian politics, to warn members that the Assembly was not a parliament, and that they were framing a constitution for the whole country; "If you want to do politics, go and do it outside," he said.

The discussions on Tuesday had been of a fairly sober nature. A motion by Dr. G. K. Agama (an economics lecturer at the University of Ghana and an NLC nominee to the Assembly) for a second chamber was rejected fairly convincingly. The chief reason was, as Air Commodore de Graft-Hayford (representing the Ghana Legion of Ex-Servicemen) put it: "This multiplication of control and checking bodies is getting out of hand". A motion by Mr. Justice Azu Crabbe that the office of vice-president should be created was likewise rejected, chiefly because it was considered unnecessary. This seemed to be the Assembly at its most sober and most rational, disposing of motions so that it could get on with the business of the five committees set up two weeks ago to expedite proceedings.

On Wednesday, however, the whole morning was allowed for full debate.

This was apparently because the amendments to the draft constitution (prepared by the Chief Justice's Constitutional Commission, which the committees are considering in detail) following acceptance in principle of certain important points, such as that the president should be "ceremonial", that there should be an "Ombudsman", and a national House of Chiefs, have still not all returned from the printers. Given this licence, the Assembly began to demonstrate certain political itches. The occasion was a series of motions from Mr. Joe Appiah, the wiry little "prison-graduate" from Ashanti, representing the Ghana Bar Association, lieutenant of Dr. Busia in the old days of opposition to Nkrumah, but now reportedly looking for political leadership himself. His main motion was that the voting age should be reduced from 21 to 18, which he argued with all the gravel voiced eloquence at his disposal, stressing notably "no taxation without representation", and the need to keep in step with trends all over the world in which youth is seeking participation: "we cannot hold back the current". He also argued that there were those who feared to allow the vote to youth because the youth were the generation that had been indoctrinated by Dr. Nkrumah; to which he replied that it was the old men who supported Nkrumah, whose cabinet had an average age of 45.

The debate swung back and forth with the representatives of students and youth supporting the motion, but a great many voices from the cautious conservative members of the middle classes, who form the solid centre of this Assembly (the lounge-suited heirs of the old United Gold Coast Convention?) coming out against such a token of progress. Nevertheless Mr. Appiah and others pressed the matter to a full scale division, the first the Assembly has had.

Youth in Politics

Sceptical voices detected political motives in this, in that, with an eye to political support from the younger people who form the great enigma of the Ghanaian electorate, there were those who wanted names placed on the record to show where members stood on this particular issue. There may, indeed, have been designs to embarrass certain members who did not want to commit themselves on this issue. But it was fascinating to see how, when members appointed tellers and divided, from nowhere "whips" emerged in the entrance hall to guide members as they emerged into the respective lobbies.

As the ban on political parties remains (in spite of the rumours of an imminent lifting, the NLC seem determined to keep the ban until the Assembly shows signs of really making progress with its work) it is not possible to define hard and fast groups, and there are some members of the Assembly who genuinely do not want to have party labels thrust on them. There are also those, however, who like to keep their different groups, in order somehow

to end up on the winning side; the lion makes this kind of ambivalence easier to operate.

One can observe in the Assembly an Appiah group, who usually sit together, and a large diffuse Basia group, drawing on chiefs and the professions. There are also several younger men, such as Mr. M. N. B. Ayiku of the Ghana Society of Engineers (who made the first speech, when the Assembly finally started its debating on January 21) and Mr. Sum Okudzeto of the Ghana National Youth Council, who are making their presence felt and may or may not be related to the elusive "third force"; but as one senior political personality said to me, "where are Gbedemah's men?" They are supposed to be there, but they have yet to declare their interest. The situation looks remarkably fluid at the moment.

Students of form noted that a little rift between Dr. Basia and the NLC, over a reference he made to the possibility of changing the Ghana flag, was brought to the floor of the house, and seemed at one point to be on the brink of introducing further political imbroglio, revealing that there are those who would dearly like to embarrass the good Doctor.

I have heard the argument put that to allow parties now would help the work of the Assembly in that it would eliminate some of the repetition and streamline viewpoints, cutting out some of the "one-man" political parties around at the moment. But on present form, to introduce parties would be more likely to distract this Assembly from its work. The problem is that even in the present situation politics without parties may develop a momentum of their own, unless the current goodwill and solemn intentions which also characterise this Assembly can act as a check.

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Party Warfare Ahead?

From an Ibadan Correspondent

WHILE the outside world concentrates on the fluctuating fortunes of the war, frustration inside Nigeria is caused less by the slow speed of military advance than by a vague sense of delayed political aspirations. And nowhere is this more apparent than in the Western State. The area has a long tradition of articulate political activity and of educational prowess, which made it famous for its progress in the 1950s, but the political disturbances of this decade, compounded by past mistakes, have taken a heavy toll of the confidence of the people in their rulers.

The Tax Riots

The recent tax riots are, in part, a reflection of this. "The Yoruba are, above all, people who like to get value for money," I was told by one percipient political figure. "They don't see why they should pay water rate when they have no water." Moreover, the great promises of the past—the free primary education system, for example—have somehow gone sour, and the hopes raised by the release of Chief Awolowo, who was felt to have worked wonders in the past, have not been realised, though his 60th birthday this week has been appropriately honoured on a wide scale.

This disappointment has, in part, been due to Chief Awolowo's position as Federal Commissioner for Finance in a wartime government, in which capacity he cannot deliver the goods his followers had hoped, and is bound to be in the front line of criticism: the market women, I am told, refer to the 5 per cent levy as the "Awolowo tax." His followers themselves admit that their Chief's image is dented and it must be admitted that some of the tax riot took place in Ijebu, his own heartland. Some observers feel, however, that he still commands a reserve of sympathy which he might be able to use in a crisis.

Hospital Contracts Affair

Grievances seem more often to be directed against the army, and against the Western State's Military Governor, Brigadier Robert Adebayo. His alleged "playboy" style of government is widely criticised as unsuitable for a nation at war. Recent signs of division within the Western government over the Cottage Hospital affair (the *Daily Times* has published a report headed "£2m. Contract Scandal," referring to a contract for 25 cottage hospitals in the Western State, to be built under "contractor finance" at a cost of £90,000 each), suggest that some members of the government are unwilling to accept responsibility for an unpopularity which they feel should go to the Government.

In this somewhat poisoned atmosphere of quarrels and plots although this is not a new phenomenon in Ibadan. Military rule had been able to hold the ring between warring factions of the old Western Region, albeit on the terms of stronger group, but with the new military slipping of Chief Awolowo's post and the discrediting of the whole government, the risk of an intra-party warfare is surely present. Of the Federal government in Lagos it be unaware.



Chief Awolowo: 60 this week and a reservoir of sympathy.

Nigeria's New Oil

New oilfields, described as "promising", have been discovered in the Forcados Estuary and in the Jamba areas of the Mid-West, as well as another offshore field. Shell-BP announces its company also announces its intention spending £45m. in Nigeria this year, the biggest amount it has ever spent in a single year, on exploration, construction and development, together with rehabilitation of damaged facilities. A new pipeline complex will cost £6m. and will tap more oilfields in the Rivers State to the Trans-Niger pipeline near Bonny.

A new 20-inch pipeline will run from the James Creek field in the Mid-West to the £15m. Trans-Forcados pipelines under construction. It will be 20 miles long, and is estimated to cost £2m. New production facilities will cost £3.5m. extensions to the Bonny Terminal £1.2m.

The company says that its own oil production is now running at 350,000 barrels daily. It has embarked on a recruitment drive in Nigeria. Ninety Nigerians are studying in universities and technical institutions on Shell-BP scholarships, 42 in Nigeria and 54 abroad.

Houses for Africa's People

By a correspondent

AFRICAN countries spend over \$600m. a year on imported building materials, nearly a third of their estimated annual investment in construction, and spending on building materials is expected to quadruple between 1965 and 1980. What prospects are there for making building materials within Africa? A paper presented to an Addis Ababa meeting on "Technical and Social Problems of Urbanisation" held last January under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa, dealt with this problem. This paper (E.C.N. 114/HOU 34), on "The African Building Materials Industries," was originally prepared for a UNIDO "Inter-Regional Workshop" on Building Industries, in Moscow.

Cement production in Africa rose rapidly, even outstripping expanded demand, in the 1950s, but this was mainly in North and East Africa, the West remaining more dependent on imports. African cement is generally rather expensive, but, says the paper, specific African conditions that inflate prices—high transport costs, for example—do not wholly justify the prevailing high levels. Production of concrete blocks and other cement products is less advanced in West and Central Africa than in the North and East. "The future development of this industry," says the paper, "should be directed towards the installation of asbestos cement units and extensions of units producing primary building materials such as blocks, tiles and tubes, in order to bring about a substantial reduction in prices..."

Old Brick Industry

Quarries for sand and aggregates are found in all African states, while the brick industry is the biggest building materials industry there; the paper points out that it is an old tradition. Imported timber is being increasingly used for building, as African timber is very much for export. Africa is now making—not straight from the iron ore—some iron and steel products, including reinforcement bars (the main product of the Steelworks Division of the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation, with factory at Tema). West Africa is well supplied with many raw materials for building ingredients, including iron ore and limestone.

Building materials made in Africa tend to be expensive, owing to costs of transport and imported materials, skilled staff salaries, and other needs. The paper suggests some improvements to reduce costs, including very careful planning of plants to ensure efficiency. It stresses the need for many low-cost houses in Africa, and says existing efforts are not enough. Projections of fixed capital formation in construction in Africa show that this could rise from 8 per cent. to 15 per cent. of West Africa's gross domestic product by 1980.

But, to achieve this "enormous scope for development," governments should aim to create favourable conditions for local contractors, and ensure efficient organisation and management of the industry—which needs other improvements too, the paper says (this would involve "multinational and sub-regional projects"). Costs must be lowered and labour made more productive; while establishment of an African geological Institute could lead to a detailed catalogue of raw materials available in Africa for building industries.

Migration to towns is not peculiar to developing countries, still less to Africa, but the problems it raises there have properly aroused special attention in the past 20 years, when economic changes and population growth, and lack of development in agriculture, have swollen the populations of African cities. Far more people migrate to cities than can find jobs, and those who have jobs receive low wages, which chronic unemployment can effectively keep low. Hence great numbers of city dwellers cannot even begin to pay for proper housing; the result is well known, and inspired papers at this meeting.

Another paper (E/CN.14/HOU 37), *The Contribution of Co-operative Housing Societies to the Technical and Social Problems of Urbanisation*, says the chief technical problems are "unplanned and uncontrolled growth" of towns, obstacles

to enterprise, property speculation, and neglect of transport and public utility systems. It suggests a policy to provide suitable dwellings, and rents, for the mass of the people, with assistance for less fortunate people, and to encourage self-help.

"Co-operative housing societies, non-profit housing societies and other non-profit institutions in the field of housing" should be encouraged, says the paper. The aim of a housing co-operative is to build for its members and their families and manage the houses either on a co-operative basis for occupancy, or sell them to members freehold; the possible contribution to housing for "economically weak" groups is obvious.

There was another paper prepared for this meeting (organised by the German Foundation for Developing Countries as well as ECA) describing the West German "Saving-for-Building Scheme" in detail, saying it could be copied in developing countries (E.C.N.14 HOU 36). Another, prepared by the ECA secretariat deals with mortgages, listing organisations now carrying on mortgage operations in Africa, such as the First Ghana Building Society and the Western Nigeria Housing Corporation; it also briefly summarises traditional and statute land tenure law in Ghana and some other countries (E.C.N.14 HOU 27). In another (E.C.N.14 HOU 38) Assistant Prof. M. Carvalho of the University of Manitoba, says the problems of migration to towns must be tackled at root, in the rural areas from where people migrate.

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The French and Biafra

Paris

IN answer to representations from the Nigerian embassy here, the Quai d'Orsay has insisted that France's National Biafra Day, announced after a cabinet meeting recently, is "humanitarian." The day will be March 16, and there will be radio appeals in the days preceding to prepare the public. The four-man parliamentary delegation who went to Nigeria have made some impression on French opinion, thanks to the strong personality of the delegation's leader, M. Aymar Achille-Fould, a centrist MP; but there is still a long way to go before the Nigerian point of view makes a real impression in France.

Nigeria in the News

Something of the effect has gone out of the stories of starvation, but reported bombardments by the Nigerian air force have kept the war in the news here. The independent radio network Europe No. 1, which is not noted for its coverage of African affairs but which is fairly independent of the government, found space in a peak-hour news item for a reported breach of the recent two-day truce by the air force and insisted on the number of deaths caused by bombing of civilians. Thus the "genocide" thesis retains general acceptance in spite

of the widely-reported statements of the deputies who visited the Nigerian side. The National Biafra Day appeal is believed to be the first the government has launched for a cause of this kind in recent years; Vietnam Day last year was not officially sponsored.

At a debating-lunch organised by the Association des Journalistes d'Outre-mer, M. Achille-Fould said he thought the Biafra collection should be held on behalf of all war victims. Otherwise it was a "political" gesture. He has been attacked by M. Jean-Claude Fortuit, leader of a two-man delegation of Gaullist deputies who visited Biafra while M. Achille-Fould was in Nigeria. M. Fortuit and the former ambassador in Nigeria, M. Raymond Offroy, who was expelled after the break in relations in 1961 and who is now a Gaullist MP, have launched a new pro-Biafra association, called Action Committee for Biafra.

Three Pro-Biafra Groups

This brings the number of groups in France supporting the Biafran cause to three: the other two are the France-Biafra Association which works nationally, and the International Committee of Struggle against Genocide in Biafra, which was launched by pilots and

doctors who had been in Biafra. When launching the Action Committee, which will work for recognition at a political level, M. Fortuit made references to M. Achille-Fould's Nigerian interests (a coastal shipping company and the controversial "message" he had taken from M. Debré to General Gowon). "We have no interests in Biafra," took no messages and we brought no back." An explanation for M. Achille-Fould's "message," which was later denied by the Foreign Ministry, may lie in the fact that M. Debré and the Quai d'Orsay are often in the dark about General de Gaulle's foreign policy decisions.

The tenor of the message, however, is that France does not aim to recognize Biafra, which is what the Quai d'Orsay has frequently told the Nigerian Embassy over the past year. But on the other hand, de Gaulle himself seems to be aiming at a certain ambiguity, so as to encourage the Biafrans, while not discouraging the Nigerians too much. According to the satirical weekly *Canard Enchaîné*, the Quai d'Orsay was once more left in the dark when M. Offroy launched his Action Committee. Instructions, it was said, had come directly from the Elysée.

Geoff Varley

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ROUNDBOUT

Big Names at Reconstruction Talks

What must surely be one of the greatest gatherings of experts and public personalities ever assembled in Nigeria, meets here later this month. Officially described as a conference on national reconstruction and development in Nigeria, the meeting is being organised by the Federal Ministry of Economic Development in Lagos, and the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER) at the University of Ibadan. It will be held from March 24 to 29 at the University conference centre. A note on the conference says that it will "review the achievements of Nigeria's first national development plan and suggest guidelines for the preparation of the second national development plan, taking account of the need for economic and social reconstruction after the present emergency, recent administrative changes, and current trends in economic and social conditions." The latter two points might be taken to refer respectively to the new 12-state system, which reaches another phase in its development at the end of the financial year (March 31), and to measures brought about by the emergency, such as import restrictions.

The conference will have three sessions a day, each on a different aspect of the theme, with a different chairman and main speaker for each session. The chairmen are for the most part leading Nigerian figures from politics, the public service, and the universities, although outside chairmen include Dr. P. S. N. Prasad, Director of the UN Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning in Bangkok (and formerly economic adviser to the Nigerian Federal Government); Mr. Mahmoud Beheiry, President of the African Development Bank; and Mr. Cyril Bright, Liberian Secretary of State for Economic Development. Four Federal Commissioners will chair sessions—Chief Awolowo, Chief Enahoro, Alhaji Aminu Kano and Mr. Joseph Tarka. Alhaji Yahaya Gusau, as Commissioner for Economic Development, is the speaker at the opening session.

The main speakers, too, are predominantly Nigerian. Mr. Allison Ayida, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Development, for example, will speak on development objectives; Dr. Adebayo Adedeji, of the Institute of Administration at Ife, on Federalism, economic planning, and plan administration (he is publishing a book in connection with the conference); Dr. H. M. Onitiri of NISER on economic and social survey (at this session the chairman will be Dr. Dudley Seers, former ECA expert, Mrs. Castle's right hand when she was at Britain's Ministry of Overseas Development, and now at the Institute of Development at the University of Sussex). Professor Ojetunji

Aboyade of the University of Ibadan will discuss the development process; Professor Oluwasanmi, Vice-Chancellor of Ife and an agriculturalist, on agriculture and rural development (the chair at this meeting will be taken by Chief Akin-Deko, former Minister of Agriculture in the Western Region, former FAO Regional Representative for Africa, and now chairman of the Western Nigerian Development Corporation).

Mr. Tony Asika, the Ibo Administration of Federally-held parts of the East-Central State, who is also on the staff of Ibadan, will talk about rehabilitation and resettlement; Mr. Philip Asiodu, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Trade and Industry, about industrial development; Chief Dina, Chairman of the Interim Revenue Allocation Committee, about fiscal measures (Dr. Isong,



Asika—rehabilitation and resettlement.

Governor of the Central Bank, will be his chairman); Professor Sam Aluko of Ife about wages, costs, and prices, and Ayo Ogunsheye, Professor of Adult Education at Ibadan, about education and manpower.

There are only two non-Nigerian main speakers: Professor Kuhn of York University, Toronto, whose subject will be transport and communications, and M. Mourtado Diallo, ECA's sub-regional adviser on energy resources and utilisation—the chairman at this session will be Mr. Alirio Parra, who is on the board of the Organisation of Petrol Exporting Countries (OPEC). One-third of the 65 participants in the conference are to be non-Nigerian. Some will appear in the sessions as "discussants" of each subject. Among them are foreign scholars at Nigerian universities, such as Professors Callaway and O'Connell: "gurus" from Western universities, such as Professor Wolfgang Stolper of the University of Michigan (a principle outside adviser on Nigeria's first six-year plan and author of *Planning Without Facts*, based on that experience), and as distinguished figures from neighbouring African countries—Mr. E. N. Omaboe, Ghana's Commissioner for Economic Affairs, Mr. J. H. Mensah, a



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senior ECA planner and former Principal Secretary in Ghana and Mr. Solomon Pratt, Sierra Leone's Minister of Economic Planning. But the weight of the participants does not end there, for there are also listed 47 Nigerian and foreign observers, ranging from Mr. Robert Gardner, head of ECA, M. Diallo Telli, head of OAU, and Mr. Arnold Smith, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, to diplomats from Lagos, the Japanese, Polish, German and American Ambassadors, with a sprinkling of business representatives, such as Mr. H. G. Davies, General Manager of Shell-BP, Lagos, and Mr. Gyasi-Twum, Managing Director of the Ghana Commercial Bank.

postpone all forward thinking for an indefinite period. In any case "reconstruction" should be looked on in a wider sense than merely rebuilding bridges and installations in the wake of war. There are times, indeed, when the word seems to take on an almost metaphysical nature. On it are now



Omabue-Guru from Ghana.

Why Meet Now?

When I asked one of the participants whether it was by design that the conference on reconstruction should take place before the end of the war, it was pointed out to me that it was going to become difficult to pronounce when the war was over, anyway, as it looked as if a treaty to mark the end of hostilities may not be possible. If one envisages the war as a contained operation within a very small area (compared with the whole Federation), which could drag on, then it would become very frustrating to

centred the Nigerian aspirations which first surrounded "independence," and then flickered for an all too brief moment in the period after the January 1966 coup.

I feel that I should mention that had coming here I found in Lagos, in certain official quarters not connected with conference, scepticism whether it we achieve very much, as it was not so clearly rooted in realities: "there will be some point in getting all these people together if they were actually going to discuss a second plan but are only going to hold a post-mortem when they know what went wrong a way." I think this underrates how the experimental aspects of the conference: it is a kind of economic Su General, from which a multitude perspectives could emerge.

When the first plan was published, 1962, Chief Awo'olowo, then leader of the Federal Opposition, complained in Parliament in Lagos that the plan had been released in Washington before had been issued in Nigeria. This is a symptom of widespread feeling that that plan had been drawn up in insufficient consultation in Nigeria, concentrating too exclusively on standards of living. This time, at any rate, intention is firm: to make it a Nigerian plan for Nigerians, embodying Nigerian aspirations.

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Biafra's Valuable Stamps

How does Biafra still manage to find foreign exchange, in spite of the virtual stoppage of exports from the area, and the impossibility of using Biafran currency abroad? One explanation is offered here.

BIAFRAN postage stamps began to appear on the world philatelic market in quantities last September. It was surprising that they had not appeared earlier. Issues of postage stamps are a commonplace device by which countries augment their foreign exchange earnings.

Biafra has taken the best overseas philatelic advice and is avoiding a number of pitfalls. In particular she is avoiding the mistake which many countries have made of releasing new issues too frequently. If issues are too frequent collectors cease to take them seriously and the market for them shrinks rapidly.

Amsterdam is one of the larger philatelic centres in Europe. In the postage stamp shops that cluster in and near Van Burgwal Street the cheapest Biafran stamps are a set of four depicting butterflies which cost 14s. This set can also be obtained at the same price with the overprint "Olympic Games, Mexico, 1968." Another set of five stamps depicting flowers costs £1 9s. or with the addition of an inset "Help Biafran Children" £1 16s. 6d. One each of the 2d., 4d. and 1s of the current ordinary Nigerian stamps with the overprint

"Biafra" costs £4 7s. 6d. Nigerian stamps of other denominations overprinted "Biafra" are normally available, but at the moment are "sold out" in Amsterdam.

The Van Burgwal stamp dealers admit that, despite the comparatively high prices, the Biafran stamps are outselling by many times the stamps of any other African country. It is understood that they are selling equally well in most other areas. Biafra is continually in the news and there is much pro-Biafra sentiment. In addition the average stamp collector assumes that because a stamp is expensive it must be scarce and he is tempted into buying by the hope that it will rapidly appreciate in value.

50 Million Collectors

It is estimated that, if the sales continued, Biafra could make about £650,000 from postage stamps in the next 12 months and about £500,000 in subsequent years when the novelty of her issues has worn off. (There are, it seems, some 50 million stamp collectors in the developed countries alone.)

The figure of £650,000 is based on the

assumption that the Federal Government will continue to ignore Biafra's stamp operation. Any step which helped to undermine the confidence of collectors in the genuineness of the stamps as postage stamps and drew attention to their foreign exchange motive would have an effect. Most devastating of all would be if the market were to be flooded with exact copies of each new Biafran issue. Possibly the Federal Government would consider such an undertaking as being beneath its dignity. On the other hand, £650,000 will buy for Biafra no small amount of arms.

One step which the Federal Government may be forced to take is to withdraw its current postage stamps or at least to overprint them. The Nigerian stamps with the overprint "Biafra" now being sold on the philatelic market are stamps which are being bought by agents in the Federation and later overprinted. The stock of Nigerian stamps in Biafra at secession was small. Within a short time it was exhausted and post offices (including the General Post Office in Enugu) were reduced to franking letters "Postage Paid" as a substitute for stamps.

Kennedy Lindsay



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MATCHET'S DIARY

IT is not only Winston Churchill who has sent first-hand reports to the *London Times* of the consequences to civilians of the bombing of Biafra by the Nigerian air force. Lloyd Garrison, for example, has just sent similar reports to the *New York Times*, while there have been many others over the past year. There is no doubt that very serious civilian casualties are caused by these raids. It can be argued that in any war air-raids must lead to civilian casualties. What is alleged, however, is that in Biafra now civilians are the main casualties of bombing. The raids serve no military purpose, since clearly they are not weakening the Biafran army or assisting the Federal one. They certainly do not weaken the resolution of the civilians, but probably strengthen it, and make a political settlement later more difficult. General Gowon has issued unambiguous orders: only military targets are to be bombed. So the repeated bombing of civilians can be explained only in one of three ways. The Egyptian pilots responsible may be too incompetent, or their aircraft are quite unsuitable, for precision bombing (the MiGs seem to use anti-personnel ammunition). Secondly, the pilots may flatly disobey their orders. Or, the most likely reason, they do not really understand their orders. They apparently have no rank in the Nigerian armed forces, and are simply "pilots on contract": they make their sorties as a kind of daily ritual, almost unconnected with the war, and have no feeling at all about the serious issues the bombing raises. From my own observations I feel that this may be the case. But there is no doubt that the bombing increases sympathy for Biafra all over the world at a time when Colonel Ojukwu is also making a military showing. The Federal government cannot be expected to listen to the admonitions of other governments, especially those without clean hands in this matter. But if, as is probably the case, there are still no Nigerians to fly the MiGs, and if the Egyptians are unsuitable, is not the wisest course for the Federation to send the Egyptian pilots home and ground the aircraft? No military advantage would be lost, but a great political one would be gained.

If Biafran secession is accepted, the argument runs, then all the hundreds of potential Biafrans in Africa would be encouraged. I have never been certain about this argument; but I have just received from the Sanwi Liberation Movement (MOLISAN), a copy of their request to the French Government for military aid to protect Sanwi against the Ivory Coast, of which Sanwi is now a part. The Sanwi argument is based entirely on the support that President de Gaulle and President Houphouët-

Boigny give to Biafra. In the days of Dr. Nkrumah one was slightly amused by MOLISAN, which he openly encouraged with the idea that the Sanwi, across the border from his own Nzima people, ought to join Ghana. I thought that, with the cordial relations established between Ghana's NLC and the Ivory Coast, and the return to their country of the Sanwi exiles in Ghana, including the king, the movement would disappear. But MOLISAN now accuses President Houphouët-Boigny's government of "genocide" between 1959 and 1966, and of "repressive measures" since. MOLISAN is appealing to the 1843 Treaty between France and Sanwi, and claiming that in 1893 Sanwi became part of the Ivory Coast without the people's consent, so that France would be responsible for troubles "similar to those in Nigeria" which the Ivory Coast might experience when the Sanwi people



M. Gervais Bahici, new Ambassador of the Congo in London, stepping into the State laundry to go to Buckingham Palace to present his letters of credence to the Queen. With him is Rear-Admiral Lord Cairns, Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps. M. Bahici was Charge d'Affaires in Lagos from 1962 to 1964, and Ambassador there from 1964 to 1968.

seek the same self-determination as the Biafrans. This, apparently, they are determined to do by June 30, even if announcing the date seems imprudent. The message to President de Gaulle is sent from Kringjubo, the ancient capital of the Sanwi kings. It is now, however, a town with only some 3,000 people, and I fear that even by the standards of Africa's new mini-states, Sanwi is very, very small, while several Sanwi leaders, called "traitors" by MOLISAN, appear to have come to terms with Abidjan.

Are we seeing in Equatorial Guinea another Congo? For in both cases, soon after independence, the ex-colonial power has found it necessary to intervene militarily to protect its own citizens. In each case the colony became independent hastily and unexpectedly, although it was ill-prepared (less so, probably, in the case of Equatorial Guinea), because independence suited the book of the metropolitan power: the Belgians wanted to

avoid subsidising the Congo, the Spaniards hoped to gain African support at the UN over Gibraltar if Equatorial Guinea became independent. In neither case did the metropolitan power really believe that independence meant the end of its own political influence. The analogy, however, cannot be pressed because of the tiny size of Equatorial Guinea, where the Spanish "aggression" is the work of only 260 gendarmes (Civil Guards, probably). Nor is it clear that the threat to the Spaniards living in Equatorial Guinea was anything like as serious as that to the Belgians in the Congo. Nevertheless there are a lot of Spaniards in the country—some 8,000 in a total population of some 300,000.

If Equatorial Guinea's troubles cannot compare with those of the Congo, independence has still not run very smoothly since last October. A federation of a small but prosperous island (and a few even smaller ones) with a much bigger but much poorer piece of mainland is very difficult to run. The country does depend on the Spaniards, not only for officers for the small civil guard (there is no army but the Spaniards station a gendarmerie and warships there), but for a very substantial subsidy. The cocoa and other plantations make Fernando Po one of the most prosperous parts of Africa, and the removal to the island of the staffs of some of the oil companies, which had been prospecting in Biafra, has provided some foreign currency. The relief operations for Biafra, too, have brought in a lot of money, but they have also brought trouble, apparently because—like the Spaniards—the Red Cross people have not always understood that last October the island from which they were operating had become independent. The stopping of relief flights (now partially resumed) reflected the bad relations between the independent government and the Red Cross. Although some people had expected that the presence in Fernando Po of large numbers of Eastern Nigerian workers (over half the adult males on the island and 75 per cent. of them Ibo), would incline Equatorial Guinea to Biafra, relations with Ibos, too, have been bad. As I explained in January, the defeated candidate in the Equatorial Guinea elections last September was alleged to have sought the help of Ibos in Fernando Po, as well as arms from Gabon, to overthrow President Macias.

In view of his scholarship and his services to French literature I would have expected President Senghor long ago to have joined the immortals of the French Academy. I am surprised, but very pleased, to learn that he was made a foreign associate member only this week. To fill the seat left vacant by the death of Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the West German Chancellor.

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EDUCATED NATIVES

Gold Coast Men of Affairs by Magnus J. Sampson (Dawsons of Pall Mall, £4).

CONTEMPLATION of the history of the former Gold Coast convinces me more and more that had Britain handled affairs differently the country might have become independent in the mid-1920s and proceeded on a peaceful, New Zealand, path. For the "Men of Affairs" such as Mr. Sampson describes in his book—and there were many others—could have offered political leadership. It is true that among Mr. Sampson's subjects only one, Nana Prempeh, is an Ashanti, and none is from the North. So these Southern Ghanaians with their stiff collars and waistcoats might have been unacceptable to the Northerners and Ashanti. But they were certainly worthy of much greater trust than Britain was prepared to give them.

There were, it is true, exceptions, notably Guggisberg in this century. And in the last (in contrast, e.g., to the Acting Administrator, Charles Spencer Salmon, whose reaction to formation of the Fanti Confederation in the 1870s was to throw the leaders in jail was Mr. Pope Hennessy, the Administrator-in-Chief of the West African Settlements. He considered the Confederation leaders to be very public spirited, and Mr. Sampson quotes him approvingly in his biography of King Ghartet. "As far as I could observe, every educated native at Cape Coast sympathised with the Confederation. Mr. F. C. Grant, a native gentleman, who is certainly not the inferior of any European on the Gold Coast in character, ability, or mercantile position, is a strong supporter of the Confederation . . . my inquiries on the spot, and an examination of the archives of the Local Government convinced me that the educated natives have contrasted favourably as a body with the European residents." And he was the kind of Governor who reported to London that James Hutton Brew, another of Sampson's subjects, "did me the honour" of explaining his political views.

The book was first published in 1937, though the manuscript appears to have been finished in 1932. That at any rate is the date of the introduction by the late Dr. Danquah, which alone would make the book worth reprinting now, although Mr. Sampson's twenty-five biographies are also valuable for reading and for reference.

It is difficult now to appreciate the

limited political ambitions of the Gold Coast leaders of the first decades of the century. As Dr. Danquah put it: "Congress of British West Africa were for their countries to remain members of the British Empire; all they asked was the 'rights of free and equal members.' He complained of the discrimination pay and promotion in favour of European members of the civil service (although he did not contrast the situation in the 1920s with that in the last century when so many Africans in all the British West African territories held very low positions). But he still thought the English common sense would triumph. Indeed his whole introduction is a valuable commentary on Gold Coast history, for he made it plain once again that the African states which originally entered into agreements with Britain had no intention of forfeiting, and did not realise that they might be forfeiting, their independence and end as part of the Crown Colony system. The analogy advanced was one with India's provinces. By 1901, however, the Gold Coast was *de facto* annexed by Britain, and in 1910 the British were able to introduce the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, which gave them power to depose the very chiefs who fifty-eight years before had been treated as equals. As Dr. Danquah wrote: "Thus, at the time of Sir Charles Mills' death no Gold Coast Chief or native had a share in the government, except by sufferance or by appointment by the Governor. The Gold Coast African was a miraculous prestidigitator, promoted from the status of a protégé to the status of a subject; he was not entitled to look or participate in the proposal of made to rule him; and he was not entitled to rid himself, on pain of high treason of the burden of a 'protector' who in the process of anglicization (not necessarily civilisation) had become his master and supreme overlord."

Many of the men Sampson describes are well known. John Mensah Sarpong, patriot and author, member of Legation Council; George Ekem Ferguson, English and British envoy, largely responsible for the Northern territories becoming part of the Gold Coast; Thomas Hutton-Brew and Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, pioneer nationalists; Nana Sir Ofori Panin, statesman and intelligent champion of chieftaincy. But there are also names less well known, such as Ghartet IV of Winneba, able business man (the first introduced palm nut era

machines to Ghana), philanthropist and champion of African interests, first president of the Fanti Confederation, who on his death bed (in words as notable as any death bed ever produced) expressed loyalty to the Queen; George Kuntu Blankson, businessman and Government envoy, who himself provided 100 men at his own expense for the Ashanti expedition of 1853; Charles Emmanuel Graves, musician; Benjamin William Quartequay Quartey-Papafio, physician and member of the Legislative Council; Charles Edward Woolhouse Bannerman, judge and member of a most distinguished family whose other members Mr. Sampson also mentions; George Frank Cleland, of the royal family of Jamestown and member of Legislative Council.

There are the somewhat legendary, but nevertheless real, figures; Philip Quaque, pioneer missionary, who arrived in London for education in 1754 and was ordained, and Tetteh Quarshie, the blacksmith who is reported in 1876 to have brought the first cocoa beans to the Gold Coast from Fernando Po.

Mr. Sampson is an uncritical biographer, generous with superlatives, who tactfully withdraws at any point where his hero might seem less than heroic. But the book is meant, and rightly, to instil among students pride in their country and people, at a time when such pride was at a discount. Later research can both amplify and modify Sampson's accounts and judgments; but today they

are doubly valuable, for the information they give and for the comment they have become on the British attitude at the time.

D. W. K.

Elephants, Ancient and Modern, by F. C. Sillar and R. M. Meyler (*Studio Vista*, 63s.).

This very delightful, and beautiful, book draws on the world in space, and on the whole of history in time, to glorify and beautify the animal who really deserves the title of "king of beasts."

There is the African myth showing how long ago he came to Africa from India. The earth rests on the backs of four elephants who stand upon a tortoise; but what does the tortoise stand on? Why, on one elephant. What does he stand on? Why, "it's elephants and tortoises all the way down."

Hannibal's elephants who appeared in Carthaginian coins were African, though some may have been Indian. An African elephant is believed to have arrived in England in A.D. 1254 as a present for Henry III from Louis IX of France. Mungo Park agrees that as Hannibal used trained African elephants it is reasonable to suppose that they were trained elsewhere in the continent, though he never saw them. But Marco Polo believed that the people of Zanzibar fought on the backs of elephants to which they gave draughts of wine.

The book is a mine of elephant tales and mythology, together with a collec-

tion of most pleasing illustrations of the elephant in art and history, some of them in colour.

From West Africa comes the Calabar folk talk explaining why the elephant has small eyes; he had been tricked by the tortoise into giving his own eyes away, and himself tricked the worm into replacing them, so the worm has no eyes at all. There is, too, the myth of the great elephant graveyard in the middle of Africa from which fortunes have been made in ivory.

This is not a scientific work to be studied, but a book to be enjoyed wherever you open it. M. D.

The Diary of A. J. Mounteney Jephson edited by Dorothy Middleton (*Cambridge University Press, for the Hakluyt Society*, 6s.).

In 1887 H. M. Stanley, just appointed to command of the expedition to relieve Emin Pasha in Equatorial Africa, called for volunteers. Mounteney Jephson, then just over 28 and, in spite of his good family background, short of money, eagerly volunteered. He had some experience of seamanship and, although not in good health, was eager for adventure. His diary, recently discovered, gives a complete first-hand account of the expedition including the voyage out to the mouth of the Congo; the journey up the river and across the Ituri forest to Lake Albert; the meeting with Emin; the mutiny of Emin's troops who imprisoned both their commander and

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Jephson, and the journey back to the East coast.

The expedition's scientific achievement was to have identified the position and nature of the sources of the Nile. Nearly all the diary is reproduced except for portions already covered by Jephson in his book *Emin Pasha*. In an introduction, Mrs. Middleton puts the expedition in its historical background of the scramble for Africa and the Nile quest. Emin, a German medical doctor, who had been appointed by the Egyptian government to the Equatorial Province, later became Governor of Equatoria under Gordon, then Governor-General of the Sudan. This fantastic province, south of what is now Sudan, and some 2,000 miles from Cairo, was virtually abandoned by the Egyptians after the Mahdist capture of Khartoum. Incredibly Emin survived, as a kind of independent sovereign. The expedition which went to his relief was a private one, but for a time Emin, a truly remarkable man, enjoyed the fame of Livingstone. He returned to Africa after a brief period in Germany, and was murdered by Arab slavers in the Congo.

R. T.

The Crisis of Indian Planning edited by Paul Streeten and Michael Lipton (Oxford University Press, 75s.).

The book is the result of a meeting in 1967, at Sussex University, of some 40 British and Indian businessmen, scholars, journalists, and planning officials and administrators. Each con-

tributor led a discussion at the conference on his contribution to the book, but the chapters have been extensively revised for publication. Each main aspect of Indian planning is analysed, as are the prospects for realising the targets of Indian planning. It is expected that, in spite of all the problems of recent years, India will be self-sufficient in food in 1970-71, while achieving a vast increase in industrial production. At the same time the politicians expect to have to work in democratic conditions.

The external constraints on development, the poor terms of trade, the limitations of aid and, a fact of particular importance to India, the effect of defence expenditure are analysed. Of particular interest for Nigeria, now that the old regional setup is gone, is Professor Hanson's discussion on relations between the centre and the states.

S. R.

Professor William O. Brown 1899—1969

A WIDE circle of friends and colleagues in Africa and Europe as well as in the United States has been saddened by the death of Professor William O. Brown last month in Boston. Through his many visits to Africa and Europe over the past 20 years and the welcome that he gave to visitors at the African Studies Center at Boston University, and before that in his office in the African research branch of the State Department, he had become well known to nearly all those actively con-

cerned with African affairs. His advice was widely sought on the current activities and plans of centres of African study everywhere, and many have been grateful for his penetrating but kindly appraisals of persons and policies, his quiet humour and his unflinching readiness with practical help especially for African scholars.

Bill Brown had already become interested in Africa in the late twenties, when as graduate student in Sociology in Chicago he made a close study of the literature on South Africa in connection with his thesis on the position of the Negro in the United States. He visited South Africa in 1931 and, in articles he wrote at that time, compared the problems of race relations in South Africa with those in the United States.

Born in October 1899, Bill Brown was the son of a Methodist family of English stock in Texas and grew up in farming country, observing the life and conditions of poor negro share croppers at close quarters. At the University of Texas and the Southern Methodist Seminary he became keenly aware of the restrictions imposed by racial doctrines and conservative attitudes on the educational and social advance of negroes in the South and sought means for overcoming these. At Howard University in Washington from 1936 he was able to participate directly in the work of negro higher education.

During the war he entered government service and was chief of the African Branch in the Office of Intelligence and Research from 1947. Over this period he gained a wide knowledge of African affairs. To many overseas visitors to his office at that time will recall his great interest in the development of African research and his readiness to further plans for these studies in Africa.

In 1953 Brown became Director of the African Studies Center which was established at Boston University with the support of the Ford Foundation. This provided him an opportunity to take a direct and prominent part in the development of African studies in the United States. Developing courses and seminars in several disciplines and arranging for visits and special lectures by African and European scholars, he guided the activities of the Center for 12 years and continued his association with it as a teacher and consultant when he retired as Director in 1965. In 1954 he became a member of the Executive Council of the International African Institute and served as a Consultative Director from 1957. His services in helping the Institute to keep in touch with the very rapid development of African studies in the United States and in enlisting American support for its activities were greatly valued.

He took a leading part in the foundation of the African Studies Association in the United States as an organisation which would bring together and facilitate the work of the growing number of teachers and research workers in the United States engaged in various aspects of African studies. He served a term as President of the Association in 1960 and more recently directed its work in promoting liaison information services for American scholars working in Africa. Through his many visits to Africa from 1950 onwards he made many friends among African scholars and administrators. His long experience and his wise counsel have been of great value over a period of rapid develop-

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letters to the editor

COLONIAL EDUCATION

Sr.—I was delighted to read of the University of Sierra Leone's official inauguration and also to note that almost as its first official act, it has decided to investigate higher education in the country.

I would hope, besides all the immediate problems confronting the Commission, that its members may find time to make a brief review of their colonial heritage. It is becoming more and more evident that the British Administrative Service has much to answer for regarding education and technical development in West Africa.

One need go no further back than the 1930s to see what a struggle Sir Donald Cameron had, as Governor of Nigeria, to take such obviously professional departments as Audit and Judiciary away from the Political Department and to give them to professional auditors and lawyers. Directors of Education, Forestry, Fishery and others all had to walk warily in case they offended the Administration.

Much harm was done, as has been recently pointed out at a distinguished gathering of Nigerian civil servants (*Nigerian Administration and its Political Setting*, ed. A. Adedeji) by the 1954 Gorsuch Commission, which, recommending the division of the Civil Service into three classes, created a quite unjustifiable *corps d'élite* out of the administrative officers at the expense of the professional officers, and thereby perpetuated a rivalry harmful to the country's full development today.

This canker spread into the whole of then British West Africa, whilst expatriate administrative officers voted themselves compensation, pension supplementation in the UK, and other pension guarantees for themselves and their widows, members of the professions received a very second class brush-off. The West African Examinations Council, Fourah Bay College and Achimota College, West African Fisheries and many others were all denied these benefits. One of the consequences of this is that today in retirement in Britain, many are in distress.

At Independence in 1961, the teachers' superannuation fund in Freetown was left by the outgoing government tens of thousands of pounds under-subscribed, and there are several Sierra Leoneans known to me today who seem to have received from that fund instituted by the Colonial Government, somewhat less than they put in. Two separate enquiries on my part to Whitehall on that subject failed to elicit any explanation.

Today when Africa needs the technical expert more than anything, such a policy could hardly be rivalled for shortsightedness—I say nothing of justice.

A. P. KUP.

Department of History,
Simon Fraser University,
British Columbia.

Professor Kup was formerly on the staff of Fourah Bay.

ZIK'S PEACE PLAN

Sr.—It is most unfortunate that the Federal Government has rejected Dr. Azikiwe's peace proposals without even giving them due con-

sideration. This is a very hasty decision. The proposals are completely different from what the Biafrans have ever put forward, at Addis Ababa or Kampala—though the person who made them has reduced his standing as an elder statesman as far as Nigerians are concerned, by associating with the Biafrans and representing them; this has impaired his reputation and he cannot be an honest broker. Also, if we want this problem to remain an African one, surely the OAU is just as capable as the UN of handling negotiations on some proposals. But the Federal Government cannot, in the name of sanity, find the whole package objectionable, because some points in it are quite commendable.

The most interesting part of Azikiwe's plan is the one dealing with renunciation of secession and the 12-state structure of One Nigeria, because these are two outstanding points put forward by the Federal Government as conditions for peace. The chances are 100 to 1 against the Biafrans if we ask the Rivers and South-Eastern states which they prefer, Biafra or Nigeria; for they certainly are not going to give up their hard-won autonomy.

I now implore both warring sides to let sanity prevail. This war is becoming a strain on Nigerians in Europe and Africa. Our country is gradually being destroyed by well-meaning but obstinate leaders on both sides. After all, we don't have to win this war, we don't have to police East Central State, all we have to do is reassure the Ibos that we are all brothers and that we are not fighting a sovereign state (if we were, then we would have to conquer our enemies). Let Gen. Gowon be magnanimous.

S. B. ADEBISI

THE DONS' PROTEST

Sr.—According to Mr. Oji Umozurike (January 18) "Easterners" have left jobs in Nigerian universities for "non-Easterners." "Ibos" in place of "Easterners" would have been more appropriate, though not all Ibos have left.

The six professors who signed the protest letter against imminent American intervention in the Nigerian civil war included Dr. Essien-Udom and Dr. Ekong, both from the South-Eastern State, and used to be called "Easterners."

The threat of American meddling in our internal affairs is a real one, and all Nigerians desirous of the return of peace and harmony to our homeland are in support of the protest registered by our six illustrious brothers.

TEKENA HARRY.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, USA.
Freetown.

LONRHU

Sr.—Lonrho, a new mining company which has taken over Ashanti Goldfields, has had a great deal of publicity in your magazine recently.

What really is the meaning of the name "Lonrho"?

H. K. APLE.

The original name of the company was the London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Company. In 1963 it changed its name to Lonrho, which is clearly derived from the first three letters of "London" and "Rhodesia".



The history of Banking dates so far back that no one really knows where or how it began. Archaeological evidence however abounds to prove that the Assyrians, Egyptians and Phoenicians had instruments similar to present day promissory notes, bills of exchange and cheques—and performing much the same roles—long before the Greeks and Romans! The earliest Bankers were indeed money changers who played a very active role in the trading transactions between people from different states with different currencies. The very word "BANK" is derived from the old Italian word *Banca* meaning a bench or counter. The counters of the money changers, upset according to biblical tradition in the Jerusalem Temple by Jesus Christ were indeed the bank.

Of course no one would dream of setting up a bank in a church these days, but the Temples of Greece at one time in history housed the earliest deposit vaults known to man.

You won't find a branch of National Bank of Nigeria Limited or any of their correspondents in London, Paris or New York, in a church—not even a Greek temple. One or two have been known to be situated near churches, but there's no fear of religious or any other kind of fervour upsetting the bank! What's more, National Bank do know their own business—as you'll soon find out if you take your foreign exchange, trade or even simple things such as current accounts or savings—problems to them.

Why don't you try your nearest branch? You might even learn some more about how banking has progressed into the 20th Century while you're at it! Besides, they're "The Bank You Can Trust!"—Reason enough, surely!



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commercial news

USA: From Aid to Trade?

PRESIDENT NIXON'S administration is planning to abandon America's aid programme in favour of a new scheme to stimulate private investment in developing countries, says a report in the *Sunday Times* business section (London). The new scheme calls for the formation of a federally chartered corporation—the Overseas Private Development Corporation—to take over the Agency for International Development's (AID) aid programmes of investment and political risk insurance.

AID's programme of insuring US companies against risks of expropriation, currency inconvertibility and wars has failed to stimulate growth in the rate of American private investment in under-developed countries, says the report. In 1967, only \$830m. of the \$4,500m. in direct US investments overseas were invested in such countries, compared with \$864m. in 1966, and \$950m. in 1965. At the end of 1967, total direct US investments in under-developed nations amounted to only \$16,600m., compared with \$40,300m. invested in industrialised countries.

A federally chartered corporation could borrow from the US Treasury and from the public by issuing its own debt securities. Whereas AID can now only insure about \$500m. of US investments against political risks each year, the new corporation would begin operations with authority to underwrite political risk insurance on \$2,000m. worth of investments a year for the first five years and an additional \$200m. worth of extended-risk insurance a year.

Meanwhile, AID, as it now exists, will be divided into its constituent parts, with military aid transferred to the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency. Technical aid schemes would also be spun off.

The incoming AID administrator, Mr. John Hannah of Michigan State University, headed a study group that called for establishment of a new Government agency to concentrate on "institution building" in under-developed countries. The new agency would take over the task of training foreign nationals in such areas as education, population control and productivity.

The new corporation already has the backing of America's largest business groups, including the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chambers of Commerce of the United States, and the US Council of the International Chamber of Commerce. Its formation will be proposed later this month in a bi-partisan Bill to be presented to Congress by Senator Jacob Javits, says the report (from New York), adding that it would end the conflicts between Administration and Congress over aid.

● More private capital is needed for required economic growth in developing countries, the UN Panel in Foreign Invest-

ment in Developing Countries concluded in its discussions in Amsterdam, and some of this must come from private enterprise, which can provide technical and managerial know-how as well as capital. Its use must fit into development programmes, which host governments are best able to direct, while diversification of developing countries' economies provides opportunities which—the Panel said—should be advertised. Joint ventures were recommended.

Questions discussed by the Panel were the preferred areas of activity for foreign investment; measures to improve Governments' relations with private enterprise, and to reconcile the interest of the two; steps by developing countries to raise the rate of generation of private capital and attract more foreign capital; and insurance.

Two UN documents were bases for discussion: *Foreign Investment in Developing Countries*,* which prompted the idea of this Panel, and *The Role of Private Enterprise in Investment and Promotion of Exports in Developing Countries*.†

In an opening speech M. Philippe de Seynes, UN Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, said private capital provided over a third of all transfers of goods and services to developing countries in the 1960s, and provided a net \$3607m. to them in 1967; small and medium-sized enterprises were important as well as big ones. He said a World Bank loan guarantee system might be a good aid to investment; and he warned of such dangers as harm to local enterprise and "economic enclaves."

Transcending Today's Troubles

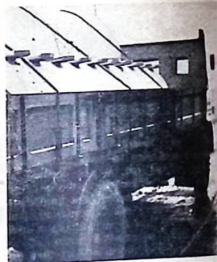
In another opening speech Mr. B. J. Udink, Netherlands Minister in charge of development aid, said that despite the urgency of the problems of poverty and hunger, tackling of these problems involved creation of "elements of a future transcending today's troubles".

In one paper Mr. Richard Bailey, consultant to the UN Economic and Social Affairs Department's Division for Public Finance and Financial Institutions, said private investment was rising faster than aid. He stressed the importance of considering all implications—savings of foreign exchange, creation of jobs, etc.—of choosing projects for investment; the Panel's agreed statement said investment must make the maximum use and development of local resources, physical and human. Mr. Bailey said private investment could do much to fill needs created by FAO's five priorities for agriculture. (See p. 278.)

The agreed statement said investors must see the need for assessing projects in the

* Sales number: E.68.II.D.2

† Sales number: E.68.II.D.9



Holmes (Wragby) Ltd., timber merchants and sawmillers, reports that Ford D800 9-ton capacity lorry recently delivered to them, whilst primarily used as a timber carrier, is fulfilling a new function in testing out West African timber. The drop-side body of the truck has a top floor and timber framed side and rear panels filled with plywood, each of three drop sides and the rear panel framed in different species of West African hardwood to see how they behave in service conditions. Holmes (Wragby) members of the UAC group.

light of host countries' external balance payments (often adverse) and be "citizens" of those countries; while relations on overseas investment caused by countries' balance of payments problems should not apply to investment in developing countries. Transfer of know-how be more important than that of capital, says the statement, and host countries be able to absorb and develop the know-how. Tax reforms are recommended both rich and developing countries, if private enterprise is concerned (a UN panel in Geneva is discussing this). The return investment is generally as high in developing countries as in others, says the Panel.

Those attending the discussions included: Mr. E. N. Omaboe, Commissioner, Economic Affairs, Ghana; M. A. Doumbia, Director of Industrial Development and of the Plan Ministry, Ivory Coast; M. Ramadane Barna, Director of Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Congo; Mr. Mahmoud Beheiry, Chairman African Development Bank; Mr. Hoffman, Administrator, UNDP, Dr. Prebisch, Secretary-General of UNCTAD; Mr. E. M. Martin, Chairman, Development Centre of the OECD; Mr. Eric Leijonhufvud, Executive Vice-President of Lanco; Mr. Duncan Oppenheim, Chairman, B.A. American Tobacco.

● At Kotoka International Airport, name given now to Accra's air terminal, General Ankrab ingaugred new installations on Feb. 25. They have been at a cost of 4.5m. cedis, over four years, by the French firm SETOM, from a design by the French architect Pierre Dufau, with aid from the French Société de Développement d'Outre-Mer. They include a runway 3,200 yards long for use by Ghana Airways and fifteen other aircraft parking space for 11 aircraft, lounges, parks and other extensions to the existing airport.

● A committee has been set up to decentralise of Nigeria's currency, says Governor of the Central Bank.

Report on a Groundnut Season

GROUNDNUT purchases in the Gambia, by seven licensed buying agents (six commercial firms and the Co-operative Central Banking and Marketing Union) totalled 129,034 tons in the 1966-67 season. The Co-operative Union bought the largest share (40.44%), followed by UAC (29.10) and S. Madi (26.87). Figures for the four divisions are: Western, 20,935; Lower River, 48,549; MacCarthy Island, 37,949; Upper River, 21,601.

The Eighteenth Annual Report of the Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board, recording these figures, notes that "oil content for the 1966/67 crop was disappointing, having fallen to 49.26 per cent., the lowest level for the last 10 years." It was slightly higher for exported nuts than for those sold to local mills. At the GOMB's Kuntaur Mill 50,654 tons were milled in 1966/67, with 69.19 per cent. kernel output.

The crop was "an all-time record," evacuation being helped by the Gambia River Transport Co.'s programme to improve carrying capacity. The Board made a £11,800 loss on groundnuts, however, compared with a £199,500 profit in 1965-66 (years ending Sept. 30). Decorticated sales overseas totalled 34,767 tons, and total local sales 75,853 (all but 361 undecorticated). The biggest overseas customers were Portugal (20,861 tons—more than half the total) and Italy (9,226). The Board had, in fixing the producer price at £28 per ton undecorticated budgeted "on barely breaking-even groundnut trading"; there was, in fact, the loss already referred to, and an overall loss of £25,700, compared with a £198,000 profit in 1965-66. The overseas sales price was, as expected, between £61 and £62 per ton FOB for 1966-67, though the GOMB made advance sales of 1967-68 groundnuts at about £52 per ton FOB.

Palm kernel purchased in 1966-67 was 2,095 tons, bought at £30 each. The GOMB made a £6,900 profit on palm kernel trading.

● John Holt Investment Co., a subsidiary operating in Nigeria—of John Holt of Liverpool, reports a pre-tax profit of £196,000 in the year ending Aug. 31 1968, compared with £178,000 the previous year. The chairman, Mr. J. M. Holt, has told the AGM that the increase is due mainly to industrial investments, though "a small increase in profit from our properties was also achieved." Three new investments, totalling £N59,400, were made in 1967-68. Full provision of the book value of the firm's properties in the Eastern states, many of them known to have been damaged in the war, is being made, but efforts are also being made to ensure that they are brought into use again as soon as possible.

Mr. Godfrey K. J. Amachree, former Federal Solicitor-General, has been appointed to the board of John Holt Investments.

● The Central Bank of Nigeria has so far lent over £25m. to the Northern States Marketing Board in the current buying season, for financing purchase of produce; this has reduced the Board's dependence on commercial banks for crop purchasing, the Secretary to the Board has said.

● The Government of the Western State of Nigeria is to spend about £2.3m. on building and improvement of roads in 1969 and 1970.

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER DEMPSSTER LINES

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool—KABALA s/s Liverpool Mar. 14; KADUNA due Victoria Mar. 8; OBUASI due Luanda Mar. 10. From Glasgow—DONGA s/s Glasgow Mar. 17.

From Hull—OWERRI s/s Hull Mar. 14. From London—BILIMO London Mar. 11; EGORI s/s London Mar. 18; ONITSHA due Luanda Mar. 10. From Continent—FORCADOS due Dakar Mar. 10. **NORTHBOUND**—To Liverpool—AUREOL due Liverpool Mar. 10; DARU due Las Palmas Mar. 11; DUNKWA due Las Palmas Mar. 8; PERANG due Takoradi Mar. 11. To Asenouth—NAIRNBANK due Ghana Mar. 8.

To Hull—SCHUTTING due Abidjan Mar. 9. To London—EBANI due Bathurst Mar. 9. FALBA due Bathurst Mar. 7; OFFIN RIVER due London Mar. 7; PATANI due Takoradi Mar. 10. To Continent—FIAN due Bathurst Mar. 9; FULANI due Holland Mar. 9. **EASTBOUND**—From USA/Canada—DUMBAIA due Cotonou Mar. 6; FREETOWN s/s Halifax Mar. 10; DEIDO s/s New York Mar. 21.

WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada—DALLA due Freetown Mar. 8. From India/Pakistan/Burma—TWEEDBANK due Apr. Mar. 7; GOWANBANK s/s Calcutta Mar. 10.

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JAPAN KAI LINE

WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong and Cape) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.—NORWAY MARU s/d Japan Feb. 4, due Lagos Mar. 11. **EASTBOUND**—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Cape and Singapore)—NORWAY MARU s/g Lagos Mar. 18, Tema Mar. 21, Freetown Mar. 24, due Japan May 5.

PALM LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Dublin/Glasgow—KATSONA PALM s/s Tema Mar. 10. From Liverpool—ENUGU PALM due Tema Mar. 9. From Liverpool—LAGOS PALM due Tema Mar. 18. From Continent—HAMBENDA PALM due Takoradi Mar. 9. From Continent—ILORIN PALM due Bathurst Mar. 13.

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool—IKEJA PALM due Takoradi Mar. 10. To Liverpool—LOBITO PALM s/s Freetown Mar. 8.

WOERMANN LINE

TUNIS s/d Rotterdam Feb. 24, Antwerp Feb. 26, due Matadi Mar. 13, Pointe Noire, Lobito Mar. 19, Luanda Mar. 24; HELENE DELMAS s/d Antwerp Mar. 7, due Dakar Mar. 24, Abidjan Mar. 28, Douala Apr. 2.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND—NOPAL SUN s/d New Orleans Feb. 22, Takoradi Mar. 18, Lagos Mar. 19. **WESTBOUND**—NOPAL SUN s/g Lagos Mar. 23, Takoradi Apr. 2, Lagos Apr. 5, due Warri Apr. 9.

WESTBOUND—NOPAL LUNA s/d Luanda Mar. 3, Takoradi Mar. 9, New Orleans Mar. 27, due Houston Mar. 31; NOPAL SUN s/g Luanda Apr. 5, Takoradi Apr. 13, New Orleans Mar. 3, due Houston May 7.

HOLLAND WEST AFRIKA LIJN

SOUTHBOUND—From Continent—BOVENKERK due Warri Mar. 11; TOGOKUST due Lobito Mar. 12; OLDEKERK due Monrovia Mar. 12.

NORTHBOUND—To Continent—NIJCKERK due Rotterdam Mar. 12, Amsterdam Mar. 15, Hamburg Mar. 17; CONGOKUST due Rotterdam Mar. 24, Amsterdam Mar. 27, Bathurst Apr. 1, Hamburg Apr. 2.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

SOUTHBOUND—YARRAWONGA s/g Scandinavia incl. S. Finland first half Mar.; HULLERAN s/d Scandinavia and Bordeaux mid Mar.; INDIANA s/d Scandinavia and Bordeaux during second half Mar.; VIKAREN

s/d Scandinavia incl. S. Finland and Bordeaux during second half Mar., early Apr.

NORTHBOUND—INVAREN s/d West Africa second half Mar.; HOEGH BISCAYA s/d West Africa (S. range) midsecond half Mar.; HELMAREN s/d West Africa during late Mar.; BULLAREN s/d West Africa during late Apr., early May.

EDWARDS KASAR LINES
EMIR BECHIR s/s Beirut Mar. 10, due Gibraltar Mar. 21, Tema Apr. 3, Takoradi Apr. 5, Lagos Apr. 7, Monrovia Apr. 13, Freetown Apr. 15.

FARRELL LINES
HOWEARDS—AUSTRALIAN REEF s/g Luanda Apr. 1, for Lobito and US ports; AUSTRALIAN GALAXY s/g Luanda Apr. 15, for Lobito and US ports.

OUTWARDS—AUSTRALIAN REEF due Monrovia Mar. 17, for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Luanda; AUSTRALIAN GALAXY due Monrovia Apr. 1, for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Douala, Matadi, Luanda, Lobito.

CHARGEURS REUNIS
BOURGAINVILLE due Tema Mar. 14, Freetown Mar. 20; KERUEUN s/g Kobe Mar. 26.

MITSUI OSK LINE

HOEISAN MARU s/d Kobe Feb. 6 due Lagos Mar. 14; KASUGAN MARU s/d Feb. 20, due Lagos Mar. 22; HONOLULU MARU s/d Mar. 4 due Lagos Apr. 6.

MAERSK LINE

TORBEN MAERSK s/g Tema Mar. 11, due Monrovia Mar. 13; JESPER MAERSK s/g Luanda Mar. 14, due Matadi Mar. 15.

HOEGH LINES

HOEGH WILRI s/d Rouen Feb. 25, due Dakar Mar. 4, Freetown Mar. 7, Monrovia Mar. 8, Abidjan Mar. 11; HOEGH BELLE s/d Antwerp Feb. 24, due Freetown Mar. 5, Abidjan Mar. 8, Tema Mar. 11, Lagos/Anapa Mar. 13, Douala Mar. 15.

HUGO STINNES TRANSCOZAN

SCHIFFARIT GmbH
SOUTHBOUND—ILRI s/d Hamburg Mar. 7, arr. Dakar Mar. 24, ANNIE HUGO STINNES s/d Hamburg Mar. 10, arr. Dakar Mar. 28; ABIDJAN s/g Houston Mar. 15, arr. Dakar Apr. 3.

NORTHBOUND—JULIUS HUGO STINNES s/d Gabon Mar. 1 due Rotterdam Mar. 18; ABIDJAN s/d Abidjan Feb. 27 due Rotterdam Mar. 13.

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

WESTWIND s/g New Orleans Mar. 25, Houston Mar. 30, for Dakar, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Takoradi, Lagos/Anapa, Warri, Douala, Luanda; SOPHIE s/g Houston Apr. 7, New Orleans Apr. 12, for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos/Anapa, Douala, Luanda.

GOLD STAR LINE

NOGAH s/g Cape Town Mar. 12, Lobito Mar. 16, Luanda Mar. 17, Matadi Mar. 18/19, Douala Mar. 20.

BLACK STAR LINE/SEVEN STAR LINE/USNIW

WESTBOUND—KORLE LAGOON Ghana to Philadelphia Apr. 2, thence Gulf.

BLACK STAR LINE/CONTENT/WA

SOUTHBOUND—OTI RIVER Hamburg Mar. 29, Bremen Mar. 31, Antwerp Apr. 2, Rotterdam Apr. 4, Dakar Apr. 6, due Dakar Apr. 12, Freetown Apr. 16; OTCHI RIVER Hamburg Apr. 26, Antwerp Apr. 28, Rotterdam Apr. 30, Dunkirk May 2, for Dakar, Freetown, Abidjan.

NORTHBOUND

—LAKE BOSOMTWE Amsterdam Mar. 7, Rotterdam Mar. 6, Hamburg Mar. 9, Antwerp Mar. 17; BIRIM RIVER Takoradi Mar. 5, Amsterdam Mar. 18, Rotterdam Mar. 21, Hamburg Mar. 23.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

SOUTHBOUND—RIVER OGUN s/s Liverpool Mar. 13; RIVER ETHIOPE s/s Amsterdam Mar. 20.

NORTHBOUND

—RIVER BENUE due Hull Mar. 8; AHMADU BELLO due Liverpool Mar. 12.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES

INWARDS—STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from China and Hong Kong s/d Hong Kong Feb. 16 due Lagos/Anapa Mar. 20, Cotonou Mar. 26, Lome Mar. 29, Tema Mar. 30, Abidjan Mar. 31, Monrovia Apr. 3, Freetown Apr. 4, Dakar Apr. 6, Lagos Apr. 10; STRAAT FREETOWN from Japan s/g Kobe, due Lagos/Anapa Mar. 24, Tema Mar. 30, Monrovia Apr. 3, Freetown Apr. 5, Abidjan Apr. 9, Takoradi Apr. 12.

OUTWARDS

—STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and China second half Mar.; STRAAT FREETOWN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan s/d, half Mar. first half Apr.

commercial news

Farms and Food

THE food and agricultural situation "is now in a stage of transition and hope," says the FAO's latest annual review of the situation*. "After a long period (prior to the setbacks of 1965 and 1966) in which food production per *caput* in the developing countries was rising so slowly as to present a most unfavourable prospect for the future, it now seems that the potential exists for a much more rapid increase." This potential consists of new high-yielding varieties of cereals, used with fertiliser, adequate water, pesticides and other inputs, in 1967 weather was also good. "Realising the new potential will not be easy, however."

In his summary, besides making these points, the FAO director-general (Mr. A. H. Boerma), lists FAO's five priorities for developing the world's agriculture: high-yielding cereal varieties, the "protein gap" (the biggest nutritional problem), reduction of agricultural waste, solving of institutional problems of rural development, and solving of developing countries' foreign exchange problems.

The average world increase in agricultural, livestock, fishery and forest production in 1967 was 3 per cent.; in developing countries food output rose by 6 per cent., the largest rise for many years. Africa's food output went up by 6 per cent, the largest rise for many years. The ratio of food output to population growth (curtailment of which, Mr. Boerma considers, is vitally necessary) improved for developing countries as a whole, though in most countries for which figures are available the population has continued to grow faster than food output.

Africa's Share

In Africa generally, cocoa production fell slightly in 1967; cotton output was unchanged; Ivory Coast harvested more coffee, and Senegal (but not Nigeria) more groundnuts. For coffee and groundnuts world output rose considerably. Africa's total fish catch (small by world standards) went up. Fellings and extraction of African roundwood hardly altered, though Nigerian output of timber (as of palm products) was hit by the war.

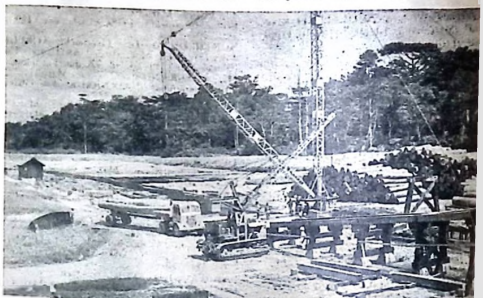
The developing countries' earnings from agricultural exports fell in 1967, and in Africa overall per *caput* food production did not show a net rise from 1965 to 1967. African agricultural export earnings fell for vegetable oils and oilseeds, but cocoa earnings rose. Timber exports fell from Africa as a whole, but from Ivory Coast they continued to rise. Average unit prices fell for oils and oilseeds (except only olive oil), and for coffee and cotton, but rose for cocoa and remained steady for African hardwoods. Developing countries' food and feed imports continued at an unchanged level, and Africa's remained at, or above, the peak level of 1966 (4m. tons).

Foreign aid for agricultural, fisheries and forest development has totalled about 9 per

Three Timber Firms in Bid Battle

Denny, Mott and Dickson has accepted a £575m. takeover offer from William Mallinson, another large timber firm (operating in Nigeria), after resisting the £44m. bid from J. Gliksten. Denny was defended against the Gliksten bid by Kleinwort Benson, merchant bankers, but later transferred to Lazard Bros. as Kleinwort was also

advising William Mallinson. Terms of the Mallinson offer are 35 Mallinson ordinary shares, and 18 24 per cent 5s. shares society preference, for every 40 Denny ordinary shares. The preference are convertible into Mallinson ordinary on a one-for-one basis between 1971 and 1978. Gliksten, it is reported, still persist with its bid.



Gliksten's sawmill at Dwinasi in Ghana's Western Region—can Gliksten buy Denny M&D?

cent. of total aid from major Western donors in recent years; similar aid from the World Bank and IDA rose considerably in 1967/8 (\$1344m., compared with \$87m. the year before), and is expected to go on rising, with continued FAO assistance.

Fertiliser use in Africa rose by 15 per cent. in 1966/67, and in most individual countries rose faster than in the previous year. Indices of farmers' prices are not published by many developing countries, but guaranteed prices in some were raised in 1967—for cocoa and coffee in several African states, for example. Consumer food prices fell in some African states in 1967, including Nigeria and Niger, and the rate of increase in them fell in Ghana, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Chad and Congo-Brazzaville.

Farms in Development

In a section on development plans, *The State of Food and Agriculture* records that the new one in Central African Republic gives top priority to agriculture, while Dahomey's also gives it high priority and in this case (unlike that of Congo-Kinshasa's interim agricultural plan) some targets have been reached. The new four-year (1967-70) plan in Ivory Coast has diversification as a major aim, and in Guinea there has been more emphasis on higher agricultural output.

The FAO *Commodity Review for 1968* (which adds in many ways to information given in *The State of Food and Agriculture*) records a fall in the value of agricultural trade in 1967, after three years of slow increases. Owing to this "the total foreign exchange earnings of developing countries recorded their smallest gain since 1958." Rice and cocoa were among exceptions to the general picture (cocoa export earnings rose 23 per cent. between 1966 and 1967). It seems likely "that the movements of terms of trade in 1967 were even more

unfavourable to the developing countries than the year before"; prices of manufactured products did not decline, and those of cereals (the developing countries' main food imports) rose 3 per cent.

Wheat production in 1967-68 was 301.5m. tons (preliminary figure), not below the previous year's world record. Rice production was also up in 1967 (calendar year) though exports fell. The importance of these to Africa lies in volume imported from the USA and other countries; Africa's own rice output however, rose from 3.9m. tons in 1966 to 4.2m. in 1967.)

Oils and fats production rose to 390m. tons in 1967, with higher palm product and some increase in groundnut oil output in Africa. The fall in world prices of oilseeds was reflected in lower groundnut producer prices in Nigeria, The Gambia and Senegal. Africa's share in world bar production remains small, and in 1967, Ivory Coast's share rose, Cameroon's fell.

Cocoa's continuing deficit, with falling stock but rising world prices, is recorded in the *Review*. On timber, it records Gabon's exports fell in 1967 as well as Nigeria's, and Africa's exports of bleached sawn logs and veneer logs slightly. World natural rubber production rose, as did Liberia's share among it, but consumption and world prices fell. Cotton production fell in 1967-68 in Ni and some other African states. *Review's* preliminary survey of hides, skins and leather shows Nigeria as (in terms of earnings) the leading African exporter, Ethiopia, in 1966; developing countries expanding domestic leather industries.

Correction

In last week's issue the initials of J. C. Read of the Standard Bank, retires this week, were wrongly given R. C. It was also wrongly stated Mr. Read became a Group General Manager in 1957; the correct date is

* *The State of Food and Agriculture, 1968; FAO, Rome; IHSO, London; University Bookshop, Ibadan; 55/75 or 46s.*

† Price 52/50 or 20s. (obtainable at same addresses).

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NOTICES

IKEJA DIVISIONAL UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

At the inaugural meeting of the above union held on 23rd February, 1969 at 9 City Mansions, North Rd., London, N.7, the following officers were elected—
 President Mr. R. B. Jafop
 Vice-President Mr. A. A. Shangobio
 General Secretary Mr. F. W. Irawo
 Asst. General Secretary Mr. K. Wilkey
 Publicity Secretary Mr. L. Osho
 Social Secretary Mr. O. Ajibode
 Financial Secretary Mr. B. O. Ogunode
 Treasurer Mr. I. O. Osho
 Auditor Mr. E. A. Adeshikan
 Ex-Officio Members Messrs. L. Kadara and S. A. Sotiki
 Returning Officer Mr. M. A. Abidekun
 Late O-sha, Publicity Secretary N.B. Please send all future communication to the General Secretary—Mr. F. W. Irawo, 88 Piccadilly, E. 7. Phone 01-534 8824

AFRICA CENTRE

Monday, 10th March, 6.30-9.30 p.m.
FOOD TECHNOLOGY IN AFRICA (I)
 (Act Today)—Eat Tomorrow
 Chairman: George McRobie, Intermediate Technology Development Group
 Speaker: Prof. Francis Aiyem, Dept. of Food Science, Univ. of Reading
 Admission 5s. Members 3s. 6d. (incl. Supper).
 Thursday, 13th March, 8 p.m.
Film FESTIVAL DES ARTS NIGRIS—
DAKAR 1968
 Introductory Talk: M. Chelki Sp. Counselor, Embassy of Senegal
 Admission 2s. incl. Members Free.
 Details
 38 King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.
 01-936 1973.

CALABAR UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Election of Officers for 1968-1969
 This is to notify the General Public that at the General Meeting held on the 26th January, 1969, the Election of Officers was completed and the following were duly elected—
 President Mr. A. R. Edeh
 Vice-President Mr. M. I. Henshaw
 Hon. General Secretary Mr. V. B. F. Okon
 Treasurer Mr. F. K. Moore
 Asst. Gen. Sec. Mas U. E. Kouffor
 Financial Sec. Mr. B. Adam
 Social Secretary Mr. A. O. Effom
 Welfare Officer Miss A. G. Efonu
 Editor-in-Chief Mr. F. E. R. Henshaw
 Hon. General Sec. Vivian B. E. Okon,
 Secretariat: 11 Meeting House Lane, London, S.E.15.

NOTICES—Continued

THANKS FOR SYMPATHY

Sincere gratitude to all sympathisers by ways of presents and presence at the death and burial of my late husband—
Mr. S. Adeyemi Agbe who rested in the Lord on 8th February 1969 and buried on 14th February 1969.
 Mrs. Teju Agbe and children
 for the family.

MEETINGS

LAGOS LEAGUE (EGBE OMO EKO) LONDON
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
 Date: Sunday, 9th March, 1969.
 Place: British Council, 1 Hans Crescent, Knightsbridge, S.W.1.
 Time: 5 p.m. prompt.

AGENDA:

1. Annual Report
 2. Financial Report.
 3. Presidential Report.
 4. General Election.
 5. Election of Representatives to the Lagos State Union.
 6. General.
- The Returning Officer is Mr. M. A. Ogunm. Nomination papers and rules will be available on the day of the meeting from him. Please be punctual.
 Buses: 19, 52, 73, 133 N. Tube Station: Knightsbridge.

EGBE OMO EGBA (GREAT BRITAIN) LONDON.

MONTHLY GENERAL MEETING.

There will be the monthly general meeting of the above League on Sunday, March 9th, 1969, at 41 Holland Park, W.11.
 Time: 4 p.m. prompt.

AGENDA:

1. Minutes and matters arising.
 2. Introduction of new members.
 3. Correspondence.
 4. Any other matters.
 5. Film Show.
- G. O. Aderonke, Publicity Secretary.
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IN MEMORIAM

**LATE CHIEF W. U. OKPU
THE OROGUN PROGRESS
UNION (GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND BRANCH)**

will be holding an awakening ceremony in remembrance of the above President General of the union who died in December, 1968.

Date of ceremony:
15th March, 1969.

Place:

17 Osberton Road, Lee Green,
London, S.E.12.

Time: 6 p.m.

All Oroguns are welcome.

P. Abu Wanngbo,
Acting Secretary, O.P.U.,
(Great Britain and Ireland Branch)

IN MEMORIAM—Continued

To the affectionate memory of our dearly beloved father, Joseph Kufunle Akuspe Esq., who peacefully passed for everlasting rest on Wednesday, March 9th, 1966 at Abeokuta. Gone but your memory lives for ever. May you rest in perfect peace dear father. For the family: Adeboye, Parukomo, Folarin, Oyedele, Oluwani, Babatunde, Olayide, Oluwemisi and grandchildren.

CHANGE OF NAME

I, formerly known and addressed as Adeola OJO, Aderinope of 96 Lancefield Street, London, W.10 is to be called and addressed henceforth, as ADEOLA ADEBOYEGBA. All former documents remain valid.

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(iii) **PROFESSORSHIP AND LECTURESHIP IN GEOGRAPHY.** Candidates for the Professorship must have considerable teaching and research experience and ability to run the Geography Division. Preference given to applicants specialising in Urban Geography since much of the research work of the Division is in this field. A specialist in Climatology capable of co-ordinating research experiments in the field is required for the lectureship.

(iv) **ASSOCIATE PROFESSORSHIP/SENIOR LECTURESHIP IN HISTORY.** Candidates should have considerable teaching and research experience; preference may be given to candidates especially qualified in some branch of African History. Appointees will assist the Professor of History.

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ALSO ON PAGE 280

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GHANA

Shooting at Ashanti Mine

TWO miners of Ashanti Goldfields were shot dead on March 3 when a crowd of 6,000 tried to storm the police station at Obuasi. Earlier reports said three died, but police said they had heard of only two deaths.

A police spokesman said one policeman suffered severe concussion in the clash which began after most of the miners and ground staff at the mine downed tools in answer to a strike call. The men were demanding severance pay, claiming that the recent takeover by Lonrho of Ashanti Goldfields Corporation meant they would lose benefits under a collective agreement. Officials of the national executive of the Ghana Mineworkers' Union were given a written assurance at the week-end by the Ashanti Goldfields management that the men would lose no money.

The miners had now gone back to their quarters and were under police surveillance, the police spokesman said.

A Ghana news agency reporter at the scene said police armed with truncheons and rifles tried to break up a demonstration by stone-throwing miners. He reported that three employees of the Ghana Railways and Ports Authority were hit by stray bullets and were rushed to hospital, and said damage was estimated at £24,000.

The mine's general manager, Mr. Ian Corner, from Sheffield, had his car smashed while he was on his way to work, but he escaped unhurt.

A few days before the shooting, over 500 workers threatened to go on strike over a demand for ex-gratia allowances, gratuity, severance pay and leave travelling allowances. Mr. R. S. Amegashie, Commissioner for Lands and Mineral Resources, warned them to make no "unjustifiable" demands and to negotiate through proper channels. He said the demands of severance pay and gratuity were unjustified, since workers' appointments had not yet been terminated. The takeover by Lonrho had not altered the structure of the mine, he said, adding that the demand of ten times more compensation for spoiled farm land than had been promised in the new lease agreement was not very fair, since this whole issue had been discussed and an agreement signed.

Russian Trawlers Go

The two Soviet trawlers detained in Takoradi on Oct. 10 were allowed to leave on Mar. 4, after their captains, Boris Chernokolov and Valentin Parliomenko, had been sentenced by a Sekondi circuit court to fines of 200 cedis each for navigating unlicensed motor fishing vessels in Ghana's territorial waters. They pleaded guilty. The prosecution alleged that the trawlers had violated Ghanaian waters three times, but said there was no evidence that the crews made any communication with any Ghanaians anywhere. The defence said one ship had gone to help the other

in engine trouble, and the captains should be cautioned and discharged. The two captains stayed in Ghana after the case, to give evidence at the Amisash tribunal (they have now started to do so).

Otu Probe Goes on

Squadron Leader Albert Nkansah of the Air Force, who testified that he had sighted the boats from a Caribou aircraft, said he had destroyed notes he made of the markings of the Soviet trawlers. A fisherman also gave evidence about the trawlers.

A former security officer, Mr. Joseph Alobrah, testified that he saw the same two trawlers in Guinea in Dec. 1966, while on duty watching for Ghanaians expected to infiltrate into Guinea from the sea.

Rear-Admiral David Hansen, Defence Adviser to the Ghana High Commission and formerly head of the navy and of the Accra Region Committee of Administration, said in evidence to the Amisash inquiry that the High Commission had been warned in an anonymous telephone call about a plotted rising to restore ex-President Nkrumah by Dec. 24. He himself received the call last Nov. 11; the caller spoke in English and then in Ga, and said a naval officer named Kwapong had met Mr. Kwesi Armah and others in London in October. Admiral Hansen said he arranged to meet the caller, and then found that Naval Lt. Kwapong had been in London in October. The caller phoned again, alleging that student unrest and strikes were linked with the plot, but he had not met Adm. Hansen as arranged. Rear-Admiral Hansen, whose testimony was interrupted by an earthquake, also spoke of a visit to London by Air Marshal Otu.

The International Transport Workers' Federation has appealed to the Government to seek a reasonable way out of the impasse between the Maritime and Dockworkers Union and the Cargo Handling Co. over the 2,000 dismissed Tema dockworkers. It demanded an early assurance that the dismissed workers would be reinstated at the first opportunity.

The Pioneer has criticised the Maritime and Dockworkers Union for deciding to boycott meetings of the tribunal appointed to enquire into the dismissals.

Thousands of people were at Black Star Square to watch the Feb. 24 anniversary parade. The Chairman and other members of the NLC were at the parade ground, where the Parade Commander, Brig. Afrifa of the NLC, led General Ankrab to inspect the contingents.

Gen. Ankrab advised members of the Armed Forces and the Police against any involvement in party politics when the ban on politics is lifted: "You should guard against being used as tools to promote the interest of any political party." He also told them, "by ousting the former regime you have placed the people in your debt and nothing should be done to destroy the

enviable prestige you deservedly gained February 24, 1966", and asked them guard against subversive elements who would like to retard progress to a civilian rule.

Ghana has expressed a desire for a coalition with the Common Market. A request was made orally to M. H. Rochereau, member of the EEC commission with responsibility for co-operation with Ghana's ambassador in Brussels, Dr. Graft-Johnson, and did not specify sort of association.

The Ghana Mineworkers Union intends to buy all concessions of the Takoradi State Diamond Mining Corporation, with the aid of the TUC, to ensure continued employment for its 500 members who there, who are threatened with redundancy.

Mr. Reginald Amponsah, chairman of Ghana Airways, has been elected chairman of the Association of African Airlines, formed a few weeks ago.

Mr. Victor O. Hutchinson has been promoted Director of National Lotteries, succession to Mr. W. F. Brennan whose contract with the Ghana Government expired.

SIERRA LEONE

Emergency Ends

THE State of Emergency declared in November was revoked on February 17. It was declared in the course of by-election campaigns which produced widespread disorders in the Eastern and South-Eastern regions. The by-elections were suspended but will now take place on March 17. Constituencies affected are Bo East, South, Bo North-East, Bo North, Bo Kenema East, Kenema West, Kenema North-East, Kenema South and Kenema North.

A correspondent writes: Last week I suggested, when the government announced a new date for the by-elections, that it could scarcely allow election campaigning during a State of Emergency. Evidently the point already been appreciated.

It must be remembered, however, that the number of SLPP leaders, particularly in the constituencies where the by-elections are taking place, are now under a facing specific criminal charges, while SLPP men have fled abroad, so that SLPP supporters may not feel that all is evened back to normal. On the other hand, constituencies are ones where the SLPP traditionally very strong and the by-election results may still reinforce the party in the House of Representatives, where it is woefully weak.

A committee of 30 is to be set up to examine the issue of a republican constitution. The government is committed to introducing the constitution, but objections have been made to certain clauses in the accepted by the Margat regime. Since the constitution has been accepted by the House of Representatives, it could be passed into law by the new House of Representatives without a general election being called, as is necessary under the constitution for a constitutional change of this kind. It is assumed that the new committee will identify clauses which are now considered objectionable so that the government can consider the next moves.

● Two British lawyers, Mr. Tom Kellok, QC, and his junior, Mr. Desmond de Silva, have been attending the Supreme Court hearings in the treason trial. It is expected that either or both will appear in the case Mr. Berihan Macaulay, Q.C., former Attorney-General and one of the accused, is a member of the same chambers in London as Mr. Kellok and Mr. de Silva, as is Mr. Dingle Foot, QC.

● After a visit to Zambia by Mr. L. M. Brewah, Sierra Leone's Foreign Minister, diplomatic relations are to be established between the two countries. Mr. Brewah has also visited East African countries and Ethiopia, and it is expected that a Sierra Leone Ambassador in Addis Ababa will be credited to other central African countries, while they will accredit to Freetown ambassadors already resident in West Africa.

● Latest figures show that for the period July 1, 1967, to March 31, 1968, public debt charges came to Le.5,796,000 against Le.1,301,000 for the same period of the

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Spanish Forces Intervene—Emergency

A state of emergency was declared in Equatorial Guinea on March 2 after a crisis leading to intervention by Spanish forces, and an appeal to the UN by President Macias. The emergency is to last until March 12.

Trouble began, according to Equatorial Guinean sources, on the night of Feb. 25-26, when Señor Macias restricted to one the number of flags which could be flown from Spanish official buildings in Bata, chief town of Rio Muni, (this mainland territory of the republic, thickly forested and sparsely populated, is an important source of timber). The Spaniards, however, claim that there were riots by "uncontrolled groups" in Bata, leading to the burning of a Spanish flag, and that a Spanish foreman was murdered and other Spanish subjects forced to seek the protection of their consul in Bata. The events in Bata were

ing Spanish forces for Guinean ones.

In a speech in Bata on Feb. 28, the President said "The provokers are in fact the ambassadors and timber concessionaires", and called for passive resistance until the evacuation of the present Spanish garrison. Spanish colonialism must die "economically as well as politically," he said, adding, "The ordinary Spaniard, yes; the timber capitalist, no."

In his telegram to General Franco Señor Macias called for the recall of Señor Duran, who had been declared *persona non grata* on February 26, and to replace the present Spanish garrison with new troops. General Franco replied that the intervention was not a threat to Equatorial Guinea's independence, nor an interference in her internal affairs, but was designed only to protect Spanish subjects. But, during the night of March 1-2, Ambassador Juan Duran arrived in Madrid, recalled by the Government for consultations, and it was later announced that the Spanish Ambassador to Panama, Emilio Pan de Soralue, had been transferred to Santa Isabel as chargé d'affaires. (One report said Señor Duran, previously head of the African department at the Foreign Ministry, had favoured Sr. Bonifacio Ondu Edu, former premier, for the Presidency.)

President Macias sent an appeal to U Thant at the same time as his protest to Franco, calling for intervention by a UN force of 150 troops if the Spanish garrison were not replaced. Equatorial Guinea's foreign minister, Dr. Atanasio Ndongo, had been in Madrid on March 1 on his way back from the OAU Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa, and had talks with the Spanish foreign minister—Señor Castilla. In a statement at the time Dr. Ndongo said "we cannot understand the persistence of the Spanish Government" in keeping Señor Duran at his post (one report said the airport at Santa Isabel had been occupied by Spanish forces to allow Señor Duran to land—presumably from Bata). Dr. Ndongo then left for Santa Isabel, saying that if there were no agreement, Equatorial Guinea would have to turn to other countries for the aid promised by Spain. It was the following night that Señor Duran flew back to Spain. The state of emergency and the dusk-to-dawn curfew followed on March 2; then the evacuation began. Spain's representative explained its case at the UN, where no action followed Sr. Macias' call.

Ships and aircraft have now evacuated about 600 women and children, not only from Rio Muni but from all the territory.

MALI

Mali's state enterprises will be maintained but reformed, and co-operation between them and the private sector will be tried, while facilities will be offered for private enterprise. M. Louis Nègre—Minister of Finance—told a meeting of traders in Bamako. Some people, he said, seemed to think all state enterprises should be closed down, but they belonged to the people, and anyway state enterprises existed in several other countries, including neighbour states. Who, he said, would set himself up on the fringes of the Sahara to sell basic goods at a loss, if the state import-export enterprise SOMIEX did not? There could be no question of closing them but their management could be reformed. The law of March 25, 1965, which aimed at doing away with the private trader, had been replaced, and traders were no longer obliged to join co-operatives.



Formally opening the Mary Kmesley Hall, Institute of African Studies, at Fourah Bay, is Mrs. J. L. C. Horstead, wife of the former Bishops of Sierra Leone, and Archbishop of West Africa, who was also Principal of Fourah Bay. They were both in Sierra Leone to attend the inauguration of the new University of Sierra Leone.

preceding year, an increase of Le.4,495,000. This increase accounted for most of the net increase in government expenditure for the period.

● During a visit to the Tonkolili district in the Northern Province, the Prime Minister said that the Government would soon take a decision on the future of the iron ore deposits there. Rights over these were held for many years by the Sierra Leone Development Company, owners of the Marampamine, but exploration was reported to have proved them to be uneconomic at present.

● In answer to a parliamentary question, the Prime Minister has confirmed that 55 is still the compulsory retiring age in the Civil Service, although an officer's services can still be used in some capacity after his retirement.

● 19,000 tons of crude has arrived from Gabon for the new Freetown oil refinery. The refinery is now in production and it is expected that it will use Nigeria crude when the war is over.

followed by actions, by the Spanish garrison of *Guardias Civiles* (the para-military Spanish gendarmes), said in one report to number 260 men in the whole of Equatorial Guinea, where it is stationed under an agreement signed on the territory's becoming independent). A Spanish news report said the Spanish Embassy was obliged "to adopt a series of measures, within the agreement Spanish-Guinean in force, to guarantee the security of Spaniards." According to a telegram promptly sent to General Franco by Señor Macias, the ambassador in Santa Isabel, Don Juan Duran Loriga, and the consul in Bata worked "in a sense opposed to the policy marked out by the Generalissimo [Franco], by collaborating with Spanish capitalists against the legitimate government of the Republic." Specifically, he accused the ambassador of mobilising the Spanish garrison, occupying Santa Isabel airport in Fernando Po, occupying post and telegraph offices, organising armed patrols in the streets of the capital (Santa Isabel), sending a warship to Bata with troops aboard, and substitut-

dateline Africa

MALI—continued

● The Council of ministers has examined the projected budget for 1969-70, which will be for 23m. Mali francs or 11.5m. CFA. It will be for the calendar year 1969, now once again used for budgets in Mali.

● The former headquarters of the Union Soudanaise, the old ruling party, is to be renamed the *Maison du Peuple*, and roads, squares and public buildings called after members of the old régime will be renamed.

● The CNLN has forbidden *chefs d'arrondissement* to collect dues from collectives from collectively-owned village fields. It will announce later who is to receive these payments.

CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE

"Reactionaries Arrested"

AT a meeting after the arrest of several alleged plotters, including Commandant Felix Mouzabakani, the National Revolutionary Council (CNR) has decided to turn the army, the police and the gendarmerie into a revolutionary security apparatus, with people totally committed to the "revolution" in positions of responsibility in the force.

Soon after Major Nguabi, head of the National Revolutionary Council, had declared that "reactionaries" in the armed forces would be unmasked and brought to trial by revolutionary tribunals, it was reported that one alleged "reactionary" leader, Major Felix Mouzabakani—former Interior Minister—and another, Lt. Kiganga, were on the run. A day later Mouzabakani was found in a haystack about 30 miles south of the capital.

After the recapture, Major Nguabi gave a speech at a big meeting, saying the time for compromise with subversion was over. He indicated that a large network of "reaction" had been destroyed after Mouzabakani's recapture, and that officers, government officials and others had been arrested. He called it a network of the "valet of the Abbe Fulbert Youlou", and said Mouzabakani and his accomplices would be tried by a revolutionary court. He also called for immediate reorganisation of the security services, on the grounds that some of their members had aided the alleged plotters. These, he said, "had been seriously preparing, amid the police and the army, their undermining action to restore the capitalist system, and especially American capitalism."

The meeting took place in the town hall square of Brazzaville before a vast throng with huge banners saying, for example, "Comrades of the CNR, 1969 must be the year of application of revolutionary measures."

The CNR met soon afterwards and agreed on practical measures to ensure the advance of "the revolution." It called for exemplary punishment of the accused "reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries," and for prompt establishment of the revolutionary court.

A so-called "Mpita group" is said to have been linked with Mouzabakani's alleged network. Based in Pointe Noire, it was denounced by Major Nguabi—

before the announcement of the conspiracy—for "firting with capitalists" and hindering the Congo's economic development.

Commandant Mouzabakani was condemned to death by the Masmaba-Debat regime, but was recalled to power in the confused events of last August. He was called a "Youlist", however, and was removed from the Government in December. His flight from Brazzaville, followed Major Nguabi's speech denouncing "reactionaries" in the armed forces.

OAU

The OAU Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa adopted 15 recommendations; several dealt with southern Africa. One condemned the *Fearless* proposals on Rhodesia and said only armed force could solve the Rhodesian problem; it also called on Great Britain to demand the release of the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. Some other resolutions denounced a recent US air agreement with South Africa, called for "intensified struggle for liberation" in Mozambique, demanded a meeting of the *ad hoc* committee of 17 military experts (the text of this resolution will not be made public), and called for a national front of the nationalist movement in Angola. Others dealt with the IMF's Special Drawing Rights plan (which the Council supported) and (on which it called for an OAU secretariat study), and other economic matters.

The Council of Ministers agreed on an OAU Refugees Convention, to deal with Africa's 850,000 refugees. Once ratified by all member states it will have force all over the continent.



A recent meeting of the medical faculty of Dakar University.

SENEGAL

M Mady Cissoko, *ministre délégué* at the President's office, has been twice to Conakry and once to Bamako to deliver messages from President Senghor about the coming meeting of the Organisation of Senegal River States (OERS), to be held in Dakar this month.

● The condition of Senegalese workers in France has been discussed at a conference at the headquarters in Paris of the Léo Lagrange Foundation. Medical, social and legal aspects were covered. The President of the General Union of Senegalese Workers in France, M. Sally N'Dongo, said there were about 13,000 workers from Senegal, and 25,000 from black Africa as a whole, in France.

President Senghor has announced his intention to "rationalise" Senegalese emigration to France. He was glad to see the creation of an Association of Senegalese

Workers in France, and the attachment of the Senegalese consulate in Paris of Inspector of Labour and Social Security.

● The cabinet has discussed a decree for the abolition of the *Groupement Republicain*, and another for special training of reserve officers.

GABON

Three soldiers have joined the Government for the first time. Captain Makmaka (Secretary of State for Interior), Captain Simon Mengome (Secretary of State for Works), and Jacques Igoh (Secretary of State for Health). In the same reshuffle M. Jean Marcé has been transferred to the Ministry of Health from that of Agriculture, M. A. Mintsu from Public Service Ministry to the Ministry of Justice, and M. S. Moinko from Justice to Health.

● President Bongo has given a sharp rebuke to doctors practising abortion and has reminded the people that the use of birth control pills is forbidden. He said he would "put the gendarmes and the police by the chemists" to stamp out use of the pill finally. He said girls under 25 are, however, allowed to use the pill, but only on medical advice and with the consent of their parents.

President Bongo also denounced "corrupt officials, and called for "competence, honesty and efficiency." He said the Mayor of Libreville should be appointed by and not elected; a new mayor would be "to give a new face" to the capital, ordered that all ministers and all officials should take new oaths.

In the same broadcast the President said, although he had the rank of general in the reserve, he should not theoretically be called *mon Général*. "I am M. Albert Bernard Bongo, I did not come to power by a military coup d'état, but by democratic means."

UPPER VOLTA

● Upper Volta, which has the lowest "telephone density" in Africa, is to receive its first loan from the World Bank of a credit of \$800,000 from IDA, for expansion and rehabilitation of the communications systems. The credit will be free of interest but a service charge of 3 per cent will be made to cover administrative costs. The existing telecommunications system, says the Bank, is "modest" and reflects the geographical pattern of economic and administrative activities.

The project's main objectives are to rehabilitate existing networks and provide for expansions. The IDA credit will also be used to assist in setting up a newly created Office of Post and Telecommunications, a public corporation, and training its staff. The project will be completed during 1969-71 at a cost of some \$1.5 million.

● The Catholic Church in Upper Volta is headed by Cardinal Paul Zoungana, bishop of Ouagadougou—has decided to return responsibility for primary education to the state. A bishops' meeting decided that the Church could not afford to continue teaching "as a servant, not as a master" after the transfer. The present system will continue until Sept. 30.

NIGERIA

Biafrans Surround Owerri?

Secessionist forces are reported to have surrounded Owerri, the important crossroads town held by Federal forces since last September, and trapped units of the 3rd Marine Commando Division. Reports in British newspapers, based on "Nigerian sources", have supported claims from Biafra that Owerri is cut off except for air drops. (The number of troops there is given variously as between 1,500 and 5,000.) Winston Churchill, in one of his articles for *The Times*, said he had been in the area and was told the town had been surrounded since January, except for a short period when a Federal column broke through from the south. Churchill also says Biafran forces have advanced far to the south of Owerri since the halting of last September's Federal offensive, and control part of the main road to Port Harcourt.

The reports have been denied officially in Lagos as "absolutely untrue"; the garrison at Owerri, it is claimed, are fully able to hold out.

Biafra radio alleged that a Federal force captured a village in the Owerri area in violation of the Idel-Kebr truce, and launched other attacks in the same period. A Federal Army spokesman in Lagos denied these allegations; troops, however, were on alert for the second day of the truce.

● The *Nigerian Observer* reports that some Federal forces have travelled by road from Onitsha to Enugu, to show that the whole of this road is in Federal hands (as it was not until recently).

The same newspaper reports that the village of Okoebeli in the Mid-West has been "cleared of rebel infiltrators" by troops of the Second Division and that 1,500 refugees there, many of whom had fled into the bush from other areas, have been moved to the refugee camp at Asaba.

A bridge on the road between Ibusa and Ogwashi-Uku in the Ibo-speaking area of the Mid-West has been reopened. It was destroyed in fighting in the Mid-West.

More than 3,000 people of Asaba division have returned to their homes in Ibusa after being in hiding since Biafran infiltrators came into the division last April, when—says a *Daily Times* report—the town was "almost deserted." It quotes a priest as saying almost half the town's population had come out of hiding now.

● Moves are being made for a new meeting of the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria. Alhaji Kam Solem, Home Affairs Commissioner, has declared in Lagos.

Talks on Bombing

Mr Michael Stewart, British Foreign Secretary, has met Brig Ogundipe, Nigeria's High Commissioner, while Sir David Hunt, the British High Commissioner in Lagos, was instructed to call on Gen. Gowon. It was reported that at both meetings the British Government deplored the bombing of civilian targets. The reports from Winston Churchill in *The Times* have led to several days of correspondence in the newspaper, with most contributors condemning the raids.

Brig. Ogundipe, in a long letter to *The Times* this week, criticised some of those who condemned the air raids, alleging that they did not care about crimes committed by the Biafrans. He said, "Either the rebels

must come to terms or the war must be won by military means," and gave details of Federal terms, which included full equality for Ibos in the Federal Government, reinstatement of civil servants, rehabilitation, running of East Central State by Ibo people, an external observer force "to give additional confidence to the population", re-absorption of individual Ibos into the Federal army, and a "general amnesty for everyone including Mr. Ojukwu" if there is a surrender now (otherwise "the law will take its course" and rebel leaders would be tried for treason).

The High Commissioner said that, as he had told Mr Stewart, reports of non-military targets being bombed were being investigated, and steps will be taken to see that pilots carry out their instructions.

Chief Enahoro, on a visit to London, said that if allegations of bombing of civilians were true, action would be taken for breach of General Gowon's Code of Conduct; Brig. Ogundipe also said this. In Lagos it was officially stated that reports of air raids were exaggerated, and civilian areas could have been hit only by mistake.

● In a detailed report on the air raid on the village market of Ozu Abam, which took place—according to his and other reports—on the first day or last week's Idel-Kebr truce, Mr. Winston Churchill said the devastated area covered over 10,000 square yards, and the maternity clinic, district health office and post office were destroyed. The bombs, dropped from an Ilyushin, seem from his own observation on the spot to have been high-explosive-incendiary or possibly phosphorus, he reported, adding that there was "no military target within eight miles." The number of dead, he said, could be "over 200" (a later report said it was 509).

News agency reports on March 2 said a part of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Umuahia had been hit by bombs and cannon.

Three villages were reported to have been bombed in the Mbawsi area of Aba province this week. Two visiting French parliamentarians, MM. Raymond Olffroy and Jacques Marette, were said to have been near the scene of one raid. M. Olffroy, a former French ambassador to Nigeria, now heads the Committee for Action for Biafra.

● The international observer team and the UN representative in Nigeria have called on Col. Shittu Alao, head of the Federal air force, to discuss the bombing reports. Col. Alao has said that there is no indiscriminate bombing of civilians, for this is against orders to pilots, and would be a waste of fuel and shells. "But," he added, "Lt.-Col. Ojukwu has put his military headquarters in civilian cities like Umuahia. If, in the search for him, any civilian is touched, then hard luck—this is a war." There was a report of "some tough talking" at his meeting with the observers.

New signatures have now been added to the House of Commons backbenchers' motion calling on the British Government to secure an international embargo on arms supplies to both sides, to try to arrange an immediate cease-fire, and to increase economic aid to victims of the war.

The *Sunday Post* and *Sunday Sketch* in Nigeria have both criticised Mr. Churchill, saying he is writing anti-Federal propaganda.

● After his visit to Enugu, General Gowon, making his first tour of the fronts went to Port Harcourt and Calabar. On his return he said he had found the troops'

morale to be very high. He visited hospitals and had talks with officers during his brief visits to the three cities.

● Reporting on the food situation in Biafran-held territory, Winston Churchill described the system of distributing rations, with very small amounts having to be shared among vast numbers of people. "The situation is becoming 'more critical'," he says; he saw many people suffering from kwashiorkor and other diseases. There are some places, he says, where food is sufficient, but others where there is nothing; food prices are enormous. There are about seven million people in the secessionist-held area, he claims, and at least a million have died of starvation already.

The relief airlift has been disrupted to some extent by the Federal bombing of Uli airstrip; and it is totally inadequate, he says, to meet the shortage of carbohydrates now coming—500 or even as much as 2,000 tons of food every day must be brought in to deal with this. The report adds that there is little hope of any agreement on transport of relief supplies.

A *Time* correspondent says, "Mass starvation, casual shooting of civilians, indiscriminate bombing and strafing have broken the spirit of the old and kindled the bitterness of the young" in Biafran territory. There is great shortage of food in villages, he reports, and in the bush many people are said to be dying of starvation. In one refugee camp with 20,000 people in it white worms cost 53 a cup and salt 520 a cup, even the army is going short of food. A few sick children are evacuated for treatment outside.



Zinsou—only daylight flights?

● In an interview with the *Sunday Post* the President of Dahomey, Dr. Zinsou, said there was no tension in his country over the agreement on the use of Cotonou airport by the Red Cross for its flights to Biafra. Reports of tension were the work of "opposition members and . . . confusionists," he said. He added that a copy of the agreement with the ICRC had been sent to the Nigerian Embassy. The reporter said Dr. Zinsou agreed to flights only in the daytime and told him night flights would be unauthorised. Some traders in Dahomey are now reported to have protested at the Red Cross arrangement.

● UNICEF has announced that £1m. worth of relief food is on its way to Nigeria from Europe and the USA to add to more than £4m. worth of supplies and services so far provided.

NIGERIA—continued

● The airlift of relief supplies from Fernando Po to Ubi airstrip, resumed recently on a reduced scale, was again suspended this week, apparently because of the crisis in Equatorial Guinea.

French Arms in Biafra

● M. Pierre Messmer, French Minister for the Armed Forces, has admitted that Biafrans are fighting with French arms, but denied that these came straight from France. He said Ivory Coast and Gabon had every right to pass on their arms to Biafra, which they recognised (France gives considerable aid for the defence of these two territories, from both of which arms flights are alleged to have gone to Biafra since last September).

● M. Aymar Achille-Fould, leader of the French parliamentary delegation which recently visited Nigeria, has sent to the French press a detailed reply to the protest of some pilots, doctors and others with Biafran experience, who criticised the delegation's statement that there was no evidence of genocide. He said that the delegation had been to the war zones, and that two or three million Ibos were living in Federally-held territory under the administration headed by Mr. Asika. Some individual atrocities had occurred, he admitted, and even some collective massacres, but Africa had no monopoly of such things.

● The Federal Government has decided to lift restrictions imposed on the BBC's work in Nigeria in January. This was agreed after talks with the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Union, Mr. John Akar, and BBC officials.

● A member (Mr. William Gordon, of John Holt Exports) of a ten-man mission from the London Chamber of Commerce, visiting Nigeria this week, has said trade activities by Communist countries in some parts of Africa are "a great bluff", adding, "Let's see the risk capital in Uganda and Nigeria. Let's see them sink money in warehouses". He said the expansion of Communist countries' trade was natural and there was no "trade battle", but the UK would have to fight hard to keep its commercial position in Nigeria.

Members of the mission, which is also to visit Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Canary Islands, represent construction equipment, steel, machinery, prefabricated housing, chemicals, tools, banking (Barclays DCO), and other enterprises. The leader is Mr. A. S. Breene (Comport Structures).

Hospital Contract Under Fire

● The Western State Commissioner for Health, Chief Onabanjo, has denied all responsibility for the alleged award of a contract or financial arrangement for a cottage hospital project in the State. He made the denial in a letter to the *Daily Times* after this had published a story headlined "£2m. Contract Scandal". This said the project was intended as a follow-up to two cottage hospitals already built and was expected to involve 25 more cottage hospitals, built on a "contractor finance" arrangement basis, at a cost of £90,000 each. Chief Onabanjo said only the Commissioner for Works would have anything to do with the contract. The *Daily Times* said the project ran into trouble when an Italian

firm named for the building of the 1 asked the Government of the S increase its contribution, because firm's difficulty in raising loans.

The State Government has now s hospitals project ran into "unforesee culties" in obtaining part of the mo the project. After the contractor (i impossible to obtain the necessary gu for the required loan, ideas were con for reducing the number of hospita the cost.

The *Daily Times* claims the V Government admits that the terms agreement were not placed before t executive council, that there was d ment among commissioners as to w project was not put to tender, and t firms could not fulfil a part of its c ment. It alleges that the contractors the agreement, and asks why the c was not called off.

● The *Nigerian Tribune* has repea call for the resignation of Mr. F. Coker, permanent secretary at the State Ministry of Finance and hol several other posts in Lagos, in v criticism of him in the Saville Rep the Lagos City Council.

● The Mid-West Government has a £2m. contract with a major Frenz struction company, Dumez (contrao the Onitsha bridge), for repairing o Benn-Warri road.

● Preliminary work has started fo eventual reopening of the Univer Nigeria at Nsukka. Workers are now ing the Enugu campus of the Unu which is not seriously damaged.

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