

West Africa

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Paying for the War

In Lagos details of the Federal Budget for the current financial year are still awaited. But from the summary (reported in our issue of May 17), issued this month two things are clear. Oil revenues will this year allow the Federal Government to undertake record expenditure without significantly increasing taxes; and these revenues, together with satisfactory produce sales, will improve the balance of payments sufficiently to allow relaxation in restrictions on overseas payments even if the war continues.

War expenditure is the great unknown. If the fighting ends during the year—now one cannot even be sure of that—domestic military costs may not significantly fall until the next year, and orders in the pipeline may maintain overseas expenditure at its present level for some months. Actual military expenditure announced for 1967-68 was over £N20m, against an estimate of £N15m last year—which must have been considerably exceeded. An optimistic estimate for the current year may mean that the expected budget surplus of £10m, to be devoted to development, will not be forthcoming.

The end of the fighting, however, would also be the beginning of a period of costly reconstruction, so the taxpayer could not expect much relief for some time. But for reconstruction, Nigeria could call on outside assistance, including her automatic drawings from the IMF, which during the war, in spite of the allegation about her alleged backers, the Federal Government is not ready to do. But the spending both of external aid funds already committed but not at present being spent, and of new funds specifically provided for reconstruction, together with expansion of commercial plants and buildings, should, if inflation can be checked, provide a satisfactory tax basis.

While the Federal Government will retain some £N22m. more this year from the revenues it collects it will also be able to pass on some £N19m. more to the states. Of this, it is true, perhaps £4m. will come from the increase in produce export duties which the states receive in full—an increase questioned by some since a rise in the price paid to farmers for this produce is also con-

sidered necessary and just. But the vast disproportion in allocations per head of the population of the states (North Eastern state with a population of 7.8m. receives £N3.7m., while Mid-west's population of 2.5m. receives £N11.9m.), if the present system of revenue allocation is followed, is likely to be greatly modified when the actual figures are published. A new interim system, allowing for population, will be used for dividing half the "distributable pool". The problem of financing the states, however, particularly Kwara and the North-East, will remain serious.

The improvement in the balance of payments, reflected in a rise in the reserves to some £40m. means that the government can now relax what it tactfully calls the "tacit" embargo on the repatriation of profits and dividends by foreign firms. This is essential not only to attract new investors but also to encourage existing ones to expand. But the reserves have been kept at their present level by a "tacit" embargo not only on the repatriation of dividends and profits but also on approved overseas payments for goods and service. The considerable backlog of these payments must also be considerably reduced if the relaxation on profits and dividends is to have an effect.

Businessmen in Nigeria are also greatly exercised by another proposal in the government's budget statement, which speaks of the need to tax "excessive" profits arising out of the present situation, by a system of graduated super-tax rates. Nobody denies that many firms, and individuals, are doing very well out of the war, and that the government is entitled to share in their prosperity. The complaint is that "excessive" is a vague and subjective word.

People are uncertain, too, about the administrative consequences of the decision to put all imports, except a list of 16, under "specific" licences. It is true, as the government statement says, that the present "selective quantitative" restriction does not work well. There is no guarantee that any other system will work better. The truth is that in Nigeria, as in most countries, any kind of restriction, except a purely financial one through



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the banking system, is likely to lead to inefficiency and corruption.

The government has wisely recognised that in the matter of tyres, shortage of which—partly due to failure to recognise in time the result of the loss of the Michelin factory at Port Harcourt—was gravely affecting the transport system. Now tyres and tubes will come in without licenses, as will vehicles other than private cars, and a number of other items including cement, for which the loss of Nkalagu production is as serious as is that of Port Harcourt for tyres.

Increases and adjustments in rates of import and excise duties should affect the poorer sections of the population very little. Beer and cigarettes, already bearing a considerable burden, are untouched while there is a reduction in duty on mineral water, the "poor man's beer". Otherwise the changes are meant to bring slight increases in revenue, to protect local production, or to encourage or discourage certain types of imports or exports.

One change greatly welcomed by the public at large is the reimposition of import and excise duties on all military purchases except those of a specialist kind. Enthusiasm for "our gallant troops" has sometimes been tempered by the knowledge that they were consuming vast quantities of duty-free drink.

One deeply disquieting feature of this, as it is likely to be of following budgets, is the rise in the cost of debt charges to almost a quarter of recurrent Federal spending. The reconstruction boom must not be allowed to add to this burden, except for guaranteed revenue-raising projects. The able financial administration which, in spite of the inevitable extravagance of military expenditure, has kept Nigeria afloat during the war, may be even more necessary in the peace.

An interview with General Gowon

AS the second anniversary approaches half a year that nobody expected to last as long, General Yakubu Gowon remains his calm, confident and modest self. In his Dodan Barracks house this week he told me that he was now more convinced than ever that the secessionist leaders had not only tried to establish a dictatorship over the non-Ibo peoples of the former Eastern region, but kept the Ibos themselves in line through police terror: "They don't listen to the truth on the radio. They must not be allowed to learn that there are now more Ibo on our side of the line than on theirs and that these are happily setting about restoring their lives with our help. We know from the prisoners coming in just what it's like. Ojukwu and his men could end the suffering at any time; we would deal with anybody who really wanted peace and spoke for the people there."

On the military side the General was



cautious. He emphasised that the recent field command changes had been decided some time ago and were not the result of federal reverses. "There's no question of a change of plans. The plans are there. We have had a lot of trouble over ammunition supplies, particularly since our boys tend to blaze off with their automatics. But we will soon be ready again."

General Gowon spoke passionately of his desire to welcome back into the Federation the people of the East-Central, Ibo, State. He is certain that they will become full and happy citizens of a united Nigeria. "I have been most impressed by the happy, almost joking, relations which you find between the rebel boys and our own when they lie side by side in our hospitals. If they can get up to the idea after having wounded each other, why must it be assumed that the sad events of 1966 were typical of a permanent situation?" He emphasised that he does not permit Ojukwu's soldiers, much less the civilians of

beleaguered Biafra, to be referred to as "the enemy." There could be no future friendship if that attitude was developed. "They are fellow countrymen, misled by a clique."

As on a previous occasion, General Gowon spoke sadly of officers of Col. Ojukwu's army whom he had known well, and served with. "Sometimes it seems as though most of them are dead. But I know that among them are men with whom we can deal. I believe that in the end that is what will happen."

It was Ojukwu's deliberate cultivation of hatred as a weapon which General Gowon believed to be his real crime against Nigeria. "He doesn't spare even the children. There are so many similarities with Hitler. But once they come over and find it's all lies, it sort of boomerangs and they become our enthusiastic friends. I don't believe all that nonsense about guerrillas. There are no guerrillas operating in areas we have liberated. There are only infiltrating detachments of the Biafran army, and the local people are the first to give us information about their movements. The group which seized the Italian oil men were under direct Biafran army orders. We knew the area to be dangerous for that reason, and the Italians were told that. We can't protect every inch of ground in an area like that. I hope no harm comes to those men but it can't do Ojukwu's cause much good in Italy where I'm told he has had much sympathy."

We discussed the French arms supply. General Gowon has to pay regard to the official French denials that there are any such supplies, and he agrees that the rebels have large quantities of Czech and even American arms, although neither of these governments can be accused of wanting to help Biafra. But he cannot

ignore reports that, for example, French military transports have been taking light armoured cars into Biafra. But like everybody else he hopes that the change at the Elysee Palace will clear things up.

He is very scathing about critics who say, "why on earth don't you try to take Uli airfield, and finish the war?" "You don't need Sandhurst or Camberley training to know that. But the rebels know it too, and are prepared to stop at nothing to defend Uli. Of course we are going to take it." He also asks the critics of the Federal air war policy what they have to say about the reports of the foreign correspondents who visited Umwahia and found so little damage from bombing. "My orders are absolutely clear. If you can't make your military target you should jettison your load rather than harm civilians. I know that there are accidents. But the orders are clear and most of the pilots are Nigerians. Ojukwu is not short of men or small arms or even ammunition. And he's got some hardware to use against our armour. And then they ask us to give up the air arm and perhaps prolong the war by months."

About Mr. Harold Wilson's recent visit the general is very enthusiastic. "I know that man has suffered for his straightforward attitude to our cause. It was right that he should see for himself that the cause was just."

The home front, the General is sure, is sound, and the recent budget confirms it. "I myself know that he is universally liked and respected. I am not so sure about the regime as a whole; but he points to the continued recruitment, to the improved relations between soldiers and civilians. He is so passionately convinced of the justice of his case, so certain that he is merely an instrument of providence, that there is no room for doubt in his philosophy. D.W."

portrait

ELYSEE ADVISER ON AFRICA

By a Correspondent

THE post of Secretary-General to the French Presidency the Community for African and Malagasy Affairs has been so identified with one man, M. Foccart, that it takes a little adjustment to the idea of anyone else in the position. M. Foccart as "de Gaulle's right arm" brought to the job the same atmosphere of clandestine mystery that surrounded his other activities, so that even the typical classic-style French government

office (complete with front courtyard, liveried flunkies and chandeliers) in the rue de Grenelle took on a forbidding air. "M. Foccart never makes a declaration," I was once told there, "because to do so would be to commit the General, and nobody commits the General."

With Daniel Pépy, who at the beginning of this month was named by France's Interim President, M. Poher, as successor to M. Foccart, there is no such

mystique. One might say that, just as M. Poher is a kind of "anti-de Gaulle", so M. Pépy's style and interests are completely different from his predecessor. Accessible and humane, with a subtle sense of humour, in conversation he gives the impression of a shrewd and analytical approach to African problems—above all from the point of view of the technician. He also lacks neuroses about Anglo-Saxons, and like M. Poher, is a genuine European.

His whole career as a civil servant supports this. Born in Paris in 1917, the son of a teacher, he was educated at the Sorbonne and the University of Grenoble, with two degrees in law, and a Diploma in Political Science. He entered the civil service at the height of the war, in the Ministry of Food, and in 1945 he began his official association with the Council of State, of which he has been a Councillor since 1967 (the Council of State has the function of both legal advisers to the government, and the highest administrative court). He moved through a number of ministries (pen-



M. Daniel Pépy

sions, labour, and the armed forces, where he spent more than two years in the cabinet of the minister), and in January 1950 he became for nearly two years an observer in the US zone of Germany, in Bavaria. It was here that he perfected his English, although he had been in London for a time during the war. He has subsequently travelled widely in English-speaking Africa. Pépy's first connection with Africa was in 1952, when he became a technical adviser in the cabinet of the Minister of France *D'Outremer*, M. Pflimlin, for whom he had already worked for a short period when he was Minister for the Council of Europe. At this time he began his close association with Togo; he was responsible for preparing the first Togo "Statute" and also took part in the talks in London that led to Pflimlin-Lyttleton agreements on colonial questions.

With the constant permutations of the Fourth Republic, he continued his moves around the ministries, including a year at the Ministry of the Interior, as a member of the Commission dealing with markets, and from March 1955-January 1956, he was *Directeur de Cabinet* of Leopold Senghor when he was a Secretary of State to the Prime Minister (a kind of Minister without Portfolio in the PM's office, who dealt in fact with youth questions, and with constitutional reform).

Then, in February 1957, he went to Africa as legal adviser to the Togo government, at that time under M. Nicolas Gruntzky. This was the government which had been set up under the Second Togo Statute, after the creation of the Autonomous Republic of Togo—the first full parliamentary democracy in French West Africa. This was a fairly dramatic period in Togo history. In the last stages of the UN trusteeship, Pépy was occupied especially on drawing up a final Statute in accordance with UN requirements, which handed over to the Togo government all powers

save currency, defence and foreign policy. In the elections provided for by the Statute, however, Gruntzky was severely defeated, and Pépy returned to where the next year he became a Technical Adviser, for General and Legal Affairs in the Secretariat for Aid and Co-operation, which had been established as soon as the Debre government came to power under the de Gaulle 1958 constitution. The Secretariat, in some measure a replacement for the Ministry of France *D'Outremer*, was smaller, although many of the old personnel carried on, as well as members of the French civil service, like Pépy, who had been linked with the ex-colonies.

A year later he became President of the Council of Administration of IRAT (the Institute for Tropical Agronomic Research), a post which he still holds. He has written about this institute, which gives assistance to many African states, and the training centre for planning experts, which was set up in October 1960, and in which he is also deeply interested, in the *Journal of Modern African Studies* (it is impossible to imagine M. Foccart considering, let alone seeing the importance of, writing something like this about French institutions connected with aid in an English language periodical). Apart from the activities, in 1964 he took on the course in modern African politics at the famous "Science-Po" in Paris.

In view of the uncertainty of the present situation, and the fact that M. Pépy (whose own past political connections have tended to be Centrist) is now definitely linked with M. Poher, we cannot know at the moment whether his tenure of office will last beyond June. If he does, it is reassuring to know that he will have as an adviser on Africa a man who is concerned above all for the effectiveness of co-operation and aid.

● In an article in "West Africa" two weeks ago called "End of the Foccart Era?" it was stated that M. Foccart had been appointed in 1960 with the agreement of the members of the Community ("not a powerful argument since the community exists only on paper"). This was perfectly true—Foccart was appointed in March 1960 as Secretary-General of the Community, but in 1961, after the collapse of the Community, he was made Secretary-General at the Presidency Community and for the African and Malagasy Affairs, by Presidential decree, without any consultation, which precedent makes M. Pépy's appointment perfectly valid constitutionally.

NIGERIA—

BIAFRA IN SHEFFIELD

Prospects for a Peace in Nigeria was the subject of a symposium held recently at Sheffield University Students' Union. Organised by the University Nigeria Society in collaboration with the Nigeria Unions of the North of England, it was one of the rare and hopeful occasions when Nigerians

and Biafrans met in open, public discussion. The members of the panel were Mr A. I. Agbe, Dr. Billy J. Dudley, Mr. J. O. Hunwick and Dr. U. U. Uche. Professor Bernard Crick, head of Sheffield University Department of Political Theory and Institutions, was in the chair.

The achievement of the three hour symposium was to discuss the broad issues of the constitutional, economic and social arrangements that could bring a lasting peace and give security to Nigeria's many ethnic groups. Mr. Hunwick, an Englishman with seven years' university teaching experience in Nigeria, expressed his doubts as to the effectiveness of leadership in a many-state federation. Mr. Agbe, then representative of the Federal Government, and Dr. Dudley, a Nigerian lecturer in Government at Manchester University, outlined with impressive precision the Nigerian Government's policy of re-integrating Biafrans into the new twelve-state federation and the reconstruction plans already under way for rehabilitating the war torn areas of the East. Dr. Uche, the Biafran on the Panel, himself tense and sorrowful, expressively conveyed the Biafran regime's misgivings as to the effectiveness for guaranteeing their security, of the peace proposals made at the several African talks.

The audience, with African students from the Sheffield area predominating, contributed ably to the discussion which as well as being well-informed was admirably courteous. As the Chairman remarked in his thanks to the visiting speakers, perhaps dialogues such as this one will aid the higher level of talks between the sides by contributing to the reconciliation at other levels. Commending the Nigeria Society and the Chairman of Sheffield Nigeria Union on their initiative in organising this meeting in Sheffield, Professor Crick commented a little wryly on the fact that so few English students had attended. SJ.

Personalities and Politics in Ghana—1

From our correspondent

NONE of Ghana's new parties so far claims the socialist label or bangs the anti-foreign drum. None, on the other hand, carries the banner of the Chiefs, and it is not only the electoral law which prevents any party from making a purely regional or tribal appeal. Are Ghanaians, then, to be offered no clear-cut choice when in a few months they vote in their first genuine general election since 1967?

The choice is likely to be clear enough. But it will be voted in past politics rather than in current problems, in personalities rather than policies. Behind it will be a much simpler choice: who seems capable of running a country which has still not recovered economically from Dr. Nkrumah's rule, and which needs good management more than exciting experiment. And it will probably be a choice between two men of vastly different character and experience, whose

lieutenants find both to have drawbacks as well as assets—Dr. Busia and Mr. Gbedemah.

Dr. Kofi Busia is a respected, and ascetic, sociologist, whom his men now call "the Prof.", with a mixture of affection and exasperation. His Progress Party has in Mr. da Rocha, an Accra barrister, an efficient secretary, and, although its strength in political organisation among the mass of voters is questioned, in many parts of the country it has been first in the field.

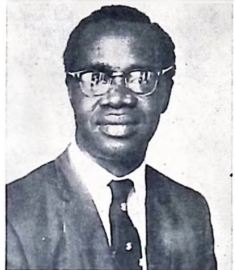
It is as the standard-bearer of parliamentary democracy in Ghana that Dr. Busia expects to be recognised, at home and abroad. He is the man who, though plagued by ill-health, attempted to lead a democratic opposition to Dr. Nkrumah, the man whom like-minded intellectuals see as Dr. Danquah's heir, the man forced into exile. Now aged about 56, he speaks and laughs softly, peers mildly through dark spectacles. It is difficult to see him as a leader of the militant National Liberation Movement which, from 1954 to independence, offered to the CPP an opposition which was often extremely violent—most of the leaders who persisted in their opposition after independence finished in detention. Some of Dr. Busia's followers fear that he is too academic, that he will never come down to the sort of earth on which Ghanaian elections are fought. But they know they must accept that, if they are to have so valuable a name for their leadership.

How far does his new party draw on the old opposition United Party, and on the NLM? The Accra Headquarters are in Horse Road, in the Bukom area, heart of Ga Accra, where the Shifemo Kpe in the period following independence displayed a violent opposition, resulting in some pitiless detentions, to what was thought to be Dr. Nkrumah's high-handed attitude to the Ga, the indigenous people of cosmopolitan Accra. Even some of the drivers of the Progress Party's new Peugeot station-wagons were Shifemo Kpe taxi drivers. In spite of the support of the Legon intellectuals and of one or two former CPP men like Mr. J. G. Amamoo, former Ambassador to Hungary but now editor of the *Ghanaian Times*, Dr. Busia's mass appeal in the Accra area is likely to be based on the Ga memories of the CPP.

The heart of the NLM, however, was Ashanti. The Asantehene, whose support, if not leadership, gave the movement peculiar strength, is now a greatly revered elder statesman, whom nobody would wish to drag into politics. Balfour Akoto, his linguist, was an active NLM leader who was saved from death during his later savage detention only by the intervention of doctors. Now he will opt for no party, but he and the Ashanti he represents are very much alive.

As Dr. Busia's lieutenant in Ashanti Mr. Reggie Amponsah makes a double appeal. As leader of the Ashanti Youth Association he backed the CPP but he

led the association and much of the Ashanti CPP into opposition in 1954 when it was thought that Accra was riding roughshod over Ashanti views. His was one of Dr. Nkrumah's longest detentions. He is admirably objective now about it all, and shows no bitterness. But his detention, and that of dozens, if not hundreds, more will make many Ashanti determined to oppose bitterly any party which seems to be connected with the old CPP. Another Ashanti supporter of Dr. Busia is Mr. Victor Owusu, the former Attorney-



Busia—can he be down to earth?

General, whose recent quarrel with the NLC returned him to private life at the right time. He is a former UP man, and was detained by Dr. Nkrumah.

Perhaps mistrusting the dynamism of his former leader, Mr. Joe Appiah, another leading Ashanti political figure, once a close associate of Dr. Nkrumah but later his detainee, has broken with Dr. Busia to form his own party, the Nationalist Party. He has attracted some Accra figures, such as Mr. Alex Hutton-Mills, and has been one of the most prominent members of the Constituent Assembly, a majority of whose members appear to be actual or potential Busia men. But his friends tend to shake their heads and ask: "What does Joe think he's doing?"

Mr. Appiah's most prominent lieutenant is an Ewe, Mr. Modesto Apaloo, one of Dr. Nkrumah's longest-term detainees, also a former leader of Dr. Busia. His support in his own coastal area is strong, but it is uncertain if he commands any Ewe support as such. The most prominent Ghana politician who relied on Ewe sentiment in favour of union with the Ewe of Togo was Mr. S. G. Antor, who brought his militantly anti-Nkrumah all-Ewe Congress into the UP under Dr. Busia. He is not, apparently, the man he was, but, being still with Dr. Busia, he should bring support to him in the Northern areas of what is now the Volta Region. But the alleged solidarity of the Ewes, much suspected elsewhere in Ghana, does not appear to extend to the political parties.

Dr. Busia is not, as is widely supposed, an Ashanti, but a Brong, and a member

of the Royal house of Wenchi in the new Brong-Ahafo Region. Many say he was uninterested in the separation of that region from the former Ashanti, and that some of its people think he was too ready to accept the leadership of the Asantehene. The Ashantis, on the other hand, may not like the leadership of a Brong, kindred though they are. Nevertheless Dr. Busia should enjoy "local boys" support in his own region.

Opposition to Dr. Nkrumah was once strong in the two regions of Northern Ghana, and Dr. Busia appears to enjoy the support of most of the old NLM and UP leaders there—such as Mr. S. D. Dombu, the Duri-Na, once Leader of the Opposition. In the North Chiefs, such as the late Na-Yiri, whose kingdom was divided by Dr. Nkrumah as a punishment, openly supported the NLM, as readily as did the Paramounts of Ashanti. It is believed that they are now anxious only to be on good terms with whoever is in power, and will not easily be persuaded to make open declarations of support even for somebody as closely associated with them in the past as Dr. Busia. Some of them, however, may be tempted to overinsure by openly backing somebody who may prove unsuccessful.

In Southern Ghana, outside Accra Dr. Busia can expect support, for example, in the Ofori-Atta territory of Akim Abuakwa, a UP stronghold where the Nkrumah-deposed Paramount Chief has been restored and Mr. William Ofori-Atta, still benign in spite of his detention, is a prominent Busia man. Elsewhere local personalities may be decisive, while most people seem to be unready to commit themselves.

Because the self-styled radical Nkrumah killed independent trade unionism, and independent anything else, many trade unionists may support a party which, though scarcely radical, is staunchly anti-PP. The same considerations apply to farmers. The NLM began as a revolt against the "freezing" by the Nkrumah government of the price paid to cocoa farmers. Now the farmers' organisation, although it is impossible to know how representative it is, appears to be split, perhaps on political lines, with the former UP man, Mr. Adaae, on one side and Mr. Sarpong-Mensah on the other.

Dr. Busia is alleged to have derived much advantage from his chairmanship during the NLC regime of the Centre for Civic Education. In this capacity he toured widely, and no doubt enhanced his reputation. But it should be noted that to people in rural areas he probably appeared to be a representative of the government. And in spite of the undoubted achievements of the NLC, its austerity measures have not been universally popular.

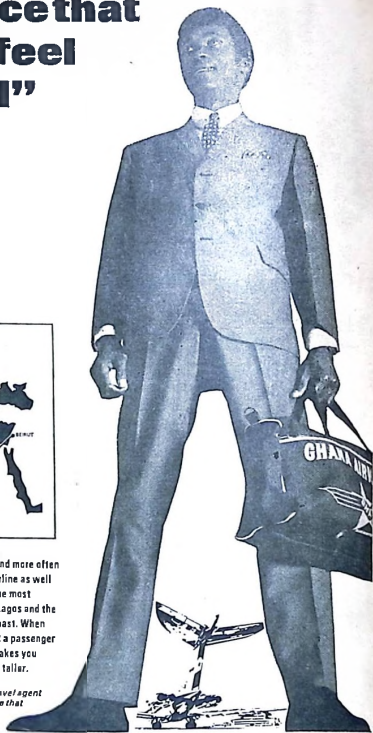
Is the Progress Party really a revived United Party? And what is the relationship of Mr. Gbedemah's National Alliance of Liberals to the old CPP? These questions I shall attempt to answer in a second article.

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ROUNDOABOUT

Paris

The Headless Chicken

France, in this bizarre interim period, this epilogue to the de Gaulle drama, is full of contradiction, not least the contradiction arising from the constitutional curiosity of the interim president who has to work with the government of his predecessor, especially difficult when the predecessor is de Gaulle. Hence the un concealed contempt displayed by some Gaullist ministers after M. Poher's first cabinet meeting, and the impression of lack of synchronisation in governmental action. The policies continue, but rather in the manner of a headless chicken. For French-speaking Africans this has meant, for example, the unilateral cancellation, by that fervent Gaullist, Foreign Minister Debre, of the French-speaking education ministers' conference. This has been one of the important organs of France's "special relationship" with Black Africa, and at the same time has recently been used as a field of activity for such Gaullist pastimes as tweaking Anglo-Saxon noses (in this case over Quebec). The indefinite postponement, in spite of the fact that the ministers were already assembling in Paris, seems to some to have been calculated to induce uncertainty in the minds of African states, to show them that all was not well. It was in keeping with Debre's ambivalent statement that "co-operation" would continue, but perhaps with less depth than under de Gaulle, who, Debre seemed to be saying, had taught the French that co-operation was moral (almost, that tablets had been handed down from the mountaintop saying "let there be co-operation"). The summoning by M. Poher of the Malagasy Ambassador (doyen of the African envoys in Paris) to explain that the April 27 referendum had in no way affected France's co-operation policy, and also to remind the world that he, Poher, had a considerable interest in Africa through the EEC, looked like a direct rejoinder to M. Debre.

Cassandra Couve

The Gaullist tendency to dramatise the situation could also be seen in the reported protest in the cabinet by M. Couve de Murville, the Prime Minister* that "the equilibrium of Africa" was threatened by the dismissal of M. Foccart as Secretary-General at the Presidency for African Affairs. This has the same Cassandra-like note as M. Couve's prophecy on the night of the referendum of "troubles" ahead for France with the departure of the General, when one of the most likely source of troubles seems to be the strong-arm men of the Gaullist party, should they lose the Presidential elections.

The joint departure of de Gaulle and Foccart has an immediate impact as far as style is concerned, and the whole way government decisions on Black Africa will be taken is concerned. As Justin Vieyra, Editor-in-Chief of *Jeune Afrique* writes in a challenging editorial, to which I would commend readers' attention, M. Foccart "had an advantage over all the African politicians with whom he was in contact; he knew them by heart, so to speak. For this, the African policy of the General was largely elaborated by M. Foccart and M. Foccart alone." Like many I met in African circles here, Vieyra sees in the departure of de Gaulle-Foccart a chance to reinforce independence and self-respect. While recognising the historic role of the General as grantor of independence (which he only did for the greater advantage of France), Vieyra writes "what became anachronistic and unsupportable in relations between France and African states was for about twelve years their paternalist character

Gaullists and Co-operation

It is reasonably pointed out here that the decline in the "co-operation" budget to Black Africa began under the Gaullists, after the Jeanneney Report of 1963, and that Gaullists, too, have been instrumental in the slow whittling away of the autonomous status of the Cooperation Secretariat, bringing it under the overall control of the Quai D'Orsay, while ignoring the Jeanneney recommendation that there should be a special semi-autonomous "cooperation" agency handling all aid to the developing world. Under a civil servant like M. Daniel Pepy, Foccart's successor the prospect for a realistic and worthwhile aid programme might actually improve, although the continuation of Pepy himself seems to depend on Poher's success in the election. Some attribute Poher's rise in popularity to the removal of Foccart (widely mistrusted in France), and apart from enthusiastic Africans there are many Frenchmen with African interests who see in Foccart's going the removal of malign influence. Even if Pompidou wins, he would be wise to judge the present mood and not reimpose Foccart on Africa. Gaullist ties with business in Africa may dictate otherwise; but if, as seems likely, the departure of the de Gaulle-Foccart personal network imperils regimes that have depended heavily on French support to stay in power, it would be rash to suppose there would be much popular support here for a series of military interventions. Poher or Pompidou, the dominating needs of France are going to be what matters. This is why *Le Nouvel Observateur* is referring to certain African Presidents as "Foccart's orphans."



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In Memoriam: Native Authority

The second of two articles on the administrative reform in the new Northern States of Nigeria, which are leading to sweeping changes in the "Native Authority" system which developed in the early days of British rule.

DOCUMENTATION on NA forms a notable contribution to the literature of imperial administration. In its classical locus of Nigeria, one thinks at once of such "NA" landmarks as Lord Lugard's *Political Memoranda and Dual Mandate*, of Sir Donald Cameron's *Principles of Native Administration and their Application*, and Dame Margery Perham's critical *Native Administration in Nigeria*. On a broader colonial scale, there are Lord Hailey's memorandum on "Native Administration and Political Development" with his four volumes of *Native Administration in British African Territories*, and Lucy Mair's *Native Policies in Africa* as well as Raymond Buell's *The Native Problem in Africa*. Besides Ronald Wraith's distinguished writings on local government practice in West Africa, P. J. Harris and M. J. Campbell have written close analyses of the actual working of the principal Native/Local Government Laws of Nigeria, while theses on selected aspects of the NA system in action are legion. If NA is now to be buried, at least there will be ample memorials in the written word to its conceptualisation, practice and impact.

It is Kwara State that has advanced the most articulate arguments to justify

the sweeping away of the NA heritage. "The nomenclature 'NA' as now applied to local government is not only inappropriate to the nature of the system but it has also outlived its usefulness" runs its prefatory remarks to a lengthy statement announcing the local government changes. Wraith made the same point some twelve years ago when he suggested that, "while the phrase 'Native Administration' might imply government by some power other than the people of the country themselves, the term 'Local Government' implies self-respect, self-reliance, and self-government." Yet—and this is not said with any trace of romantic nostalgia—talking around and recalling Machel's description of Kano's experiment in local government where "it all looks like classic Northern Nigerian 'Native Administration'" (*West Africa*, 28 December, 1968), one cannot help wondering, at least in the "dry" North, how soon, or how slowly, the *Ur-NA* ethos will dissipate. It was preference for a way of administrative life and for institutions which the people knew and liked that was one of the compelling forces behind the violent protest by the North against a Lagos-inspired reformation of local administration in May, 1966.



The NA Court in Jos, capital of Benue-Plateau—one of the first states to abolish NAs.

Large] because the institution of the NA was not a complete novelty imposed from the outside in the first decade of the British presence but was rather the crystallisation of much of the sophisticated and tried Hausa/Fulani traditions of devolved government, the 'one did not suddenly become but simply continued to be part of the emirate way of life and of law and order. Such a heritage is not thrown out overnight. And, as the Hausa proverb has it, *nagari shi ya ke wai: da kansa: good wine needs no bush.*

A.H.M.K.-G.

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MATCHET'S DIARY

New Koforidua

IN "the year of the earthquake"—which was 1938—a group of cocoa farmers in old Koforidua found themselves short of land for expansion. So they moved up here into Ashanti, 19 miles away, to the state of Juabehn, with which their own had close ties, and whose Paramount Chief, the Juabehnene, gave them land. Now the community is perhaps a thousand strong and they all depend in some way on cocoa. By the standards of most of the world they are fortunate people. Cocoa remains one of the most rewarding crops for the tropical farmer. Oranges, avocado pears, plantains, maize and cocoyams grow freely and are sold to passers-by on the main road which came this way after the settlement was established. The forest giants are gone but they can still get enough firewood. The Jyasihene, one of the chiefs, told me that they wanted piped water near at hand instead of having to walk to the river at the edge of their area for water of poor quantity and uncertain quality. They would like a post-office, so that their letters would arrive far more quickly, instead of having to be fetched from Konongo. But they are proud and independent people who would never complain that they are poor. Yet even their modest degree of prosperity may not last unless they accept new ways of cocoa farming.



A farmer cuts out diseased cocoa trees—still a menace in Ghana.

The Jyasihene showed me some of the trees they planted when they first came here. These are ageing, but there is no enthusiasm for replacing them while they are still bearing. The government helps with replanting, as it does when diseased trees are cut out. The farmers feel that they should be compensated when they lose trees; government people wonder how much of such

compensation would be used for the farms. The chief knew that fertilisers suitable for cocoa trees were on sale in Ghana but felt that even if farmers were ready to use them they were too expensive. Some of the farms, in any case, are in the charge of illiterate labourers from the North. This you find all over the cocoa areas, because so many "landlords" are "absentee." This may be because they have a number of farms, because they have occupations in that town, or because, as here, old men have gone to join their families elsewhere. The labourers get no wages, but under the "Abusa" system they retain one third of the value of the produce. To outsiders this may seem a guarantee of bad husbandry, particularly regrettable in Ashanti where there is now so little new cocoa land that farmers are moving out of the region in search of land. But it is a widely accepted system, and the landlords say that wages are now so high and the price they get for their cocoa so low that they can afford no other.

Even after the recent increase of the Marketing Board price to farmers to 8 cedis a load they are getting only a third of the world price. My impression is that this is not in itself a serious grievance. The real trouble is that the Marketing Board's profits, instead of going into a fund to be used for stabilising prices and improving the

Swollen shoot, still a menace to cocoa in most of Ghana, is no problem here at present. But not far away they are still suffering from the neglect of the years—1962, 1963 and 1964—when it was decided for obscure political reasons that the government would no longer cut out diseased trees but would leave this to farmers. Vigorous government action since has saved the situation but the menace remains. Capsids, however, are as active here as elsewhere, and neglect of the undergrowth gives the "Akate" a safe base. The shortage of gammalin for spraying has been overcome but the farmers say that at a cedi a quart, even if this is a subsidised price, it is too expensive. Even more do they complain of the expense of the spraying machines. They are expected to operate these themselves. The government maintains a network of little workshops for them, but spares are short and they are often used inefficiently. The farmers would like the government to take over the whole business of spraying, neglect of which could destroy the industry. Technically this is quite possible and economically it might pay. But it would undermine the farmers' sense of personal responsibility for good husbandry, which is essential for the health of cocoa.

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industry, as was originally intended, go straight into general government revenue. The NLC has not modified this change introduced by the Nkrumah régime, whose corruption was based largely on Marketing Board Funds. The farmers' other experiences under Nkrumah—they often received chits instead of cash, there was a political black market—have made them very suspicious of the government. The Marketing Board, which they should regard as a vast co-operative working on their behalf, has become instead a tax-collecting agency for the government. Recently the Board has asserted its former function by providing money for desperately needed repairs to feeder roads—though these are still dangerously slow. But the NLC or the civilian government should re-establish the principle that Cocoa Marketing Board profits belong to the farmers and should be accounted for to them. At present, and perhaps for years, the cocoa price will have to be restrained to prevent inflation. But that is no excuse for spending farmers' money for the general—or politicians'—benefit.

Yet if it could settle all these farmers' grievances, the Ghana government could still not leave them alone to enjoy their modest prosperity. For this haphazard method of farming wastes Ghana's land. Of this, except in one or two areas, there is no serious shortage at present. But what about the year 2000, when, at present growth rates, the population could be 32m., four times the present figure? At Kumasi University, just over 20 miles away, at the West African Cocoa Research Institute (Wacri) at nearby Tafo, and at other research centres they are showing that the yield of cocoa can be at least doubled without taking more land. At Kumasi, too, Mr. Ebenezer Asare, for example, is showing that livestock can be enormously improved by commonsense management of pasture and that straightforward crop rotation, without fertilisers or any expensive gimmicks, can allow settled farming and maintain fertility. All over the world research is showing the way to better use of tropical land. But apart from their spraying of cocoa against insects, what use do the farmers of New Koforidua make of this? And although everybody tells you that really scientific farming could make a man rich in Ghana, are not rich men often the worst farmers because they are absentee landlords? Ghana farmers are not conservative. How could they have developed this vast cocoa industry if they were? Nor are many cocoa farmers "peasants," since they employ labourers and they farm primarily for the world market. They will use new methods if they know these will pay—and if they know that they themselves and not the government will get the rewards. Perhaps the main problem is credit to tide them over replanting or reorganisation—the new

Agricultural Development Bank has yet to show that it can serve a multitude of small farmers. Perhaps the problem is still illiteracy. But the translation into daily farming practice of the results of research is Ghana's greatest economic difficulty.

Talking over such matters in the Castle at Osu, Accra, with Brigadier Akwasi Afrifa, Ghana's new, and young, Head of State, I found him deeply concerned about them. He had just returned from an unpublished visit to a rural development scheme in his home area in Ashanti and, far more thoughtful and modest than his flamboyant reputation would suggest, he is clearly deeply disturbed by the enormous problem of revitalising rural Ghana. He does not pretend that the NLC has had much success in this field, or has even attempted much. He hopes, however, that the new Ministry of Rural Development which he established as soon as he became Chairman of the NLC in April, will become permanent. "I think that the resources and the ideas are there. It is a question of emphasis and drive. The new Ministry's main task is to identify problems clearly and then not to give anybody any peace until they are tackled. The government must be clearly seen to be concerned with rural problems as a whole, and not just with



Afrifa—concerned for country areas.

cocoa yields or feeder roads." Ghana has in its community development department an excellent instrument for some of the work; and the Brigadier, and the Commissioner heading the new Ministry—Mr. Isaac Ofori of the Department of Agriculture at Kumasi University—are determined not to duplicate good work already being done, or to build up an inflated staff. Indeed the best proof that they are really serious is that the Ministry still has only a single member on its staff—Mr. Ofori himself.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EMPIRE

Africa in English Fiction, 1874-1939,
by G. D. Killam (Ibadan University Press, no price given).

AFRICA has had, and is still getting, a raw deal from European fiction writers in English (and to my knowledge in any other language). Anyone who has been bombarded with the continuing output of sex-and-violence sagas, that have been such a feature of the past few years, has learnt to shudder each time another novel set in "an imaginary independent African State" appears. If novels reveal subconsciously the spirit of the age, the image in Europe of what Africa is like is no truer than in the period considered by Mr. Killam, which was heyday of the colonial era.

He considers a corpus of novels which to a great extent seem to echo the conventional imperialist view of Africa. For them "Africa was a mysterious country, a last outpost of paganism . . . in seeking to communicate something of what the inhabitants of Africa were like, they emphasised only their barbarity. . . . They foisted on the reading public an incomplete picture of the total African setting and typically, accepted a Victorian code of middle class morality. . . ."

There are important exceptions the cites particularly Conrad and Joyce Cary), and within the "school" there are important variations—where as G. A. Henty, who wrote about the Asharu wars, among many other imperial subjects, was fairly uncomplicated, and never questioning the ethos of imperialism. Sir Harry Johnston, who was writing a little later and had himself long years of experience as a colonial administrator, appeared more subtle and realistic. He also revealed the civil servant's dislike of the trading companies, and even some slight reservations about the missionaries.

Killam's analysis of these novels takes in not only what Santayana has called "the schoolboy master of the world" attitude of imperialism (of which the straightforwardly paternalist Henty is a perfect example), but also in the fictional evocation of African characters, who are mostly presented as inferior. The same difficulty largely pervades post-1940 fiction about Africa, but this fiction of the high colonial period is grimly lacking in human comprehension. Killam has found some ripe chestnuts of the period, in particular the works of Mary Gaunt ("it will be a bad day for the white man when the black man rules") and Cutcliffe Hyne, whose "African



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portraits are a mixture of whimsy and insult." Edgar Wallace and Somerset Maugham are also essentially within the conventional framework of the period, as is H. de Vere Stacpoole, who wrote a novel denouncing Belgian atrocities in the Congo, but who nevertheless said: "it is the fate of the savage that he will never become one of us." In his chapter on the "educated African" he notes that the stereotype (usually despised and unsympathetic) has all too often continued into contemporary novels.

Rather than concentrate on the bad novels, Killam wisely devotes more time to looking for virtue; there is one long chapter called "The Opposition," dealing with those who reveal "with consistently high artistic success" the essentially selfish motives of imperialism; above all Conrad, who admittedly uses Africa, rather in the manner Graham Greene has done, as a background to a statement about the human condition. He commends a novel called *Four Handsome Negresses*, by Ethelreda Lewis, and *Mandao, Mandao* by Winifred Holby, which he finds larger and more substantial than Evelyn Waugh's *Black Mischief*, which merits merely a reference (and what of *Scoop*?) But for the author the most remarkable achievement of the period are the African novels of Joyce Cary. Cary, says Killam, is able to "enter imaginatively into the minds of his Africans, as well as his white characters with more success than most of his predecessors," and certainly merits the detailed attention given him (he has a chapter to himself).

The overall record is, however, to say the least, not inspired. This book is an eventful document for those who seek to understand the psychology of empire, its delusions and follies. Even Cary's achievement was, as Killam admits "circumscribed, by his place in time"; and has there even been any post-independence Cary?

K.W.

Economic Policy and Planning in Developing Countries by József Bognár *Akademiai Kiadó, Budapest.*

THIS book has been translated by Dienes and Racz into international English. "Not worth much" is converted to "not much worth".

Bognár once produced a plan for Ghana and surprised some people by concluding that the capital required could only be made up by securing several hundred million pounds from private investors. That opinion is echoed in this book: for though the author is a Marxist, he is also a pragmatist, and he concludes that large international companies can help developing countries under certain conditions. They should, he proposes, be under the supervision of a tripartite commission drawn from the developing countries, the companies' countries, and the international agencies. The main object should be, to ensure that com-

panies plough back more profits than they have been accustomed to do. He thinks that American companies plough back 17 per cent of their profits; but his arithmetic comes under suspicion, for he says that the American capital invested in developing countries is \$18,000m., and that the average rate of profit is 15 per cent., and he works that out as \$4,500m.

Several "cases" are presented, and one can guess whom the cap fits. For instance, "in the years following the seizure of power the new leading layer has to be better provided for, in one way or another, than the rest of the nation", but some rulers think they can avoid this by "endeavours to maintain the spirit of puritanism and unselfishness." Another case: "it often occurs that the extent of international activity nurtured by revolutionary dynamics becomes disproportional to the real power of the country."

The title of the book ought to be "How the seeker after power should manage economic problems", for that is the orbit of Bognár's interest. Development, in his view, is a painful process. It takes decades before the benefits accrue. Meanwhile, people must suffer. The government is constantly preoccupied with the political indignation of the sufferers. "Politicians are inclined to over-estimate their possibilities regarding the transformation of human minds and circumstances." Thus, it is important not to provoke too many interests at the same time. Do not nationalise foreign companies at the same time as you increase the taxes on the indigenous people, lest the companies join with the indigenes to overthrow the government. This type of advice is the constant theme.

Part III (page 389) carries the subtitle, "Execution of Rational Economic Action" and the reader might expect, that here comes the plan. But this Part re-treads the political ground, introducing however the concept of the Growth-Crisis. This is bound to occur, and if its approach is not diagnosed in time, everything will stop. The political situation then becomes red-hot. A section is devoted to the diagnostic symptoms of the approach of the Growth-Crisis. The basis of action must then be, to restrain demand without destroying the factors which will in the long run improve supply.

The author's personal faith in plans is disarmingly weak. He himself poses the question, "whether it is at all worth while setting plan targets". They cannot be more than "the hypothesis of rational economic actions" and "must never be looked upon as absolute values".

Part IV is devoted to World Economy, International Action, and Aid. Bognár would like to endow the international agencies with power to re-structure the channels of trade so as to achieve what he calls "a new division of labour". A leading purpose of this would be



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to let developing countries provide secondary manufactures for advanced countries. He has, in an earlier Part, expressed the view that "the aids granted so far do not meet the requirements". They are unplanned and unco-ordinated. The same international authority would arrange a large transfer of resources by way of aid. This would be generally based on the formula of 1 per cent. of national product, but Bogner would not apply a straight 1 per cent. to all advanced countries. Some might manage more, others not so much.

At page 571 he enters into collaboration with Andorka and they provide 47 pages of small print and mathematical formulae which are the planning models.

F.J.P.

Afrika Spektrum No. 2/168, "Integration und Kooperation in Afrika". Published by Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung Hamburg. Distributed by Afrika-Verlag, Pfaffenhofen/Hlm. DM 8.50.

This issue of the Hamburg *Afrika Spektrum*, produced by a team of young researchers, traces the ups and downs of inter-state co-operation and integration in Africa in the guise of the various regional groupings, with the Pan-African ideology as a somewhat faded historical backdrop. The editors stress the fact that attempts at regional integration in

East, Central and Equatorial Africa have already been largely dealt with by Arthur Hazlewood, Peter Robson, and Joseph Nye Jr; consequently, though the Union of Central African States (UEAC) and industrial integration in Equatorial Africa are both treated in separate articles, the lion's share of the issue goes to "Economic and Political Co-operation in West Africa" (Harald Voss).

After discussing the various customs and monetary unions, the ECA concept, and the various River Commissions, Dr. Voss comes to the conclusion that limited sub-regional co-operation in West Africa is far more likely to succeed in the foreseeable future than any large-scale integration exercise. He mentions, however, the Senegambian Co-operation Treaty and the recent *rapprochement* between Ghana and *Entente* States as hopeful signs for an eventual closing of the gulf which separates in particular the Francophone and Anglophone States.

Southern Africa's problems are discussed by G. M. E. Leistner (Pretoria), whose otherwise valuable contribution is occasionally marred by his apartheid jargon (Malawian migrants are referred to as "Bantus from Malawi" etc.). A lecture by Dr. Banda on "Malawi's policy: A Tincture of Idealism and Realism," given before the Hamburg "Afrika-Verein" in June 1968 and reprinted on pages 139-150, does precious little to challenge Dr. Leistner's assumptions of racial righteousness. Fortunately a lucid and

highly readable article on "Attempts at Integration in the Maghreb" by Dr. J. Ransat (Casablanca) offsets the somewhat sombre impression—leaving the bare economics aside—which one cannot help gathering about the Southern African scene.

By and large this is a meticulous, well-documented and up-to-date survey of Africa's problems of economic integration.

W. F.

From the Development Centre of the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) come two new publications, highly technical and as authoritative as other publications of this international study centre on aid and development. Volume 1 of the *Manual of Industrial Project Analysis in Developing Countries* dealing with "Methodology and Case Studies", and an annex to the same volume, dealing with "Industrial Profiles" go together, the price of the two together being £4.55.

Vol. 2 No. 1 of *Ceres*, the FAO Review, includes a chapter on the "miracle rice" (the high-yielding rate IR8) developed in the Philippines and on the World Food Programme. Another article says that the European Industrial Revolution was preceded by an agricultural revolution, and suggests lessons offered by this for developing countries.



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letters to the editor

OLD RULERS OF IBADAN

Sir—Referring to Dr. Peel's book *Aladara* reviewed on Feb. 22, and in which he made a reference to the late Olubadan of Ibadan Sir Akinyele as the "first educated Olubadan" of Ibadan, well, that may be true, since Olus, Obas or Kings, in Africa, Asia or Europe don't need any kind of degree for this kind of title.

But one doesn't understand why he says Oba Akinyele became Olubadan of Ibadan nineteen years after the abolition of Bale of Ibadan. There wasn't any time in the history of Ibadan when the ruler or Oba of Ibadan was known or called "Bale," though before the title Olubadan of Ibadan, Obas of Ibadan were called Bashorun of Ibadan, and there is today the historical market call Ota-Bashorun in the city of Ibadan for the student of history. Oja-Oba is another example, founded more than one hundred and fifty years ago. If the Oba of Ibadan were then Bale of Ibadan, this market should have been called Oja-Bale and not Oja-Oba as it is still called today.

I also disagree with Mr. Aroun who, in his letter of Mar. 29 on Dr. Peel's book, said that his maternal grandfather was first Bale of Ibadan (Akanmole Fijabi), for Bashorun Ogunmola. Bashorun Odeji were Obas of Ibadan well before Fijabi and there wasn't any revolution of title during their time or during the time of their Predecessors. Why then Bale?

OYEDIRAN MAKINDE

Dr. J. D. Y. Peel writes: I would refer Mr. Makinde to the contributions of Mrs. Bolanle Awe and Dr. George Jenkins to the recent symposium *The City of Ibadan* (edited by Lloyd, Mabogunje and Awe).

Traditionally (i.e. from c. 1829 to 1936), Ibadan had no *oba* of its own. Normally its *oba* was the Alafin of Oyo, though its actual rulers (whether titled Bale, Balogun, Bashorun or Are-Ona-Kakanfo) were more powerful than the Alafin. The local government was in the hands of four lines of ranked chiefs, the two senior headed by Bale (civil), Balogun (military).

Mr. Makinde is quite mistaken about the title Bashorun. This, like the title Are, is not an Ibadan title at all but an Oyo one, being the senior of the Alafin's chiefs. It could be (and frequently was) borne by an Ibadan man as a nominal subject of the Alafin. Ogunmola, who was acting Balogun and ruler of Ibadan, assumed this title. Johnson (*History of the Yorubas* p.365) says the Bashorun Ghenla was still alive at Oyo, and since "there can be but one Bashorun of the Kingdom," he calls Ogunmola an "impudent upstart." The title Are, likewise, was borne by Latosa of Ibadan, Kurunmi of Ijaye and even, in our own day, by Akintola of Ogbomosho!

After 1893 the British recognised the Bale as Head Chief of Ibadan, subject to the Alafin. Mr. Aroun (March 29) is not quite correct in calling his grandfather Fijabi the first Bale, though he was the first Bale of the reorganised government (see Johnson, p.637). Bale simply means the head of a town, irrespective of size, which is subject to another town, as Ibadan was to Oyo.

What Mr. Makinde calls Oja-Oba is Oja Iba or (I)Bashorun, named after Oluyole,

appointed Bashorun of Oyo by the Alafin Atiba (see Awe, p.16, and J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Yoruba Warfare*, p.27).

ALIENS IN GHANA

Sir,—It is rather depressing to read from *West Africa* of May 3 that an amendment proposed by Mr. Joe Appiah, to enable aliens who marry Ghanaians to obtain Ghana Nationality, was rejected by the Constituent Assembly.

What the Assembly's precise definition of the word "aliens" was not clear. Perhaps it means Europeans, Indians, Chinese, or even Togolese. And Mr. Appiah's point has deep meaning. Rejecting such a proposal means impeding one of the most basic human needs.

H. K. AFETE.

ECONOMICS AND UNITY

Sir,—In his review (May 17) of *Unity or Poverty?* by Green and Seidman, Mr. A. B. Akinyemi gratuitously throws in the assertion that "positions taken by socialist countries at UNCTAD have shown a remarkable identity of views with those of capitalist countries." This statement is certainly not based on the book; but references to UNCTAD are indeed rather scrappy and do not make clear how, on most issues, the socialist countries have consistently voted with the developing countries while the USA and Britain have voted against or abstained. The full record is not by me as I write, but I have analysed it in the past and was impressed by the striking coincidence of views between the socialist and developing countries.

This is not surprising, for the socialist countries in 1964 presented a 16-point programme including, among other things, the following: developed countries' removal

all restrictions, tariffs and discrimination against developing countries; assistance to the developing countries to sell their exports (including such "invisible" as haulage and insurance); long-term agreements to stabilise markets; and purchasing of more finished and semi-finished goods from developing countries.

In this connection it is unreasonable if, for example, the USSR commits itself to a long-term programme for purchasing cocoa, that it should dispose of any short-term surplus at current world prices!

PAT STOVN

former Lecturer,
Kwame Nkrumah
Ideological Institute, Ghana.

SIERRA LEONE POWER

Sir,—I read with interest your issue of May 3, and found as always, that it did justice to activities of the West Africa countries. However, the report contained on page 507 concerning a loan of Le1m. to the Sierra Leone Electricity Corporation was quite misleading and inaccurate.

The true facts of the valuable (free) assistance to be given the Corporation by the UN Development Programme are that Le460,000 will come from a Special Fund Allocation to report on the country's future power requirements, together with much-needed workshop equipment and training scholarships.

We would dearly like to be able to have made an operating surplus of Le2m. in 1967/68 but regretfully have to tell you that the actual figure is Le400,000.

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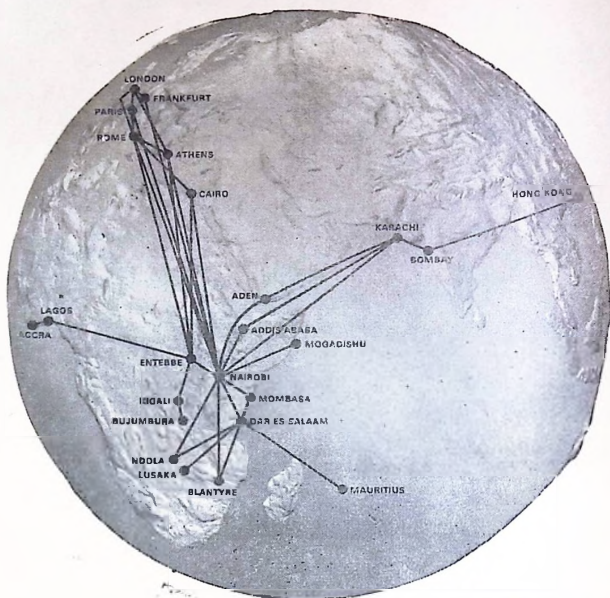
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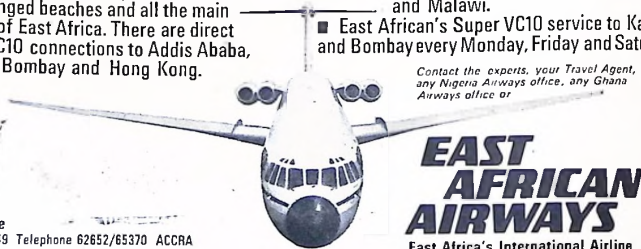
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Agricultural output drops

AGRICULTURAL production per caput in most West African countries fell in 1968, according to a review, *The Agricultural Situation in Africa and West Asia*, published by the United States Department of Agriculture.

Biggest drop was in Ghana, largely as a result of lower yields from cocoa beans which cut production by 20 per cent. Cocoa is one of the Continent's top three export crops, and because of excessive rains, 1968 provided the smallest harvest since 1959.

Only in Cameroon, Congo Kinshasa, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Liberia was per caput production in 1968 above the 1964 figure, although a number of other countries increased total production in the same period.

Production of Africa's leading export crop, coffee, increased by three per cent, but the rise was mainly accounted for by East African countries.

For Africa as a whole, the index of production slipped to 126 from 127 the previous record-breaking year and in food production per caput the Continent's performance was well below the 1957-59 average, although a major cause of this was a sharp drop in South African output as a result of an extensive drought.

United States exports to Africa totalled \$1,254m., about 18 per cent. of which was agricultural.

Taking 1957-59 as 100, these are the indices of agricultural production in West African countries for 1968, total and per caput:—

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| Cameroon: | 138 (125 in 1964), 111 per caput (110 in 1964); |
| Congo Kinshasa: | 87 (79), 69 (68). |
| Dahomey: | 132 (120), 99 (101); |
| Ghana: | 134 (158), 103 (135). |
| Guinea: | 110 (95), 83 (80); |
| Ivory Coast: | 186 (159), 148 (139). |
| Liberia: | 121 (103), 103 (95); |
| Mali: | 113 (112), 91 (98); |
| Niger: | 138 (147), 101 (121); |
| Nigeria: | 115 (122), 94 (108); |
| Senegal: | 126 (132), 99 (115); |
| Sierra Leone: | 122 (119), 105 (109); |
| Togo: | 127 (125), 98 (106); |
| Upper Volta: | 115 (131), 91 (112). |

● Shipping lines using Freetown port, Sierra Leone, are reportedly considering imposing a surcharge if the incidence of pilfering does not improve. The Government has called on the public to help stamp out thefts at the port by reporting suspicious activities.

● Encouraging results on cotton production trials carried out in The Gambia by British experts are reported by the Standard Bank, which says that cotton might become a supplementary export crop.

● With the threat of a further 2 per cent. cut in quotas looming, the world's major coffee producing nations, including Ivory Coast, have recommended the establishment of a reserve coffee stock to absorb at least 1m. bags under quota in the current year.

Other measures recommended to stop tumbling prices—which have meant a fall in foreign exchange earnings for producers of about £108m.—are an adjustment to “realistic levels” of the 1969-70 quota, the promotion of consumption and action to enforce the control measures of the International Coffee Agreement, particularly against coffee exported to and then re-exported by non-member countries.

The Executive Board which administers the Agreement will meet in June to discuss the proposals.

● Proposals for a world cocoa agreement are among the commodity issues being discussed in Geneva by a current meeting of the 55-nation Commodities Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Pricing policies, arrangements for the disposal of surpluses and competition from synthetics and substitutes are also on the agenda.

● The Food and Agriculture Organisation forecasts that 1968/69 cocoa production will be about 1,209,336 long tons compared with grindings of 1,322,494 long tons. Current estimates suggest a deficit of about 125,000 long tons after the 1 per cent. weight adjustment.

Doubts on 'new pattern' of banking

The take-over of the financing of the marketing boards by the Central Bank in Nigeria to the exclusion of the traditional sources of credit “seems unfortunate for the commercial banks and, in the long run, especially for the Central Bank,” says an article on world banking in the *British Financial Times*. The article also doubts the value of compelling all expatriate companies to turn their Nigerian branches into locally registered companies: “Can the decree be a pointer to a new pattern of overseas banking? It seems of doubtful advantage to all concerned.”

But after pointing out that banks in Nigeria are unusually liquid, because of restriction on remittances, and that sentiment is depressed, it concludes that “with patience and hard work, the tide of prosperity will flow in again.”

Paris-based banks in former French territories “carry on evenly though somewhat withdrawn from the main streams of thought and progress outside the French world,” and the article expresses optimism about developments in Congo-Kinshasa, although banks there “are kept on a tight rein by the Central Bank in regard to lend-

GHANA TALKS: ROUND THREE

Ghana and the Western countries which provide most of her aid—Britain, the United States, France and West Germany—met in Paris for the third time since President Nkrumah's overthrow in 1966 to discuss Ghana's balance of payments situation. The previous meetings, under the chairmanship of the International Monetary Fund, led to aid offers from several countries.

Delegates were told that last year'sophage import bill—at NC312m. it was not far below the 1965 all-time high—was offset by a rise in import earnings from NC244.9m. in 1967 to NC431m.

The balance of payments deficit for last year was estimated at about NC80m. (it was NC88.3m. in 1967) but this year the planners are reportedly aiming at cutting it to NC60m.

There has always been a favourable balance on the current account, and the authorities are hoping for a further improvement together with an increase in capital receipts to make available NC220m. for development in 1968-70.

● Difficulties in transporting Ghana bauxite to port are being reported by the British Aluminum Company, according to the Standard Bank's monthly review, which says that the stockpile at Awaso is high and that there is little hope that railway capacity will show any improvement in the near future.

Production is 30 per cent. below estimates and the supply of ore at the company's British factories have been reduced to four weeks with the result that contracts have had to be given to other suppliers in order to maintain production. The review urges the Government to take urgent action.

● An NC250,000 distillery is being set up at Tanoso, near Kumasi, by Paramount Distilleries, a company jointly financed by Ghanaian and Swiss businessmen. Production is scheduled to begin in June.

● The NC9m. glass factory at Aboso in Ghana's Western Region, which closed last November, is to reopen next month.

ing generally and especially for imports and “less desirable” internal purposes. There has been a notable increase in their liquidity in the past 15 months, partly through Central Bank credit policy, partly through an improved balance of payments. Official reserves are higher and the commercial banks are now in a position to employ funds overseas.”

● Inter-bank financial cooperation was among the topics discussed at a meeting in Bangou of the African and Malagasy Union of Development Banks, whose members are Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville, Dahomey, Gabon, Upper Volta, Niger, Central African Republic, Senegal, Chad, Togo and Madagascar.

● A new £30,000 branch of Barclays Bank in Maiduguri, in North East state will be officially opened in August. It will be the fifth branch in the state.

● A £3m. Agricultural Credit Bank to cater for farmers throughout Nigeria is to be established by the Federal Government.

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Exchange sweetener

For the first time ever, the Nigerian Sugar Company made a net profit last year. £N12,650. Chairman P. C. Asiodu points out in his annual report that the company now saves the country about £N1m. a year in foreign exchange.

An improvement in the factory's technical performance had not been maintained, said Mr. Asiodu, who is also permanent secretary in the Ministry of Industries, and yields per acre were slightly lower than estimated. But next year's crop was expected to increase by 3,500 tons to 28,000 tons and the company should then be able to resume interest payments, which were suspended three years ago as part of a financial reorganisation.

■ The raising of export duty on Nigerian rubber from 10 to 15 per cent. "will have a most serious effect on trade resulting in less inducement for the Nigerian processor... which in turn could well mean that the Nigerian farmer will suffer", according to an unnamed "leading United Kingdom distributor of Nigerian rubber" quoted in the *London Times*.

"Eventually such a duty could result in exports being seriously curtailed with a loss of revenue to the Government" the spokesman was reported as saying. He claimed that even the old rate was high, and had retarded production.

But an official at the International Rubber Study Group said this week that he thought it unlikely that the increase would have such an effect. He considered that the most likely result would be simply that the Government would get more revenue.

The Group has forecast that deliveries will have to be made from United States Government surplus stocks to meet an estimated demand of 2.82m tons of natural rubber this year.

■ A trade surplus of more than £N20m has been achieved by Nigeria in the first three months of this year: imports totalled £N64.3m. compared with exports of £N85m.

Donation approved

The United States senate has approved America's \$480m. contribution to the International Development Association, which makes easy-term loans on behalf of the World Bank. With \$950m out of a target total of \$1,200m. in the kitty, the IDA hopes that other members who have not paid their contributions will now do so.

■ Pledging continued aid in Commonwealth African countries, New Zealand's Governor-General Sir Arthur Porritt said his government had been pleased to play a part "in a revival of confidence and cooperation within the Commonwealth."

■ Assurances that British aid would not go to Russia, China or other "enemies" were made in the British Parliament during a debate on the Bill which seeks to expand the area of operations of the Commonwealth Development Corporation.



Tin mine problems, but a satisfactory outlook.

○ Costs are increasing and staff is difficult to obtain. Mr. W. J. Richards, chairman of Baschi, tin and columbite producer, has been reported as saying. The company has paid its dividends for the last two years out of cash balances in Britain, having been unable to remit the necessary funds from Nigeria, but the ore reserves are large—11,574 tons, the market for columbite recovering and Mr. Richards says that "overall" the balance sheet remains strong.

Iron ore profits rise

A significant improvement in profits in 1968—£1.4m. compared with £1m. in the previous year—is reported by the Sierra Leone Development Company, iron ore mining a subsidiary of William Baird.

Despite a prospecting programme in the Northern Province, described as "encouraging", the company's annual report notes: "1969 should see a further significant increase in profits but this will have been tempered by persistent upward pressure on costs, the latest of these being the commissioning of the oil refinery in Sierra Leone which has resulted in a steep increase in fuel oil prices."

○ Lonrho is negotiating with the Government for the take-over of the State-owned Tarkwa gold refinery, says the *Accra Sunday Mirror*. Construction of the refinery was stopped soon after the 1966 coup, before which it was being undertaken with Russian technical assistance. The cost was then estimated to be about £5 million new costs. The Government abrogated the agreement for construction of the refinery "because of the financial difficulties which the country found itself," says the report.

(Last year some Russian experts visited certain projects abandoned after the departure of experts in 1966; these included the Tarkwa refinery, which is near Ghana's chief gold mine—that of Ashanti Goldfields which is now a subsidiary of Lonrho.)

○ Sales by the Central Selling Organisation, which handles more than 80 per cent of the world's output of rough diamonds, are running at a rate "considerably in excess of those on the same period of 1968," says Mr. Harry Oppenheimer in a review published with De Beers annual report. Last year's sales by the Diamond Corporation of West Africa, a subsidiary company operating in Sierra Leone, were worth £1.25.4m.

Go-ahead for Gabon railway

The 350-mile, \$161m railway to facilitate the exploitation of Gabon's iron ore deposits has been given the go-ahead by the Government which has pledged \$20m. to the project and is looking for other sources of finance. Over 400m. tons of high grade ore are believed to be around Belinga, from where the proposed rail link will run to the new coastal port of Owendo. Estimated construction time is six years.

• A call to the Federal Government to set up an inquiry into the scarcity of vehicle spares in Nigeria was made by Kano State's Information Commissioner, Alhaji Tanko Yakasai. He claimed that many people, particularly those whose livelihood depended on the transport business, had been seriously hit by the shortage which had also adversely affected the evacuation of produce to the ports.

• Two Japanese and Belgian firms—Pacific Consultants and Setgraco—have been commissioned to carry out a feasibility survey for railway lines linking Port Francoeur and Kinshasa via Kikwit, and Maladi with Banana.

The 18-month study is being made on behalf of the consortium which the Congo Government has given rights to build the railway. Lonrho, Comiere (of Belgium) and Nishio Iwa, a Japanese trading firm.

• Because existing cargo traffic ensures profitability, West Africa has been exempted from an International Air Transport Association decision to raise cargo rates from Europe to Africa by five per cent.

• Air Afrique and Ghana Airways were two of seven African airlines which met in Abdou for an executive committee meeting of the Association of African Airlines.

• Eleven injection-moulding machines together worth £100,000 are on their way to West African factories of the Metaloplastica Group, one of the largest producers of plastic goods in the area. In the next two years, GKN Machinery of Wolverhampton will supply a further 16 machines.

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- (b) the operation of storage and materials handling equipment, buildings, warehouses and stockyards;
- (c) the control, direction and training of employees;
- (d) stores accounting, records and control. This will be by a data processing system, of which experience is essential.

Salary — By negotiation.

When applying for the post, please give age, qualifications, brief outline of experience to date, indicating present position and salary. All applications will be treated in strictest confidence. Only written applications can be considered and they should be sent to:—

The Training and Personnel Adviser,
The Nigerian Petroleum Refining Company Ltd.,
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SITUATIONS VACANT—Continued

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Ghanaians for the post of

LEGAL OFFICER

in a reputable financial institution.

Qualifications: Applicants who should not be more than 45 years must have a good recognised University degree and be practising barristers or solicitors with a minimum post qualification experience of three years

Duties: Conveyancing, Advocacy, general legal work and any other matters that may be referred to him.

Salary: To be negotiated in accordance with qualifications and experience.

Method: Application in candidates own handwriting stating age, qualification, experience and names of two references should be addressed to Box No. X1255, care of *West Africa*, Cromwell House, Fulwood Place, London, W.C.1.

Closing Date: Not later than 16th June, 1969.

MECHANICAL ENGINEER

Applications are invited from Sierra Leoneans to fill an existing vacancy for a Mechanical Engineer in the Sierra Leone Ports Authority.

Salary Range:

The salary range is from Le. 3,000 to Le. 3,500; Le. 3,600 to Le. 4,300 per annum with incremental units at the rate of Le. 100 per annum.

Point of Entry:

Point of entry in the salary range will depend on the candidate's qualifications and previous experience.

Confirmation:

The appointment is subject to confirmation after a probationary period of one year.

Qualification:

Candidates must be qualified Mechanical Engineers with at least five years post graduate practical experience in mechanical equipment.

Age:

Candidate should not be more than 45 years of age.

Duties:

The successful candidate will be required to undertake full responsibility for the efficient operation and maintenance of all mechanical cargo handling equipment at the Port and the supervision of staff attached to the Mechanical Engineer's branch.

Applications giving full details of age, present appointment and salary, qualifications and experience supported by certificates, testimonials etc., should be addressed and submitted to the Secretary, Sierra Leone Ports Authority, Queen Elizabeth II Quay, Cline Town, not later than the 31st May, 1969. All applications should be enclosed in envelope endorsed—

"APPLICATION FOR POST OF MECHANICAL ENGINEER."

VACANCIES IN NIGERIA FOR NIGERIAN AUTOMOBILE ENGINEERS

One of the leading motors sales and service organisations in Nigeria has vacancies for U.K. trained Nigerian automobile engineers.

Applications are invited from Nigerians currently in the U.K. Interviews will be held in London and successful candidates will receive firm offers of employment before they leave the U.K.

To be considered, applicants must have the City & Guilds Full Technological Certificate and be either a Graduate or an Associate member of the Institute of the Motor Industry. They must also have served apprenticeship and have gained good practical experience in a service workshop preferably on commercial vehicles.

Closing date for applications will be 7th June, 1969.

Write for application forms to:—

Box No. X1257, "West Africa," Cromwell House, Fulwood Place, London, W.C.1.

NOTICES

**THE CHERUBIM AND
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For further information please contact the General Secretary of the Church Teacher P.O. Korode, 203, Sherrard Road, E.12. Telephone number is 01-472 9487 or the Leader-in-Charge, 18, Arlingford Road, S.W.2. Telephone number is 01-674 1967.

**MUSLIM ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA
(LONDON BRANCH)**

There will be a general meeting of the above named association on Sunday May 25 1969, to discuss among other things the Draft Review of Constitution received from Lagos. Place: Camden Studios and Hall, Camden Street, N.W.1.

Time: 5-8 p.m.

Please note that the Mission Board of the Association provides the following services: Naming, Thanksgiving and Special Prayers at two weeks' notice.

Wedding—at four weeks' notice.
Burial and Cremation—at any short notice.

Direct your application (in writing) to:
The Muslim Home Secretary,
c/o Mr. L. A. Ayobola,
55 Princes Square,
London W.2.
Phone: 01-229 7113.
B. KAYODE FASHOLA, Publicity Secretary

**THE CHURCH OF THE
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(London Branch)**

The above-named cordially and respectfully invite you all to a Special Welcome Service for their Primate
His Most Right Rev. E. O. A. Adejebi
at the

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Nearest Tube: Stockwell.
Buses: 2, 2b, 17, 88, 181, 155, 77c, 168,
Duocon F. N. Arthur (Administrator),
Secretariat, 6 Brayburn Avenue, S.W.4.
Telephone: 01-622 3969.

**OKPARA PATRIOTIC UNION, LONDON
BRANCH**

At the annual general meeting of the above-named union held at 30 Leasing St., S.E.21 recently, the following officers were duly elected for the year 1968-70:—

President Mr. A. B. E. Mensiri
Vice President Mr. J. M. Iredare
General Secretary Mr. L. G. Oyeabe
Assistant Secretary Mr. A. Omohwo
Treasurer Mr. P. G. Oye
Financial Secretary Mr. P. Enukonoma
Welfare/Publicity Sec. Mr. M. F. Oyeabe
Assistant Welfare Mrs. L. Oshode
Unofficial members.—J. Mr. W. O. Nakpodia
2 Mrs. J. Itoye
3 Mr. Das Ok Idama

N.B. Please send all future communications to:
The General Secretary: Mr. L. G. Oyeabe,
123 Stormont Rd., S.W.11. 01-223 1333.
M. P. Oyeabe, Publicity Secretary

**EGBE OMO KITI
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.**

There will be a meeting of the Egbe on Sunday June 1 at 1 South Mills, Camden Square, London, N.W.1.

Time: 2 p.m. prompt.

J. P. OYINLOYE,
General Secretary.

**NIGERIAN INSURANCE STUDENTS
ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN**

The current officers of the above Association are invited to attend an Emergency Meeting arranged by some current and prospective members at 3 p.m. on Sunday, 1st June, 1969 at 103 Gower Street, W.C.1. In view of the fact that the Association has become dormant and necessary steps will be taken to revive it.

IN MEMORIAM

In ever-loving and affectionate memory of our dearly beloved mother,

MRS. SELIAT MORENKE AKINDELE,
who narrowly missed away on May 29, 1965.
Not today but every day we remember you.
Orun re o eyin oya wa
Children: A. O. Akindele Esq., B. O. Akindele Esq.,
Rab. Ganiyu (Mrs.), Basu Akindele Esq. (Manchester).

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CHANGE OF NAME

Formerly known and addressed as Solomon Agim Williams now wish to be known as Kolawale Ajani Oledina. Documents bearing former names remain valid.

DANCES

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GUINEA

THIRTEEN SENTENCED TO DEATH

AFTER transforming itself into a special revolutionary court from May 11 to 15, the National Revolutionary Council of the ruling PDG has pronounced judgment on about fifty people (30 soldiers and 20 civilians) connected with the March plot to overthrow the regime and assassinate its leaders.

After hearing a report of the official inquiry into the plot (which accused France and Mali of being involved) several of the

Finance. The Ministry of Defence has been abolished, and its incumbent, General Lansana Diane, becomes Minister of the Interior. The Secretary of State for the Civic Service, M. Mamadou Fofana, also has the army portfolio, which means that the army now comes directly under the Presidency. The post was formerly held by Col. Kaman Diaby, one of the March plotters. The government has also been slightly enlarged.

● President Sekou Touré has announced the release of three trade unionists, MM Fofana Lamine, Toure Gaspari and Kall Fofana, who, although they had been jailed for "serious faults" were still "eminent leaders, devoted to the working class".

IVORY COAST

University on Strike

On Monday armed troops went to Abidjan University to disperse student pickets supporting a strike which started that day in defiance of a warning by the government that if they struck they would be expelled. Several students are reported to have been wounded, and there were also unconfirmed reports that the French Rector of the university, M. Paulian, and three other professors had resigned.

The government warning, issued after a late-night cabinet meeting said that the government would not tolerate thoughtless or outside-influenced students preventing others from attending their courses. Strikers would be "definitively" expelled. The strike is against the alleged unrepresentative character of the new students body, the MECCI, formed in April. A previous student union, the UNECI, had been disbanded last July.

● The state visit of President Houphouët-Boigny to Morocco has been postponed for the second time (last summer the party decided that the President could not be allowed to leave the country because of the threat of student-worker unrest). The President returned to Abidjan just over two weeks ago after a three month's private visit to Europe.

SENEGAL

Return to a Prime Minister

Following a conference of leaders of the ruling Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), a communiqué said agreement had been reached that the present regime should be modified, as a "decentralised and rationalised presidential regime, with a Prime Minister in charge of governmental action, responsible

to the head of state, the National Assembly, and relying on the support of the party." This modification will be prepared by a constitutional reform commission and will be submitted in time to the UPS, the Assembly and eventually to the approval of the people. It will in no way affect the authority of the head of state, "a factor of stability and national unity," who will remain head of the magistrature, the diplomatic service and the armed forces.

● Following a 48-hour strike of PTT workers in support of the trade unions' "cahier" of claims, there had been a 72-hour strike of petroleum workers. Both strikes were virtually 100 per cent complete.

● The rector of Dakar University has said that students who continue to boycott classes will not be allowed to take the forthcoming exams. The student strike at the university, and in certain lycées is continuing although some reports say that since the police closed the *Cité Universitaire* there has been a tendency to return.

DAHOMY

President Zinsou called a special information meeting for civil and religious leaders and army officers, on present social problems. He said he had called the meeting because of rumours about punishment of three teachers and about the strikes at some secondary schools in Porto Novo and Cotonou. The teachers, he said, had been caught inciting pupils to strike, but he did not say what sanctions had been taken. He had taken no action against the strikers, but had warned them that they risked expulsion.

The Togo government has sent a mission to Cotonou to discuss means of enabling Togolese students at the Scientific Section of the Higher Institute of Benin to sit their forthcoming examinations. The Scientific Section is in Porto Novo, and has been on strike. There has also been a 24-hour sympathy strike in the Literary Section in Lomé. The original strike seems to have been one of solidarity with the students' strike at Dakar University where there are several hundred Dahomean and Togolese students. Students also have certain claims connected with the planned student residences.

MALI

A group of about 30 Malian students occupied their Paris embassy last week for a few hours, in protest against measures taken against students who had struck in Bamako at the end of April. Police evicted the students without incident after about three hours. The students had handed a petition to the Ambassador, M. Dadié Ba, demanding that "democratic freedom be restored in Mali," and saying that the "reactionary regime" now in power was serving "neo-colonialist interests" especially those of France. (The previous week, Senegalese students in Paris had occupied their consulate for a short period.)

THE GAMBIA

In the 1968-9 groundnut season, total purchases were 123,827 tons as compared to 118,234 tons in the previous season, and 129,034 tons in the 1966-7 season.

● The Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board has decided to sell a limited quantity of undercertificated groundnuts to Senegal to enable her to fulfil overseas sales contracts.



President Sekou Touré

accused made statements to the court, including Col. Kaman Diaby, (Secretary of State for the *Service Civique*) Major Cheikh Kéita (former commander of Labé garrison) Captain Samba Kouyate (Director of Military Factories at Alfa Yaya camp) and Captain Thierno Diop, former Commander of the 3rd zone.

Among thirteen condemned to death by the tribunal were Colonel Kaman Diaby, former Defence Minister Fodeba Keita, former Finance Minister Barry Diawadou, and the ex-Secretary of State for Public Works, Karim Fofana. Two of the accused were sentenced in their absence. They were Mamadou Bah, a World Bank official, and Naby Youla, former Guinean Ambassador to Bonn, now living in Paris. The property of all 13 men was ordered to be confiscated.

The tribunal sentenced another 27 people implicated in the plot to terms ranging from five years' imprisonment to hard labour for life.

● In the second substantial government reshuffle in four months, El Hadj Saïfoulaye Diallo, formerly Minister of Finance, becomes Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, while the former Foreign Minister, M. Beavogui, becomes Minister for Economic Affairs. M. Ismael Toure, formerly at Economic Affairs, moves to

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER DEMIPSTER LINES

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—**OBUASI** sig. Liverpool May 22; **KUMBA** sig. Liverpool Jun. 5; **OTI** sig. Liverpool May 30; **DARU** due Douala May 22; **PERANG** due Lobito May 21.

From South Wales/Glasgow:—**DUMURRA** sig. Glasgow May 21.
From Middlesbrough/Hull:—**KOHIMA** due Apapa May 21.

From London:—**EGORI** sig. London May 23; **ONITSHA** due Freetown May 25; **KABALA** sig. London May 28; **PATANI** due Matadi May 27; **OWERRI** sig. London Jun. 10.

From Continent:—**FORCADOS** sig. Antwerp May 24; **HUGH WILRI** sig. Rotterdam May 17; **KADUNA** due Freetown May 22.

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—**AUREOL** sig. Lagos May 20; **DUNKWA** due Abidjan May 23.

To Belfast/Glasgow:—**DONGA** due Baihurst May 23.

To London:—**BHAMO** due Dunkirk May 22; **PEGU** due London May 27; **EBODE** sig. Lagos May 28; **FALABA** due Abidjan May 21.

To Hull:—**EBANI** sig. Lagos May 22.
To Continent:—**WARRI** due Freetown May 21; **FREETOWN** due Freetown May 22.

EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada:—**DUMBAIA** sig. New York May 29; **DALLA** due Colon May 21; **DIXCOVE** sig. New York May 25.

WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada:—**FULANI** due Freetown May 21.

From India/Pakistan/Burma:—**GOWANBANK** due Douala May 25.

BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE

OUTWARDS—**TITANIA** due Cabinda May 26, thence Takoradi; **TEMA** now due sail New York, Halifax (NS) May 26 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Cabinda; **CORNEVILLE** due sail New York Jun. 6 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi.

HOMEWARDS—**CORNVILLE** now due Fall River, thence Carteret, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk; **BLENWOOD** due Houston Jun. 2, thence Norfolk, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York; **TITANIA** due lead Lagos/Ghana N. Bound first week Jun. Abidjan second week Jun., Buchanan/Monrovia mid Jun.

JAPAN "K" LINE

WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.;—**TEXAS MARU** sig. Japan May 17, due Lagos Jun. 15.

EASTBOUND—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Singapore):—**LOUISIANA MARU** sig. Lagos May 18, Tema May 21, Freetown May 25, due Japan Jun. 30.

ROYAL INTERCOASTAL LINES

INWARDS—**STRAAT FREMANTLE** from Japan sig. Kobe Apr. 21 due Lagos/Apapa May 24, Tema Jun. 1, Monrovia Jun. 4, Freetown Jun. 7, Abidjan Jun. 11, Takoradi Jun. 13; **STRAAT MAGELHAEN** from China and Hong Kong sig. Hong Kong Apr. 8, due Lagos/Apapa Jun. 15, Monrovia Jun. 21, Lome Jun. 21, Tema Jun. 25, Abidjan Jun. 28, Monrovia Jul. 1, Freetown Jul. 3, Dakar Jul. 6, Conakry Jul. 9.

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

FARRELL LINE

HOMEWARDS—**AFRICAN RAINBOW** sig. Douala May 27 for Tema, Takoradi, Abidjan Jun. 6, for Monrovia and US Ports; **AFRICAN GLADE** sig. Matadi Jun. 5 for Luanda, Lobito, Tema Jun. 15, Takoradi, Abidjan Jun. 19 for Monrovia and US Ports.

OUTWARDS—AUSTRALIAN REEF

due Monrovia May 31 for Buchanan, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Jun. 10, Douala, Lagos/Apapa Jun. 16. **AUSTRALIAN GALAXY** due Monrovia Jun. 16 for Buchanan, Abidjan, Tema, Jun. 24, Matadi, Luanda, Lobito.

HUGO STINNES TRANSOCEAN

SCHIFFFAHRT GMBH
HENRIETTA RETZLAFF sig. Rouen May 19 due Las Palmas May 25, Dakar May 28, Abidjan Jun. 2; **ANNIE HUGO STINNES** sig. Dunkirk May 20, Rouen May 23, Bordeaux Jun. 2, due Las Palmas Jun. 3, Dakar Jun. 6, Conakry Jun. 8.

HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LUN

SOUTHBOUND—From Continent:—**TOGOKUST** due Abidjan May 29; **OLDEKERK** due Dakar May 29; **KATSEDYK** due Dakar Jun. 9.

NORTHBOUND—To Continent:—**LIBERIA KUST** due Rotterdam Jun. 1, Amsterdam Jun. 4, Bremen Jun. 6, Hamburg Jun. 8. **SENEGAL-KUST** due Rotterdam Jun. 4, Amsterdam Jun. 6, Hamburg Jun. 9, **CONGOKUST** due Antwerp Jun. 16, Rotterdam Jun. 18, Amsterdam Jun. 20, Bremen Jun. 23, Hamburg Jun. 25.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND—**NOPAL SUN** sid. New Orleans May 23 due Takoradi Jun. 12, Lagos Jun. 15, Warri Jun. 18; **NOPAL TELLUS** sig. New Orleans Jun. 24, due Takoradi Jul. 14, Lagos Jul. 17, Warri Jun. 21.

WESTBOUND—**NOPAL TELLUS** sid. Luanda May 16, Takoradi May 23, due New Orleans Jun. 10, Houston Jun. 14; **NOPAL LUNA** sig. Luanda Jun. 2, Takoradi Jun. 9, due New Orleans Jun. 27, Houston Jun. 1.

HOGUE LINE

HOEGVALD sid. London May 13 due Las Palmas May 18, Bathurst May 21, Abidjan May 26, Takoradi May 28, Tema May 31, Lome Jun. 3, Warri Jun. 4, Sapele Jun. 7.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

SOUTHBOUND—**YARRAWONGA** idg. Scandinavia including Finland and Bordeaux late May early Jun. for WA second half Jun. early Jul.; **BULLAREN** idg. Scandinavia first half Jun. WA late Jun., early July.

NORTHBOUND—**MANGARELLA** idg. WA late May for discharge Scandinavia including Finland second half Jun., early July; **TUM-LARK** idg. WA late May early Jun. for Scandinavia including Finland late Jun., early July.

CHARGEURS REUNIS

SURCOUF due Lagos Jun. 8, Tema Jun. 13, Freetown Jun. 20, BOUGAINVILLE sig. Kobe Jun. 26.

MAERSK LINE

JOHANNES MAERSK sig. Lagos/Apapa May 28 due Tema May 29, ANETTE MAERSK sig. Luanda Jun. 12 due Matadi Jun. 13.

MITSUI OSEK LINE

BUENOS AIRES MARU sid. Kobe May 2 due Lagos Jun. 6; **AMSTERDAM** sig. Kobe May 20 due Lagos Jun. 29.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

SOUTHBOUND—**AHAMAD-BELLO** sig. Liverpool May 20; **NNAMDI AZIKWE** sid. London May 19.

NORTHBOUND—**RIVER BENUE** due Hull Jun. 2; **RIVER OGUN** due Avonmouth Jun. 4.

WESTIND AFRICA LINE

BUENA FORTUNA sig. New Orleans Jun. 1, Houston Jun. 5, for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos, Tema, Douala and Luanda; **SOPIHA C** sig. New Orleans Jun. 22, Houston Jun. 28, for Lagos, Abidjan, Freetown.

WOERMANN LINE

ANITA sid. Antwerp May 19 due Las Palmas May 22, Freetown Jun. 1, Monrovia Jun. 5; **USAMBARA** sid. Antwerp May 23 due Dakar Jun. 2, MOSSAL BAY sig. Rouen May 25 due Dakar Jun. 3, Abidjan Jun. 7.

GOLD STAR LINE

WESTBOUND—**SHAVIT** id. Singapore May 19 due Durban Jun. 12, Capetown Jun. 7, **NOGAH** sig. Yokohama May 28/30, Magaya May 29, Kobe May 30.

BLACK STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA

WESTBOUND—**OFFIN RIVER** Ghana May 18, Montreal Jun. 4, thence Great Lakes.

BLACK STAR LINE UK/CONTINENT/WEST AFRICA

SOUTHBOUND—**OTCHI RIVER** Hamburg May 27, Bremen May 28, Antwerp May 31, Rotterdam Jun. 3, Dunkirk Jun. 4, BENYA RIVER London Jun. 13.

NORTHBOUND—**OTCHI RIVER** Hamburg May 20; **PRA RIVER** Rotterdam May 22, Amsterdam May 23, Bremen May 26, Hamburg May 28, BENYA RIVER London May 27.

PALM LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—**ENUGU PALM** due Dakar May 28; **IKEJA PALM** due Monrovia May 26.

From Continent:—**AFRICAN PALM** due Tenerife May 10; **BAIENDA PALM** due Tenerife May 29.

NORTHBOUND

To London:—**LESIA PALM** due Warri May 24.

To Liverpool:—**ELIMINA PALM** sig. Dakar May 24; **LOBITO PALM** due Sapele May 25.

To Continent:—**ANDONI PALM** due Takoradi May 25.

dateline Africa

UPPER VOLTA NAZI BONI KILLED

M. Nazi Boni, leading Upper Volta politician, has been killed in a car accident. He was on his way to Ouagadougou to lecture on "traditional and modern foundations of power in Africa." Born in 1912 at Dikoudou in the Mossi area of Western Upper Volta, he was at the Ecole William Ponty in the 1930s, a contemporary of Modibo Keita and Hamani Diori. Elected to the First National Assembly as member for Upper Volta after its reconstruction in 1947, he joined the IOM group led by Lottin Senghor, who remained one of his closest political allies. In 1957 Boni's party became a section of the federalist PRA and he supported membership of the Mali Federation. After the accession to power of M. Yameogo in 1959 Boni's party was dissolved, and in 1960 he fled secretly to Dakar where he lived in exile until the 1966 coup. Then he returned to Upper Volta and tried to form a new party, based on his support in the Bobo-Dioulassa area, but this was stopped short when the army suspended all political activity. M. Boni subsequently went back to teaching.

GABON

The Gabonese cabinet has issued a statement saying that the resignation of de Gaulle was an internal French affair. French citizens in Gabon were therefore warned "not to adopt any stand or to demonstrate publicly against their country's institutions or leaders."

● In his May Day speech, President Bongo announced that a salary review had been carried out with effect from April 1. Children's allowance had been increased from 1,000 to 1,200 CFA francs a child. Maternity benefit and pregnancy allowance have also been increased.

LIBERIA

Forty-one collegiate students, out of a total of 104 who were suspended for attending classes for not performing the quarterly military parade, have now been reinstated by the authorities of the University of Liberia. They were re-enrolled after they had produced "satisfactory excuses and given valid reasons why they did not undertake the compulsory duty," says a *Liberian Age* report.

● Mr. H. Jefferson Cooper, the poet, has now become acting Superintendent of the Monrovia Central Prison. He succeeds Mr. D. Nyeka Chic who was recently dismissed and jailed.

TOGO

Mr. Bonito Olympio, son of the late President of Togo, has been expelled from Ghana. A Ministry of the Interior statement said investigations revealed that he was in league with a Togolese national, whose identity has been established, to overthrow the military government of Togo and had violated one of the cardinal principles for refugees, that they should refrain from engaging in activities against the security of their own country.

NIGERIA

Mid-West Fighting Continues

EXTENSIVE fighting in the Mid-West continues to be reported, partly in the area of Kwale, where a curfew has been imposed. The *Ibadan Daily Sketch* has claimed that civilians in the Mid-West are voluntarily moving to other parts of the country to allow Federal troops to deal with Biafran troops in the area.

Federal forces of the Second Division have captured the village of Umunti-Onono, north of Onitsha, and to have started advancing towards Anam further north, to join First Division forces across the Anambra river, says an AFP report. This river's valley is a rich agricultural area hitherto believed to be in Biafra hands, adds this report. There has been a new report (also AFP) of the beginning of a Second Division advance towards New.

Troops of the First Division of the Nigerian Army have linked up on the trunk "A" road connecting Bende and Umuahia, says an announcement from Army headquarters in Lagos, which spoke of heavy rebel casualties. This report followed the Biafran claims to have encircled Umuahia.

The Biafrans claim that the "Nigerian vandals" made no gains in fighting on the main approach routes to Umuahia last week, and were defeated near Ovrin, while Biafran forces made further progress on the Owerri-Port Harcourt road and held "recent gains" in the Abayana-Azumam area east of Onitsha. An ambush in the Abagara zone and more advances around Okpuala in the south are claimed.

At least 11,000 Midwesterners, mostly of Okogbete, Utoghoje, Ukuolana, Ikwe and Ubulu-Une, are still trapped behind secessionist guerrilla lines within the riverine areas of the Midwest, a refugee has claimed.

More than 11,000 Midwesterners caught behind rebel guerrilla lines in the riverine areas of the State came out of hiding during a two-week combing of the bush around Asaba and Ibusa, says a Nigerian report. The operation was launched by the commander of the Second Division Garrison, Ataba, Lt-Col G. J. Omonayin. Ibo Midwesterners fled into the bush in April last year during the infiltration of secessionist soldiers to parts of the Ibo-speaking areas of the State.

Father Anthony Byrne, an Irish priest working on São Tomé for the Vatican's welfare organisation Caritas, visited Biafra in an attempt to trace the 24 Italian oil drillers who, together with three Germans and two Arabs, were apparently captured during an attack on an oil camp near Kwale. As Federal troops clamped a curfew on Kwale to stop infiltration by Biafran forces across the River Niger, the Italian Foreign Ministry asked the Nigerian Government to halt fighting in the area in order to facilitate the search. The Nigerian Government rejected this suggestion. The Italians were employees of two subsidiaries of the Italian state oil corporation, ENI.

A Biafran envoy, Foreign Trade Commissioner Arthur Mbanefo, has been in Rome, and Caritas' chairman, Mgr. Bayer, has gone to Biafra; some reports said Fr. Byrne was rudely treated by the Biafran authorities, though one said he made con-

tact with the captured men. Dr. Lindt, Red Cross relief coordinator, has said they are apparently safe in Biafran hands. A local contractor and ten labourers are reportedly missing after another raid on the area.

Col. C. O. Rotimi, hitherto Quarter-master-General, Army Headquarters, has been appointed Commander, Ibadan Garrison Organisation, in the reshuffle of commanders. He replaces Col. O. Obasanjo, now Commander of the 3rd Division.



Obasanjo—"a lot of tasks ahead."

Col. Adekunle has declared in Lagos that his transfer to Supreme headquarters had nothing to do with the loss of Owerri. He said "There are other factors not known to the general public which we shall solve ourselves." Speaking to reporters when he arrived in Lagos to assume duties as Army Director of Training and Planning, he said he would now be "hotter and more pugnacious," so that his detractors should not think that his transfer from the war front would affect his disposition.

Col. O. Obasanjo warned officers that the war had not ended yet. "We have a lot of tasks ahead. As officers, you have greater responsibility not only to superior officers but to your men." Col. Obasanjo has gone to Port Harcourt to assume duty.

The *Benin Nigerian Observer* has said "what has happened to Owerri can happen to Onitsha, Enugu, Aba, any of the early liberated towns. In order that this does not happen, we think that, at the moment, it is imperative for Nigeria to establish a co-ordinating High Command for the three divisions, close to the war zone."

Biafra radio has reported a few more air raids, mostly small and with relatively few people killed, except for one alleged attack on a hospital, where more casualties were reported.

The head of the Nigerian Air Force Col. Alao has said that allegations that Nigerian war planes were manned by foreign pilots were both false and mischievous, the work of foreign detractors.

A Biafran civil servant, Mr. Kingsley Chime, has escaped to the Federal side with his wife and son. Mr. Chime told correspondents that he left Umuahia before its fall—walking through federal lines to Okigwi. Most Ibos living north and east of Umuahia had crossed into freshly captured federal ground, Mr. Chime said, but thousands living on the west side of the

town had fled into rebel-held areas. He also said many people had been fed by relief agencies in Umuahia. People were allowed to send families across the lines, he claimed.

OAU Committee Stands by

Mr. Ketema Yifru, the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, has said the OAU Nigerian Consultative Committee will meet again whenever there is even a slender chance of resolving the war. All members of the Committee were maintaining contact with each other and with Lagos and indirectly with Biafra, he said. Of the four OAU countries that had recognised Biafra, he said their views should be respected but "I do not think there is very much danger of any more countries recognising Biafra."

The US State Department has denied a report in the *Washington Post* that an approach has been made to the interim French Government by the US Embassy in Paris, asking them to reduce or stop arms aid to Biafra. A spokesman admitted that since the war broke out the US Government had been exchanging information and views with other interested governments, including that of France.

M. Paul-Vincent Pounah, director of the Gabonese Press Agency, has said that although there was a lot of concern about the independence of Africans in Southern Africa, "this same right does not appear to be recognised for the Biafrans, who nevertheless prove their desire for self-determination every day with their guns in their hands."

Radio Libreville in a talk marking the first anniversary of Gabon's recognition of Biafra said "no Federation created by colonial powers and imposed by force is viable."

In an interview, President Nyerere of Tanzania has claimed that Britain did not want a cease-fire in Nigeria because she believed that the Ibos "being very clever would get the better of discussions." He had told the Ethiopian Emperor that the OAU Committee would only succeed if it had the support of Britain and the USSR, if these two had decided on a military solution "there is nothing Africa can do about it."

Uganda has decided not to renew the contract of Chief Justice Sir Udo Udoma who went there from Nigeria in 1963 under a special arrangement between the two governments. Sir Udo recently returned to Kampala from leave in Nigeria and said he expected to resume his duties, but the Ugandan Government, denying Ugandan opposition charges that he had been "sacked and mistreated," said both the Nigerian Government and Sir Udo himself had been told in advance that his services would no longer be required.

A group of Soviet technicians, including geologists and construction experts, has arrived in Nigeria for discussions provided for under last year's bilateral Technical and Economic Agreement.

Gen. Gowon has paid tribute to the work of Sir David Hunt, who is to be British ambassador to Brazil. The *Lagos Morning Post*, praising his work as High Commissioner in Lagos, has hinted that he was replaced because of pro-Biafran

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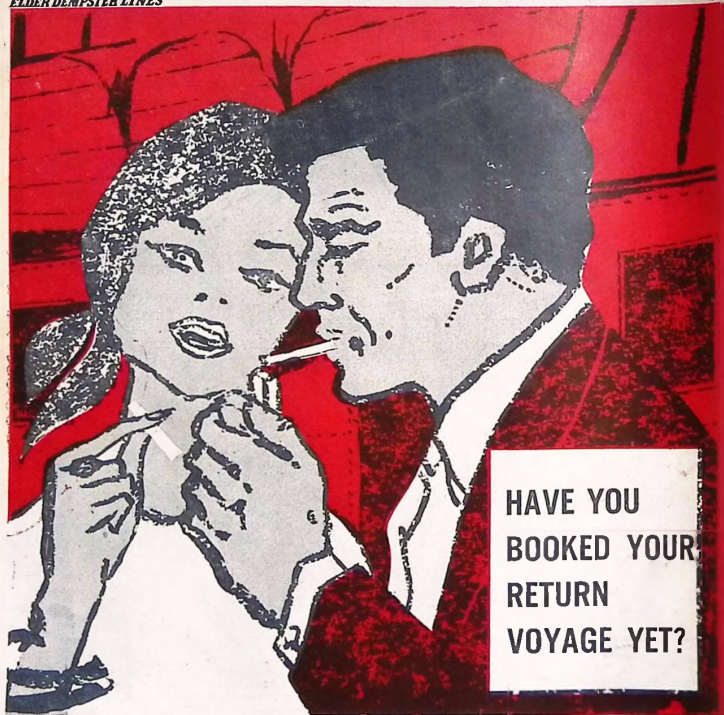
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