

West Africa

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SERIALS & DOCUMENTS
SECTION.

Russia in Africa

ALONE among those of non-African states, the government of the Soviet Union has never faltered in giving complete support to Nigeria's Federal Government during the conflict with Biafra. And while Biafran claims that Mr. Harold Wilson is personally responsible for conducting Nigeria's political and military affairs raise wry smiles, claims that the Soviet Union is now very influential in Lagos are taken more seriously. How great is this influence, what is its nature, and has it any significance? How do Soviet relations now stand with independent Africa as a whole?

With no dissatisfied back-benchers or newspapers to pacify, the Soviet Government can appear to be undeviating in its support for Federal Nigeria, although communists, too, have shown that they are not immune to the humanitarian feeling which produces world-wide sympathy for Biafra. In their brief moment of freedom the Czechs imposed a ban on arms to Nigeria, and in Britain the Communist Party and its daily newspaper must sometimes worry Russians by their instinctive, and sometimes expressed, support for Biafra. But the Russian official stand, as is noted by our correspondent in an article from Lagos on page 203, makes the Soviet Union popular in Federal Nigeria, where there have been demonstrations against what is thought to be the equivocal British stand (although it is Mr. Wilson and not Mr. Kosygin who shows political courage by supporting the Federal cause). But there is no real evidence, however, of a "special relationship" between the Soviet Union and Nigeria.

Everybody knows that the Russians supply aircraft to the Nigerian air force, most people forget that it was Britain who was originally asked for the aircraft. Everybody knows that Nigeria is receiving equipment and supplies from the Soviet Union; it is often forgotten that Nigeria pays cash for these. On the one occasion when payment was not made in cash, no credit was given; the Russians asked, instead, to be paid in cocoa, and, reluctantly, the Federal Government agreed to use 7,000 tons for his purpose. But, so far from there being any policy tying the Nigerian economy to the Soviet

Union through "barter deals", the Nigerians have had great difficulty in finding this 7,000 tons, and are now even reported to be attempting to buy cocoa back to fulfil the Soviet commitment.

There is, in fact, no evidence that the Russians have, or are going to have, real political influence in Nigeria's government; and our correspondent suggests that any Soviet influence among the trade unions need not be taken too seriously. More important, it is most unlikely that the Russians themselves seek the sort of influence that it is alleged they exercise in Lagos. There is no parallel between Russian policy in Nigeria and that pursued, for example, in the early days of Congo independence. The Russians have been most careful to avoid any direct participation in the Nigerian war. What the Russians are now interested in is not revolution in other states, but the political support of these states in international affairs, whatever the nature of their internal régimes.

Starry-eyed theories may have been current in Moscow about Africa ten or more years ago, experience must by now have persuaded the Russian leaders that revolution, in their sense, if it ever does come in Africa, is a very long way off. And in the background there is always the possibility, as Biafra shows, of an African state, whatever the colour of its internal régime, befriending China, perhaps only for racial reasons, if the Russians are not careful.

The sensible thing in Africa, the Russians now seem to think, is to make friends with those who are, in fact, in power, whether you like them or not. Three Lenin Peace Prize winners—Dr. Three Lenin Peace Prize winners—Dr. Nkrumah, President Modibo Keita and President Ben Bella—have been overthrown. In all three cases the Russians lost no time in coming to terms with their successors. The Soviet dispute with Ghana over the seized trawlers and their crews, might, indeed, have led, in any other continent, to the withdrawal of the Soviet Ambassador. But he is still in Accra.

With Africa's more conservative régimes the Russians have long sought cordial relations. The first important Russian mission to visit West Africa came to President Tubman's inaugura-



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tion in 1956. Although the Embassy in Monrovia then has never been built, nobody that the Russians are attempting to throw President Tubman. Gone the days when the Emperor Selassie or the King of Libya denounced as feudalist reaction President Houphouet-Boigny as of imperialism. As far as M concerned, these are all heads of dent states, although not so Soviet theory ruled out even the possibility of a colony of a Western becoming independent.

At the purely intellectual level recent article in the London *Mizan* reports, there is now a in the Soviet Union to admit that African countries the "economic class pre-conditions" for socialism yet exist—which makes it easy friends with the actual regime strongly anti-socialist. It has also that African leaders, like Dr. Nkrumah who use "theoretical form identical in phraseology with that by Soviet Marxists may mean something very different by them—or nothing at all.

The Russians, it is true, are into the trap of using Marxism particularly those relating to socialism in Africa. Some Marxists, for example, have attempted to identify "a class" in Ghana, to explain Nkrumah's downfall. But a Soviet article, also quoted by me, describes with some accuracy what happened, and may happen in African states, whose leaders in the language of Marxism, but practices of their own.

"The overgrowth of the relation to its anaemic social structure creates a possibility of the authority turning into a closed generating organism. With the increasing divorce of the state from masses, bureaucratic castes can be in the state system, usurping the management of state property, appropriating significant part of the national income and regarding workers as a blot on the prestige of the state."

If the Russians now have no about Africa, it is even truer that they have no illusions about the Russian lesson of the costly failures for which the Russians were responsible in (although they were not as costly for which western business men responsible) have been noted. The slightest attempt by the Russians to exert the sort of influence that they exert with Mr. Gizenga, and for a time Presidents Nkrumah and Sekou would now produce the reaction. On the other hand, complaints that what, in fact, is perfectly normal relations independent states, are evidence of sinister Russian influence can only African leaders further into the reluctant, arms of the Russians.

The Russians in Nigeria

from our Correspondent

VICTORIA ISLAND is now becoming one of the most important diplomatic enclaves in the Nigerian capital. The Indians, Danes, French and West Germans are all there and the Italians are in the course of building a new Embassy. There, too, stands the Soviet Embassy, on the edge of the lagoon. So near, indeed, does it stand, that it received damage, to an extent few realised, when what is usually called "the Ojukwu's plane" blew up just over the lagoon in October, 1967: many plate-glass windows at the front of the Embassy were blown in and the ceilings of several rooms are still affected, as is the air-conditioning.

The Soviet Embassy, however, has been a focus of attention for much more than this recently, as it is the subject of rumour and speculation in Lagos and in certain Western capitals arising from suspicions of the Soviet Union's intentions in Nigeria. There have been various articles in the British and US press recently and Mr. Harlley, vice-chairman of Ghana's NLC, gave his anxieties on the subject in a paper at the Commonwealth Conference last month.

The Russians, we are told, are after Nigeria's oil; or they see Nigeria as a stepping stone towards naval domination of the Atlantic; or they see Nigeria as a possible base for a sphere of influence in Africa. Speculation is based on the sale of aircraft to the Nigerian Air Force, and on the technicians who are here to maintain them. But much is made also of the recent creation of Nigeria-Soviet friendship associations, of links between the Russians and certain trade unionists and Nigerian "Marxists," as well as preference allegedly given to Moskvich cars by the Federal Government, and on reports, highly exaggerated, of "barter deals" for cocoa.

One complication in attempting to assess the significance of the Soviet attitude to Nigeria is that it is so enveloped in manoeuvre on all sides that fundamentals often become obscured. The Nigerians are not above deploying the "Russian threat" to encourage the British, when their support seems to be lagging, the obverse of this is the way British Ministers in parliament sometimes wave the same flag, as a means of rallying support for their policies in certain susceptible quarters. Thus, too, the Russians, in the logic of diplomacy, are not above exploiting any given situation. As one Soviet diplomat, outside Nigeria, said to me: "We will take advantage of mistakes the British make: it's only human." But by the same token, we have not the French exploited the same situation much more ruthlessly and recklessly in a different way?

The key plan of Soviet policy towards the Nigerian crisis is the same which the British government increasingly have

rested on—support for Nigeria's unity and territorial integrity, which is also what the OAU is interested in. The Russians stress that the first statement from Moscow on the subject was as long ago as August 24, 1966, as soon as it became apparent that the East might break away, and that there has never been any wavering from this position.

The Russians also stress that the sale

Lagos



In Moscow for celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution: Wahab Goodluck, head of the NTUC (right), and Dr. Tanji Otegbeye, the Socialist leader (second from right) watching a football match at the Lenin Central Stadium.

of aircraft was in response to a request from the Nigerians, after they had been to the British and the Americans first, and that it would have been an unfriendly act to have turned them down. Even so it was a strictly commercial deal, and the agreement on the sale is extremely careful to limit the activity of the Russian personnel who accompanied the aircraft to maintenance and training. Likewise, the Nigerian commercial agreement with the Soviet Union of last November, although as yet unpublished, is couched in very general terms; there is apparently no specific mention of the projected metallurgical complex, on which the Russians sent a preliminary mission early in 1967. Although the subject was discussed it is still very much in the air. The Russians say that if the Nigerians request it they would consider the project favourably, but more studies have to be done, particularly on the project's location, and they have no desire to get involved in the political skirmishing which surrounded location of the project in the past. Moreover, the Nigerians themselves have yet to decide where such a project fits into their own reconstruction plans, which are to be discussed at a conference in Ibadan next month.

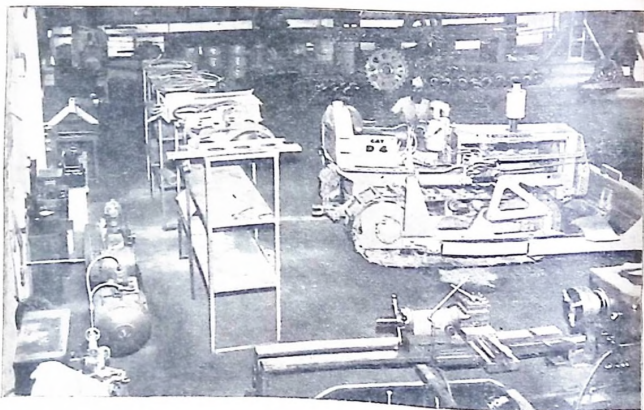
To be sure, the Soviet Union is in business from a commercial point of view. The balance of trade is in Nigeria's

favour. The Russians have had some success in selling vehicles to the Nigerian army. But one has only to visit the Ikeja Motor Show, where Russian tractors, lorries and jeeps are displayed (very sturdy but not exactly streamlined) and see the minimal attendance to realise that Nigerians are not in a transport buying mood at the moment. Rumours that Leventis might hand over their Appa assembly plant to Moskvich seem as unfounded as the stories a couple of months ago of Nkrumah-style barter deals in cocoa (in fact, in answer to a Russian request, some 7,000 tons—which the Produce Marketing Company has had much difficulty in finding—were offered

to the Russians for goods already received).

Obviously the Russians have their friends in Nigeria, such as the unknown Lagosian, Mr. Curtis Joseph, who once won a Lenin Peace Prize and the veteran admirer of the Soviet Union, Dr. Otegbeye, not to mention the NTUC wing of the Labour movement, which has been an affiliate of the Communist-dominated WFTU for years. But it is difficult to see how, when there are more than six hundred unions divided into a number of camps, anyone can take the Nigerian labour movement very seriously. Likewise, although one heard at one time that the Russians considered Col. Ojukwu and his colleagues to be "bourgeois nationalists," at the moment they seem disinclined to analyse the war in terms of class. They have, it is true, been getting a considerable amount of Nigerian press space and Nigerians, as a mood of distrust of Western nations develops, as well as fears that a possible anti-communist bias on the part of the Nixon administration might lead to a reappraisal of the policy towards Nigeria in Washington, express satisfaction with the Russians, who backed them in their hour of need. But the Nigerians in authority are as free of illusions about the Russians as the Russians seem now to be about Africa.

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ECA's next Ten Years *From a Correspondent*

OPENING the ninth full meeting of the UN Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa this month, Emperor Haile Selassie said that experience of the first ten years of ECA, which was founded in 1958, must have shown to the more prosperous countries that they had themselves to participate in the development of the less advanced nations if the world was to live at peace. U Thant, who had come especially for this tenth anniversary meeting, noted the value of the close co-operation between ECA and OAU, whose headquarters is also in Addis Ababa and whose members have decided that ECA should be OAU's "economic arm".

Africanisation of the staff and "equitable distribution" of posts among African countries were the issues which produced the most excitement at the meeting.

Since ECA is a United Nations body, delegates at the meeting did not dispute that employment of non-Africans by ECA is proper: but critics maintained that while similar UN commissions in other parts of the world had very few African staff, the number employed by ECA, particularly in senior positions was very high. The latest figures showed 40 per cent of appointments to be held by non-Africans, but the proportion in the highest jobs is probably higher.

There is also the problem that of the most senior posts held by Africans, some 80 per cent are held by English-speaking officials, lower down the scale the English-speakers also predominate.

A resolution passed by the meeting urged relaxation of the standards required for senior ECA jobs. It also urged African states to make available their own officials more readily than they do at present. Ethiopia and Uganda voted against the resolution and Liberia and Malawi abstained. Another controversial subject was ECA's sub-regional groupings, which some countries felt to be inconveniently arranged.

In his opening address Mr. Allison Ayida, Permanent Secretary to the Nigerian Ministry of Economic Development, and outgoing Chairman of ECA, who had been present at the meeting establishing the commission ten years ago, said that their initial hopes had been justified. It was true that some people had always felt, and still did, that ECA was only a research organisation devoted to the accumulation and dissemination of knowledge. But it would be difficult to justify the annual budget of some \$5m. for that alone. ECA should be a dynamic force fostering rapid development. The secretariat had made strenuous attempts to bring home to African leaders that the continent's economic salvation lay in co-operation between its states. These states should also realise the main lesson from the second session of UNCTAD was that the

economic destiny of African countries lay mainly in their own hands.

Africa, said Mr. Ayida, was on the lowest rung of the world development ladder. Twenty-two of the 31 countries with a gross domestic product of below \$100 were African; and of the bottom 25 of the world's countries only six were non-African. The only two African countries in the first 25 were there purely because they export their mineral wealth. It was now the task of ECA to produce a continental plan for development as a framework for all states, although it was the job of the states themselves to act.

Mr. Ayida felt that ECA lacked status and influence in the activities of the UN in Africa, although it should be a "prime" United Nations institution for



The Emperor at ECA.

projecting the UN in Africa. This meant much greater decentralisation of the UN agencies whose work in Africa could best be co-ordinated by ECA. But in that case member states must cease to think of ECA as "an imperialist organisation" and give it their full backing. They must also be prepared to release staff for it rather than complain of the number of non-Africans.

In his report on the last year's work, Mr. Robert Gardiner, ECA's Executive Secretary, emphasised that co-operation between African states was essential if they were to industrialise and thus halt a worsening of their terms of trade. They could not establish national industries to satisfy economies of scale. They must also combine both as suppliers and as buyers on the world market, and intensify their trade with each other because of the obstacles put in the way of their trade by the developed world. ECA welcomed African economic groupings.

Perhaps foreshadowing the argument which was to come Mr. Gardiner noted that Africa lacked trained manpower and that many studies so far prepared by ECA had been made possible only because of foreign assistance. ECA,

however, itself undertook a great deal of training.

Mr. Gardiner said that the secretariat is now satisfied that it could "deal with" establishment of industries which appear to be viable. On the other hand all economic progress must depend on progress in agriculture. "African peasant are slowly abandoning their fields and going to live in towns where they hope their income will not be at the mercy of wind and weather." Pious sermons would not send them back to the land, but only a life as rewarding as they believed that in the city to be.

Worsening terms of trade were a major problem for primary producers, continued Mr. Gardiner. It must be remembered, too, that generous assistance from abroad which had been important in recent years, was likely to diminish, although foreign investors now had from ECA a comprehensive picture of possibilities and advantages in Africa. In the next five years modernisation of agriculture and industrialisation, which were complementary, were Africa's main economic task.

A report on ECA's activities last year covers a vast field. Only a few examples can be given here.

A survey laid down the minimum basic data to be included in all African development plans to make them easy to compare and harmonize. The secretariat has carried out research on the integration of development policies.

The planning of the Economic Community of West Africa was an important feature of the year. In West Africa, too, an ECA team had studied projections of final and intermediate demand for various goods over the ten-year period, 1970-1980: possibilities for local production of different classes of goods during the period both for local and extra-West African markets. The team also looked into the balance of resources for implementation of projected trade and development programmes, specific proposals for production of goods at specific locations, the required development of a transport network to serve the sub-region, development of communication and finally the possibility of future co-operation in research, especially agricultural research.

The Pilot Small Industries Advisory Centre based at Niamey had been very active. A number of feasibility studies for implementation by indigenous entrepreneurs had been prepared—they include the manufacture on the small scale of paint, hosiery, etc. Studies were in hand on the prospects of increasing trade between Africa and Eastern Europe, Asia and the Middle East, and Western Europe.

At the request of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the secretariat prepared a study of Africa's future requirements in electric energy for a study group on the use of low and medium-powered atomic reactors in African countries.

letters to the editor

HONOURING BARTH

Sir—In his commentary on the celebrations in honour of Heinrich Barth to be held shortly in the Niger Republic, Matchet writes that he "knows of no similar honour accorded to him in Nigeria" despite Thomas Hodgkin's justifiable endorsement of his claim to being "the greatest historian of Nigeria".

May I help Matchet over this? Although nothing came of my appeal (*West Africa*, March 3, 1962) that Nigeria might consider the issuance of a commemorative Barth stamp or that one of her new universities then coming into being might establish a Barth gold medal prize or designate one of its chairs as the Barth Professorship, the University of Ibadan did arrange a symposium (at the instigation of Professor Schiffers of Cologne) in 1965 to mark the centenary of Barth's death and extended an invitation to a number of international Barth scholars. In England, the occasion did not pass unnoticed, for the Royal Geographical Society held a special meeting and a leading publisher in Africa produced a sumptuous centenary reprint of the full 3,500-page text of the *Travels and Discoveries*. In Germany, Dr. Schiffers edited a monumental *Festschrift* volume and Professor Italaander, a narrative on this "indefatigable traveller".

While Nigeria may have fallen behind other countries in acknowledging Heinrich Barth's remarkable contribution to the

appreciation of her history, the literature of the last seven years devoted to his achievement is enough to suggest that Matchet's hopes (*West Africa*, 1962, p. 237) are being fulfilled when in 1962 he wondered, in a generous welcome to my *Barth's Travels in Nigeria*, whether it might not "spearhead a revival of interest and a recognition of his greatness as Nigeria's most eminent scholar-traveller?"

ANTHONY KIRK-GREENE.

Oxford.

CALL IT A DAY

Sir,—Members of the Nigeria Union abroad, irrespective of tribal origin, feel concerned and distressed about the appalling state of affairs at home, but believe no purpose will be served by concealing the real issues under the cloak of humanitarianism.

Nigeria is a heterogeneous society with a multi-tribal structure: and the so-called "Biafra" is of multi-tribal structure, with Ibibios, Ibos, Efiks, Diobis and Ikerre people. It is illogical for Col. Ojukwu and his henchmen to take these minority people out of Nigeria without a plebiscite, and to demand a plebiscite before renouncing secession.

One feels sick to see how the rebel leaders are perpetuating starvation and sufferings of millions of people only to save their face as a result of a lost gamble. Those who claim to be friends of the rebels are perpetrating the utmost mischief. One can understand the French Government, which sees in Nigeria another Canada; one can understand Zambia's and Tanzania's regimes, headed by foolish men who could not see danger for themselves in a disintegrated Nigeria; but one cannot understand the role of eminent individuals who claim to

be friends of the rebels and will not them to call it a day.

I send an urgent and sincere appeal well-meaning Ibo leaders to press Ojukwu to abandon his doctrine of all. In the allocation of faults, every one's leaders have their share: enough damage has been done in terms of man and material to let us all hope that our mistakes will be the foundation of a new Nigeria.

J. Okafor

President, Nigeria Union of Gt. Brit.

STUDENTS' UNIONS

Sir,—Messrs Onaghise and Nobi's criticism for the multiplicity of Nigerian student organisations (*West Africa* Feb. 15) demonstrates the minds of misinformed observers.

I am not a Yoruba but I believe Yoruba Council, akin to the Calabar Society, Edo Union, or the Ga Adangbe in essence cultural. Participation in societies should not be made a cause of stigma but for an epaulette. Apart from the fact that students' organisations do not because of occasional newspaper criticisms but in spite of them, to stampede Press media into censorship, is a negative free expression.

The answer to this Nigerian disease is threefold: a complete reassessment of existing Nigeria Union; the observance of students' organisations of civilised conduct in money collected and in matters, (officers not re-elected must resign; office without resort to "corner elections or chair-throwing"); and a dash of heart by the High Commission London in its cold, aloof and unapproach towards its students (the Commission's officials must be willing to act as disinterested arbiters in disputes).

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Dialogue at Ife

LAST year *Nigerian Administration and its Political Setting*, the book edited by Adebayo Adedeji, was reviewed in *West Africa* (December 14). The purpose of this article is not to review it again but to offer some general animadversions on its subject matter, and to draw attention to something Dr. Adedeji has started at the Institute of Administration at Ife, which looks like continuing, and commands respect.

The book was an edited collection of lectures and discussions which took place over a period of nine weeks, and at which Dr. Adedeji brought together a number of leading civil servants and academics. In the modern argot he arranged confrontation and there ensued a dialogue. In plain English these folks got together for a few hours a week and talked shop. Now people talking shop are usually interesting, and the interest is heightened when, as in this instance, some were talking as academics with no experience of the frustrations of the machine, others as administrators with no time to think, and a few in the middle who at one time or another had had a foot in either camp. Or possibly in both camps, for the position of Mr. T. M. Aluko, whose contribution I found the most engaging, seemed obscure, since he was billed as a Senior Research Fellow in the University of Lagos but referred constantly to the conundrums that arrived on his desk as Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Works. Mr. Aluko has the gift of speaking both with his tongue in his cheek and with great good sense, letting the wind out of some of the academic talk and bringing purpose and perspective to that of the administrators. He also made it clear (autobiographically, since he has also been a government engineer) that in ex-colonial Africa this kind of dialogue should not simply be between politicians and administrators; there is a third man in the background who in the last analysis could be more important than either—the professional officer who not so long ago was politician, administrator and, for example, engineer, and whose change in status has been traumatic.

For the rest, two themes principally engaged the discussions. First, the relationship in contemporary Nigeria between politicians and civil servants. The politicians, who were not of course represented as such, did not emerge from the talks with dignity or credit but this was to be expected, since the first generation of power politicians (and this was clearly what they were considered to be) did not, as Churchill would have said, rise to the level of events, which civil servants undoubtedly did. But personalities aside, the nature of the relationship in the abstract, in Nigerian circumstances, was discussed with great objectivity. It was accepted that it was still in an experimental stage, that it

could not be orthodox in terms of western concepts, and that the line of demarcation would not be the same as in Whitehall. Perhaps, indeed, a line would be difficult to discern, which need not be regarded as "wrong".

The other theme, played upon with varying degrees of bewilderment, dismay and good humour by the civil servants, was the difficulty of being creative and dynamic when suffocated by standing orders and regulations, the traditional network of personal and departmental relationships — indeed the whole apparatus of the inherited bureaucracy, which it was easy to criticise but difficult to modify. Indeed, the necessity for these frustrations was to a large extent accepted, and no-one indulged himself by speaking of bureaucracy in merely pejorative terms.

Perhaps, however, this could be a springboard for a resumption of similar talks in the future. All developing countries are faced with the dilemma that bureaucracy is necessary for ordered government, yet is inadequate to the needs of a dynamic and developing situation. Various individualists have given us their solution. Professor René Dumont, in *False Start in Africa*, inclines temperamentally to sacking the lot. He would disperse senior civil servants to provincial centres, engage them wholly in development projects, and pay them by results; he would sack the middle ranks and divide their work into penny packets, so that it could be performed by low-grade staff. At the capital city only the treasury and a group of professional advisers would remain. Everyone would live the simple life, ride on bicycles instead of prestige cars, and cut out drink. President Nyerere once made Professor Dumont's book compulsory reading for his Cabinet.

The Vice-President of Malaysia has found a different solution—the military operation of district development, based on the pinning of responsibility and the abolition of passing the buck. Operations rooms, confrontations, tape-recordings, surprise visits—these ideas, inherited from General Templer, who employed them successfully to drive out the communists, have given civil service departments a new look.

Nigerian academics, whose business it should be to trawl the world for ideas, and Nigerian civil servants, who would welcome ideas but haven't time to do more than keep abreast with their papers, could well put their heads together to see if some of these great desperados can speak to their condition.

Talk of this kind can be an immense waste of time, but occasionally it can be rewarding. It is interesting that in Dr. Adedeji's book one chapter which one could have expected to fail succeeds rather well. This is the resume of a discussion between Ajayi, Asabia



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and Aluko, with James O'Connor in the chair, on "Bureaucratic Politics in Nigeria."

The book as a whole, however, is not as good as all that. Dr. Adebajo in his introduction tells us that the lectures "were acclaimed to be of a remarkably high standard, and the programme itself, which was a well-studded one, received such enthusiastic support . . ." that he could do no more than bow to popular opinion and publish it. This is an over-statement, whether studded or not, the lectures were useful. Some took a long time to come to the point and some were verbose. The important points are first that the book took place at all, and second that Dr. Adebajo used it as a starting point for a publishing venture which one hopes will succeed as it deserves.

He has now an arrangement with the Hutchinson Publishing Group, who have produced this book, to publish more books. It is not easy to make such arrangements, and it is difficult to fulfil them, for the publishers usually have difficulty in keeping authors up to scratch. It is therefore encouraging to be able to say with confidence that three further books will appear under Hutchinson's imprint, with reasonably firm dates.

On April 8 there will be another book by Adebajo himself on *Nigerian Finance: its Development, Problems and Prospects*. This book, which will be concerned with the financial underpinnings of whatever Federal-State arrangements may emerge from Nigeria's next Constitution, is being published in connection with an important Conference of Ife at the end of March at which Adebajo is repeating his performance of bringing the academic and the administrator into confrontation and dialogue: though this will be on a more ambitious scale, since it is to be a formal conference and a series of extension lectures, the conference delegates will be officially nominated instead of being volunteers with a taste for adult education, and overseas visitors will be present.

There will follow in the autumn of this year a book by Dr. D. J. Murutu (the Ife Institute's Director of Research) who contributed to the first book, *Administrators at Work in Nigeria*. This will be a book of case studies similar to the British RIPA's *Administrators in Action* and comparable American studies, and takes to pieces the administrative machinery which powered, if that is the correct description, such operations as a boundary dispute, the appointment of a chief, and the construction of an abattoir.

Finally, and hopefully in January 1970, Dr. Milton C. Taylor, of Michigan State University, and a Fellow of Ife, will contribute a book on *Taxation and Economic Development*.

Dr. Adebajo and the Institute of which he is Director are to be congratulated on their enterprise.

Ronald Wraith

MATCHET'S DIARY

AFTER his long silence, Dr. Azikiwe showed excellent timing in making his peace proposals for Nigeria last weekend. For while it must now be clear to everybody in the territory Col. Ojukwu still holds that he cannot win this war, there is a growing anxiety on the Federal side to see it finished. Since the essence of Zik's plan is United Nations' intervention, both in ending the war and in establishing the institutions of peace, it has little chance of a hearing in Lagos, which seems to have rejected it out of hand. Nor is U Thant likely to welcome the new responsibility now offered him. But I hope that it will not simply be dismissed, for it cannot be popular in Umuahia either. Dr. Azikiwe, for example, refers to himself as one of General Gowon's "predecessors in office"—a clear acceptance of General Gowon as legitimate Head of State. He accepts that "Biafra" must now mean the territory under the jurisdiction of Col. Ojukwu, and not the former Eastern Region as a whole. Part of his plan entails UN authority to obtain "official assurances" from Biafra of qualified acceptance of the principle of the creation of new states, provided these are approved by the people affected. He does, it is true, make a mild proviso about Port Harcourt, whose loss the Ibos might feel more deeply than that of any other place. But he seems ready to accept the East-Central State. The ex-President, however, did not go as far as some Ibo former supporters of Col. Ojukwu. For they now emphasise that secession and the sovereignty that it implies had one object only—to ensure the security of the people of Eastern Nigeria. This, manifestly, secession and sovereignty have not done and cannot now do. But, say these critics, the Biafran leaders now appear to want sovereignty for its own sake rather than to ensure the security of the Ibos, which must now be sought by other means. Dr. Azikiwe, however, does not insist on recognition of Biafran sovereignty in any way. I like his description of the OAU, although it will make more enemies than friends for his case, "an embryonic international organisation whose secretariat has yet to prove its competence for tactfully handling delicate issues affecting the destiny of millions of human beings."

It has been so well known for so long that Dr. Davidson Nicol was to become Sierra Leone's Permanent Representative at the United Nations that the public announcement is an anti-climax. Yet it is surprising that Sierra Leone's leading scholar should choose for the second time in his career to give up scholarship in response to a government request. Dr. Nicol won a scholarship to Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1943 and graduated

there with first-class honours. He was a Beit Fellow at Cambridge, and in 1957 was the first African to be elected a Fellow of an Oxford or Cambridge college, when he was made a Fellow of his own Christ's College. He was college supervisor in Medicine and Natural Science and taught undergraduates for the Natural Science tripos. Later he lectured for a time at Ibadan. It was in 1958 that he gave up his beloved Cambridge and returned to Freetown as Government Pathologist, at the request of Sir Milton Margai. That appointment, it is true, allowed him to pursue scientific work in a way that his UN job will not, but it was scarcely academic. The same might almost be said of the principalship of Fourah Bay, which he held until 1967, a longer period of office than any head of a West African University college or University in recent years. Davidson Nicol, however, was never a narrow academic, as a list of his published works will show. His short stories and his poems have appeared in many magazines and in book form and his outspoken commentary *Africa, a Subjective View* is a classic—from it I treasure his description of a European fantasy, that of an African intellectual who beat his wife with a tennis racket with which he won his Cambridge Blue.

It is because the military action to end Biafran secession is seen as a continuation of the 1966 massacres, the leading article in this journal said last week, that the word "genocide" has come into vogue to describe the war. I have just come across an excellent example of this. Josephine O'Connor, in a letter to the editor of the *Cork Examiner*, makes a moving plea for help for Biafra ("The Ibos are a good people and need our sympathy"). But the account she gives of Nigeria shows how little the real course of events is understood abroad. "The civil war started in 1966 and that year an estimated 30,000 Ibos were slaughtered. The war became more intense as the Federal armies equipped with abundant and superior armaments invaded Biafra. Russian planes bombed the civilian population. Casualties were heavy on both sides. As a result it is estimated that 1,800,000 Ibos fled from the Northern region and Lagos."

When Mr. Siaka Stevens was presented with an honorary degree at the University of Sierra Leone last week, the Public Orator described him as "daily-wage labourer, policeman, court-messenger, sergeant-major, station-master, trade-unionist, academic parliamentarian, civil-magistrate, Minister of State and, now, Prime Minister of the country to which you have already given in public service well over 40 of the 65 years of your life". The Public Orator also noted that Mr. Stevens had gone "from the mining labour-camps to Buckingham Palace".



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

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books and publications

C.P.P. and C.P.S.U.

Modernisation in Ghana and the USSR
by Robert E. Dowse (Routledge and Kegan Paul; 18s.)

IN an underdeveloped country, says Mr. Dowse, "the range of possible economic and political strategies open to the leaders is relatively narrow." The resources are simply not there. But if the political élite decides that rapid industrialisation is necessary, this is likely to impose massive burdens on the population. While Mr. Dowse pursues many parallels between the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Convention Peoples Party of Ghana, the most fruitful one probably does arise from the consequences in both countries of the decision to industrialise rapidly.

Mr. Dowse does not see Nkrumah as a Stalin, much less a Lenin ("one an unbending puritan pedagogue and the other a vacillating, rather timid, man") and feels that Stalin might have done rather better than Nkrumah did at rapid industrialisation of Ghana. Nevertheless, it is true that for their different reasons—Stalin wanted to strengthen his country's defence resources, and Nkrumah sought political prestige—both chose rapid industrialisation when there was no urgent need for it, and when a vast improvement of agriculture was socially and economically more necessary.

The differences between the two countries are obvious, quite apart from their size and resources—although at one point, for example, by his reference to the possible political importance of "landless labourers," Mr. Dowse appears to see resemblances which do not exist. The difference between the two parties, too, is obvious, and Mr. Dowse particularly makes the point that, although the Communist Party was perpetually purged on a vast scale of people alleged to be corrupt and unworthy, the leadership, whatever its other defects, was never corrupt in the way that the CPP leadership was. Nor, at any time, was the CPP organisation anything like as rigid as that of the CP, or until it became an oligarchy and then an agency of an individual dictator, ever so remote from the rural masses as the Soviet CP was in its early years.

Nevertheless, whatever the differences in behaviour, organisation, and ideology between the two parties, Mr. Dowse is able to trace significant similarities. There is the "demonological" view of politics—that is, the view that one is surrounded

by dangerous enemies and threatened by world-wide conspirators against whom eternal vigilance, with its consequent dictatorship, are essential. Again, although Nkrumahism was never as all-embracing as the Soviet leaders made Marxism, it, too, maintained that the whole political truth had been revealed to its author and that "inquiry has become redundant in the face of certainty; all that remains is exposition." Total control of all forms of communication, although, happily, ineffective in Ghana, was the common aim of the CPP and the CP. Terror as an instrument of government was common to both, although in Ghana the relatively liberal tradition in which the CPP came to power compared with that in which the CPSU was born, prevented Ghana going the whole way.

Mr. Dowse, perhaps, exaggerates the actual extent of the industrialisation programme in Ghana, and exaggerates the

extent to which economic and financial resources were wasted by it, rather than by government extravagance and corruption. It is also true that it was impossible in Ghana to impose directly, for example, on farmers the burdens Stalin was able to impose on the Russian peasants; but the parallel between the Russian industrialisation programme and the Ghana one is instructive. The whole book, short though it is, should serve the purpose of the series of monographs in which it appears, that of meeting the needs of students of political science in universities.

Unhappily, there are a number of errors about Ghana itself which should not have been allowed to appear. Mr. Dowse confuses the Cocoa Purchasing Company and the Cocoa Marketing Board at more than one point, and the result is mystification. He appears vague about the geographical position or even the name of Ghana's Volta Region, and does not explain at all what he means by "a unified Ewe homeland," since there is no reference to neighbouring Togo. There are a number of lesser errors and two considerable misprints which could be misleading.

Nevertheless, it is valuable to be reminded, for example, that Ghana was driven to seek extensive, and in some cases disastrous suppliers' credits, which led to the most direct exploitation by foreign enterprise, partly because fierce attacks on foreign capital in Ghana frightened away genuine investors.

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It is also true that the CPP was a party that began as a genuine popular one, and then set about alienating its support until it finished up as a small élite without any basis, and with no capacity to reform itself. Perhaps in one sentence Mr. Dowse gives the best explanation of the decline: "the CPP was not strong enough to manage the changes which it had helped to generate."

D. W.

Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba by J. D. Y. Peel (OUP, 60s in UK).

The independent churches called "Aladura"—including the two described in detail here, the Cherubim and Seraphim and the Christ Apostolic Church—represent, by their revolt against tolerance and militant hostility to paganism, one distinctive sort of reaction to Christian teaching in Africa (and elsewhere). Hence they are of wider than Nigerian interest; though in the form they took they were influenced, as Dr. Peel makes clear, by social conditions in a time of flux in Western Nigeria.

"Aladura" means prayer, and stress on the importance of prayer has distinguished the Cherubim and Seraphim and the Diamond Society both when they were groups of enthusiasts within the CMS, and later when they became independent bodies in the 1920s and spread widely over Yorubaland (especially during their great "revival" in the early 1930s). The Cherubim and Seraphim began in Lagos as a result of a vision by a girl, "Captain" Abiodun Akinoson (visions are considered very important by Aladuras—one of their distinctive beliefs); its main prophet, apart from her, was Moses Orimolade. The Diamond Society became the Faith Tabernacle, then was affiliated to the Apostolic Church in Great Britain, and, about 1940, split into three churches, all called "Apostolic," the CAC being the main stream (there have been many other splits and secessions besides). It was founded in Ijebu and a generation after the CMS's very successful mission there. Most of its early prophets ended up with the CAC: D. O. Odubanjo, Joseph Babalola and—most famous of all outside his Church—the late Oba Sir I. B. Akinyele, first Olubadan of Ibadan.

These churches reject all medical treatment together with *babalawo* healing, "jujus," charms and cures prevalent in Yoruba pagan society (on this society, and on the CMS missions, Dr. Peel has necessary background chapters). Their insistence on divine healing and prayer is found in other churches, but in Western Nigeria was encouraged—says this author—by the great epidemics of the 1920s and 1930s, which discredited all medicine. That it is still continued, perhaps with less success, but could have developed further: that difficult religious and moral teaching has a genuine psychological appeal. This

also explains the maintenance, and seasonal popularity, of the Aladuras' condemnation of witchcraft—their attitude challenges tolerant Yorubaland. The CAC also opposes polygamy.

How the two Churches analysed into Western Nigerian society is described by Dr. Peel in several chapters, with illustrations from African communities in Ibadan—where, in other cities, they appeal mainly to immigrants. The strong believers to be clerks or other educated middle class people, often of local prominence but not usually members of Western Nigeria's élite. Dr. Peel describes CAC's and Seraphim's services, special feasts, "praying bands." Brief studies (CAC is particularly formalist), pastors and prophets, social (to cater for what he calls the "inmate clubbiness of the Yoruba"), modern revivals. These revivals are that the Aladura movement is still able and to influence Yorubaland, the study of which will certainly be helped by Dr. Peel's thorough survey.

Tanganyika Under German Rule 1912 by John Iliffe (Cambridge University Press, 35s.).

In 1904, says Dr. Iliffe, the struggle for control between white and educated African, which was to become a fundamental contest throughout much of East and Central Africa, existed in Tanganyika. The German settlers, particularly through support of the German parliament, were increasingly powerful, and were able to extract concessions from successive governments whether these were sympathetic to settlers or not.

It is true that the educated young were still inarticulate in German Africa, and there is no evidence of political reaction to settler gains. Evidence of land shortage can be quoted there was tension between white missionaries and their African colleagues. It was the 1914-18 war, and the subsequent end of German rule, that ensure that Tanganyika took a different political path from Kenya.

Dr. Iliffe gives a most interesting account of the Maji Maji rebellion, the most important African rebellion against early European rule, and of the "era of reform" which followed. A Lecture in history at the University College of Dar es-Salaam, he has conducted much original research in East Africa. He also draws on a wide range of sources in Germany.

The Hero and the Crowd in a Colonial Polity, by A. W. Singham (Cambridge University Press, 90s.).

The Democratic Revolution in the West Indies: *Studies in Nationalist Leadership and the Belief in Progress*, edited by Wendell Bell (Schenkman Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA \$8.95).

Caribbean islands are mini-states of the world *par excellence*: mostly too small to have a viable economy (unless, like Curaçao, they have oil), while the fact of being islands gives each one an apartness and separate identity which makes it hard for them to come together. As such, each one can stand up to separate study. Mr. Singham's book concerns Grenada, in particular phenomena surrounding the colourful political career of Eric Gairy (who incidentally is now back in power after a spell out of office). Although weighed down with a sociologist's wordiness, it is a good story, and makes an illuminating if perhaps over long study.

Mr. Bell has edited several monographs on different aspects of the rise of the movement towards independence in the former British West Indies, and on the establishment of that independence. Raymond Mack probes with insight the delicate subject of "Race, Class and Power in Barbados" (analysing the profound changes in the relationship of these three perennials in the last 20 years); and there is a brilliant and stimulating essay by Ivor Oxaal on "The Intellectual Background to the Democratic Revolution in Trinidad" (digging up the era of the young C. L. R. James, and the heroic Captain Cipriani). But too many of the monographs suffer from the vice of Mr. Singham's book—the dead hand of the sociologist's style. Which is a pity, as the subjects are interesting, and the conclusions often important. N. D.

tale about wild life in the bush, but aims to get at the truth about the animals' habits, and characteristics, dispelling some of the myths and legends associated with hunting. He literally gets to grips with tigers, lions and other beasts. The book is never for a moment dull; the truth needs no embellishment.

Mr. Hallett's colleague, Alex Pelle, has worked with him since 1963 sharing his interests, he also assisted in writing their previous book, *Congo Kitabu*. P.W.

A new *Ghana Journal of Agricultural Science* has brought out its first number (published by *Ghana Universities Press*; sponsored by the *Cocoa Research Institute*; price of annual subscription 5 new cedis or £2). It is an advanced scientific journal of research into West African agriculture and related matters, such as socio-economics and the daily practice of tropical agronomy and animal husbandry. Subjects discussed include maize seed viability, coconut fertiliser trials, problems of plant breeding with West African forest tree species, and "the effects of large-scale mechanised agriculture on the physical properties of West African soils."

Books and Publications Received

Ghana Year Book 1969 published by the "Daily Graphic", Accra (30 new pesewas).

Economic Conditions in Africa in Recent Years published by the *Economic Commission for Africa*, Addis Ababa (ref. E/CN. 14/435).

The History of Surrealism, by Maurice Nadeau (Joathan Cupe, 42s.).

Sartre found surrealism with its "auto da fe of language" at the heart of the *négritude* poetry of Césaire. It is useful to read, therefore, this book, originally written in 1944, which some have taken as a definitive history of one of the major movements of 20th Century art. There is little about the impact of African and Oceanian art on the movement, but the central role of surrealism in the intellectual climate in France between the wars is essential background to the growth of the politico-cultural *négritude* movement. André Breton, mentor and promoter of Césaire, was, after all, one of the great Surrealists.

K. W.

Animal Kitabu by Jean-Pierre Hallet with Alex Pelle (Elek Books, 42s.).

Jean-Pierre Hallet spent twelve years in East Africa among animals in reserves and in the wild. He lived as a member of some of the tribes and learnt their methods of tracking and hunting. He did not hunt to kill, though if necessary he could do this skilfully. He hates any form of cruelty or needless slaughter, and above all the bullets which maim and cause suffering.

This is not a romantic or sentimental

A Francophone Community?

With official participation by the governments both of Canada and of Quebec Province, Ministers of Education and representatives of 26 French-speaking nations are meeting this week in Niamey to discuss a "Francophone Community." Geoff Varley, writing from Paris, explains what this might mean.

"THE Agency will show, in a concrete way, the solidarity of francophones through actions which make a great impression on public opinion. In case of a catastrophe occurring in one of the countries of the group, the Agency would quickly organise assistance for the victims." The Agency is the *Agence de Coopération*, the plan for which, submitted to the conference of French-speaking Ministers of Education in Niamey last December, was announced at the January 1968 "summit" meeting of OCAM, the organisation of French-speaking African states.

In case of disasters, it is suggested, there should be an international francophone "ORSEC plan" (the plan put into operation in France in such emergencies). Other suggestions include a scientific translation pool which would avoid the necessity for "African students to learn automatically English or Russian when they are interested in the scientific disciplines"; promotion of French-language films to "fight the presence of

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large numbers of Anglo-Saxon films, especially in Africa"; and the setting up of a chain of francophone hotels to maintain the role of the French language in the business world at a time when the Anglo-Saxon countries "are gradually imposing the generalisation of the English to the detriment of the cultural and indeed economic interests of all the francophone countries." Also suggested is a "common francophone front" in international organisations.

A provisional budget has been prepared for the Agency, which would organise mutual assistance, often by-passing France, usually of a technical kind: in education, cultural and information matters, youth, work and sport. In short, a "francophone UNESCO" is suggested. The provisional budget is 1,500m. CFA francs (about £2.5m.), about a tenth of the UNESCO budget, and members' contributions will be fixed in much the same manner. Minimum contribution, it is suggested, could be one per cent (UNESCO's minimum is 0.04 per cent). The overall budget may be reduced for the first couple of years until the Agency has run itself in. It is expected it could start functioning by 1970.

Contributions to the budget of 45 per cent (France—less than one per cent of the country's bilateral aid programme), 20 per cent (Quebec), and ten per cent (Belgium) are suggested, with the remaining 25 per cent coming from the 17 or so other members. The OCAM secretariat considers the Agency's HQ should be in Paris: this need not be "misinter-

preted" because many other international organisations have HQs in Paris and because if it were sited elsewhere, efficiency would be affected. Liaison with the French Secretariat of State for Co-operation—it is throughout insisted that the Agency would not tread on the toes of established aid organisations—and with UNESCO itself would also be easier. For geographical reasons (who could dispute this?) an HQ in Paris would make running costs far cheaper than if it were situated in, say, Dakar, Montreal or Phnom-Penh.

The Agency would encourage co-operation among French-speaking African countries themselves as well as between new aid sources—Quebec, Belgium, Switzerland—and Africa. It will first of all act as an information clearing house on bilateral co-operation—African states have little knowledge about what Quebec could do for them, because of the absence of diplomatic relations. And, say the authors of the project, the Algerians do not know much about the technical training assistance that could be provided by Switzerland or Belgium—a suggestion that contains an element of wishful thinking in view of Algeria's unenthusiastic attitude to the whole idea of "francophone."

By extension from this role of information, the Agency would liaise with communities isolated in non-French-speaking areas, such as the Franco-Ontarians, and also between the smaller francophone states which often do not have diplomatic relations with each other.

One of the organisation's main aims would be to organise multilateral technical assistance programmes—like campaigns, extension of the Niger and TV project to other educationally backward countries, an international francophone youth board and common action against endemic diseases. It is argued that there is no shortage of qualified personnel—Vietnamese and Haitian exiles in Paris, the Dahomean and Togolese surpluses of teachers, doctors and technicians of all kinds. It would be far cheaper to send the latter to Congo-Kinshasa or to Niger than to Frenchmen or Canadians. For recruitment of co-operants the Agency would act as a labour exchange.

One of the main themes of the plan is that, in the long run, the effect of the "diffusion of French" would be considerably reduced. Fuller use would be made of universities outside France to take some of the pressure off the "metropolis", and research institutions throughout the francophone world be used more fully and developed.

It is also proposed to shoulder part of the burden of France's efforts in francophone countries—it is suggested that Dahomeans and Togolese should teach French in Ghana or Zambia, Haitians and French Canadians in America. Besides the suggestion of a chain of hotels, common tourism campaigns and the common "defence of French language in international congresses" are proposed.

This is by no means a full account of the proposals made in the plan—of concern travel scholarships, book publishing, film sponsorship, clubs and lines of the local UNESCO clubs: co-operation would not be limited to what the rich countries can give to poor. Some suggestions are eminently sensible and indeed have already become reality on a limited, usually bilateral scale. Others are perhaps a little idealistic. Considerable diplomatic support will also be required from the agencies in its activities in bilingual countries and states where French is not the official language, such as Canada, Belgium, Switzerland, the Maghreb countries, South-East Asian states and Mauritania.

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The Course is concerned with a sociological and economic analysis of development and of the industrialization process. The programme focuses on organizational systems in industry, theory and practice of personnel management, theories of conflict and co-operation, the role and organization of trade unions, labour legislation and administration, wage and price policy, manpower planning, social security.

Exchange of experiences by the participants is of primary importance. The Course is meant for Labour Administrators in Government and Industry, Trade Union Leaders and Training Officials.

Duration of the Course: 8 September 1969—22 May 1970. Applications must be submitted by 1 May 1969.

The Course is open to:

1. University graduates with at least four years of experience.
2. Persons with highly qualified professional experience who hold responsible policy-making posts.

A sound knowledge of the English language is essential.

Registration fee: Dfls 35.—. Tuition fee: Dfls 1,360.—. Field Work fee: Dfls 500.—. Costs of living approx. Dfls 500.— monthly. Scholarships are available under Dutch and International technical assistance schemes.

Further information and application forms are available at the

Institute of Social Studies, 27 Molenstraat, The Hague, Netherlands,
or the Dutch Embassies in the various countries.

Why the Tax Riots?

By a Nigerian Correspondent

RECENT agitation in Nigeria, not only in the Western State, has some been interpreted abroad as implying support for the Nigerian Federal Government's war aims and effort. Closer analysis would show that explanation is much more complex.

For two years the mass of the people in Nigeria have resigned themselves to the inevitable hardship which armed conflict brings. It is only fair to recall long before the Federal Government introduced new fiscal measures dic-

by the war, many Nigerians had started voluntarily to contribute to the Armed Forces Comfort Fund. But while the people are certainly willing to contribute to the war effort, the recent agitation is aimed to bring other aspects of their difficulties to the Government's notice.

The stringent, if essential, import controls complicate an already precarious economic situation, in particular for those engaged in private business—it should be appreciated that this group constitute the greater proportion of rate-and-tax-payers in the Federation. These restrictions have certainly had an adverse effect on women traders in the southern part of the country, many of whom constitute the economic mainstay of their families. In spite of the drop in their monthly turnover following the import restrictions, a large proportion continue to meet heavy business overheads, such as rents for shops, and payment for staff retained in anticipation of the boom everyone hopes will accompany the Government's reconstruction programmes after the war.

There was also the propaganda by supporters of Chief Awolowo during his sojourn in Calabar prison. They claimed that his release would usher in a period of prosperity. It is almost two years since his release, but economically things have become very much worse.

Obviously it is the war, which nobody could have foreseen at the time of his release, which is to blame. But his detractors, who appear to have been growing in number ever since then, now take delight in recalling that the economic measures which have helped to complicate matters were introduced by Chief Awolowo himself, as Federal Commissioner for Finance.

Another regrettable reason for discontent has been the sudden acquisition of wealth by those sections of the Nigerian Army to whom General Gowon referred, in a recent statement, as the few black sheep within the fold. Nigerian newspapers, like *The Tribune* at Ibadan, had earlier confirmed speculation that many of the magnificent buildings springing up in parts of Lagos, Ikeja, Illupeju and Ibadan are in fact owned by army men and those close to them. The newspaper went so far as to demand an inquiry into the assets of army personnel and their friends.

There is no doubt that the Federal Military Government is concerned at reports of corruption within the army and that concerted efforts are constantly being made to weed out the "black sheep", whose actions of commission and omission are dragging the good name of the Army, earned in the Congo and enhanced by its performance in the war, into disrepute.

What is really disturbing about government efforts to sort out the "black sheep" has been lack of information on what has so far been achieved. This silence has led to the erroneous speculation that the army leadership has

acquiesced in the activities of this extremely limited group within its fold.

In the Western State, where discontent has been most pronounced, misconceived programmes of the independence government contribute to the current economic muddle. Money wisely accumulated over the years by the "colonial masters" as reserves was invested, in the main, on ill-considered social services, without any attempt to improve the earnings of the people. The result has been the agitation, with complaints against high rates of taxation.

For example, small villages were electrified without any attempt to find out whether the villagers would be in a position to meet the running costs. The amenities provided, on the other hand, were not such as could stop the migration of youths to the cities in search of work which did not exist at home.

Patients have had to resort to buying medicine at chemist shops in spite of the much vaunted health scheme; for hospitals built at great cost to the people lack essential drugs.

Even the much publicised Free Primary Education system in the State has failed to achieve the desired results, and many of the hurriedly built classrooms are now in ruin. Those who can afford it prefer to send their children to fee-paying schools, and those still forced by circumstances to send their children to "free" schools have had to hire teachers to coach them at home. Yet this is the scheme on which successive governments were forced, perhaps,

against their better judgment, to spend 30 per cent. of recurrent expenditure.

The Mid-Western State Government has been luckier in laying permanently to rest the ghosts of the former civilian rulers; it is now free to undertake a critical review of policies with a view to making changes were necessary. This, unfortunately, has not been the lot of the West Government, haunted by the ghosts of the former civilian rulers.

As recently as last month, the very energetic civilian Commissioner for Education in the West, Dr. Omololu Olunloyo, was forced to cry out against those he claimed to be trying to scare him from his chosen path of vigorously and honestly aiding the military regime in its task of rebuilding the country. He alleged then that "some people have given the impression that they equate a re-examination of the educational system with an attempt to indict them for their past contributions to the system we now have".

This forthright and accurate assessment by Dr. Olunloyo of the reaction to desirable changes by the former civilian rulers of the State, came after a violent attack launched on him at the meeting of "leaders of thought" last December for his part in suggesting reforms to the Free Primary Education system. Unless there is a change in the thinking of such former rulers, and pretty soon, the future will remain bleak for the State that once took pride in being described as "the pace-setter".

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commercial news

KAINJI DAM OPENED

THE Niger Dam at Kainji was opened on Feb. 15 by Gen Gowon, head of the Federal Military Government. Already supplying Lagos with power, the hydroelectric dam has four turbines now in use, which are expected to suffice for Nigeria's major centres and new areas throughout the 1970s. Initial capacity for the power stations is 320 MW.

The dam itself is 1,800 feet wide and 215 feet high, and the lake behind it stretches, at times, as far upstream as the border with Dahomey and Nigeria. It is eventually planned to raise generating capacity to 960 megawatts, with twelve generating sets.

The eventual cost of the dam was estimated at \$245.5m., or £100m., considerably more than the estimate of about £68m. when the dam was made the major project in Nigeria's 1962-68 development plan. The dam, which the chairman of the Niger Dams Authority—Mr. J. H. Ings, of Canada—called "a major project by any standards" in the opening ceremony, is also one of the biggest World Bank-financed projects in Africa: the Bank has loaned a total of \$96m.

for the project, nearly forty per cent of the total cost, including \$14.5m. loaned last November General Gowon, saying it is a "source of pride" for Nigeria that the dam had been completed despite the crisis, thanked the World Bank, the UK, Canada, the USA, the Netherlands and Italy, for their aid.

Impregilo of Milan, as main contractors for the dam, began work in 1964. Many other firms were involved. Merz and McLellan (UK) became consultants together with Balfour Beatty and Nedeco. Contracts for electrical and mechanical projects went to English Electric (for the turbines), Voste of Austria (for intake gates and spillway gates), Provincial Engineering of Canada (for overhead cranes), and ASEA of Sweden (for generators and generator transformers), and for general mechanical equipment to GIE of Italy. Miscellaneous mechanical plant is provided by the UK firms of Mather & Platt and Haydn (Nigeria); and a road-rail low loader by Head Wrightson (Teesdale), also of the UK. (See article in *West Africa*, Feb. 8.)

Adomakoh for FAO

Mr. Albert Adomakoh, Ghana's Commissioner for Agriculture, has been appointed deputy director-general of the Food and Agricultural Organisation. He will take the post on April 1 in succession to Mekki Abbas of the Sudan, and will be the department dealing with economic and social questions.

Appointed Commissioner for Agriculture and Fisheries a year ago, Mr. Adomakoh had previously been Governor of the Bank of Ghana and, before that, chairman of the National Investment Bank.



The snow-covered Elder Dempster liner Aureol has sailed from Liverpool with a complement of 259 first class and 117 other class passengers, for the 13-day voyage to Lagos. Several tourists are among the passengers.

Lorho Profit up

Lorho's net profit in 1968 was £4.2m compared with £2.2m the previous year after tax of £2.8m. (£1.3m.) A large part of the rise was due to Cominière, recently purchased by Lorho and the third largest company trading in the Congo. This year Lorho is due to start survey work for a line from Central Africa to the Atlas through the Congo. If profits were added from David Whitehead (with its holding Kaduna Textiles) and Ashanti Goldfields Lorho's total profits were about £7.7m.

Lorho, which has taken over Asha Goldfields, is to build a 400,000-cedi brewery in Tamale, to brew beer similar to "pils" from maize, guinea corn and other local materials. This, with the Accra and Kumasi breweries, and another being built at Takoradi, is expected to fill all Ghana needs.

Ghana Cocoa Crops

Ghana's current crop cocoa purchases stopped on March 6, but final purchases will be accepted until March 16. Purchases the week ending February 13 were under 2,000 tons, bringing a total for the week to 313,000.

Overseas buyers quote rumours that Nigerian Produce Marketing Company is planning to repurchase some of its current crop cocoa, possibly to meet recent commitments to the USSR. There is confirmation of this.

Cameroon purchases until February were nearly 76,000 tons—9,000 more than the corresponding date last year.

Henry Gardiner reports that a Soviet trade mission has recently visited the Coast and that Russia may seek replacement for about 10,000-15,000 tons of cocoa, which Ghana may not be able to deliver (Ghana still owes some cocoa promised to the USSR in December, 1965).



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World Bank Aids NIBD

A LOAN of \$6m. has been given by the World Bank to the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank (NIBD) to provide the foreign exchange NIBD expects to need during the next two years for financing private industrial enterprises. NIBD was organised as a privately owned development finance company in 1964 with technical assistance from the World Bank's affiliate, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), which also subscribed the equivalent of nearly \$1.4m., or a quarter of NIBD's ordinary share capital.

NIBD, says a World Bank statement, has made a notable contribution to development of new industries. Its clients, who have received loans and investments amounting to the equivalent of about \$10.3m., are producing textiles, metal, rubber and paper products, food and beverages, furniture, radios, paint, footwear, ceramics and sugar.

NIBD's business grew rapidly in its first two years but then dropped off, reflecting the general slowdown resulting from the disturbances. The long-term prospects of the Nigerian company, however, says the World Bank, are favourable. The large internal market offers a good base for further industrial growth and economies of scale in manufacturing. Expansion of NIBD's operations in the next few years depends largely on its ability to make commitments in foreign exchange.

All NIBD's resources are in Nigerian currency. At June 30, 1968 these amounted to the equivalent of \$US15.57m. (£N5.56m.) made up of paid-in capital of \$6.3m., Nigerian Government loans of \$8.4m., and \$870,000 of reserves and retained earnings. The last portion of a government loan, amounting to \$2.8m. will be available in the first half of 1969. The World Bank will provide the foreign exchange NIBD expects to need to the end of 1970 to complement its local currency resources.

The loan will be guaranteed by the Federal Government. Interest will be at 6½ per cent. per annum. Repayment will conform approximately to repayments received by NIBD on its own sub-loans from World Bank funds, which will not normally extend for periods beyond 15 years.

● An "Operation Rubber 1969" has been launched in the Mid-West State, Nigeria's chief area of rubber production. The State Governor has said income to the state from rubber fell by £8m. from 1965 to 1968. There will be a new rubber division in the Agriculture Ministry, to train tappers, develop rubber tapping and processing in several government centres and other places, and help farmers and co-operatives.

● The six shipping lines belonging to the UK-West Africa Lines Joint Service have launched an export promotion programme for British goods in West Africa, combined with informing British exporters of opportunities.

● The Nigerian Federal Government has agreed to contribute £29,000 towards the Nigerian Tourist Association's £31,000 budget for 1969-70. A new Nigerian Tourist Guide has been published.

● Ways of increasing private foreign investment in developing countries were discussed by a United Nations meeting in Amsterdam from February 16 to 20.

New Eko Bridge in Lagos



The 19m. Eko bridge was opened on Feb. 8 by General Gowon. The span across the bay is 5,000 feet, but with approaches the bridge is three miles long.

Yaounde II

Lagos' second bridge linking the Island to the mainland, now completed, has been under construction since January 1966, shortly after the contract was signed between the Government and Julius Berger AG of Düsseldorf. It was financed by a £6.5m. loan from the West German Government (which was represented at the opening ceremony). Eventually about 1,500 Nigerians and 45 expatriates were working on the bridge, which is expected to relieve the pressure of traffic in Lagos; this has been

worsened by bottlenecks on the Carter Bridge, for nearly 40 years the only bridge between the Island and the mainland. 12,000 people were displaced by the bridge.

The Commissioner for Communications said the bridge was the first completed part of a complex also to include the Brewery Roundabout, Ijora Causeway, Apapa Road, Western Avenue and Agege Motor Road. The German Government, according to the head of its delegation at the bridge opening ceremony, will provide financial aid for modern roads to link the bridge with the road system at both ends.

Latest reports from Brussels suggest the new Yaounde Convention linking 18 associates to the EEC has little chance of being ratified by the time the present Convention runs out on May 31. As a result the EEC Commission is now preparing proposals for a transitional period between the end of the present agreement and the start of the new one.

The delay stems from slow preparatory work. It is believed that the "IR" and the "Six" may reach agreement on a new convention by the expiry date, but that it will not be ratified by all the Parliaments concerned in time. By May 31, the Commission will have little credit left for new projects in Africa, and a hiatus would risk reducing the Community's activity in the African countries (about £600m. of the present £730m. Development Fund has been committed). Commission circles therefore hope that member states will allow the Commission to continue technical studies for future projects in Africa so they can swing into operation as soon as the convention is ratified. These circles also hope that professional training undertaken by the Community would not be hampered by the ratification delay.

The next major ministerial meeting on the renewal will be in Brussels on March 26.

● Latest African aid from EEC through its development fund include \$7,392,000 (£3,080,041) towards the construction of a new airport for jet airliners about 14 kilometres (about eight miles) from Bamako, Mali; \$1,710,000 (£712,500) as the third instalment of a production aid programme for Togo; \$226,855 (£94,522) for the planting of 100 hectares (about 247 acres) of

peper plants in CAR; \$280,000 (£116,666) towards a female education campaign in Niger, and \$1,009,000 (£420,416) agricultural aid for Cameroon.

All the aid is non-repayable apart from that to the CAR, which is in the form of a loan on special terms.

BNEC Visits

Three representatives of the British National Export Council's Africa Committee have completed a fact-finding visit to Liberia and Senegal, lasting from Feb. 1 to 13. They were Mr. B. J. Jennings, Assistant Secretary of the Committee; Mr. T. P. Randall, deputy director of the Clothing Export Council, and Mr. G. A. Hannah, Managing Director of Peggson Ltd., manufacturers of mining equipment.

A similar fact-finding visit to Sierra Leone and The Gambia, begun on Feb. 8, was due to finish this week. It was made by Sir Arthur Smith, Chairman of the BNEC Africa Committee (and of the UAC), and Mr. J. B. Davis, Executive Secretary of the Committee.

● Mr. Frederick Seebom, Chairman of Barclays Bank DCO, has been appointed a director of the Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation.

● A double ended vehicle ferry worth £63,000 has been ordered for The Gambia from James & Stone of Bnghillingsea.

Ghana Surcharge

Ghana has imposed a five per cent surcharge on imports under open general licence, with effect from Feb. 13. (Details next week.)

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SITUATIONS VACANT

UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

Applications are invited for (a) SENIOR LECTURESHIP and (b) LECTURESHIP or (c) ASSISTANT LECTURESHIP IN THE FACULTY OF LAW. There are no particular areas of specialisation required, but it would be advantageous if candidates are able to teach Jurisprudence and Legal Theory, Nigeria Land Law, Industrial Law, or Mercantile Law. Positions tenable from September, 1969 or soonest thereafter. Salary scales: (a) £N2,375—£N2,575 p.a. (b) £N1,200—£N2,175 p.a. (c) £N950—£N1,150 p.a. (ENI—£1 3s 4d sterling). Salary supplemented in appropriate cases in range £190—£315 p.a. (sterling) under British Expatriates' Superannuation Scheme; various allowances; family passages; regular overseas leave. Detailed applications (6 copies) naming 3 referees by 18th April, 1969 to Inter-University Council, 90/91 Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1, from whom particulars are available.

UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

Applications are invited for the following appointments in the School of Mathematical and Physical Sciences tenable from September 1969 or soonest thereafter—
(a) ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN INORGANIC, ORGANIC OR PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY.
(b) PROFESSOR, SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN MATHEMATICS. Interest in development of, and ability to teach in, Algebra, Topology, Numerical Analysis, Probability Theory, and Computer Programming will be an advantage.
(c) SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN (i) THEORETICAL PHYSICS, (ii) SOLID STATE PHYSICS, (iii) X-RAY CRYSTALLOGRAPHY, (iv) APPLIED GEOPHYSICS.

Salary scales: Professor £N3,000 p.a. Associate Professor £N2,750 p.a. Senior Lecturer £N2,375—£N2,575 p.a. Lecturer £N1,200—£N2,175 p.a. (ENI—£1 3s 4d sterling). Salary supplemented in appropriate cases in range £240—£600 p.a. (sterling) under British Expatriates' Superannuation Scheme; various allowances; family passages; regular overseas leave. Detailed applications (6 copies) naming 3 referees by 18 April 1969 to Inter-University Council, 90/91 Tottenham Court Road, London W.1, from whom particulars are available.

FGBE OMO EGBA (GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON)

This is to inform the general public that at the Annual General Meeting of Ebe Omo Egba (Great Britain) held on Sunday, 12th January 1969, at 1 Haza Crescent, London, S.W.1, the following were elected as officers for the year 1969—

1. President—Mr. Rahem Sotekan
2. Vice-President—Mr. Kola Solanké
3. Lady President—Deleked
4. General Secretary—Mr. R. O. Afanjan
5. Asst. Secretary—Mr. A. A. Ogundele
6. Financial Secretary—Mr. R. S. Sotande
7. Treasurer—Mr. N. A. Odusolu
8. Social Secretary—Mr. S. O. Alli
9. Publicity Secretary—Mr. G. O. Anomahobé
10. The Welfare Officer—
Mr. M. I. Adenekan
Mr. H. O. Kehinde
11. The Two Unofficial Members—
Mr. Wale Adediji
Mr. M. O. Oduloye
12. Auditor—Mr. O. A. Soboyede

Publicity Secretary:
G. O. Anomahobé,
8 Boundary Lane,
London, S.E.17,
01-781 8187.

NB Please send all future communications to the General Secretary—Mr. R. O. Afanjan, 105 Cornwallis Road, London, N.19. Telephone 01-272 9820.

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Tel: 01-314 1219.

SITUATIONS VACANT—Continued

NIGERIAN PRODUCE MARKETING COMPANY LIMITED STAFF VACANCY

Applications are invited from suitably qualified and experienced Nigerians for appointment to the post of General Manager under the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Limited. All candidates applying for the above-mentioned post must comply with the following conditions—

(a) **AGE**—Not below 35 nor above 45 years.
(b) **QUALIFICATIONS**—Honours Degree in Economics or Commerce or Business Administration.

(c) **EXPERIENCE**—Must have served for at least 10 years in a Senior Administrative and/or Managerial capacity; at present, must be occupying a position of very high capacity in either of these fields; even though not compulsory knowledge of commodities in which the Company deals is most desirable.

(d) **DUTIES**—The General Manager would be responsible to the Board of Directors of the Nigeria Produce Marketing Company Limited and Bulk Oil Plants of Nigeria Limited for the efficient administration of the Companies' affairs. Responsible to carry out the Sales Policy of the Company as laid down from time to time. He will be in charge of general supervision and take policy decisions with regard to day-to-day administration and functions of all the departments of the Company. Represent the Company at meetings of the Board of Directors of the Nigerian National Shipping Line. Represent the country at some United Nations and International Conference as UNCTAD, FAO, Cocoa Producers' Alliance, African Groundnut Council etc. Liaise with Federal Ministry of Trade with regard to trade policy and Marketing Board in connection with quantity and quality of produce available for export. Interview members of Overseas Trade Delegations and individuals interested in Nigeria's Export of controlled agricultural produce, e.g. Groundnuts, Cotton Lint, Cotton Seed, Cocoa, Palm Produce, Beniseed, Ginger etc.

(e) **REFERENCES**—Names of three persons in responsible positions, not relatives, should be submitted.

(f) **CONDITIONS OF SERVICE**—Salary: £4,500 per annum. Fully furnished residential accommodation at the usual rent of 1/12th of basic salary (8½%) with a leave entitlement of 42 days per annum. Motor basic allowance of £18 10s. per month. Annual benefits scheme for its permanent staff.

METHOD OF APPLICATION—Applications, in duplicate, must be registered at Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Trade, Broad Street, Lagos, to reach him not later than 1st March, 1969.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Continued on page 219.

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2. The sampling and the chemical and physical tests on the cement product to ensure conformance with British Standard Specifications.

Also, the successful applicant will be required to participate and contribute with the technical staff towards plans for expansion in plant capacity and for reduction in manufacturing costs.

The salary payable is £3,600 Nigerian per annum, and there are substantial fringe benefits.

Applications should be addressed, with full details of qualifications and experience, to the GENERAL MANAGER, MNDC, PMB 2120, KADUNA. Applications should be received in this office not later than three weeks

SITUATIONS VACANT—Continued

NIGERIAN EXTERNAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS LIMITED
VACANCY FOR THE POST OF
SENIOR TELECOMMUNICATIONS ENGINEER

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Nigerians for the post of Senior Telecommunications Engineer.

(a) Qualifications:

Possession of a good B.Sc. Degree in Electrical Engineering from a recognised University, with emphasis on subjects in telecommunications.

A second degree in special studies in circuit and digital techniques or related topics would be an advantage.

(b) Practical Experience:

Two (2) years post graduate training in establishments approved by an internationally recognised Institution of Electrical Engineers.

Plus, minimum four years additional working experience in relevant fields including any of the following: Network Analysis and Systems Planning, Design of Switching and Logic circuits, Digital Computer System Operation.

(c) Membership of an internationally recognised Institution of Electrical Engineers will be an advantage.**Conditions of Service:**

Salary scale: £1,825 p.a. x 75—£2,050 p.a.

The successful candidate would be given further training in telecommunications network planning, system development and traffic engineering.

Method of Application:

Applications should give full details as regards age, marital status, educational qualifications including names of all institutions attended, post graduate training including details of any special studies, work experience and salary; and the names of two referees. Envelopes should be marked "Application—Senior Telecommunications Engineer" and addressed to:

The Secretary,

Nigerian External Telecommunications Limited,
Necom House, 15 Marina, P.O. Box 173, Lagos,

to reach him not later than 29th March, 1969.

Only applications of those selected for interview will be acknowledged.

F. K. OLOWU, Secretary to the Company

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF
CAPE COAST, GHANA

DEVELOPMENT OFFICE

Applications are invited for the following posts:—

(1) Director of Development

Applicants must be qualified Architects with at least 7 years' practical experience in dealing with comprehensive architectural development and maintenance problems of a growing University or in a similar field.

Duties: (i) Co-ordinating the planning and execution of capital works;
(ii) organising the Development and
(iii) liaising with Consultants.

Salary: NC6,400 per annum plus non-taxable inducement allowance of NC600 p.a. for expatriates.

(2) Architect

Applicants must be members of the Ghana Institute of Architects or members of the Royal Institute of British Architects and must have at least five years post-graduate experience. Tropical experience desirable, but not essential.

Salary: Either (a) NC6,000 per annum fixed or (b) on the scale NC4,500 x 180—NC5,560 per annum.

(3) Works/Maintenance Engineer

Applicants must be graduates in Civil Engineering and should also be Associate Members of the Institute of Civil Engineers with not less than seven years' post-qualification experience. Membership of other Engineering Institutions will be an advantage, but not essential.

Salary Scales: Either (a) NC4,500 x 180—NC5,560 per annum or (b) NC6,000 per annum fixed. A non-taxable inducement allowance of NC480 per annum payable to expatriates.

In all cases, appointment normally for six years in the first instance, but shorter periods will be considered. In appropriate cases, tax-free salary supplementation payable under British Expatriates Supplementation Scheme. Other allowances: subsidised accommodation. (NC2-45=£1 sterling.)

Further particulars and application forms obtainable from Assistant Registrar (UCCC), Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, with whom applications should be lodged not later than 14th March, 1969.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF CAPE COAST,
GHANA

Overseas Office, London

Applications are invited for the post of SECRETARY. Applicants must be proficient in shorthand and typewriting and possess at least "O" level qualification in English language.

Salary scale: £600 by 60—£840 by 50—£1,040. Entry according to qualifications and experience. Usual benefits.

Applications stating age, qualifications and experience (if any) and naming three referees to: The Assistant Registrar (UCCC), Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, by 15th March 1969.

SITUATIONS VACANT—Continued

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Applications containing details of age, education and experience to date, should be addressed to:—

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The Shell Company of Nigeria Ltd.

has vacancies for qualified Nigerian Engineers and Arts graduates in its sales organisation.

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Applications containing details of age, education and experience to date, should be addressed to:—

Manager, Personnel Development and Training.

Shell Company of Nigeria Limited,

P. M. B. 2052,

LAGOS.

NOTICES

OGBOHOSO PARAPO GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND

At their annual Convention held on Sunday, 16th February 1969 the PARAPO elected the following officers for the current year:—

President—Olu Oyetire
 Vice-President—O. Akande
 Gen. Secretary—T. Akanji
 Asst. Secretary—Bamidele Oyelowo
 Treasurer—Goke Akinla
 Financial Secretary—Gbade Adedokola
 Publicity Secretary—Dunni Ayandipo
 Auditor—Hajo Akande
 Social Secretary—A. Adeniran
 Asst. Social Secretary—O. Akanji
 Secretary Midlands—Mr. Tommie Oyetunde
 Secretary Manchester—Mr. Ifer
 Secretary Manchester—Mr. Alagbe
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ONDO UNION—UK AND IRE LECTURE LECTURE LECTURE

There will be a lecture on Sunday, 23rd February, 1969, organised by the Ondo Union.

Speaker: Mr. D. Omosone, B.A. (Lond.)
 First Sec: Political, Nigeria High Commission, London.

Subject: "Nigeria Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow"

Place: The Friendship House, Springfield Methodist Church, 200 Wandsworth Road, S.W.8

Time: 2-6 p.m.

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MEETINGS

WESTERN STATE (NIGERIA) STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

At a recent meeting of the students of
 the Western State origin, a committee
 of five was elected to prepare a draft
 constitution and to convey a meeting of
 divisional unions' representatives for
 consideration.

A meeting has been fixed for March 2,
 1969 at a place and time to be
 announced later. All divisional unions
 of the Western State should please for-
 ward their addresses to:

MR. FEMI KILA.

119 Roundwood Road, N.W.10

IKEJA DIVISIONAL UNION

The inaugural meeting of the above-
 named Union
 will be held on

**Sunday, 23rd February, 1969,
 at 2 p.m. prompt.**

All Indigenous citizens from Agbe-
 Ikeja and Mushin Districts are cor-
 dially invited to attend.

Meeting place: 9 City Mansions,
 North Rd., London, N.7. Nearest
 tube station, Caledonian Road Bus
 14, 17, 221, 196, 127, 253

Conveners: R. B. A. Jafaja,
 A. A. Shongobiyi.

MEETINGS—Continued

MUSLIM ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA (LONDON BRANCH) MONTHLY GENERAL MEETING

Brothers and sisters in Islam, our next general meeting takes place on Sunday, 23rd February, 1969, at the Nigeria Centre and Hostel, 20 Inverness Terrace, London, W.2, from 3 to 6 p.m. New members are welcomed.

- Agenda —
1. Minutes of last meeting and matters therein
 2. Correspondence
 3. THE IMAN SPEAKS
 4. Enrolment of new numbers.
 5. Finance.
 6. General.
- B. Kayode Fashola, Publicity Secretary

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dateline Africa

GHANA

Assembly discusses First Clauses

MR. S. G. ANTOR, former leader of the Togoland Congress (which advocated the union of all Ewes in both French Togo and British Togoland, as they then were), proposed in the Constituent Assembly that the name of the Volta Region should be changed back to "Trans-Volta Togoland," the name used in colonial days. The proposal, made during the debate on the draft Constitution's article dealing with the regions, was opposed by members representing Krachi district and the Volta region market women, and was rejected.

After the decision on February 7 to adopt the Constitutional Commission's proposals for consideration, the Constituent Assembly decided to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole house to discuss the proposals clause by clause. This was decided on February 11, after a motion by Mr. E. H. Boohene (Akwapim district), managing director of Ghana Airways, suggesting creation of ten committees of 14 members each, to discuss different parts of the constitution, had been defeated.

Earlier, the Jirapa-Na had called for a Special Commissioner for Food Production and exploration of the north's mineral resources, and for restrictions on immigration of Syrians and Lebanese; and, until stopped by objections from women present, criticised some Ghanaian girls for "nudeity in practice." Mr. J. E. Sekyere (Attehubu) said Chiefs should be above politics and the old Local Authority police should be brought back.

One Committee or Ten?

The proposal for ten committees was said by two judges who were Assembly members to be out of order, and the Speaker said a suggestion by Mr. William Ofori Atta—that the debate on the principles should be taken as the first and second readings of the Bill (Constitutional Proposals)—ought to be accepted (Mr. Ofori Atta seconded a motion for a Committee of the whole House). Then the Attorney-General intervened, and journalists were ordered out of the Assembly Chamber at Parliament House. Later the Assembly voted for a Committee of the whole House.

Then the Assembly made its first concrete decision by voting overwhelmingly in favour of Article 1 of the Constitution, providing for a Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution. Article 3 was also endorsed.

The next day there was a heated debate on Article 3 of Chapter 1 of the Constitution, which seeks to declare that any organisation, activity or propaganda by speech, writing or other means which is opposed to democracy shall be unlawful. Dr. Obed Asamoah proposed deletion of the article, and many speakers condemned it, saying it would allow the Government too much power. It was argued that if the people of Ghana wished to have Communism, they should be allowed to have it. Mrs. Susanna de Graff Johnson then intervened

to appeal to members to stand against Communism and, if possible, ban it in Ghana. Dr. Jones Ofori Atta (University of Ghana) spoke against the deletion motion and suggested mere amendment. Then Mr. Boohene and another member said the deletion motion was contrary to the Assembly's Standing Orders anyway, since these forbade any "amendment to delete the whole of the Article." There were plenty of heated disputes before the Speaker said Dr. Asamoah's motion was out of order.

Mr. Richard Quarshie (NLC nominee) proposed a compromise amendment saying that any efforts to organise a party for creation of a one-party state or suppression of individual rights should be banned. In the debates on this article Mr. Kwesi Lampy said it was diabolical and dangerous. Mr. B. J. da Rocha (Bar Association) said it could not defend democracy as it was intended to do. Mr. Joseph Amamoo (NLC nominee), editor of the *Ghanaian Times*, said such provisions had been used in other countries for trampling on people's rights. Mr. Joe Appah (Bar Association) said Article 3 would take away liberties provided for in Article 25. Another amendment, proposed by Mr. R. E. Bannerman (Accra-Tema City) to outlaw the one-party state and any bid aimed at suppressing freedom and individual rights, was adopted.

The debate on the regions began on Feb. 13. Among those who opposed the change of the name of the Volta Region back to the original "Trans-Volta Togoland" was Togbe Adedza II, Awoamefia of Anlo and Chairman of the Region's House of Chiefs. Mr. F. E. Boatene (Senior Civil Servants Association), principal secretary at the External Affairs Ministry, said the Assembly should not be made a forum for political discussion.

NLC Men Named in Probe

Three NLC members have been mentioned in evidence at the Amisash Commission as having been approached by plotters. When public hearings at the Commission (enquiring into allegations against Air Marshal Otu) resumed last week after several days of hearings *in camera*, an official summary of evidence at the secret sessions was published, mentioning the evidence about the three—Brig. Akwasi Afrifa, Major-Gen. Albert Ocran (since Air Defence Staff) and Mr. B. A. Yakubu, Deputy Police Commissioner.

Brig. Afrifa, one of the two major architects of the 1966 coup, was alleged to have been approached while in London, and Gen. Ocran was said to have met Mr. Kwesi Amah, formerly Ghana High Commissioner in the UK, in London at the London residence of Mr. Oscar Kamahona, the former Foreign Minister of Tanzania. Mr. Yakubu, it was alleged, helped a contact

man—sent, allegedly, from London to Air Marshal Otu—to escape to Togo.

Ghana's High Commissioner in the Major Seth Anthony, said in evidence at the Amisash Commission last week that he had received in April 1967 information about Otu alleging his involvement in a plot. He had been shown two sets of letters supposedly written by Air Marshal Otu, and had sent copies of them to Gen. Kotoka, who had the went on to state that there was nothing to worry about where Otu was concerned.

Earlier, a former security officer, T. A. Laquaye, had quoted Dr. Nkrumah saying in Guinea that he would for better political party and "turn Ghana the first Communist state in Africa," ex-President, he said, then pulled a pistol and said, in Twi, "This time serious," accusing Ghanaians of spying by "dishonesty" his previous attempt to regain power. He also said, according to the witness, that the Guinea Government had stopped paying him interest on the £10m. loan to Guinea.

The Government has voted NCEC for resettlement of four villages near Berekese dam, in Ashanti. The Bar resettlement sub-committee, meeting at Regional Office, has requested the L. Department to acquire lands.

The chairman of the Ghana Employers' Association for 1969-70, is Mr. C. C. Baah, a leading industrialist with a varied companies. The vice-chairman is Mr. A. W. Wood.

The *Pioneer* reports that the plan for 1.7m.-cedi extensions to Kumasi area may be abandoned.

CAMEROON

On National Youth Day (February anniversary of the 1961 referendum which led to the unification of East and West Cameroon) President Ahidjo, in a message to youth, said Africa and Cameroon preserve their personalities and protect them from outside influences which "do not correspond with their moral and cultural aspirations." He referred to "mimicking of clothes fashions, an unstable taste for a sort of music which put it mildly—is far from embellishing manners, an attitude of disrespect for elders, and the imitation here and there those disputes which seem likely to be an epidemic of university institutions.

A *Cameroon Correspondent* writes: The names of Divisions in West Cameroon have been changed with effect from month, by recent Presidential decree. Victoria Division now becomes Fako (ex Victoria); Kumba becomes Meme (ex Kumba); Ndiang division remains (capital, Mundemba); Manfe division becomes Cross River (HQ, M. Bamenda is now Mezam (Bamun Gwofon becomes Momo (Mbengue), is now Bui (Kumbo); Wum is now Metchem (capital, Wum), and Ndiang division becomes Donge Mantung (Ndiang).

The Higher Council for national Education has proposed the start of the academic year as the deadline for full implementation of the educational reforms in both East and West Cameroon, was announced recently by the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of National Education, M. Gilbert Ntang, after a conference of the harmonisation of syllabus methods for secondary schools throughout the Federal Republic, in Douala.

SIERRA LEONE

Inauguration of the University

STAFF of the two constituent colleges of the University of Sierra Leone, which was formally inaugurated last week, now come from 22 countries, and there are students from 18 nations, said Dr. S. T. Matturi, Principal of Njala University College and Vice-Chancellor of the University, at the ceremony. He noted that in the 10 years, 1958-68, government subsidies to post-secondary institutions had increased sixfold, from Le443,500 to Le2,600,000 in 1965-66, which represented 6 per cent. of total national expenditure.

The Rev. Canon Harry Sawyer is Principal of Fourah Bay College, the other constituent college of the University, and Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University. Professor Eldred Jones is Vice-Principal of Fourah Bay and Dr. Daniel Chaytor of Njala. On completion of Mr. Sawyer's term Dr. Arthur Porter, at present Principal of the University College of Nairobi, is to return to Fourah Bay to become Principal.

Fourah Bay College was established in 1827 by the CMS, and its first student was the future Bishop Crowther. In 1876 the college ceased to be a purely theological institution and was affiliated to Durham University, an affiliation which ends next year.

Njala was founded in 1964, and its courses concentrate on science and agriculture. Dr. Matturi said he hoped that USAID would provide funds to make the college a "Regional Centre" for agricultural education.

The two colleges began to function as a single university in 1966.

● The University of Sierra Leone has nominated a five-man commission to investigate the country's higher education. The Carnegie Corporation has made a grant of £5,000 to finance the commission, and the government of £2,500. Four of the members have been named—Dr. Bryant Kears, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Babs Fufunwa, of the University of Ife, and two Sierra Leoneans, Dr. David Carney and Miss Lettie Stuart. Among other things the commission will consider setting up a central grant-awarding body for higher education.

● For the first time a 'complete Mende-English dictionary has been published. It is compiled by Mr. Gordon Innes, Lecturer in West African languages at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, and is published by Cambridge University Press (price: £5). Mende is probably the most important Sierra Leone language, mother tongue of 750,000 and second language of many more. Because of the work of the Sierra Leone Provincial Literature Bureau, Mende spelling is now fairly well standardised, and the standard spelling is followed in this dictionary. It is based on "up country" Mende, although Mr. Innes emphasises that this does not mean that this dialect is in any sense "better" or "more correct" than the varieties of Mende spoken in other areas.

Mr. Innes says that many words which appear in the dictionary have never previously appeared in print and so have no established written form; but the spelling follows the now well-established rules of

Mende spelling. Mr. Innes acknowledges his extensive use of the works of Schön, who published his *Vocabulary of the Mende Language* in 1884. Migeod, who published *Mende Natural History Vocabulary* in 1913, Eaton, whose *Sketch Dictionary of the Mende Language* was published in Freetown, and others. But his is the first full Mende dictionary, and he has included only words which he has himself checked with Mende informants. Some words, which he does not use, might occur, he says, in other works; on the other hand, some of the colloquial phrases he includes are "rather racy" and are unlikely to have appeared in formal speech or serious writing.

● The Court of Appeal has ruled that Mr. Cyril Rogers-Wright is a Barrister and Solicitor, and that the then Acting Chief Justice had exercised his independent discretion in re-admitting him to the Bar last year. The ruling was given in an appeal by Mr. Bertram Macaulay, Q.C., that Mr. Rogers-Wright had no status to appear as Counsel as his name had been struck off in 1959. Mr. Rogers-Wright is prosecuting in the treason trial in which Mr. Macaulay is a defendant.



During the inauguration ceremonies of the University of Sierra Leone Sir Samuel Bankole Jones, President of Sierra Leone's Court of Appeal, who had earlier been installed as Chancellor, confers the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law on the Prime Minister. Two other Sierra Leoneans to receive degrees were the Rev. W. E. A. Pratt, President of the Methodist Conference, and Mr. A. T. Thomas, former Vice-President of Fourah Bay College Council.

● The treason trial in which the former Force Commander, David Lansana, and 15 others are appearing on charges in connection with the military takeover in 1967, has now started in the High Court before the Acting-Chief Justice and a jury. The accused include the former Commissioner of Police, Mr. William Leigh, and Mr. George Panda, former head of the Civil Service.

● Provisional figures for the year 1968 show imports of Le75,221,667 and exports of Le79,118,487, a trade surplus of Le3,896,820.

SENEGAMBIA

Commenting on the Senegal-Gambia ministerial meeting in Bathurst earlier this month, *Dakar-Matin* says its results have been "positive on many points, including particularly that dealing with smuggling. . . Think of it! About 1,000 million or 1,500 million CFA francs lost every year to the Senegalese treasury." The agreement to discuss interim anti-smuggling measures in Dakar on April 10 is an "enormous" advance, says the newspaper, in view of "tension" during the Bathurst talks. It says there was a strong press campaign in The Gambia, inspired (it alleges) by profiteers from the smuggling, before the meeting.

The editorial then describes the demonstrations which, it says, started with the "twinning" ceremony for the towns of Birmaka and Joal, and were the work of youths—who, later, tried to break windows at a branch of a French bank (BICIS) when it was opened by the Governor-General of The Gambia.

Dakar-Matin has also quoted a Gambian journal, *Gambia Onward*, as calling the demonstrators "irresponsible" and mentioning rumours that some policemen and even a Minister were implicated. The Gambian journal denounced the throwing of stones at the police and vandalism against cars and houses.

● The Senegalese government has announced the setting up of a new company to be called the Senegalese Press and Publications Company, for bringing out a new national daily newspaper.

IVORY COAST

The President of West Germany, Dr. Heinrich Lübke, paid a state visit to Ivory Coast from February 5 to 10. A financial agreement on a new West German loan, of 840m. CFA francs, to Ivory Coast for construction of the new harbour at San Pedro (for which Germany made a 25m. mark loan last year) was signed during the visit by Herr Gerhard Eppler, Minister of Economic Co-operation. The communique at the end of the visit said the two sides agreed on the need for more co-operation in agricultural development; tourism was also discussed.

Dr. Lübke has also visited Niger and Chad.

GUINEA

About 50 people aboard the two trawlers arrested off the Guinea coast are held in Guinea together with the boats, and the Government, which says they intruded into Guinea waters, has declared they will be held until inquiries are completed. Jules Cadieux, the Ivorian trawler among the two seized, has 10 Ghanaians, two Frenchmen, an Ivorian, two Malians, five Togolese and a Voltaic aboard. The other trawler, *MS Ayon*, is Greek.

● President Sekou Touré has again accused France of recruiting mercenaries from students and ex-servicemen to overthrow his government. He repeated his claim that France owed Guinea 7,000m. CFA (about £12m.) for pensions of Guinean ex-servicemen who served in French forces before independence. He said Guinea would make a free grant of the money if France recognised the debt. He recalled that he had appealed to all countries which did not have relations with Guinea to

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER Dempster Line
SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—FOURAH BAY sig. Liverpool Feb. 21; OTI sig. Liverpool Feb. 27; DIXCOWE due Burutu Feb. 25; KADUNA due Apapa Feb. 20.
 From London:—DEGEMA sig. London Feb. 21; KUMBA sig. London Feb. 25; EBANI due Douala Feb. 24; EBOE due Monrovia Feb. 24; PATANI due Apapa Feb. 20; PERANG due Lome Feb. 26.
 From Continent:—FORCADOS sig. Bremen Feb. 24.

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—DONGA due Liverpool Feb. 20; AUREOL due Takoradi Feb. 26; DARU due Tema Feb. 21; DUNKWA due Abidjan Feb. 25; KABALA due Manchester Feb. 25.
 To London:—EGORI due London Feb. 23; FALABA due Takoradi Feb. 25; OFFIN RIVER due Cape Palmas Feb. 23.
 To Continent:—FIAN due Takoradi Feb. 27; FULANI due Freetown Feb. 24.
EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada:—FREETOWN sig. Halifax Mar. 10; DUMBAIA due Freetown Feb. 23.
WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada:—DALLA due Lower Buchanan Feb. 24; DEIDU due New York Feb. 22.
WESTBOUND—From India/Pakistan/Burma:—NAIRNBANK due Abidjan Mar. 3.

BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE
OUTWARDS—TEMA due sail New York/Halifax (NS) due Feb. for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi; CORNEVILLE due sail New York/Halifax (NS) early Mar. for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi.
HOMEWARDS—Nil.

JAPAN "K" LINE
WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong and Cape) to Matsui, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.—NORWAY MARU sig. Japan Feb. 4, due Lagos Mar. 14.
EASTBOUND—From Matsui, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Cape and Singapore)—NORWAY MARU sig. Lagos Mar. 20, Tema Mar. 23, Freetown Mar. 26, due Japan May 5.

PALM LINE
SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—ENUGU PALM due Dakar Mar. 1.
 From Liverpool:—IKEJA PALM sig. Tema Feb. 23.
 From Continent:—BAMENDA PALM sig. Antwerp Feb. 22.
 From Continent:—ILESIA PALM due Tema Feb. 24.
NORTHBOUND—To London:—IBADAN PALM due Dakar Feb. 23.
 To Liverpool:—LOBITO PALM sig. Pointe Noire Feb. 22.
 To Le Havre, London, Hull and Rotterdam:—SAGA STATE sig. Lagos Feb. 23.

WOERMANN LINE
 MAILAND sig. Dunkirk Mar. 3, Rouen Mar. 6, due Dakar Mar. 13, Conakry Mar. 16, Cape Palmas Mar. 21; HELENE DELMAS sig. Antwerp Mar. 5, due Dakar Mar. 24, Abidjan Mar. 28.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE
EASTBOUND—NOPAL SUN sig. New Orleans Feb. 13, Takoradi Mar. 12, Lagos Mar. 15, due Warri Mar. 18, Sapele Mar. 21; NOPAL TELLUS sig. New Orleans Mar. 11, Takoradi Mar. 31, Lagos Apr. 3, due Warri Apr. 7.
WESTBOUND—NOPAL LUNA sig. Luanda Mar. 3, Takoradi Mar. 9, New Orleans Mar. 27, due Houston Mar. 31; NOPAL SUN sig. Luanda Apr. 2, Takoradi Apr. 10, New Orleans Apr. 28, due Houston May 2.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES
INWARDS—STRAAT FRANKLIN from Japan sig. Kobe Jan. 21, due Tema Feb. 24, Monrovia Feb. 26, Freetown Feb. 27, Abidjan Mar. 2, Takoradi Mar. 6; STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from China and Hong Kong sig. Hong Kong due Lagos/Apapa Mar. 20, Cotonou Mar. 26, Lome Mar. 29, Tema Mar. 30, Abidjan Mar. 31, Monrovia Apr. 3, Freetown Apr. 4, Dakar Apr. 7, Conakry Apr. 10.
OUTWARDS—STRAAT FRANKLIN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan second half Feb. first half Mar.; STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and China second half Mar.

EDWARD NASSAR LINE
 EMIR BECHIR sig. Fagusta Feb. 13, due Beirut Feb. 14, Gibraltar Mar. 2, Tema Mar. 13, Lagos Mar. 16, Monrovia Mar. 22, Freetown Mar. 23, Fagusta Apr. 11.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE
SOUTHBOUND—HJELMAREN sig. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during Feb.; YARRAWONGA sig. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during late Feb. early Mar.; MANGARELLA sig. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during Mar.
NORTHBOUND—INNAREN sig. West Africa for Scandinavia second half Feb. early Mar. MINNESOTA sig. West Africa for Scandinavia during Feb. early Mar.; HJELMAREN sig. West Africa for Scandinavia during Mar. early Apr.

CHARGEURS REUNIS
 BOURGAINVILLE due Lagos/Apapa Mar. 11, Tema Mar. 14, Freetown Mar. 20; KER-GUELEN sig. Kobe Mar. 26.

MIITSUI OSK LINE
 HOEISAN MARU sig. Kobe Feb. 6, due Lagos Mar. 14, KASUGASAN MARU sig. Kobe Feb. 20, due Lagos Mar. 22; HONOLULU MARU sig. Kobe Mar. 4, due Lagos Apr. 6.

MAERSK LINE
 TORBEN MAERSK sig. Luanda Feb. 24, due Matadi Feb. 25; JESPER MAERSK sig. Luanda Mar. 14, due Matadi Mar. 15.

HOEGH LINE
 HOEGH WILRI sig. Rouen Feb. 25, due Dakar Mar. 4, Freetown Mar. 7, Monrovia Mar. 8; HOEGH BELLE sig. Antwerp Feb. 24, due Freetown Mar. 5, Abidjan Mar. 8, Tema Mar. 11.

HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LINES
SOUTHBOUND—From Continent:—SCHUTTING due Douala Feb. 18; SENEKALKUST due Matadi Feb. 17; CONGOKUST due Lagos Feb. 18.

NORTHBOUND—To Continent:—BALONG due Hamburg Feb. 19, DAHOMEYKUST due Rotterdam Feb. 26, Amsterdams Feb. 28, Bremen Mar. 2, Hamburg Mar. 5; KATSEDYK due Rotterdam Feb. 27, Amsterdams Mar. 3, Hamburg Mar. 6.

HUGO STINNES TRANSOZEAN SCHIFFFAHRT GMBH
 ATLAS HUGO STINNES sig. Bordeaux Jan. 31, due Lome Feb. 16, Douala Feb. 19, Libreville Feb. 21, Port Gentil Feb. 21; KOHYLT HUGO STINNES sig. Dunkirk Feb. 17, Lagos/Apapa Feb. 20, Douala Feb. 23.

WESTWIND AFRICA
 BUENA FORTUNA sig. New Orleans Feb. 5, Houston Mar. 2; SOPHIE C sig. Houston Apr. 7, New Orleans Apr. 12; WESTWIND sig. New Orleans Mar. 25, Houston Mar. 30.

FARRELL LINES
HOMEWARDS—AFRICAN GLADE sig. US Ports.
 Matadi Feb. 22, for Luanda Feb. 25, Lobito for US Ports.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE
SOUTHBOUND—ODUDUWA sig. Liverpool Feb. 20; NNAMDI AZIKIWE sig. Antwerp pool Feb. 16; ORANYAN due Liverpool Feb. 20, Newcastle Feb. 20.

GOLD STAR LINE
 SHAVIT sig. Abidjan Feb. 27/28, Monrovia Mar. 12, Freetown Mar. 14, Bathurst Mar. 5/6; NOGAH sig. Durban Mar. 6/7, Lourenco Marques Mar. 8/9, Cape Town Mar. 12.

BLACK STAR LINE/SEVEN STAR LINE/USNHVA
WESTBOUND—SAKUMO LAGOON sig. radi, Tema.
 London Mar. 12 for Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema.

BLACK STAR LINE/CONTINENT/WA
SOUTHBOUND—NASIA RIVER Bremen Mar. 11, Takoradi Mar. 24; OTI RIVER Bremen Mar. 7, Hamburg Apr. 25; OTI RIVER Bremen Apr. 14, Rotterdam Apr. 16, Dunkirk Apr. 28, Douala Apr. 25, Freetown Apr. 17, due Lagos Jan. 31, Tema Feb. 8, Takoradi Feb. 12, Amsterdams Feb. 26, Hamburg Mar. 3, Antwerp sandra Mar. 19.

GUINEA—continued

establish such relations; France had shown "total indifference" to this effort.

CENTRAFRICA

President Bokassa of the Central African Republic has paid a visit to France, beginning with a visit by General and Madame de Gaulle, will report on the visit next week.

● The secretary-general of UDEAC, Charles Onana Awana, has visited the capital to discuss the transfer there of UN services hitherto based in Brazzaville; the decision to make Bangui the headquarters of the Economic and Community, the treasury department and administrative branches have already been taken in Brazzaville.

● World Food Programme has provided \$300,000 in food aid to Sudanese refugees in Central African Republic.

CONGO-K

The Congo-Kinshasa Foreign Minister Justin Bomboko, has visited Paris delivered to President de Gaulle a message from President Mobutu, in reply to a message from the French President was taken to Kinshasa by M. Bourges, France's Secretary of State for Co-operation. M. Bomboko said: "coldness which has for some time characterized the Franco-Congolese relations, not altered the real friendly relations which exist between us. The weather has cleared and we congratulate ourselves on this . . ."

M. Bomboko said a visit to Paris by the Congolese President in 1969 was ruled out, and the Congo would welcome a visit by General de Gaulle at any convenient time. The Congo said, "happy to welcome to Kinshasa the recent OCAM conference; which added, "was a great success. It allowed certain states which were quarrelling to be reconciled, and the organisation consolidated."

LIBERIA

Mr. Romeo Horton, Liberia's Minister of Commerce and Industry, has requested Mr. Hon. Magnus A. Jones as Secretary of Commerce and Industry. President Tubman requested Mr. Horton either as President of the Board of Liberia or as Secretary of Commerce and Industry, on the grounds of commercial interest and incompatibility of the two positions.

IN BRIEF

Mali's military government has patched two more goodwill delegations to Africa: Lt. Marat to Morocco, Tunisia, UAR and Ethiopia; and Malik Diallo to Liberia, Ghana and two Congos.

● Two trains, one a passenger train, derailed on the Cotonou-Parakou railway last week, about 10km. from Cotonou. People were killed and 25 injured in the accident, the first fatal railway accident since 1954.

● US Ambassador to Togo, All Sherer, has also been appointed Equatorial Guinea. He will continue based in Lomé.

● President Moktar Ould Daddah visited Tunisia from May 14 to 20.

dateline Africa

NIGERIA

Zik's Peace Plan

IN a speech at Oxford last Sunday, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, President of Nigeria from 1963 to 1966, urged UN intervention in the war. He agreed that U Thant had expressed reluctance to involve the UN in Nigeria, but he was astonished at the way in which "UN responsibility" had been shifted to OAU.

Many conflicts no less domestic in character than that in Nigeria had been referred to the UN, said Dr. Azikiwe. "I refer to matters affecting Africa (Algeria, Congo Kinshasa, Rhodesia, South Africa, and South-West Africa), Asia (Kashmir, North and South Korea, North and South Vietnam, Tibet), Europe (Cyprus, Gibraltar, Portugal) in respect of its colonies, and Spain in respect of its colonies."



Dr. Azikiwe as President of Nigeria.

It was obvious that the only solution lay in international mediation, continued Dr. Azikiwe. He urged the US, as a "confirmed neutral," to take the initiative in calling for UN intervention. He went on to name the members of a committee which, in his view, the Security Council should establish to study the Nigerian conflict. This committee should comprise three categories and permanent members, and some non-permanent members of the Security Council, and some particular members of the United Nations (Gabon, Ivory Coast, Portugal and Tanzania).

The committee's terms of reference should be framed with due regard "to the legitimacy of Nigeria as a member of the United Nations, whose internal affairs are sacrosanct and could not be interfered with, excepting under extremely special circumstances which affect not only the peace and security of the world but also the conscience and morality of mankind."

The Committee should suggest to the Security Council, within seven days, how Nigeria and Biafra could be persuaded to call a truce immediately; and make recommendations to the Security Council on how proposals of peace—which the ex-President then outlined—could be put into immediate effect. He went on to appeal, "as one of his predecessors in office," to Gen. Gowon to consider the cost of the war.

He said "Biafra" meant the area now under the jurisdiction of Col. Ojukwu, and the "war zones" meant all the rest of the former Eastern Nigeria. The Security Council should declare a total arms embargo (with Nigerian cooperation since Nigeria had its own arms factories); a ceasefire should cover land, sea and air, and the Nigerian blockade should be lifted; the Security Council should set up an international peace force in the war zones, whose administration should be taken over by the Council with the aid of local and expatriate personnel. The Council should also demobilise all troops on both sides in the war zones when the armistice became operative, and it should persuade the Biafrans to accept the 12-state system provided this was accepted by 60 per cent. or more of the people of the areas.

There should be a plebiscite in the war zones. Dr. Azikiwe said, to ask adult inhabitants whether they wanted united Nigeria, including Biafra, or an independent Biafra. If the vote was overall for one Nigeria, the Security Council should guarantee the fundamental rights of those concerned, if for Biafran independence, then the committee of 19 should sponsor Biafra for UN membership. If the vote was for one Nigeria, the Security Council and the Federal Government should cooperate in demobilisation of troops and the calling of a constituent assembly, this should then decide on a new constitution. The peace force, he added, should remain in Nigeria and supervise the elections in collaboration with the Federal armed forces, and witness the handover to civilian rule.

In a reply the Federal Government "regrets" that Dr. Azikiwe's plan does not improve the chances of achieving lasting peace in Nigeria. "The proposals are basically the same as those put forward by the secessionist leaders at the Addis Ababa and earlier peace talks." They contain "several unacceptable features such as the contemptuous rejection of the OAU efforts and the attempt to involve the United Nations and the United States of America in the Nigerian crisis which is strictly the internal affair of Nigeria. The Government deplors any moves which in effect encourage the rebel leaders to continue to fight for their illusory empire." The Government, however, welcomes Dr. Azikiwe's "recognition of the reality of the present twelve-state structure" and his admission that "what remains of the former Eastern Region is not viable as an independent state."

The Federal Government appeals to all "well-meaning" Ibo leaders to urge the secessionist leaders to agree to end the war accepting a united Nigeria.

Nigerian newspapers have reported advances by Federal forces in the area of Odi, on the main road between Onitsha and Abagana, hitherto in Biafran hands for most of the time. Some add that the whole road from Onitsha to Enugu is now open to Federal forces. The *Nigerian Observer* has a detailed report, saying the Awka sector commander, Col. Joshua Sin, travelled to Onitsha—apparently along the road—to celebrate the link-up with the Second Division; the operation, it says, was carried out by troops commanded by Major Adamu of 1 Division and Major Gwadabawa of 2 Division (The road was used for the successful Federal assault on Onitsha last March, but very soon afterwards there was a vast big ambush of a Federal column

near Abagana. After that it became clear that the road between Onitsha and Abagana was not effectively under Federal control. Biafran sources have reported heavy fighting in this area for several weeks past, suggesting a Federal attempt to link the 2nd and 1st Divisions, based in Onitsha and Awka respectively.)

Federal reports claim the capture of the villages of Etali and Obum in the Afikpo front of the war, adding that Federal forces have also completed clearance of the Imo river line south-west of Okigwi. Federal Forces are said to have prevented a Biafran crossing of the Niger, engaged Biafran troops near Aba, and bombed targets in Umuabia for several days.

Dahomey and Red Cross

General Gowon has sent a reply to the note sent by President Zinsou of Dahomey, which was thought to be an explanation of the Dahomey government's reasons for its permission for Cotonou to be used as a base for the Red Cross. Nigeria's Commissioner for communications, Mr. Femi Okunnu, took the reply to Dahomey.

On his return, Mr. Okunnu said no Nigerian observers would be sent to Dahomey, as invited by President Zinsou, to inspect cargoes loaded for Red Cross relief flights. Nigeria's position still followed the Emperor of Ethiopia's report on last year's meetings of the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria. This recommends the Federal government to establish a depot in Lagos for collecting relief supplies under supervision of the OAU Committee and the International Red Cross.

The Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs, Alhaji Baba Gana, has said that Dahomey's agreement to use of its territory as a base for relief flights to Biafra was "unfortunate." Dahomey, he said, had never consulted the Federal government. A *Daily Times* reporter in Cotonou has written of widespread feeling against the Red Cross arrangement and anti-Zinsou and pro-Nigeria slogans written in the streets—by opposition members and "conformists", according to the Foreign Minister.

Red Cross flights from Fernando Po to Biafran-held territory were resumed on the night of Feb. 12, with two flights by a DC7 provided by the Swedish Red Cross, carrying five tons of rice and fifteen of dried fish. The Equatorial Guinea Government's decision to allow the flights to resume, five weeks after their suspension, was subject to certain conditions; there can only be two flights a night, and the airlift must go on for only a month. The flights from Dahomey are going on concurrently.

Forty-seven seriously wounded Biafrans, including 37 soldiers, have been evacuated by the Red Cross airlift to Dahomey, from where they are to be taken to Europe for treatment for facial and other injuries. About fifty others are expected soon.

Gen. Gowon has said that he will order a ceasefire immediately. Col. Ojukwu renounces secession. He expressed delight at Ojukwu's current desire for a ceasefire, but said he hoped that those to whom Ojukwu had addressed his appeal—this time the Canadians—would urge him to end the suffering of the population under his control by terminating his rebellion. He was speaking at a meeting with Canon Burgess Carr, a Liberian, who is co-secretary for Africa with the World Council of

NIGERIA—*continued*

Churches. Canon Carr said that the World Council of Churches was not in any way connected with anti-Nigeria activities.

● During a stop at Lagos on his return flight from his state visit to Kenya, General Ankrah met General Gowon and other Federal leaders. At a news conference, General Ankrah, a member of the committee, said that the OAU committee on Nigeria, headed by Emperor Haile Selassie, was arranging another meeting soon. He explained that the decree on retail trade, which obliges large numbers of Nigerians to leave Ghana, was not directed at Nigerians to leave Ghana, was not directed at Nigerians as such, but simply at people, whatever their origin, in retail trade.

● General Gowon has visited Enugu, headquarters of the First Division, his first visit to one of the Federal Army's three divisional headquarters since the war began.

● Recent visitors to Biafra territory have reported that Federal bombing of the Uli airstrip at night, apparently by one bomber, is having some effect, though it does not last all night. Michael Leapman of the *Sun* has reported a raid made by the bomber which swoops down when aircraft land at the airstrip, when he was about to take off in a relief aircraft. Sometimes relief aircraft (Red Cross and others) waiting for the bomber to leave before they go can land have been forced to return to their base because of the danger of running out of fuel. This has reduced the amount of relief brought in, and some pilots are said

to be uneasy about flying. Several relief flights, however, continue every night. Joint Church Aid says that four of its aircraft have had to be repaired, after limited damage in an air raid (all were able to return to São Tomé). A Canadian Constellation carrying relief supplies was, according to its pilot, fired on by a Nigerian gunboat at sea.

There was an air raid at Uli when two British Labour M.P.s, Michael Barnes and Alexander Lyon, were ending a visit to Biafra; they were not hurt.

● Speaking to a Canadian MP, Col. Ojukwu has repeated his view that Emperor Haile Selassie is the best person to bring about an end to the war; the Emperor, he said, should call on the USA and the USSR to use their diplomatic influence in favour of a cease fire, adding that the USA could influence Britain. He said starvation in Biafra was not so bad as the death "en masse and final" which, he claimed, would follow if he surrendered.

● Bng Sir Bernard Fergusson, senior British representative on the international observer team, will return to the UK next month, after a four-month tour of duty. His successor will be Lt.-Col. Douglas J. Cairns, also a retired officer, who has been a British deputy on the observer team.

● The five-man US Congressional group which has been in Nigeria and Biafra has accused the Nigerians of bombing isolated hospitals marked by large red crosses, market places, schools and feeding stations in Biafra. One of the group, Republican Senator Charles E. Goodell, alleged that there was one bomber pilot

who called himself "Genocide" bombed civilian areas nightly, with bombing taken into account hundred times more Biafrans die of starvation than from war. The (men have seen both Gen. Gowon and Ojukwu.

● Another tax riot has broken out in Western State, in Ogbomoso, the palace of the natural ruler, the State buildings housing the district court burnt down. The riot started, according to a police source, when tax collector defaulters and detained them. Slogans said there should be no taxation while the Ayoola Commission goes on. One man was first reported in the rioting and several injured; arrested. Later two more were found

ADDIS ABABA

The 12th session of the OAU of Ministers has started its work in Addis Ababa, to discuss the budget, political problems and inter-African economic co-operation. The budget, expected not to exceed that for 1971 (which was said to be \$2,296,000 (the budget is secret). Nigeria and the East are not reported to be on the agenda, which was expected to be decolonisation in southern Africa. It will also be discussed by the meeting.

● The next full session of the Economic Commission for Africa will be held in Tunis in 1971.

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