

West Africa



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Senghor's Emergency

SENEGALESE trade unions call for a general strike in support of striking bank workers (see page 692) starting as we go to press, looks like bringing on the expected confrontation between government and unions, although the limitation of the strike to 48 hours suggests a certain desire on the part of the unions not to go "the whole hog." President Senghor's firm response in declaring a state of emergency also looks like an attempt to head off a full clash. Both sides have the precedent of May 1968 in mind, when the calling of an indefinite general strike, in sympathy with student strikers, led to the arrest of union leaders, and widespread violence in Dakar, which was only put to an end by the intervention of the army.

The unions, however, also have another precedent in mind—that when the dust had settled their leaders were released without charges, and the government agreed to a substantial package of claims, involving an increase in the basic minimum wage as well as other wage increases, and commitments to an embryonic welfare state and to a policy of furthering Africanisation in the private sector. As a test of strength, although President Senghor succeeded in deflecting any political challenge to his own position, the unions felt that they had won a victory. The same applied to the students: although Senghor agreed to an "African reform" at the university, in spite of the spirit of dialogue he prizes so much, the students felt so confident enough for a return match.

At the end of March secondary schools in Dakar went on strike, followed closely by the university students. The unions seemed more reluctant to take the government on again, but after the students' efforts seemed to have flopped, when the government sent the police in to close the university campus (while continuing classes and examinations for those who did not want to strike, including many of the foreign students), individual unions began a series of limited strikes. These came partly in response to pressure on union leaders from below, and partly from a desire to remind the government that the trade union movement was a force

to be reckoned with. Although the way in which these strikes have escalated can be seen as either a deliberate plan or as an irresistible movement, President Senghor has had no choice but to react with a show of strength.

There is behind this situation an element of political challenge to the President's own position. He himself has acknowledged this, although he tends to put the blame on overseas forces "teleguiding" and misleading Senegalese. He has, at other times, acknowledged that the Senegalese are addicted to political "contestation", and Senegal would not be Senegal if this factor were absent. In the past he has succeeded, because he has been able to weave his way through the contesters better than anybody else.

Events, however, have conspired against him, so that it is no exaggeration to say that one of the main African figures of our day is now facing a grave crisis in his political career. Three bad groundnut harvests have caused an economy dependent on groundnuts for three-quarters of its foreign exchange earnings to stagnate, and have seriously affected public finance. Combined with the final withdrawal of French subsidies for groundnut prices, this has meant that rural earnings have recently registered a substantial fall.

Into an unpromising situation came the influence of French politics, to which Senegal, for historic reasons, is peculiarly sensitive. The troubles of May last year were a direct repercussion of the troubles in Paris; and this year the departure of General de Gaulle has encouraged the feeling that it is time for a change in Senegal too. Uncertainty as to what might happen to French relations with Senegal after de Gaulle may also have added to the malaise (Senghor himself will welcome the advent of M. Pompidou who is an old personal friend). President Senghor with his sensitive antennae has shown himself aware of this clamour, but he is also aware that it comes largely from Dakar, and from the Senegalese elite, and that while the town-dwellers and the trade unions are struggling to maintain their privileges, the lot of the rural masses, who have always tended to



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support his party has deterio-

Current plans for rehabilitating his government, for perhaps releasing political prisoners like former Prime Mamadou Dia, seem designed to re-claim the favour of the urban middle- and middle classes. But the loss of Senhor's power, apart from his goodwill, remains the support he receives from the Islamic religious leaders, who have great influence in rural areas, who prefer a Christian to a member of their sect, and from the army, which already demonstrated as the urban class the situation in the crisis a year ago.

Soviet Steel in Nigeria?

THIS week's announcement that Nigeria and the Soviet Union have signed an agreement for establishing an iron and steel industry in Nigeria appears finally to confirm a project frequently discussed, which was set in principle after the visit of a Soviet mission in 1961 and has been mentioned since then. Outside Nigeria it has been thought that the vast cost of the project, recently estimated at £2100m by Parliament's Secretary of the Fuel Ministry of Industries, Mr. Philip Asquith—called to its commercial attention might in the end make the Russian's contribution, if they were to make a significant financial contribution. The project, based on Nigeria's vast, though low-grade, iron ore deposits of which there promising are near Loketa at the confluence of the Niger and the Benue. The absence of working coal in Nigeria has been regarded as a serious problem but recent technical innovations make that less important, and Nigeria has an abundance of other sources of fuel and power. As Mr. Asquith has said: "the size of the market and material assumptions have changed tremendously since the project was mooted". But it must be many years before production starts.

In 1965, when a £20m plan suggested by the National Economic Council, two sites were suggested: plant, Loketa and Onitsha. Some rivalry between the two Northern Eastern regions. It was decided to build two plants, one at Loketa, south Loketa on the Niger, and one at Onitsha. The Six-Year Plan envisaged a complementary £20m, with a capacity of 125,000 tons per year. Mr. Asquith estimated 500,000 or 700,000 tons; it suggested this could be built in five to five years. A feasibility study was set out by Swiss consultants, and in April 1965, an agreement on construction of £20m, similar at Loketa and a rolling at Onitsha was signed with Nigerian Associates Inc., jointly owned by U.S. one British (Waltman-Smith Oil Engineering Corp.) and two West German firms. No contract was signed.

It is interesting that the latest announcement about the project was made from the capital of Kwana State, Loketa and Loketa are situated, about 100 miles apart.

NIGERIA

Is There a Middle Way?

By a correspondent

ONE of the hopes of the Nigerian Federal Government in pursuing the war is that there might eventually emerge a body of opinion, from among the elite who have been held to be responsible for secession, that would be prepared to identify itself as Nigerian. This has, for various reasons, seemed a faint hope, given the almost proverbially monolithic nature of the Ibo when faced with an outside challenge. This solidarity has been so much in evidence that, when confronted with a book like one which has just been published (written by two 27-year-old graduates from Awka), one tends to go through it, looking for what might be even slight diversions from what is now the entrenched Biafran version of events.

Messrs. Nwankwo and Ifejiaka in fact deal with the crisis up to secession (although Mr. Nwankwo has an agonised postscript called "My People Suffer", an eyewitness account of his return to war-torn Biafra from an American university). The book, therefore, often seems similar to pamphlets issued by the Ministry of Information in Enugu in the period before secession, although you can detect nuances. For instance, there was one pamphlet which sought to justify especially all the actions of the NCNC, including the decision to form a coalition with the NPC in 1959, of which these two authors take a dim view. For them this was one of the compromises which destroyed Awka's reputation.

There are some interesting angles in a detailed account of the 1966 crisis in the University of Lagos (when the appointment of the first vice-chancellor, Dr. Eni Njoku an Ibo, was not renewed). About this a student at the university at the time, Mr. Ifejiaka, is particularly interested. This frequently forgotten appalling tribal row was a deeply traumatic episode for the Ibo elite, and their way of their place in Nigerian society. One imagines that for someone like Ifejiaka, who went back to Nsukka from Lagos, the seeds of secession were sown over them.

It seems for a moment as if the authors might be going to criticise the Aguiyi-Ironi regime, when they say that the general got lost "partly because of his ignorance of the geography of politics, partly because of his unpreparedness for the journey into which life had pushed him, and partly because of the accident of human nature and the urgency of misplaced trauma". In fact they concentrate on the latter reasons, becoming understandably overwhelmed at the terrible events later in 1966, but it would

have been extremely useful to have an assessment from them in greater detail of where they believe the Aguiyi-Ironi regime to have gone wrong.

On the whole their maintenance of the orthodoxy is fairly rigid, and as one approaches May 30, 1967, the whole thing becomes increasingly unreal and more psychologically isolated. Secession is presented as the culmination of a vast popular campaign of mass meetings demanding secession, mounting to such a crescendo that nothing else was possible by the end of May. As this increased in tempo, say the authors, it assumed "a magnitude comparable to the Chinese Cultural Revolution".

Another book which has just been published (in English, French and German simultaneously) does suggest that this mental blockade is not as absolute as might sometimes be supposed. Mr. Uwechue, who was Biafra's first



Dr. Adigwe—endorsement with a foreword.

representative in Paris (he received an official Biafran decoration on the first anniversary of secession) has written a book that makes a genuine intellectual effort to break away from stereotypes without betraying the reasons for which he originally gave his support to Biafra: or, as President Bengura says in his foreword, "He is not the man to large his *foolism* (in the French the word is *folie*). Uwechue resigned from his post in December last year after about three months' brooding on differences which had arisen between himself and the Biafran government for him the ultimate goal "was and still is real and adequate security for the lives and property of Biafrans", as opposed to the maintenance of secession and sovereignty at any cost whatsoever, especially if they lead to mass violence.

What Uwechue is arguing is that there should be a re-examination of secession by the Biafrans, with at a cost not yet the announcement of the Nigerian decree by the Federal side. He also proposes a

Commonwealth-OAU enforcement of a ceasefire. Instead there should be a "confederation" or "loose federation" of three in the South and three in the North for an interim period with a referendum to be held in the minority areas of the former Eastern region so that their wish to have states of their own should be put on the record. While stating that there are Eastern minorities men on both sides, he does acknowledge (page 100) that they are as much opposed to "domination by the majority tribe—Ibo, as the Ibos themselves are opposed to domination by the Hausa-Fulani controlled Northern region".

There are a number of other proposals set out, including, for the army, Area Commands with a rotating chairman for the National Military Council, but with an Executive President as Commander-in-Chief. Uwechue suggests that a target date be fixed for a return to civilian rule, and that a nationwide population census to be supervised by the United Nations.

Much of this is likely to be viewed askance on the Federal side, especially the abrogation of the "State" Decree which, for the present government, and for some of the states, has required the status of Holy Writ. Confederation is such a dirty word in Lagos that it is probably unwise to use it at all in present circumstances in any case Uwechue's proposal for the executive president "who should have powers to direct the National Military Council on all matters and to mobilise the entirety of the national armed forces in the case of emergency, whether this emergency results from an external or an internal threat to the security or integrity of the state" seems more appropriate for a federation.

The important point about this book, however, is the whole way it is written.

The author seems indeed, indeed inspired by a genuine desire, at the same time pragmatic and idealist, to achieve lasting reconciliation. Ex-President Awka, who has also written a foreword commends the book to those who wish to see the Nigerian crisis resolved with realism. The endorsement of Sir Bengura and Awka would give it considerable credence in Africa, at a time of mounting feeling that the same has come to see a light in the bargain.

It can be said with justice for other things too. Some of the tone of the background to secession are wisely differentiated those mentioned in *The Making of a Nation*. Uwechue's view is that secession happened through misunderstanding by the amount of time protracted it he says, although he considers some kind of fighting was inevitable. He is not significantly wrong "January 15" and argues the case that the unprovoked coup of January 15, 1966, was a nationalist revolution. Could the perhaps argue that, to make the Ibo really feel like Nigerians, there would have to be some kind of reconciliation for the events of January 15 as opposed to how it turned out in practice?

1. *The Making of a Nation: Writings by Sir A. Nwankwo and Sir M. Ifejiaka*, by C. Hart and Co., London, 1968.

2. *Reflections on the Nigerian Civil War: A Call for Peace*, by Ragn Lunke with International Publishers Ltd., London 1968. The French edition, "L'Asien de Biafra: Une Solution Nigérienne", is published by Jeanne Allique, Paris.



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Cocoa and Party Politics

Cocoa policy is already an issue in the pre-election political statements in Ghana. In this article Mr. U. K. Hackman, Managing Director of the State Cocoa Marketing Board, recalls the harm done to the board and to cocoa farmers by the invasion of politics into their affairs during the Nkrumah regime. He appeals for a "political truce on cocoa."

POLITICS and economics are like the "twin arms" of a pair of scissors. In a national setting, it is difficult to make one perform independently and efficiently without the co-operation of the other, since politics should be organised in such a way as to achieve the best in economic terms for the country. But there are times when these "twin arms" must be separated, failure to observe this almost invariably leads to disastrous results.

A case in point is what happened under the Nkrumah regime. It may be remarked that one of the greatest failings of that government was its inability to draw a line between the economic and political fields. For example, the State Cocoa Marketing Board was largely destroyed, to convert it into an instrument of party political policy.

There is common agreement that Ghana is now in a period of economic re-construction. The phrase "economic re-construction" itself, with its emotional overtones, appears to have been so over-worked in the past few years that it is acquiring the status of a dying metaphor, and is therefore no longer capable of evoking the direct response it should. Nevertheless, this phrase is likely to be repeated in the manifestos of all the newly formed political parties, everybody agrees that in the economic, as well as in the political, field there is need to re-build.

We all know where the policy of mixing economics with politics led the nation; but at a time when the debate about the future of Ghana is still raging, it is inevitable that we should reflect on the ideal relationship which must exist between sensitive economic institutions such as the State Cocoa Marketing Board and the future Government, in order to facilitate the task of economic re-construction.

The State Cocoa Marketing Board occupies a unique position in Ghana's economy. As an institution charged with the orderly marketing and export of the entire cocoa crop, it has a direct responsibility for husbanding about 65 per cent. of foreign exchange earnings. The influence of the Board on the farmer is also direct and crucial, because cocoa provides the main income for a sizeable proportion of the farming population. No Government therefore can afford to take it for granted, for the revenue from cocoa is a critical factor in fiscal policy and the lives of a high percentage of the population are tied up with the cocoa industry.

To put our discussions about the future of the board and party politics in the right perspective, it may be instructive to turn to the colonial era, particularly the period 1947-51, to find out the kind of relationship that existed between the State Cocoa Marketing Board and the then Government during the early years of the board's existence. This is necessary because by all accounts the early years of the board's operations appear to have conformed to the textbook idea of an organisation created to look after the interest of a vital industry.

The inception of the Board in 1947 was an important milestone in the economic history of the Colonial Government. It

was felt that the time had come when the affairs of the cocoa industry should be looked after in such a way as to provide a stable price and other aids for the farmer. It was a period of colonial rule, when the Government was made up of technocrats from the Colonial Office, a few elected representatives and nominees of the Governor. In the political field, the duty of the Government was to conciliate the interests of the metropolitan power and those of the rapidly politically-awakening natives so as to promote the welfare of the colony's inhabitants.

The policy of the Cocoa Marketing Board followed this political pattern for the achievement of a common national goal. Representation on the Board during this early period was made up of Government officials, representatives of local commercial interests and representatives of farmers. In the absence of party politics, the representatives of the farmers could be described as genuine representatives of the



The beans and the buyer—mainstay of Ghana's economy.

entire cocoa farming community who did not cater for the interest of any particular political group. The colonial official or technocrat on the Board was also a disinterested policy maker. He was not appointed by a Minister of any party and he lived above local politics. This broad representation of officials at the very high level of the governmental machinery and non-partisan representatives of the farmers gave the Board an extremely strong and independent outlook. It could be said that in those days it was easy for the Board to identify the undivided interest of the country and that of the industry.

Subject to the approval of the Governor-In-Council, the Board could take any decision regarding the welfare of the cocoa industry. For instance, the Board could take a decision on price based on representations from the farmers, forecasts of market experts and the general economic interest of the Government. This decision was more or less final. In reaching an agreement on price, a careful balance was

drawn between the short-term and the long-term interest of the cocoa farmers and the cocoa industry as a whole. The Board was a deliberative body devoid of partisan interest and its guiding principle was always to search for what was for the general good, resulting from the general reasoning of the entire Board.

The rule of the Board as seen from the viewpoint of its members was summed up in a typical saying of Mr. W. J. W. Cheeseman, then Registrar of Co-operatives and a very out-spoken member in the early days of the Board's operation: "The Board was in a position of a mother to the farmers. If a mother had a large jar of oil, did she give it all to the children at once? If she did, they would be sick. The mother who gave the oil out carefully and protected her children from harmful effect was the one who would command the respect of her children in the long run. So was it with the Board." The analogy cannot be said to be brilliant; but it conveys in all sincerity the rationale behind the Board's pricing and stabilisation policy in the early days.

What has been briefly described above as the ideal period of the Board's operations before the advent of party Government must not be construed as a nostalgic apology for colonial rule. The right conclusion to be drawn—and this is important—is that, if the Board is expected to operate free of party bias, then perhaps the period up to 1951 (1947-51) was the only time when the Board's operations could be regarded as ideal.

Immediately after the CPP Government came to power in 1951, it started making amendments to the Cocoa Marketing Board 1947 Ordinance. These amendments were all aimed at depriving the Board of its independence and at the same time mixing up its economic operations with politics. In this way the Board was turned into an instrument of the ruling party's political policies. Representation of the farmers on the Board could no longer be attained unless the appointees belonged to the ruling political party, the CPP. Representation of the Government was by civil servants who were all more or less obliged to carry out the instructions of a Minister who was himself a representative of a party.

The change in the nature of representation on the Board reduced its ability to take independent decisions and there was a time when Board meetings became a formality, to ratify either decisions taken outside by the party, or directives of a Minister or the President.

Long before the advent of party politics, Professor P. T. Bauer had predicted that the Cocoa Marketing Board, as a strong economic monopolist in whose coffers were concentrated the collective savings of the nation, could become an instrument which could be nurtured to further the interest of dictators. Events in the past 18 years have proved him right—not only in Ghana but also in Nigeria and in Sierra Leone. In all these countries, the funds of the Marketing Boards were used not for the original purposes for which they were intended but for general development and other things which were calculated to buttress perpetually the ruling parties' political position in these countries. At the administrative level, most appointments were based on considerations which had more to do with politics than efficiency.

The statutory obligation of the Board to fix the price of cocoa subject to the

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approval of the Cabinet was in actual practice assumed by other agencies which could not claim the ability to arrive at a decision on the issue by taking into consideration all the crucial factors affecting the real interest of the cocoa industry. The idea of price stabilisation, the main reason for establishment of the Cocoa Marketing Board, was completely thrown overboard. In these circumstances, it was not surprising that immediately after the 1966 coup, farmers gave the impression that they had lost confidence in the Board.

It has, of course, become fashionable to put most of the blame for what went wrong in most organisations on the administrative officials. This is uncharitable. In the highly centralised system of government at the time, almost all initiative for change had to flow from the political centres. The top official of an organisation like the State Cocoa Marketing Board was only part of the hierarchy of command at whose apex was the President himself who directed practically all the affairs of the State. Whole members of the Board were themselves only too willing to ratify directives from above without question, there was not very much that the Managing Director, for instance, could do on his own.

The inference to be drawn from all this is that what went wrong could be largely attributed to the system under which the country was governed during the period. It is undoubtedly true that the CPP government, with its centralised control, completely over-reached itself, but a good deal of what happened is possible under any other party. It is, in part, a general short-coming of the party system, and we have to be forewarned.

If the membership of an organisation like the State Cocoa Marketing Board, which controls the marketing and export of a commodity considered to be the nation's life-blood, is to be made part of the system which distributes the offices of State as rewards for faithful party service, then one cannot expect very much from the Board.

Cocoa is unique

As the country prepares to go back to civilian rule based on party politics, the nature of the relationship that must exist between the most sensitive economic organ of the State—the State Cocoa Marketing Board—and the Government of the day or the ruling political party becomes quite relevant and important. The unique importance of cocoa to the economy cuts across any sectional or group interest. As the mainstay of the economy, it can rightly be said that any matter relating to cocoa must be considered solely and purely on the basis of what the "national interest" demands.

The nation itself is in the throes of economic crisis which is unlikely to be resolved purely on the basis of partisan conflict. There must be a political truce on cocoa. Appointments to the Board must be considered on the grounds of broad national interest and the personal contributions which the appointees are capable of making to further the true interest of the nation and the cocoa industry.

In a nutshell, the contribution which the cocoa industry could make towards re-construction of the economy will depend upon the country's ability to find an institutional expression of the idea of "national interest" in the management of the industry's affairs.

MATCHET'S DIARY

THERE seems little chance of the Irish Labour Party winning the coming general election. If it did the most likely Foreign Minister would be Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, whose most recent incursion in African affairs has been as a champion of Biafra. He has been suggesting in election speeches that if the present government lost, a new government would recognise Biafra. This is very doubtful but some spokesmen for Fine Gael, the chief opposition party, have been urging a re-assessment of the Irish official attitude. This has been consistently correct in spite of the enormous barrage directed against it on Biafra's behalf. Dr. O'Brien has suggested that the fact that voluntary donations and funds in Eire had exceeded those in Britain indicated political support for Biafra. This is denied, for example, by the Rev. Father P. O'Neill, S.M.A., who has served in Western Nigeria, and who claims that Irish Catholics only want to alleviate suffering, wherever it is found. Father O'Neill also points out that any official attitude other than the present one could endanger Irish missionary activity throughout Nigeria. Nevertheless, even Dr. O'Brien's return from his New York academic post is bound to make Biafra an even more explosive political issue in Eire than it has been.

Biafra's intention of interfering with oil production in Federally-held areas was confirmed to me last week by a leading Biafran spokesman abroad. He said that they were determined to regain oil wells in what they regarded as Biafran territory—that is the whole of the former Eastern region—and he also said that they now felt confident of the support of Ibos in the Mid-West State, claiming that the commandos who raided the Agip plant had consisted entirely of Mid-West Ibos. He justified the raid on the ground that it was the Federal Government that was now clearly an illegal and unpopular government, and that anybody who was helping it must take the consequences. He was quite certain that Britain and the Soviet Union were doing far more than merely allowing the Federal Government to buy arms, and appeared genuinely to believe that Mr. Harold Wilson and "British Intelligence" planned and ordered all Federal moves.

So from feeling dismay that Biafra's only link with the outside world was the flimsy one of the Uli aircraft (my informant assured me that two other airstrips capable of taking small aircraft were also active) he took great pride in the skill of the exercise and had complete confidence that the Federal forces would never reach Uli on the ground, and that the Federal air force could



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never destroy it from the air. He appeared to be genuinely prepared for the ten years' war of which Colonel Ojukwu has spoken, although, as one always does in talking to Biafran spokesmen abroad, I wondered how he would feel if he was an Ibo farmer who had been driven from his land. At present, it seems, Biafra's military ambitions know no bounds and my friend, whom I had known well in earlier days, assured me that while the military offensive was going so successfully the political offensive was not being pushed abroad. When I asked him how continued resistance, with all the sufferings for civilians, could be justified he gave me the stock answer: "In 1966 the Federal Government failed completely in its duty of protecting the people of Eastern Nigeria; its soldiers and policemen even joined in the massacres. Nobody ever apologised to us, nobody was ever punished. From that day on it was clear that we would be safe only if we were in charge of our own security which meant only if we seceded. That is still true".

Lord Hailey's death this month at the age of 97 must have come as a surprise to many younger people, who found it hard to believe that the organiser of the famous *African Survey*, pub-

lished in 1938, long after he had completed a distinguished career in the Indian civil service, could still be alive. But for me his great work was not the *African Survey*, not much of which he wrote himself. It was his four-volume *Native Administration in the British African Territories*, published in 1951. Its title might make it appear obsolete, but in fact I always find part III, on West Africa, a most valuable reference book on Chiefs and Chieftaincy. I also treasure Lord Hailey's terse account, in this work, of British policy in Nigeria: "the extension of British rule has had all the appearance of a series of disconnected and reluctant concessions to circumstances which the Government could not ignore but was unable to meet in any other way." To produce this work he travelled thousands of miles (though not the 22,000 miles he was reported to have travelled for the *African Survey*) at the age of 75. When over 80 he revised the *African Survey*, and for many years after that he retained an active interest in African affairs.

Among UN talking points is the present disarray of the "African group". This is partly the result of divisions caused by Biafra, but it is reflected in other ways. I believe, for example, that it was originally agreed that Sierra Leone

should this year be put forward as the West African candidate for a seat on the Security Council, where Dr. Davidson Nicol would make an excellent spokesman. But now, for reasons I do not understand, Togo is claiming the seat. By convention other UN members leave the choice to the group concerned, so West African countries will have to sort this one out for themselves.

Two of the Royal African Society's five annual medal awards "for dedicated service to Africa" have gone this year to doctors working in West and Central Africa. Mr. Frank Mead has spent 22 years in leprosy work in Africa for the British Leprosy Relief Association, starting in Eastern Nigeria and going on to Togoland, Gold Coast and Basutoland (as they then were), The Gambia (1940-1968) and now Sierra Leone. Dr. Helen Roseveare, who also receives a medal, has worked in Orientale Province in Congo-K as a medical missionary with the Heart of Africa Mission, and was held prisoner for a time by the revolutionaries, being rescued by a commando under Col. Hoare.

Richard Burton on his wife, Elizabeth Taylor: "She is fantastically generous. I think she is supporting the entire Biafran war effort on her own".

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CAMEROON

Relaxing the austerity

TRAD E, not aid, might be the motto of Cameroon economic planners: for vital though foreign sources of finance are in development, in 1960-67 cocoa export earnings fell by about the same amount as the total of foreign aid received. Cameroon is not alone in suffering from the effects of fluctuations in world commodity prices and a number of its other problems are testing the brains of governments throughout the entire developing world: insufficient jobs for school leavers, rapid urbanisation, the divisive effects of tribalism or other forms of regionalism, difficulties of agricultural diversification, inadequate internal savings.

But during the Presidency of 44-year-old President Ahmadou Ahidjo the 180,000 square mile republic has been developing faster and on sounder foundations than many of its neighbours. It is predominantly agricultural, but the industrial sector is the third largest in French speaking sub-Saharan Africa, the growth rate is estimated between 4 and 5 per cent. in constant prices, and whereas in 1962 the country had to ask France for over 3,000m. CFA francs to balance the budget, by 1965 the subsidy needed was down to 500m., and since then no subsidy has been sought. Imports, it is true, have risen dramatically: the 1967 import bill of \$185m. represented an increase of more than 29 per cent. over the previous year and of 80 per cent. above the 1962 figure, but most is for essential imports such as machinery, vehicles and clothes.

Welcome mat for investment

This is not to suggest that everything is perfect—inflation, for instance, is a constant worry—but it does indicate that progress is being made. As a member of the US trade delegation which recently visited the country wrote: "There is much to be said for Cameroon. Though not rich in minerals, it has a diversified economy, capable leadership, good shipping and airline facilities and last but not least a welcome mat for foreign investment".

This, last point deserves particular stress, for the country's liberal investment code is drawing increasingly greater attention from potential investors in West Africa. Apart from the virtual lack of restrictions on remittance of earnings and repatriation of capital, the code contains four types of benefits including tax exemptions, guarantees that firms will not be subject for specified periods to any new taxes or duties which might be enacted after the investment is made, reduced export duties and exemptions from import

duties and taxes on equipment and raw materials. For example, fabric made in the U.S. for use in a Cameroonian factory in which tennis shoes are made will enter the country free of duty and import and foreign exchange restrictions until 1980. Indeed, last month's swingering new tax on alcohol in a country that has the highest per capita consumption of beer in West Africa was one way of compensating for revenue which has been lost because of these generous concessions.

The Germans, British, Italians and Japanese have all realised in recent years that there are good economic reasons for not allowing French investment to be so completely dominant. Of 100 principal manufacturing concerns, over half have been set up since 1962, and a further 23 are being established or are in the final stages of planning. When added to UDEAC, the Central African Customs and Economic Union (which allows duty free movement of goods between Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo Brazzaville and Gabon) the country's 5½m. population becomes 8½m. and the total value of imports becomes \$380m.

Development is always linked to politics, but for a country with Cameroon's strife-torn past, which many observers thought could never be fused into a viable nation, this is particularly significant, and nothing is more symbolic and immediately visible than improved communications. Not for nothing is the recently opened 30km. Tiko-Douala road, which crosses mangrove swamps and marshes to link East and West Cameroon, known as the "unification road". As the President himself said at the first annual congress of the Union Nationale Camerounaise recently: "Economic unification is linking more and more closely together the different regions in a network of trade relationships which reinforce their solidarity even more". In the last six years the length of asphalt roads has increased by a third to 1,050 kilometres and of earth made roads by 50 per cent, at a cost of about 2,000m. CFA a year. On the books is a long-term minor road rebuilding plan which will have a considerable effect on the evacuation of crops, the improvement of the Kumba-Mamfe road, for which CFA 70m. has been earmarked in the Federal budget, and the Bamenda-Bafoussam road, to be financed by the European Economic Community. Work has started on a bridge over the Benue at Garoua, the second most important bridge in the country after the one over the Wouri in Douala, at a cost of CFA376m. Railway development is also proceeding rapidly (the danger of overlapping interests must be watched carefully):



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CFA11,000m. has been allocated for the second phase of the Douala-Chad link, the Transcamerounnais, which will involve 332 km. of track from Balabo to Ngaoundere. One tenth of the cost will come from the national budget, and work is expected to begin at the end of this year. France's Aid and Co-operation Fund has agreed to lend CFA100m. for telecommunications extension and modernisation and a CFA759m. loan from the US Export-Import bank for a telecommunications link between Yaounde and Fort Fourreau has been signed.

Large sums are invested in these projects but the President is confident that as they are principally long-term loans at low rates of interest the country's finances can support them.

But it is agriculture that is the key sector. Almost every one of the country's major products has been hit in recent years by market fluctuations, particularly cocoa, but also coffee and bananas (where a 3,000m. programme has been launched to enable the 1958 export level to be reached again). Commented the President: "We have found no encouragement among foreign aid sources to carry out this indispensable operation of agricultural diversification". But the future now looks brighter: cocoa prices are currently high, and this season Cameroon production topped the 100,000-ton mark for the first time. A massive CFA16,000m. development programme has been set up for creating agro-industrial units for producing palm oil. Cotton production has already exceeded Plan targets and ginning and oil extraction are doing well. Timber, the development of which is already aided by generous tax concessions, looks particularly promising as a result of the new areas being opened up by the rail and road extensions. Food processing appears to be the obvious "growth industry" in the next few years.

A remarkable achievement

Considering the austerity which became necessary in 1967 as a result of budgetary deficits and a decline in state funds and in foreign assets, the 4 per cent. increase in salaries announced last month was a remarkable achievement. But the share of recurrent expenses has increased in the last three years despite tough belt-tightening measures, resulting in capital expenditures falling below the level attained from 1965 to 1967. It is clear that Government is going to have to make the squeeze a little harder in the form of more efficient tax collection and the eradication of waste and inefficiency in the public service, as well as holding a tight rein on further unqualified staff expansion in the sector, which already accounts for a quarter of the country's wage earners. Apart from that, it is a matter of praying for stability in the prices of the country's main export crops.

books and publications

BRITISH OFFICER IN THE NORTH

Colonial Cadet in Nigeria by John Smith (Duke University Press, \$7.50).

IT is fashionable to decry the colonial civil service in Nigeria—particularly perhaps the service in Northern Nigeria. John Smith's monograph—for that is what his brief and well written book is—should do something to restore the balance. Smith entered the service at the time when, as he fully recognised, its end was in sight. He wishes, sometimes a little ruefully, that he could have known it in those 20-30 years when Lugard had given way to an established system, and the administrative officer's main task was uncomplicated by the need to cope with nascent Nigerian politics as well as the British view of ordering things. The fact that Smith joined the service in 1951, however, and that he is one of the few British civil servants who have remained in Nigeria (he is now under contract to a State government),

adds immense value to his book. Since he understands what Nigeria is today, his book is more than a record of the sort of problems met by a British civil servant in the past—although inclusion of many of his own touring reports from Kano and Zaria provinces, as appendices, should also make a useful book for students.

Essentially, Smith covers the five years from 1950, the raw material being his own diaries, correspondence and reports, the tale covering treks through remote villages and stints in "head office", dealing with anything from complaints about the *jangali* (cattle tax)—in 1954 he wrote: "I am convinced that the revenue from cycle licences will be the jangali of the future"—to organising feeder roads and building classrooms. This was not just a "law and order" job, as it had been earlier in the century. The DO's role, at least as Smith conceived it, was of a

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"pre-development age" developer. "The simplicity, peace and sense of continuity of prosperous Hausa village life was something to admire. It seemed so unnecessary to disrupt it for the sake of progress, yet the Hausa peasant could not avoid contact with the century in which he lived and whose aircraft already droned overhead. Introducing change without destroying stability, bringing new values without destroying the old, was to be the essence of my job."

Inevitably, the job was also political. Organising the 1955 town council election in Zaria, Smith registered a victory for the opposition Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). "Neju understood the problem and knew that multi-member constituencies necessitated strong party discipline... the NPC on the other hand found it difficult to do this—whether from aristocratic inertia, lack of political experience or simple pride, is hard to say." But when NEPU's victory was recorded, the Northern Region premier, the Sardauna of Sokoto's comment, "in green ink" was: "Allah dai, ya sani!—God knows the truth!" It was not until after the disastrous regional election the following year in Zaria that the NPC realised, as Smith says, that "the success of a democratic election depended upon organisation, discipline and effort as well as Allah."

Only in an "epilogue" does John Smith deal with what has happened in Nigeria since the early fifties, and this is rather

a backward look at the colonial service than an analysis of what went wrong in the country as a whole. But the expatriate civil service, remaining longer in the north than in other former British colonies, takes some of the blame for the erupting crisis, its regional loyalty helping "perhaps to institutionalise the sad relations between Nigerians in north and south... our loyalty to the Region tended to make us side with the Northerner in the tribal clash." But this apart, "there was ample opportunity for bitterness to grow between communities which did not mix easily let alone integrate, in which one group held the political power and another seemed to win most of the economic prizes."

As for the service itself; "Nigerianisation was a necessary part of independence, but everyone was far too shortsighted about the expansion economic growth, stimulated by independence, was going to bring." With the colonial civil servants gone, short-term foreign experts, "mercenaries" in their field, were hired. "How much better it would have been to have formed a new Commonwealth Service for those of us prepared to carry on, providing the necessary security, resolving the conflict of loyalties and fulfilling the needs of the country at probably far less cost." Whether such an idea would have worked is now academic. Smith himself, and a few others, stayed on. Hopefully, he will write about it, not leaving the tale to be told by less-qualified "mercenaries".

M.B.

"What is Islam?" by W. Montgomery Watt (Longmans: 42s.).

Professor Watt's contribution to the publisher's "Arab Background" series is of interest far beyond the Arab world; four hundred million people base their way of life on Islam, which offers not only theological dogma, forms of worship and political theory, but a detailed code of conduct covering matters such as hygiene and etiquette. In the present work jurisprudence and mysticism are dealt with only briefly, as they are to be the subjects of other volumes in the series.

For the non-Muslim Professor Watt's approach should be entirely successful, since he does not ignore the deep-seated prejudices against the religion among non-believers. Above all he explains the basis of the belief of Muslims that "their community or umma is a charismatic one, in virtue of its being divinely founded and having a divinely given law—or in more modern times, in virtue of its being a bearer of values." The religious community gives its members "an identity of which they are intensely proud, and with this a confidence to meet the various trials of life"—even if it also sometimes "blinds Muslims to the merits of members of other religious communities."

For the student of Africa, Professor Watt offers another important judgment.

"Undoubtedly one of the outstanding successes of Islam has been its creation of a great community of many races, in which there has been a genuine sense of brotherhood. The brotherhood of different races may never have been perfect for there are occasional traces of racial consciousness in mediaeval writings, but there was certainly never any of racial animosity which is found in colonial countries in the present century. The impact of Europe has, however, been significant. "Arabic-speaking Muslims, for example, generally show little interest in their fellow Muslims of East Africa or Indonesia. The pressures of world politics, however, are likely to bring them more together in the future, and it is not impossible that there will be a renewal of the sense of world-wide brotherhood in Islam at both the personal and the political level" P.N.

The Terror Fighters by A. J. Venter (Purnell and Sons, S.A., no price given).

After the passionate, long-legged smiling black girls of West Africa, liquor is still the worst enemy of the white man while he remains in the stifling heat, writes South African author A. J. Venter. Such trashy journalism is typical of the raucy language of the bass which is a superficial account of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, described by a reporter from his vantage point in Portuguese planes and jeeps.

It is true that Venter is not taken

France and the Africans 1944-1960

by Edward Mortimer

From the Brazzaville Conference, this book traces the fortunes of France's attempt to find a formula which would rationally unite the lands and peoples irrationally conglomerated by French colonial expansion, ending colonialism but preserving the empire. This attempt which, after the Loi-Cadre of 1956 and the de Gaulle referendum of 1958, ended in the dissolution of the Communauté in 1960. With 3 maps and 8 plates. 55/-

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Coming Shortly

Nigerian Press Law



Edited by T. O. Elias, C.F.R., O.C., B.A., L.L.D. (Lond). Attorney General, Federal Republic of Nigeria and Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Law, University of Lagos.

A vital addition to the small body of literature at present available on the constitutional delimitations of the role of the press in Nigeria, which contains chapters on:

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Published by Evans in association with the University of Lagos.

by all he is told; that he reports attitudes does not indicate that they are his own. But he himself chooses the word "terrorism" for the movement against colonialism, and he refers to a Portuguese officer as "decidedly avuncular" whereas the man's previously quoted words have shown him to be more of a bloodthirsty killer than the typical white paternalist. Glib meaningless phrases such as "There is nothing that adds spice to life in Africa as does a little killing" flow from his typewriter.

What emerges from the book, however, is that the Portuguese are foundering against the tactics of the guerrillas. To use a phrase as slick as Venter's own, it is said that for many whites in southern Africa it is only when the bullets start hitting them, because the blacks and brown can shoot as well as they, that the realisation of racial equality begins.

D. N.

Three Negro Plays by Langston Hughes, Lorraine Hansberry and LeRoi Jones (Penguin, 1969, 6s. in UK).

The link between the three plays published here is their passionate concern with the Negro Americans' situation. Langston Hughes' *Mulatto* was an early manifestation of this (first performed in 1935), while LeRoi Jones' *The Slave* and Lorraine Hansberry's *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window* came 30 years later, as part of the new socially-committed dramatic school. There is an interesting introduction, on the Negro American and the US stage, by Mr. C. W. E. Bigsby, who also says something about these authors. Two of them have died in recent years, while the third, LeRoi Jones, is an active militant—there is plenty of violence in his plays, which, like those of the other two dramatists' plays works published in the book, express revulsion at "liberal" attitudes.

J. D.

Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile, by John Hanning Speke, Introduction by J. N. L. Baker, (Everyman's Library, 18s).

This is a new reprint of the narrative of one of the most important journeys made in Africa during the last century, originally published in 1864. It is very readable, and apart from its geographical interest contains many observations of the people and societies through which Speke passed. Mr. Baker's introduction deals among other things with the controversy with Burton, Speke's former colleague, who followed the expedition.

D.G.

Constitutional Government and West Africa by F. W. G. Benamy (George Harrap, 14s.).

A moderator of the West African Examinations Council, Mr. Benamy describes here a good deal more than the

constitutions of English-speaking West African states; in other chapters he analyses the "general principles of Government," public administration in the UK, West Africa and elsewhere, the constitutions of the UK and the USA and of France and the Soviet Union, and the Commonwealth. Though interspersed with judgments, based on traditional British liberal ideals, the book mainly consists of straight descriptions. Unfortunately the final chapter, on the present situation in West Africa, has some errors of fact about the Nigerian crisis, and other signs of a rather sketchy study of this. The main part of the book, though, is certainly interesting and valuable; it is probably geared specially to the needs of West African students.

C. I.

The Revolutionary Years: West Africa since 1800 by J. B. Webster and A. A. Baahen, with H. O. Idowu (Growth of African Civilisation Series, Longmans, 14s.).

A well-written and fact-packed book geared to WAEC examinations, dealing with the Fulani wars and other Sudanic Muslim movements in the 19th century, the Tokolor empire and Samori Touré's, Ashanti and Yorubaland, the Niger Delta river states and early Sierra Leone, and much else in the era before partition and colonisation; there are also chapters on these and on the colonial era, the growth of nationalism and independence.

Books and Publications Received

Housing in the Modern World by Charles Abrams (Faber and Faber, 16s.); paperback edition of a book published previously in hardback by the same publishers, and reviewed in "West Africa", Nov. 26, 1966.

Idanye and Other Poems by Wole Soyinka (Methuen, 8s. 6d.); paperback version of the book reviewed in "West Africa" on Jan. 13, 1968.

Commonwealth in a New Era: Pioneers of an Open World by Leonard Beaton (The Atlantic Trade Study, 6 Buckingham St., London, W.C.2; 7s.)

Teach Yourself Books: Yoruba by E. C. Rowlands (English University Press, 12s.).

Statistics. The How and the Why by E. H. Lockwood (John Murray, 15s.). A paperback version will appear shortly.

CORRECTION

The correct title of the book by Mr. K. Mukherjee reviewed in "West Africa" of May 31 is "Underdevelopment. Educational Policy and Planning." We regret that the title was incorrectly given in the review.

Introduction to Biology

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INTRODUCTION TO BIOLOGY is one of the most widely used science textbooks in the British Commonwealth—it now appears in an edition specially written for tropical areas, for which the author has had help and advice from many teachers in schools and universities in tropical areas.

While the layout and organization of the chapters remain basically unaltered, the drawings and descriptions of European plants and animals have been replaced, where appropriate, by new ones of tropical organisms. These were studied and drawn in West Africa, but many of them should be suitable for a wide range of tropical countries.

The chapter on food and nutrition has been amended to make it more appropriate to tropical countries; a section on conservation has been added to the chapter on soil; and sections on the rainbow lizard, termites and the rhinoceros beetle have also been included.

The requirements of the biology syllabus of the West African Examinations Council have been kept in mind, and the questions at the end of the chapters are taken from past papers of this Council and from the overseas papers of the University of London.

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The US and Nigeria

From a Correspondent

NEWS of the replacement of Mr Joseph Palmer as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs at the State Department has persuaded some Biafrans that the new American administration might at least be more sympathetic to their cause than was President Johnson. Some of these Biafrans, too, misled by the fact that no announcement of Mr. Palmer's next appointment has been made, even assume that he is leaving official life, though in fact he is returning to Africa as an ambassador, at his own request. As a former US ambassador in Lagos, Mr. Palmer was always suspect to the Biafrans and throughout the conflict the State Department (presumably on Mr. Palmer's advice) has officially avoided any expression of political sympathy with Biafra, and has continued close relations with the Federal Government. The advent of Mr. Nixon has not affected official relations in any way.

It is true that President Johnson banned the sale of arms to both sides in the conflict. This, however, has had no significant effect on events as the United States was not an important supplier of arms to Nigeria; indeed, it can be argued that, in view of the great outburst of sympathy for Biafra which the United States has experienced, the Federal Government itself should be pleased that the ban was imposed at the outset, since, had it not been, the President would later have been obliged to impose it and thus to show apparent political sympathy for Biafra. And, nurtured by hope, it is political sympathy which the Biafrans constantly seek in Washington.

With the departure of the man they regard as their arch-enemy, who has had to face a great deal of personal criticism from American sympathisers with Biafra, and his replacement at the State Department by Mr. David Newsom, whose experience in Africa is confined to the North, some Biafrans still hope that at least the Nixon administration will refrain from any expression of sympathy for the Federation, and that at best they might even secure official political sympathy. This hope they continue to entertain although Biafran representatives have been told categorically from the White House itself that their hope is vain. Nor do the Biafrans forget the expression of sympathy for them made, unwisely as no doubt he now recognises, by Mr. Nixon during the election campaign. They are encouraged, too, by the support of men as prominent as Senator Edward Kennedy and Senator Eugene McCarthy.

It is true that, while official relations remain cordial, there has been no statement from the new administration on the Nigerian conflict of the kind made, for



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example, by Mr. Dean Rusk as Secretary of State. He said at a meeting last September: "Within the former Eastern Region of Nigeria, which seceded under the name of Biafra, were not only some 8m. Ibos, but another 4 to 5m. members of other tribes whose sympathies did not for the most part lie with the more numerous Ibos. Now what would happen to a Nigeria that dissolved on tribal lines? What would happen to the Congo, which might easily become 30 small states on tribal lines? What would happen to that continent if the entire continent were to dissolve into hundreds of tiny principalities, unviable, violent among themselves."

This was a fairly clear condemnation of secession, of a kind to gladden Federal hearts. Mr. Nixon, on the other hand, at the reception given for him by the African ambassadors in Washington to mark the anniversary of the founding of OAU, expressed enthusiasm for the idea of African unity in general but carefully refrained from any reference to



Mr. Joseph Palmer, back to Africa

unity of any particular African country.

It could be argued on the Federal side that the failure of the new administration, in view of the election campaign statements and the state of public feeling in the country, clearly to express support for the Federal government amounts objectively to support of Biafra, since the Biafrans attach such vast importance to these matters and are sustained as much by words abroad as by gifts. But, in fact there is little cheer for Biafrans in official quarters, however much sympathy they have from almost all sections of the public except the Negroes.

Since Mr. Nixon took office a special mission from the House of Representatives has visited Nigeria and Biafra and reported to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House. Mr. Charles Diggs, chairman of this two-man mission, made it plain in his testimony on returning to Washington that after visiting both sides his sympathy lay with the Federal case. He said, for example, that the future of a completely independent Biafra, as at present constituted, was "questionable". He criticised the Biafran refusal to permit daylight relief flights and land corridors and said that the Biafrans must accept responsibility for the effect on

civilians of this refusal. He criticised the use of the Federal air force but denied any genocidal intentions on the part of the Federal troops. He asserted that disintegration of Nigeria would lead to the balkanisation of Africa: "If Nigeria cannot surmount this challenge the map of Africa may be on its way to being amended, perhaps, accompanied by the strife of territorial reorganisation".

Mr. Diggs' very thorough report, which included considerable detail on relief and its distribution, is not a statement by the administration. But its effect on the House of Representatives is generally agreed to have been considerable.

It was, however, Mr. Nixon who appointed Dr. Clyde Ferguson as special co-ordinator on relief to civilian victims of the war. The appointment was made partly because a very great deal of American money (well over \$30m.), both public and private, has been given for relief in Nigeria and there has been some disquiet about what was happening to it. But it was also thought necessary because of the need for the administration to appear to be "doing something," in view of the mounting concern among legislators and the public about the continuation of the Nigerian war.

Dr. Ferguson has done an excellent job on relief, particularly in co-ordination (he concluded that inside Biafra the great problem was not food but health). But his statement in April, after his return from Nigeria, to the sub-committee on Africa of the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, also had significant political implications. In reply to a question by Mr. Diggs, this time in his capacity as Chairman of the sub-committee, Mr. Ferguson agreed, for example, that much of the hunger on the Biafran side was due to those in authority there giving higher priority to their military requirements than civilian needs, he also urged the need for daytime relief flights. Dr. Ferguson questioned, too, the credentials of the American "Keep Biafra Alive Committee" and some other bodies.

Although many in the United States still see the suffering in Biafra as akin to that caused by a natural disaster like an earthquake, and therefore ignore the political implications of relief or actively criticise the Federal Government for not calling off the war, concern among legislators now seems to be far less than it was a few months ago. Perhaps, all the time, their concern was more with the efficiency of relief than with the politics of the war. Perhaps they have realised that Americans are the last people who should interfere in an affair of this kind. Certainly Senator Goddell, a keen supporter of Biafra, seems to have had far less effect than has Mr. Diggs. But whatever the reason it seems likely that Mr. Newsom will have an easier ride at the State Department, at least on Nigeria's account, than Mr. Palmer has had in the last two years.

letters to the editor

FOCCART AND AFRICA

SIR, As a regular reader of your periodical *West Africa*, may I say that I was both surprised and shocked by the series of articles you thought fit to print, since April 27, concerning the former Secretary-General to the Community and African and Malagasy affairs, M. Jacques Foccart.

The unfounded and unjust attacks made upon this gentleman are unworthy of your publication.

I am under the impression that your Parisian correspondent gleaned his information in particular from a certain category of the Press which resorts to scandal in order to attract its readers, a procedure which occasionally results in court cases but which probably represents a form of publicity in the eyes of those concerned.

I can tell you myself, and this opinion can be borne out by many directors of companies operating in tropical Africa, that I have often had the occasion of meeting M. Foccart over the past twenty years and that I have always been impressed by his profound knowledge of Africa and the Africans.

The high functions entrusted to him by General de Gaulle compelled him to absolute discretion but, within the limits imposed upon him, he willingly listened to any advice he might be given and was held in great esteem by his many visitors.

For eleven years, he was in his office by 7 a.m., sometimes until 10 or 11 o'clock at night, receiving numerous callers, which obviously enabled him to be fully conversant with the situation.

If it is true that he conscientiously prepared the foundations on which General de Gaulle's African policy was built, then I feel it is impossible for an observer of good faith not to recognise that this realistic policy was an uncomest French-African success, in the best interest of occidental ideas.

The numerous statements made by African presidents and ministers since the departure of General de Gaulle are an irrefutable proof of this and, along with many other Europeans, I should have been glad to see as little blood shed throughout tropical Africa as was the case in the former French colonies.

In all justice, it must be admitted that M. Foccart contributed to this result.

FR. THIERRY-MIEG, MRP.

Our correspondent writes: M. Foccart's knowledge of Africa, his ability and his talent for hard work are not in question, nor could anything written, either in "Griot" or in articles, he taken in this sense. Our leader of May 3, and the article of the same issue, paid tribute to General de Gaulle, and by implication to the part Foccart played in decolonisation. The information did not come only from *Le Canard Enchaîné*, which in any case deserves to be taken seriously as a source. Background to M. Foccart's reputed secret work can be found in several reputable French books, such as those by M. Vianson-Ponté and M. Choffard. His connection with the policy of aiding Biafra, one of the main points dealt with on April 27 and May 31,

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has come from a wide variety of sources, but because of the nature of the operation, is difficult to pinpoint. As for the lack of bloodshed, it could be argued that the Biafra policy of France, whether or not M. Foccart is associated with it, is even exacerbating bloodshed.

AHMADU BELLO

Sir.—I object to Mr. S. Onoke Marioghae's view (June 7) that the name Ahmadu Bello University has turned the University "into a sectarian institution." His view is grounded in a crude and illogical mode of reasoning and on total ignorance of the composition of the University, especially in terms of students' population.

If the name Ahmadu Bello is "sectarian" what makes the names Zaria, Ife, or Ibadan more "overall Nigerian"? It is true that Ahmadu Bello is a personal name and can be identified with an individual but it is equally true that Zaria, Ibadan and Ife are names of towns identified with particular groups in the country. To me the value of a name is its ability to identify a "thing" be it an individual or an object. The mere label "Ahmadu Bello" for a university does not automatically make it "clannish." Before one concludes whether the University is "sectarian" or not, I think it is only fair to look into the composition and the philosophy of the institution.

In terms of students population, Ahmadu Bello is the most representative of all Nigerian universities. Relatively the University is more balanced in terms of the distribution of students on states basis. This is not a new development; it has in fact been so from the inception of the University and in the heyday of the political career of Sir Ahmadu Bello.

A. D. YAHAYA

CIVILIAN RULE

Sir.—If a questionnaire is sent to me whether I prefer army rule to civilian rule, undoubtedly, I will favour the latter. But I will quickly add the words "at least not for the moment"; perhaps not until three-five years after the end of the war.

The army must continue to rule Nigeria because they have not done what they were brought to power to do, such as eradication of corruption, tribalism, nepotism, etc.; there are no political parties at the moment, elections cannot be held in war areas, or in "hot" areas of Western State; and where are the voter lists, who are the electoral officers, and on which constitution will the elections be held? And what about the refugee problems, rehabilitation, reconstruction, etc.?

All Nigerians both at home and abroad should be grateful to the members of Nigerian armed forces for the great task they are doing to maintain the territorial integrity of the country. We must give them the moral support they badly need rather than to divert their attention by an unnecessary call for civilian rule. Even though Col. Ojukwu is doing the wrong thing, the Ibos still back him; they would not make any speech to weaken his morale. We Nigerians must emulate this sort of spirit, and rally round the Federal Military Government.

Long live the Federal Military Government as long as the tasks remain undone.

M. A. SHITTA-BEV.

ROUNDTABOUT

Sahnoun's warning

What is now happening in Equatorial Guinea? Officially attempts are being made to patch up relations with Spain after the disastrous deterioration of relations in March. Provisional economic agreements have been reached, and a few Spaniards were reported returning. But, if we are to believe Mohammed Sahnoun, Deputy Secretary-General of the OAU, who has recently returned from a visit there, the situation is still serious, and could become critical. He was last week in Geneva, to alert the various international organisations there, and told the correspondent of *Le Monde* "the country is threatened by famine and anarchy". Nearly all Europeans, especially doctors had left the country, and "on the plantations, work has stopped and there is chaos". From his talks with President Macias and other personalities, M. Sahnoun had formed the opinion that the panic exodus of Europeans had not been justified. One of the most delicate questions was that of the indentured labour from Nigeria on Fernando Po, where, he said, of a labour force of 60,000, about 45,000 were Nigerians, including 60 per cent Ibos "who considered themselves Biafrans", and 40 per cent of other tribes who he said were sympathising with Biafra. Nearly 15,000 of these were totally unemployed. All could be considered refugees for political reasons, or because of the war. Many of these workers had been recruited by Spain before independence, others had fled from the war zone. If the food situation became worse there might be troubles between these workers and the Fernando Po indigenes. Thus he had warned the UN High Commissioner for Refugees of the situation, to see if they could at least benefit from food assistance. He also had alerted the WHO as to the urgent need for a medical team there.

Other reports confirm what M. Sahnoun had said earlier in Cameroon, immediately on returning from Sant a Isabel, that there had been minor disturbances in the middle of May, following reports that the National Guard had been clashing with the Guinea Militia, otherwise known as the "Macias Youth". M. Sahnoun said that these incidents were minor, but other reports said that Sr. Jesus Mba Oyono, the Minister of Public Works, who is Sr. Macias' right-hand man, had been arrested for 24 hours by the National Guard. Sr. Oyono has been virtually running the island since Sr. Macias took up residence in Bata, on the mainland, after the crisis broke out at the end of February.

Between soldiers

I like the story related in *The New York Times* that last month President Eyadema of Togo received a telephone call from Col. Alphonse Alley, who not so long ago was of equal status to

Eyadema, and meeting him on a president-to-president basis. Col. Alley complained that the civilian regime of Dr. Zinsou was giving him a bad time. He had been sent on six months' enforced leave last year when the civilians returned, and had to see his junior, Major Kouandé, become Commander of the Armed Forces. Now, he said, they were trying to force him to go to Washington to assume "a non-existent job". To which General Eyadema is said to have replied: "It serves you right for being stupid enough to give power back to the politicians. Don't think I'm ever going to be that dumb." Certainly, it seems that civil rule in Togo is postponed indefinitely for the moment, ever since an attempt was made and there were "spontaneous" demonstrations all over the country imploring the army to stay in power. The report says that only four ministers in the government function, and the political class is pronouncedly discontented at being run by the unorthodox Eyadema "who is utterly without charisma", but seems too divided among themselves to produce a viable alternative. The opposition, based on Sylvanus Olympio's old party, the CUT, still exists. Its most formidable leader, the mysterious lawyer, Nœ Kutuklu, reportedly circulates between Accra and Cotonou. Concern about the CUT was presumably behind the Togo government's complaint that got Bonito Olympio thrown out of Ghana.

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commercial news

Consumers oppose coffee plan

COFFEE trade and industry representatives in Europe and the United States have agreed to register with their governments their complete opposition to the proposals designed to halt the fall in coffee prices which were drawn up in Geneva by producing countries. Their main disagreement is with the plan for a pro rata cut for all producer countries of at least 1m bags to be held as a reserve stock in consumer countries. Such stocks, argues the trade, always tend to depress prices and cause stagnation and their formation will solve nothing but only put off difficulties from one coffee year to the next, finally penalising those producers adhering strictly to the International Coffee Agreement.

But while the International Coffee Organisation met in London this week, the consumers held a separate meeting and agreed that the price structure of the market needed some support and a cut in the annual quotas seemed necessary. They are, however, not committing themselves on the producers' other recommendations and clearly want to be included in any discussions which may take place on the matter.

It is impossible to hope for higher cotton prices because of intense competition from man-made fibres, the executive director of the International Cotton Advisory Committee warned at a conference in Kampala. There was little prospect of an increase in demand for the crop, he said. But another delegate, Mr. Read Dunn, pointed out that although the proportion of shirts made from cotton had fallen from 90 to 60 per cent in 10 years, important advances had been made in the development of twistless yarns—producing yarn without spinning—which was "possibly the biggest breakthrough in textiles since the invention of the loom" and for which fibres other than cotton had proved unsuitable.

Tin export quotas were introduced to help the Buffer Stock Manager maintain the floor level of £1,280, not artificially to force prices up by £150 a ton, and it would be very advantageous to the trade if these export controls were relaxed, say Rudolf Wolff in their weekly metal market report. Should the price flop as a result, adds the comment, controls could always be re-imposed. They consider that tin is currently overpriced by at least £50 a ton, if not more, but that if quotas are maintained, prices could move up again.

African wheat production rose from six to seven million tons in 1968-69, according to a United Nations estimate. World production was put at a record 306m. tons, 13 per cent more than the previous year.

West African production of oilseeds fell in 1968 for the second consecutive year. The 1,800,000 metric tons produced, compared with 1,960,000 tons in 1967 and 2,150,000 tons in 1966. Output in the rest of Africa increased slightly in this period as did world production, which stands at 39,670,000 tons.

Exports from Congo Kinshasa rose by a third to 215,000 tons in 1968, an almost 100 per cent improvement over the 1967 figure. Nigeria exported 548,000 tons, slightly more than the previous year but still considerably down on the 1966 level of 784,000 tons and exports from former French West African countries rose from 437,000 to 459,000 tons.

Nigerian palm oil exports sank to 411,000 tons (146,000 in 1966) and cottonseed exports also tumbled, but groundnut groundnut oil sales abroad hit a new level of 657,000 and 111,000 tons respectively.

At the end of April, 7,500 tons of palm kernels and 1,500 tons of palm oil had been shipped from Calabar, South Eastern State.

A futures market for coconut opens in London on July 1. Average market price last year was £158 a ton with a May peak of £176 a ton.

Better rice crops in Africa are expected to reduce imports into the region in 1968/69, a UN Food and Agriculture Organisation group announced. Africa as a whole imported 6.1m. tons in 1967/68 and 6.7m. tons in 1966/67.

Cocoa: more for less

Although Ghana's cocoa exports in the July 1968-March 1969 period were less than the same period a year earlier, customs and excise has benefited more because of a considerably higher export duty (NC301.76 a ton compared with NC172.2 a ton). The figures are revealed by exports of 125,000 tons in the first nine months of the current fiscal year compared to NC17.7m from 184,510 tons in the same period in 1967/68.

The Ghana and Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Companies are reported to be profitably heavily sold than any year previously at this time of the year and bids of 190c for Ghana and 387s. 6d. for Nigerian in December/February shipment have been refused. Since December, the market has fluctuated between £380 and £410 a ton and Wilson, Smithett and Cope say that until an important new factor emerges, little change can be expected in this pattern.



CDFC PROFITS DOWN

Last year's profit by the Commonwealth Development Finance Company was £320,682 compared to £417,806 for the year ending March 31, 1968. A drop in new commitments from £2m to £1.5m, reflects the difficult monetary conditions and disturbed capital market of the past year and chairman Sir George Bolton says in his annual review that the company will need to finance some of its future investment by borrowing outside the United Kingdom.

In place of past emphasis on loan financing, attention will now be directed to increasing profits by a greater concentration on equity investment and the rendering of financial services. Sir George mentions the possibility of acting as financier and financial adviser to small companies and giving similar support for development overseas by British companies with little or no experience outside UK. The company is no longer confined to activities in Commonwealth countries but can invest in other countries "where it may serve British or Commonwealth interests to do so."

The company has investments in nearly 100 undertakings in 27 countries with a book value of £27m. They include the National Investment Bank in Ghana, Guma Valley Water company in Sierra Leone, Dunlop Nigerian Industries, Dunlop Nigerian Plantations, the Metal Box Company of Nigeria, the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank, Norspin and the Nigerian Sugar Company.

Steady progress in Nigeria despite the war has been reported by Longmans, the publishers, whose annual report states "The African continent remains an important area for our sales and offers considerable scope for future developments despite the obvious political risks." The report notes with pleasure that some African governments appear to have changed the arrangements which had been made in connection with State Publishing Houses "and it seems likely that in future there will be increased opportunities for the Group's local publishing houses." Longman's world wide profits last year totalled £1,899,000.

British Leyland, David Brown (Tractors) and English Calico Printers are among the British firms taking part in the Kinshasa International Fair. Guest of honour on the Fair's British Day was the Lord Mayor of Birmingham.

A Birmingham Chamber of Commerce delegation will spend two weeks in the Congo in October.

The £3m. tyre factory of Dunlop Nigerian Industries Ltd., which was officially opened in March 1963, and in which the Commonwealth Development Finance Corporation has £150,000 debenture stock and £100,000 equity.

Foreign firms in Nigeria's construction industry have been warned by the Government that their continuing operations in the country, particularly their enjoyment of government patronage, would partly depend on the rate of Nigerianisation of their management, top executive and supervisory staff. A Ministry of Works and Housing statement to this effect referred to newspaper advertisements for an expatriate supervisor and confidential secretary which, he said, amounted to "unabashed discriminatory practice." The statement cited the example of a firm which in the last seven years had been awarded Government contracts worth £24m. but had no Nigerian on its 19 engineering and supervisory staff.

Ghana's deficit

Ghana's recurrent and development expenditure in the period July 1-November 30 1968 amounted to NC120.23m. while total ordinary revenue and other receipts came to NC104.6m. This NC15.63m. deficit compares with a NC\$38m. surplus for the same period in the previous fiscal year when revenue was NC106.8m. and expenditure NC101.42m.

A \$6m. loan has been made by the World Bank to help the Volta River Authority expand its hydroelectric power plant to its full capacity of 882 megawatts. The Authority is committed to furnishing the additional power required by the Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO), which operates an aluminium smelter at Tema, and the extra capacity will also enable it to provide for Ghana's domestic power requirements until 1977. In addition, the Bank will send consultants to review the Authority's future power expansion plans and advise on organisational matters.

Ghana's National Trading Corporation made a gross profit of NC19m in the financial year ending September 1968. The director, Mr. J. O. Agyeman, said that the Corporation was passing through a difficult period and its turnover (NC67.7m.) had fallen to an uncomfortably low level, largely as a result of an inadequate number of import licences being granted. Government's attention had been drawn to the situation.

Negotiations are under way between Ghana's National Investment Bank and Fulgurt of West Germany for an asbestos cement plant, probably to be sited at Takoradi.



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Commercial news

Duty changes in Ivory Coast

Mali, Japan and the United States will be the chief beneficiaries of tariff concessions made by the Ivory Coast. A temporary suspension of import duties on 14 animals which applies to animals from all countries should give a particular boost to Mali's exports of cattle on the hoof.

A reduction in the duty on motor vehicles and air conditioning equipment, although also applicable to all countries, will favour the United States and imports from Japan will pay duty at the lowest rate in return for privileges granted to Ivory Coast products. The Ivory Coast's trade balance with both Japan and the United States is in its favour.

• Ratification of a trade agreement between Nigeria and Congo is expected to be signed in Kinshasa soon. Nigerian products to be exported to Congo under the agreement include textiles, foodstuffs, vehicles, parts, cocoa products, groundnut oils, hides and skins, electrical goods, enamel ware and matches. From the Congo will come cement, roofing materials, sewing thread, shoes, bottles, plastic articles, interior sprung bed materials, bicycles, paints, beer and cigarettes.

• Ivory Coast's Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Ministers, M. Abdoulaye Sawadogo and Alexis Lebbe, held talks in Abidjan with a visiting two-man mission from the European Development Fund which spent two weeks in the country looking at plans for agricultural diversification and port equipment for which the Ivory Coast needs financial assistance.

• An Israeli trade mission denied in Accra that it intended to hold discussions with the Ghana Government on compensation for the Ghana Airways VC-10 airliner destroyed during an Israeli commando raid on Beira airport last year.

• A telex link has been established between Sierra Leone and Liberia.

• A direct telephone link has been opened between Kinshasa and Fort Lamy.

More poor in Africa

• The labour force in developing countries will grow 22 per cent. between 1975 and 1980 from 1.012m. to 1.238m. But as population is expected to increase by 25 per cent., proportionately more mouths will have to be fed by fewer wage-earners. The Director General of the International Labour Organisation, Mr. David Meese, told the organisation's jubilee conference in Geneva. He pointed out that developed countries spent between 30 and 70 per cent. of the additional resources generated by economic growth on providing for the increased population, so that the number of poverty-stricken people was likely to continue growing.

• Africa has the fastest rate of urban population growth in the world a seminar sponsored by the Economic Commission for Africa was told in Addis Ababa.

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URANIUM SHORTAGE FORECAST

Although uranium is at present difficult to sell, according to the *Mining Week*, "producers and consumers are at one in anticipating a surge of demand and a possible shortage during the 1970s." Mr. Alan Lowell, marketing manager of the Rio Tinto-Zinc group, forecasts that significant new discoveries must be made by the end of this year if a scarcity is not to develop by 1974.

■ 35,000 tons of machinery and equipment are expected in Liberia soon for the construction of the Bong Mining Co. pelleting and washing plant at Bong Mine, Bong County. Dr. Karl Kaup, chairman of Bong Mining Co. and DELIMCO, has announced.

■ Liberia's largest iron ore company, Lamco, has agreed to operate a voluntary check-off system for its 3,000 workers. Union dues will now be deducted from the workers' wages.

■ A further 10 per cent of Liberian Iron and Steel Corporation stock has been offered to Liberians, bringing the total on offer to 20 per cent.

■ Despite the poor state of the iron ore market, Liberia's exports in 1969/70 have been estimated at 20m tons compared with 18.89m. tons in 1968/69 and 16.85m the previous year.

■ Almost 500,000 tons of iron ore from the Cassinga deposits in Angola were exported to Europe in the first two months of 1969.

■ A meeting of iron ore producer and consumer countries will probably be held in Geneva later this year as a result of a United Nations initiative to start discussions of the current weakness in iron ore prices.

Airport opened

■ An ultra-modern CFA 95m airport, one of the best equipped in Africa, was opened in Nouadhibou by President Ould Daddah.

■ Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Ghana were among countries represented at a Commonwealth Air Transport Council meeting called in London to discuss the effects of the introduction of the giant jet, Concorde.

■ Average waiting time for ships wanting berths at Lagos is still five days despite a bid to improve the situation by unloading mo lighters outside the harbour. Traders are complaining of long delays in clearing imports because of congestion at the wharves and strict customs checks designed to cut smuggling.

■ Britain's Export Credits Guarantee Department is guaranteeing the financing of two 41,640 ton ships worth £4.35m. The carriers are being built by Scott's Shipbuilding and Engineering of Greenock for Legend Maritime Corporation and Spirit Maritime Corporation of Liberia.

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News Letter to Members and Friends

Dear Members and Friends,

A group of 120 teachers (males and females) from Ghana will be touring the British Isles during the summer. They are scheduled to arrive in London on the 27th July and to return home on the 6th September 1969. The Club Tropicanna which is sponsoring the flight is faced with accommodation problems. In this connection the Club hereby appeals to all Ghanaians resident in Britain, especially London, for help in accommodating the visitors.

Any Ghanaian in Britain who is prepared to accommodate one or more of the visitors should kindly communicate with the Secretary at the above address.

J. KWESI EYESON, Secretary.

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Monday, 16th June, 6.30 p.m.

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CHANGE OF NAME

I, formerly known and called as Mrs. S. A. ADEDEJI, wish to be known and called as Miss. S. A. AZZAN. Former documents remain valid.

dateline Africa

SIERRA LEONE

Economics in Siaka's Programme

JUST over a year after taking office the civilian government has announced, in the acting Governor-General's "Speech from the Throne" at the opening of Parliament, a comprehensive programme. Its emphasis is economic, although Mr. Justice Tejan-Sie announced that the question of establishing a republican form of government would be considered by a national committee (one has already been appointed, but has, apparently, made little progress) and referred to the people. The main problems, he said, were security and economic progress. He urged all Sierra Leoneans to sink their differences and join in reconstruction after the chaos caused by military dictatorship.

The Bank of Sierra Leone, said the Governor-General, continued to formulate and implement effective fiscal and monetary policies; these have assisted in the revival of the economy and contributed to the rapid increase in external reserves. The government was still considering reform of banking legislation. They were dissatisfied with the inadequacy of credit facilities for indigenous businessmen, and the Bank was assessing the scope of such credit and ways of providing it. The government was considering, too, reorganisation and integration of agricultural credit agencies.

Measures would be taken to encourage mobilisation of savings and the direction of savings and dormant funds into productive uses. Insurance was an important medium for mobilising savings, and conditions conducive to its rapid growth would be created. The government knew the pressing need for capital for the private sector. Sierra Leoneans should be able to participate in commercial and industrial activities, and the new National Development Bank would assist them. The government wanted the right atmosphere for foreign investment. Already one leading firm was willing to make shares available to the public through the Bank.

Optimum financial and economic benefits, continued the Governor-General, should be derived from minerals, a wasting asset. The government would revise existing mining legislation and provide machinery to meet changes in science and technology. Among the government's main concerns was unemployment. They were considering the report on reorganisation of economic and social development, prepared under the aegis of the UNDP. A new development plan was being drawn up since the 1962-63 to 1971-72 one was out of date. A number of projects had been examined by international teams in agriculture, transport and education. The economic planning unit would be staffed by UNDP experts, and Sierra Leoneans.

The general trade situation reflects a more "favourable" trend than at any time during the last two years, declared Mr. Justice Tejan-Sie. The Produce Marketing

Board now stimulated the economy's growth, since it was carrying out its original statutory function of marketing. Its liabilities, in the region of over 2m. Leones (resulting from plantation and other projects under the Margai régime), had been liquidated. The Board now contributed to the development budget and invested in the Development Bank.

The government supported the efforts to establish an "economic community" for West Africa, continued the Governor-General. They were anxious to attract industrial investment and the Development Bank was prepared to collaborate with outside investors. The Government also welcomed external investment for development of tourism; for this more hotel accommodation, a game reserve, and transport facilities were being examined. The possibility of mobilising savings and credit through co-operative societies, including establishment of co-operative bank, was being considered. The government also encouraged consumer co-operatives which had shown signs of progress.



Mr. Siaka Stevens (centre) on his return from his foreign tour, with (left) Dr. M. S. Forna, Finance Minister (who acted as prime minister in Mr. Stevens' absence), and Lt. Col. Momoh, new deputy Force Commander.

Diversification of agriculture was being undertaken. They hoped to eliminate imports of rice within the next two years: to increase the cocoa yield; to encourage production of maize, groundnuts, sorghum and beans for food and expansion of the livestock industry.

To be in line with Sierra Leone's neighbours, the Governor-General said, the government had set up a committee to work out details for introductions of right-hand driving in 1970. With the assistance of UNDP a land transport survey was being made. The Queen Elizabeth

Quay extension would be completed by later this year. Telecommunications with London and beyond had been greatly improved.

The University of Sierra Leone had appointed a commission to examine present facilities for high education and advise the government, particularly in regard to duplication of courses. Emphasis would be shifted from educational expansion unrelated to the country's economy, to improvement of quality.

● The Resident Minister, Eastern Province, Mr. F. S. Anthony, has told the Lebanese community in Kenema that it was a mistake of previous governments to allow a concentration of foreign nationals in the diamond protected areas. Mr. Anthony was speaking on the policy of removing Lebanese in these areas. Of 540 Lebanese and dependants resident in Kono, the main diamond area, the Government had decided to remove half. He reminded the Lebanese of opportunities of business elsewhere in the country.

● Members of Parliament of the SLPP, ruling party under Sir Milton and Sir Albert Margai, have told the Speaker that they have constituted themselves into the Parliamentary opposition. Mr. Jusu Sheriff, former Minister of Education, who leads the 11 SLPP MPs, said the party had never been opposed to the principle of another party forming a government under the constitution. "What we reject, and still continue to reject, is the denial of our rights to political contest and opinion."

● The Sierra Leone Co-operative Marketing Federation owes nearly 200,000 Leones to commercial banks in Sierra Leone and the Rice Corporation, the Williams Commission of Inquiry has been told. Another witness gave details of rice supplied by the Rice Corporation to the Federation. The Acting-Registrar of Co-operatives said most of the staff of the Federation had been made redundant because its finances "were going down hill." Recalling that the Federation, to which five co-operatives belong, was founded in 1958 and later became a buying agent for the Produce Marketing Board, he said he had been asked to prepare a list of outstanding loans owed to the Federation's Loan Fund.

● For the first five months of 1969 the value of rough diamond purchases by the GDO was Le12,626,061 (1968, Le7,495,593). The January-May total this year is just below half last year's record total of Le25,434,982.

● Imports for January-April, 1969 were Le26,864,852 and exports Le26,922,125. For the same period in 1968 imports were Le22,295,269 and exports Le20,745,842.

● The first graduate has joined the Sierra Leone Police Force, as a Sub-Inspector in-Training: Mr. Walter Frank Nicol, who graduated B.A. (Durham) at Fourah Bay.

GHANA

PPP and CPP

THE NLC last week declared banned the new People's Popular Party, headed by Dr. Willie Kofi Lutterodt, on the grounds of aiming at the return of Dr. Nkrumah, and barred all its founding members and certain other people linked with it from seeking election to Parliament. [This is the original PPP, not the larger party—created by merger with some others—for which plans were announced last month; this larger party does not seem to have come into being.]

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER Dempster Lines
SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool—AUREOL slg. Liverpool Jun. 15; DONGA slg. Liverpool Jun. 19; KUMBA slg. Liverpool Jun. 11; BHAMO slg. Liverpool Jun. 13.
 From London—EBANI slg. London Jun. 24; KARIABA slg. London Jun. 4; OWERRI slg. London Jun. 10.
 From Continent—FIAN slg. Hamburg Jun. 14; FREETOWN slg. Hamburg Jun. 20; HOEGH WILRI slg. Rotterdam Jun. 12.

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool—PATANI due Liverpool Jun. 23.
 To Dublin/Belfast/Liverpool—DUNKWA due Dublin Jun. 12; PERANG due Belfast Jun. 11; LONDON—FALABA due London Jun. 11; KADUNA due London Jun. 4.

To Continent—KOHIMA due Hamburg Jul. 3.
EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada—DEGEMA slg. Halifax Jul. 12; DECVJ due Lagos Jun. 12; DUMBAIA slg. Halifax Jun. 10.

WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada—DALLA due USA Jul. 9; DEIDU due Norfolk Jun. 21; FULANI due Newport Jun. 12.
 From India/Pakistan/Burma—BEECHBANK due Donga Jun. 28; PINEBANK slg. China.

BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE
OUTWARDS—TEMA due Abidjan Jun. 15, hence Takoradi, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Tiko, Douala and Cabinda; CORNEVILLE due Freetown Jun. 23, hence Monrovia, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Tiko and Douala; FERNWOOD due Freetown New York Jun. 27, Halifax (NS) Jun. 30 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi.

HOMEWARDS—FERNWOOD now due Philadelphia; FIYAN now due load Buchanan/ Monrovia, TEMA due load Lagos 5, Boudj, Jun. 19, Tiko Jun. 22, Douala Jun. 23, Lagos/ Ghana N. Bound early Jul. Abidjan second week Jul., Buchanan/Monrovia mid Jul.

JAPAN N. LINE
WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.—TEXAS MARU slg. Japan May 18, due Lagos Jun. 20.

EASTBOUND—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Singapore)—LOUISIANA MARU slg. Lagos May 25, Tema May 28, Freetown May 31, due Japan Jul. 8.

FARBELL LINES
HOMEWARDS—AFRICAN GLADE slg. Takoradi Jun. 17 for Abidjan, Monrovia and US Ports; AUSTRALIAN REEF slg. Apapa Jun. 24 for Abidjan, Monrovia and US Ports.
OUTWARDS—AFRICAN GLADE due Monrovia Jul. 1, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Lagos and Apapa Jul. 14, AFRICAN RAINBOW due Monrovia Jul. 29 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Aug. 9 and Douala.

HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LINES
SOUTHBOUND—From Continent—OLDEKERK due Lagos Jun. 10; KAISEDYK due Abidjan Jun. 13; DAHMEYKUST due P. Noire Jun. 20.

NORTHBOUND—To Continent—GAASTERKERK due Rotterdam Jun. 13, Amsterdam Jun. 15, Hamburg Jun. 19, CONGOKUST due Antwerp Jun. 17, Rotterdam Jun. 18, Amsterdam Jun. 20, Bremen Jun. 24, Hamburg Jun. 26, LAARDERKERK due Amsterdam Jun. 20, Hamburg Jun. 26.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE
EASTBOUND—NOPAL SUN slg. New Orleans Jun. 2, Takoradi Jun. 21, Lagos Jun. 24 due Warri Jun. 27; NOPAL TELLUS slg. New Orleans Jun. 30, Takoradi Jul. 20, Lagos Jul. 22 due Warri Jul. 27.

WESTBOUND—NOPAL LUNA slg. Luanda Jun. 15, Takoradi Jun. 25, New Orleans Jul. 12 due Houston Jul. 16; NOPAL SUN slg. Luanda Jul. 4, Takoradi Jul. 19, New Orleans Aug. 8 due Houston Aug. 11.

HUGO STINNES TRANZOZON SCHEFFAHT GMBH
 HEIN JENEVELT slg. Rouen Jun. 9 due Sta. Cruz Jun. 16, Las Palmas Jun. 16, Dakar Jun. 19, Monrovia Jun. 21, MAK HUGO STINNES slg. Bordeaux Jun. 17 due Las Palmas Jun. 22, Dakar Jun. 25, Conakry Jun. 27, Abidjan Jul. 1.

HOEGH LINES
 HOEGH BENIN slg. Antwerp Jun. 17, Rouen Jun. 20 due Freetown Jun. 29, Abidjan Jul. 2, Tema Jul. 7; HOEGH BEAVER slg. Hamburg Jun. 27, Antwerp Jul. 1, Rouen Jul. 4, Dakar Jul. 11, Monrovia Jul. 14, Abidjan Jul. 17.

GOLD STAR LINE
WESTBOUND—SHAUIT slg. Matadi Jun. 15/17, Douala Jun. 18, Victoria Jun. 19, Lagos/Apapa Jun. 21/24.
EASTBOUND—TSEDEK slg. Singapore Jun. 2, Japan Jun. 16/20, Kobe Jun. 21/22, Yokohama Jun. 23.

BLACK STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA WESTBOUND—BIA RIVER Ghana Jun. 15, Boston Jun. 28, New York Jul. 2, Philadelphia Jul. 4, thence Gulf.

BLACK STAR LINE UK/CONTINENT/WEST AFRICA
SOUTHBOUND—BENYA RIVER London Jul. 1, PRA RIVER Hamburg Jun. 16, Bremen Jun. 11, Antwerp Jun. 18, Rotterdam Jun. 20, Dunkirk Jun. 20.

NORTHBOUND—KORLE LAGOON Amsterdam Jun. 25, Bremen Jun. 28, Hamburg Jul. 1, LAKE BOSOMTWE London Jul. 14.

CHARGERS REUNIS
 SURCOUF due Freetown Jun. 21; BOUGAINVILLE slg. Kobe Jun. 26.

MAERSK LINE
 JOHANNES MAERSK slg. Tema Jun. 17 due Takoradi Jun. 18; ANETTE MAERSK slg. Matadi Jun. 16 due Douala Jun. 18.

MITSUI OSK LINE
 AMSTELDELS slg. Kobe May 21 due Lagos Jun. 4, KIKUKASAN MARU slg. Lagos Jun. 2 due Lagos Jul. 6, KASUGASAN MARU slg. Kobe Jun. 20 due Lagos Jul. 19.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES
INWARDS—STRAAT MAGELHAEN from China and Hong Kong slg. Hong Kong Apr. 8, due Lagos/Apapa Jun. 18, Cochin Jun. 27, London Jun. 30, Tema Jul. 1, Abidjan Jul. 3, Monrovia Jul. 5, Freetown Jul. 6, Dakar Jul. 10, Conakry Jul. 13; STRAAT FRANKLIN from Japan slg. Kobe May 21 due Lagos/Apapa Jun. 30, Tema Jul. 3, Monrovia Jul. 6, Freetown Jul. 7, Abidjan Jul. 12, Takoradi Jul. 15.

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

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE
SOUTHBOUND—INDIANA slg. Scandinavia Jun. for WA southern route Jun. early Jul.; BULLAREN slg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux Jun. for WA, VIKAREN slg. Scandinavia including Finland and Bordeaux late Jul. early Jul. for WA second half Jun.; TUMLAREN slg. Scandinavia second half Jul. for WA Jul.

NORTHBOUND—INNAREN slg. WA first half Jun. for Scandinavia, Jul. early Aug.; HUGH BISCAY slg. WA southern route Jun. for Continent and Scandinavia late Jul. early Aug.; HJELMAREN slg. WA first half Jul. for Scandinavia including Finland late Jul. early Aug.; YARRAWONGA slg. WA second half Jul. for Scandinavia including Finland Aug.

WOERMANN LINE
 HENRI DELMAS slg. Hamburg Jun. 3 due Dakar Jun. 23, Abidjan Jun. 27, Lome Jun. 30; NESTOR slg. Antwerp Jun. 9 due Freetown Jun. 22, Monrovia Jun. 24, Tema Jun. 28.

WESTWIND AFRICA LTD.
 BUENA FORTUNA slg. New Orleans Jun. 22, Houston Jun. 28 for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Luanda; WESTWIND slg. New Orleans Jun. 30, Houston Jul. 3 for Dakar, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Takoradi, Lagos/Apapa, Warri, Douala, Luanda.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE
SOUTHBOUND—RIVER BENUE slg. Middlesbrough Jun. 28; RIVER OGUN slg. Liverpool Jun. 27.

NORTHBOUND—RIVER NIGER due Avonmouth Jul. 6; NNAMDI AZIKWE due London Jul. 7.

PALM LINE
SOUTHBOUND—From London—AKASA PALM due Lobito Jun. 21; ILORIN PALM due Dakar Jun. 19.
 From Liverpool—ENUGU PALM slg. Lome Jun. 16; KEJA PALM slg. Lagos Jun. 16.
 From Continent—AFRICA PALM due Lagos Jun. 14; BADAGRY PALM due Tenerife Jun. 16.

NORTHBOUND—To London—LESIA PALM slg. Abidjan Jun. 14.
 To Liverpool—LAGOS PALM slg. Lagos Jun. 16.
 To Continent—BAMENDA PALM slg. Douala Jun. 16.

EDWARD NASSAR LINES
 TERESA slg. Takoradi Jun. 15, Lagos Jun. 21, Genoa Jul. 9, Famagusta Jul. 14, Beirut Jul. 17.

dateline Africa

The statement said the PPP "has at last" ultimate Jim the revival of the CPP in a different disguise and the eventual return to Ghana of the ex-President. "It is clear that at a meeting in the house of a baronet Mr. G. Adumah, three ex-Ministers—present—Messrs. K. Amoko-Ata, M. Egala and J. Y. Ghana; Mr. Adumah alleged, had just come back from London having met there (it added) two ex-Ministers and a former ambassador. It alleged that Mr. Adumah had asked for help from those—Land-Rovers, cars with amplifiers and printing press for a party newspaper, Mr. Egala emerged as leader of this group, according to the statement, but was replaced by D. Lutterodt after his (Egala's) disqualification. Then, the Government alleged, D. Lutterodt was found at Accra Airport, returning from London, to have documents emanating by "Kwame Nkrumah's agents abroad," including a draft constitution based on the 1962 Revised Constitution but quoted at length alleged statements by a district magistrate, Mr. J. F. S. Hesse, about plans for action by a new "People's Progressive Party" and claimed that the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute had organised an underground party of that name and had later, with three others, joined the People's Popular Party.

The Government's allegations against support for the PPP from two former CPP ministers, have been strongly denied by Mr. Adumah, who also denied the alleged requests for aid, and added that D. Lutterodt had disclaimed any role in restoring ex-President Nkrumah. He urged the Government to reconsider the ban.

● After two days (June 2 and 3) when police used tear gas and opened fire on demonstrating mine workers at Tarkwa mine, the biggest of the five state-owned goldmines, the Secretary-General of the TUC, Mr. B. A. Bentum, threatened a general strike if shooting of strikers was on. After an extraordinary meeting of the TUC's Executive Board also declared June 8 a national day of mourning for workers killed or wounded in the Tarkwa shootings and the shooting of strikers at Ashanti Goldfields' Obuasi mine last Monday. At Tarkwa nobody was killed; seven people received injuries.

The demonstration was against the removal of two people, a security officer and a Dagarti community chief, and according to the local police chief, was despite warning shots and tear gas the police opened fire, and miners retaliated with stones and cudgels. Later, miners were said to have attacked prisons to release their detained colleagues. In all 75 workers were arrested, and a miners' leader work, which had been halted, would be resumed until all those detained were freed. But the mine employees (about 4,700) voted on June 9 to resume work.

Mr. Bentum, who delayed his journey to Geneva for the ILO's 50th anniversary because of the Tarkwa disturbances, said shooting of workers was an unconventional method of dealing with a strike, and it was surprising that the government had rejected a TUC resolution to that effect after the Obuasi shootings. Workers accused the police of indiscriminate beating, while police said some workers were planning dynamite



Bentum—threat of general strike

attacks on policemen at the mine. Mr. Kwesi Lamptey, chairman of the Gold Mining Corporation, said there might have been a political motive behind the strike.

The *Daily Graphic* said the police should distinguish between peaceful and violent demonstrations and exercise the "greatest of restraint"; it criticised the clause of the new constitution which protects policemen who kill in the suppression of disturbances. It also appealed for a return to work at Tarkwa.

Otu Freed

● Air Marshal M. A. Otu and his former ADC, Lt. B. O. Kwapong, have been cleared by an Accra High Court of contempt of commission, with which they were charged after they refused to take part in the work of the Amisshah Commission inquiring into them. Afterwards the Government withdrew the "holding charges" made against the two officers when they were arrested last November. [Such charges can be made, under military law only, as grounds for detention while investigations continue.] During the High Court hearing the Director of Public Prosecutions said both men had been released from imprisonment.

At the court hearing Mr. Justice Archer, presiding, said that as the alleged subversion was directed against the NLC, normal criminal procedure should have been followed, not a commission of inquiry. When holding charges were made against Otu and Kwapong, he said, they became accused persons who should be tried and had a right to keep silence in and out of court. Mr. J. W. K. Harlley's statement about the case last December had suggested that there was reliable evidence, and they had real objections against giving evidence to the Commission.

It was reported that Otu and Kwapong might now give evidence before the Amisshah Commission, still sitting, this week.

● Dr. Busia has disclaimed any intention of merging the Ashanti Region and the Brong-Ahafo (which was formerly joined to Ashanti) if elected. He also said any promise to peg the cocoa price would be vain at this stage.

● Mr. Saki Schek, a former United Party leader and detainee, has been nominated as Progress Party candidate for Takoradi for the elections. This is the first such nomination.

● The Ghana National Youth Front,

headed by Mr. A. Grant, has declared support for the Progress Party.

● Political parties are forbidden to encourage supporters from outside Accra-Tema to enter the city area for rallies. Organisers of rallies may not form processions to or from the meeting place, and "Action Troopers" and "Action Groupers" within Accra-Tema will be regarded as a potential threat to law and order.

● No civil servant will receive less take-home pay when the revised salary structure of the Mills-Odoi Report comes into operation. Gen. Ocran (of the NLC) has stated. The Committee headed by Mr. J. H. Mensah, Finance Commissioner, would decide on future salaries after examining the Mills-Odoi Report. (This committee was established after Brig. Africa took over as head of the NLC, when the first salary increases provided for by the Report were cancelled soon after taking force. These increases had been criticised by trade union leaders as inadequate.)

● Volta Region chiefs have asked the Ghana and Togo Governments to establish a uniform cocoa price to stop smuggling from Ghana to Togo.

PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau, has said that the Portuguese political police (PIDE) master-minded an abortive plot to assassinate two leading members of the PAIGC Political Bureau—his brother Sr. Luis Cabral and Sr. Francisco Mendes. The assassination failed because the gunman's courage failed him and he gave himself up in Ziguinchor, a Senegalese town near the Guinea-Bissau border. Identified as a Guinean, Jean Fonseca Gomez, the assassin posed as a refugee and infiltrated the party.

Sr. Cabral claimed that the PAIGC now controlled more than two-thirds of the territory, and 45 per cent. of the 350,000 people. In the past five months eight Portuguese camps had been overrun, seven aircraft and helicopters had been destroyed, and 332 Portuguese troops had been killed, as well as a large number wounded.

● An announcement in Lisbon has claimed that a Portuguese airliner from Luanda, Angola, to Cabinda, was hijacked this week by two Africans with tommy-guns and forced to land at Brazzaville. Congo-B radio, however, said that the plane was forced to land for overflying Congolese airspace (banned since relations were broken in 1964).

● Congo-K government has claimed Portuguese troops made an incursion from over the Angola border not far from Matadi at the Congo's mouth.

● Congo-B government has granted asylum to six Portuguese army deserters.

EEC

Luxembourg Foreign Minister, M. Gaston Thorn, has said he expects a new agreement between EEC and the 18 associated African states by the end of June (there is to be a meeting of the Six and the Eighteen in Luxembourg on June 26 and 27 to finalise what was partially agreed at the meeting at the end of May). He told the European parliament in Luxembourg that the Six had shown a will to reach

agreement without added delay to renew the five-year convention. Agreement in principle had been reached on three important points—the compatibility of Euro-African preferences with international provisions, the lowering of the European tariff on coffee, cocoa and palm oil, and an increase of about 15 per cent. in the European Development Fund.

M. Le Theule, French Information Minister, has said agreement should be reached in Luxembourg without too much difficulty.

At the Brussels talks on May 28 and 29, the text was released of a letter sent to M. Thorn, Chairman of the EEC Ministerial Council, by President Hamani Diori of Niger, who is also President of OCAM and has acted as spokesman for the Eighteen with the Six, warning that negotiations risked dragging beyond the expiry date of the Yaounde convention on May 31. One reason for this, said President Diori, was that the EEC had not "given all the necessary attention" to the negotiations. The Eighteen, he said, considered their links with the Six "an engagement of a political nature, based on a feeling of particular solidarity extending beyond the framework of simple arrangements of an economic or commercial nature." Describing the association with the EEC as one of "the finest examples of international co-operation," he said it would be regrettable to sacrifice it "in the name of principles which are only covering up opposing interests." He did not understand why the EEC wanted to reduce its preferential tariffs for the Eighteen when in the last four years its purchases from the Eighteen had increased by only 17 per cent. Also the associates found it paradoxical that the EEC should drop its subsidies for tropical products while reserving its help for extreme difficulties such as those caused by "famines, epidemics and cataclysms."

MALI

● A military delegation, led by Lt. Kissima Doukoura, has been in France and West Germany. In Paris they met officials of the foreign and defence ministries and M. Pepy, Secretary-General for African and Malagasy Affairs at the Presidency. They also saw demonstrations of French military vehicles.

● M. Tahourdin, British Ambassador to Senegal and Mauritania, is also to be accredited in Mali. Relations were resumed in April last year after a three-year break on the Rhodesian issue.

● Mali Foreign Minister Jean-Marie Kone has been on a goodwill mission to Ivory Coast, Niger and Upper Volta.

● State-owned Mali radio is to broadcast paid advertising spots, following an agreement with the Agence Havas.

TOGO

Togo government has threatened to suspend the grants of students who refuse to sit their examinations. Students in the arts section of the Benin Higher Institute have been on strike since June 1 in protest against difference in grants for students in Lome and at the Institute's science section in Porto Novo, Dahomey (who receive about £32 a month, against £18 a month in Lome). The Togo cabinet, after issuing its warning, decided to raise grants in Lome by £2 a month.

dateline Africa

IVORY COAST WHAT THE RUSSIANS SAID

Four days prior to the break in diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Ivory Coast the Soviet Press Agency *Novosti* published a long article on the Ivory Coast saying "the puppet Ivory Coast regime, already sold body and soul to imperialism, is interfering in the affairs of its neighbours and launching clandestine attacks against legitimate governments." The Ivory Coast, said the article, was behind the *coup* which overthrew the government of Modibo Keita in Mali, and was "the main implement of imperialism intended to exploit the Nigerian crisis, and bring about the break-up of African unity."

The Soviet news agency Tass has said the Ivory Coast's decision would only harm the own national interest.

● Abidjan university has reopened after a 10-day closure but many students were absent from courses, partly because students from neighbouring countries had returned home. Telegrams telling them to return have been despatched.

● M. Jean Garagnon has been named as interim Rector of the University of Abidjan, replacing M. Paulian who resigned on May 19 following the closure of the university, because of a student strike. M. Garagnon, who is Professor of Law, and Dean of the Faculty of Economic Sciences at the university, has also been named Interim Director of Higher Education and Research at the Ministry of Education.

● A statement in Paris by the National Union of Higher Education said that their administrative commission had passed a motion applauding the "struggle of the students of Abidjan for their liberties," noting that the Franco-Ivorian agreement provided for respect by the government of traditional university freedoms, and approving the opposition of M. Paulian to the police invasion of the university campus.

CONGO-K Lovanium closure follows shooting

Troops opened fire on a demonstration of Lovanium University students just outside Kinshasa on June 4. The demonstrators were reported to have planned to march (or, according to some accounts, to travel in commandeered buses) to present a list of grievances, mostly to do with the rising cost of living, to the President. The main grievance was reputedly over grants. Kinshasa radio said troops ordered the students to disperse but fired after a scuffle broke out, apparently four miles from the city centre.

An AFP report spoke of twelve students killed, but the AFP correspondent was expelled for reporting this, and other reports spoke of fewer dead. Kinshasa radio said the students lost six dead, while two officers and four soldiers were wounded and two officers missing.

Another report mentioned nine students dead. Student unrest had been building up at Lovanium for a few days, during which troops were said to have prevented a demonstration at Kinshasa airport on Gen.

Mobutu's return from Tanzania. A Government statement after said the students were manipulated by "troublemakers and specialists in subversive movements" who had launched a strike and attacked "the forces of order who were trying to keep them within their camps" with Molotov cocktails. "Certain embassies introduced the virus of subversion, and of strike for strike's sake," it said, not naming the embassies, and investigations would be held, and would find out who brought "Molotov cocktails and placards lauding Mao Tse-tung" into the university.

There were strong security precautions in Kinshasa after the shooting, with armed paratroopers in the main street. Four hundred students were arrested, and another 400 stayed in the Lovanium campus despite the closing order, students at Kisangani and Lubumbashi universities were told to return to lessons. The radio said investigations showed students planned to blow up installations for the Trade Fair, due to open on June 30. In a broadcast Gen. Mobutu said the Government had already decided to raise student scholarships and the education budget had been raised by over 2m. zaires (£1.6m.).

● Belgian Foreign Ministry has warned M. Jean Schramme, former Congo mercenary, and any other Belgian national against any endeavour to disturb peace and order in Africa. M. Schramme had left Belgium said the ministry, and was trying to return to Africa under a false identity. The Antwerp paper *Gazet van Antwerpen* has suggested that Schramme, who left Belgium on the pretext of going to Brazil, might be headed for Angola.

SENEGAL

President Senghor has called the series of strikes which have plagued Senegal for the last two months "illegal, unreasonable and unproductive." The strikes had been masterminded from abroad to alarm investors. He was speaking at an inauguration of a fish-canning factory in suburban Dakar. The Minister of Labour, M. Abdoul N'Diaye, has said that the short answer to agitation which disturbs social peace was the "strict application of the law."

Early this week the 10-day strike of the National Union of Bank Employees began on June 2 was continuing despite an announcement by the bank employers that they would recruit new staff, as the illegality of the strike had broken the terms of contract, renegotiation of which was the object of the strikers, who subsequently said they would extend their strike indefinitely if agreement had not been reached within the time limit. The strike is reported to have been 85 per cent. effective, and the bank union has appealed for gestures of solidarity from other unions. Rumours of a general strike following a series of union meetings have been circulating in Dakar.

● The national congress of the Union Progressiste Senegalaise (UPS) will meet in December instead of early next year, and will discuss proposals to amend the constitution. A working group composed mainly of lawyers has been set up to work out the proposals, as outlined at last month's meeting of the party's National Council. The proposals envisage a modification of the presidential system to include a Prime Minister responsible for economic and social questions.

CENTRAFRICA

President Ahidjo has been on official visits to Gabon and the Central African Republic. In the CAR he and President Bokassa discussed the idea of a rail line (this has been considered several times in the past 60 years—one idea has been to



President Ahidjo and Bokassa—arm wrestles for "the father of UDEAC"

a line from Mbalmayo in Cameroon). The communiqué said the Cameroon-CAR Mixed Commission, formed several years ago to consider the idea, would meet at ministerial level in July. President Bokassa welcomed the Cameroon President as "the father of UDEAC."

● A Mystère 20 jet bought from Dassault by the CAR government has been officially delivered at a ceremony attended by President Bokassa. The armed forces already have five "Broussard" light reconnaissance aircraft, and four DC-3s, he said, and "can now ensure the surveillance and integrity of the CAR's airspace and rush to any corner of the country when needed." The aircraft had been paid for from the budget without outside aid.

● Centrafrican newspapers and radio had to secure official permission before publishing off-the-cuff statements by the head of state, members of the government or other leading figures.

CONGO-B

Reports have been coming in of agitation in Brazzaville, apparently because of delays in paying salaries, and that those who workers will have to be laid off. On May 29 and 30 there were demonstrations outside the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, where a delegation of workers were trying to see the Minister, M. Guindo-Yayou, complaining that they had not been paid for three months. Other demonstrations were observed outside the office of the Bureau for the Creation Control and Orientation of State Enterprises (BCCO) and of the Premier Commandant Raoul. There are reports of possible redundancies at the Kinshasa textile mill (built by the Communist Chinese and inaugurated last year).

● *Emumba*, the weekly organ of the Mouvement National de la Révolution has called on the gendarmes to carry out its inquiry into the recent fire at the flour mill of Grands Moulins du Congo at Jacob "in a revolutionary spirit, so that it in no way sides with those who wish to undermine the revolution."

The authorities of the mill have taken emergency measures for the import of flour from overseas, in order to meet the demand for bread, as the mill provided all Congo-B's domestic needs.

NIGERIA

Red Cross Aircraft Shot Down

A RED CROSS relief transport aircraft, a DC7 provided by the Swedish Red Cross, was shot down by Nigerian MiGs over the South-East State en route to Ulu in the night of June 5. After a Swedish Red Cross report, which said three aircraft had been fired upon, a Nigerian statement announced that an aircraft suspected to be gun-running, had been shot down over Eket. It added that two crew members were seen bailing out and were captured at Uyo. Brig. Hassan, Chief of Staff, said they would be taken to Lagos. But another announcement said the crew had been killed when the DC7 crashed in flames, and the report of prisoners had been incorrect. The ICRC said the crew of four were all dead. No other aircraft were shot down; two of Joint Church Aid's, a Constellation and a C97, were hit while flying near the DC7, but landed safely.

After the shooting down of the DC7—the first aircraft known to have been shot down by either side in the war—the Red Cross suspended its relief flights from Santa Isabel and Cotonou. It was reported that some pilots wanted extra guarantees, which was denied; afterwards it was stated that pilots could resume flights if there was good cloud cover, or no moon. The Red Cross flights have now resumed and JCA flights were undisturbed. The Red Cross said it was protesting at the "unexpected and inexplicable action", urged both parties in the war not to hamper relief work, and called for world support in its work, in which, it said, it had scrupulously avoided political involvement. The US State Department expressed regret at the incident.

A Nigerian Information Ministry announcement said the aircraft shot down may have been carrying relief and not arms, adding that the incident was a "disaster", which it was hoped to avoid repeating. Col. Alao, head of the Air Force, had been quoted as saying there were instructions to shoot down all aircraft going to the secessionist area, and the Red Cross had been warned that night flights were illegal. The official statement on the DC7 said Nigeria's sovereignty and air space must be respected, adding that Biafran military and other activity was organised under the aegis of "so-called relief organisations."

A DC-6 relief aircraft chartered by a new Icelandic Nordic church agency was damaged by a rocket as it landed in the rebel-held territory on the night of June 2, Joint Church Aid announced. The crew were unhurt. The DC-6 later returned to São Tomé.

● All small aircraft operated by private air transport firms have been grounded by the Federal Government until further notice following Biafran air raids using small aircraft smuggled in from Sweden. In addition, Lagos civil defence authorities ordered that lights in private homes should be made invisible from outside, and renewed warnings against street lighting.

The International Red Cross has left its base at Lagos Airport, at the orders of Captain Dickson, commandant of the military airport there. (Dr. August Lindt, International Red Cross relief co-ordinator was detained there recently; the Federal Government has rejected a protest at this from the Swiss Government. This fol-

lowed the ban imposed on flights by light aircraft; two DC-6s which take Red Cross supplies to war areas on the Federal side were moved to Muson. There have been sharp Press and radio attacks on international relief agencies, and calls for a total ban on night flights.

Air Raid on Ibusa

A Biafran aircraft has raided the Mid-west town of Ibusa, on the main road between Agbor and Asaba, killing an expectant mother and injuring 21 people. The small rocket-firing aircraft was said to have hit a teachers' college used to house refugees. One report said the nearest military target was a Bailey bridge, there was one Federal platoon there. Anti-aircraft guns have been moved to Ibusa.

Before the raid, it was announced that about 11,000 people had come out of hiding at Ibusa in the Midwest. The commanding officer of the 70th Battalion of the Nigerian Army, stationed there, said the population had swollen to about 40,000. The people were facing problems caused by congestion and poor medical facilities.

Count von Rosen has returned to Sweden, where he said the air raids headed by him were the best thing he had ever done; he claimed he had hit 12 Federal aircraft, including two wholly destroyed, and caused "de-escalation" by clearing the airspace over Biafra. It was reported that he had been suspended by the airline employing him, he said he was ready to go to prison (he claimed to be a pacifist). He blamed Sweden for not recognising Biafra.

The other pilots who flew the Swedish-built Minikons are said to have left; von Rosen said they had trained Biafran pilots, and the Biafrans had other aircraft.

● Demonstrators protesting against the involvement of a number of Swedes as pilots for the Biafrans handed a note to the Swedish ambassador in Lagos after staging a peaceful demonstration which included the burning of a Swedish flag.

All exports, direct and indirect, from Sweden of war materials for Biafra have been banned by the Government, the ambassador in Lagos said earlier.

● The acting chairman of the International Red Cross Committee has made an appeal for over £1m. urgently needed to finance its aid programme in Nigeria.

Dr Lindt said in Geneva that nearly 1.5m. people on the Federal side and 1m. on the Biafran were receiving food from the Red Cross, all sick and wounded in hospitals on both sides (65,000 in all) were fed by the ICRC. But a doctor said people were still threatened by kwashiorkor, malaria and tuberculosis, against TB a vaccination campaign was planned.

● Gen. Ojukwu told his Consultative Assembly in his recent long speech that "we seem to have overcome the once imminent danger of mass starvation and can look forward to a period, after the rains, of comparative plenty."

● Fourteen Italian oilmen received a tumultuous welcome when they, together with three West Germans and a Lebanese, arrived home after being released by General Ojukwu. A national day of mourning was held in Italy for 10 of their colleagues who were killed (with a Jordanian), in a Biafran raid about a month ago. The men said they had been well looked after by the Biafrans.

The release followed the intervention of

the Pope and many others, and a flying visit to Biafra by the Italian Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sr. Mario Pedini—about which Nigeria's Ambassador in Rome commented: "We appreciate that in these conditions the Italians have to make direct contact with the rebels. The mere fact of a visit would not be considered serious by our Government." Release warrants were signed in the presence of Ivory Coast and Gabonese Ministers and Mgr Bayer, secretary general of Caritas.

The men were flown out via Gabon and Ivory Coast where they via Biafra to meet President Bongo and Houphouët-Boigny. Thousands of people thronged Rome airport, led by President Saragat, and the Italians were then taken for a half-hour audience with the Pope, the first time that such an audience had been granted at such an hour, midnight, and without previous notice. Later, Pope Paul told pilgrims in St. Peter's Square his intervention—like the relief work of Caritas—was "immune from any worldly supplies and devoid of any temporal and political partiality" and was motivated by his esteem for Africa and his particular affection for Nigeria. *L'Osservatore Romano* said it was "the religious work of the Pope" which had clinched the men's release.

An Italian Foreign Ministry spokesman dismissed as "fantastic" Italian newspaper reports that the Italian government and the men's employers had agreed to pay Biafra a ransom of £6m. Federal Government spokesmen have alleged such a payment.

At the requiem mass in Lagos cathedral for the men who were killed, mourners were handed booklets entitled "Ojukwu's murder victims" showing close-up photographs of the 10 corpses. The Federal Ministry of Information denied knowledge of the publication, but the Italian ambassador said he would raise the matter with the Federal Government.

● Biafran reports have spoken of fighting and heavy Federal losses in Umuahia and "very serious Federal reverses" in the areas of Owerri, Okpuala and Okigwi, and of new fighting in the Omotsha-Abigana road area (contested for over a year) and the Abioda sector. They have denied Federal claims of victories in the Aboh and Okpai area and elsewhere in the Mid-West. Biafran infiltrators are reported to have been arrested in Abak province of South-East State.

Lloyd Garrison, reporting for the *New York Times* from Biafra last week, said the Federal garrison at Umuahia had been cut off except for air drops.

A Biafran attempt (June 3) to recapture Umuahia was repelled with 100 dead and the loss of 250 guns, according to a war dispatch in the *New Nigerian*. Another article claimed that mass desertions of Biafran troops were taking place in the Umuahia area and that thousands of civilians in rebel-held areas were being trained in guerrilla warfare at Aham, 12 miles from Bende.

● The Presidents of Gabon and the Ivory Coast have urged General Ojukwu to free Miss Sally Goatcher, the English nurse working for the Save the Children Fund who was reportedly being held by the Biafrans after driving into their territory from an Italian Red Cross relief base near Federal held Obilagu. It is now reported she will be tried for illegal entry.

● Mr. M. Stewart, UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, has

NIGERIA—continued

said Great Britain will provide a naval training team to assist with the training of its navy, as requested long before the civil war; this request (he said) was fully in keeping with the help which the UK would normally be prepared to give to a country to which it had granted independence. Now that the Federal Navy was no longer actively engaged in the war the Government had granted the request (earlier shelved) for a small training team.

- The MV *Dalla*, an Elder Dempster cargo ship said to be taking food and clothing to the Biafrans, has been intercepted off Ezerans in Nigerian waters and held at Warri. Nigerian reports said when the boat was searched, it was found that goods, consigned from the United States, were found there marked for "Biafran Government." Captain A. J. Moore, master of the boat, said he knew that his boat was loaded in the US but could not say if the sources of the goods were from humanitarian bodies. He said it was going to Libreville in Gabon, where the goods were to be off-loaded.
- Biafra's special representative in East Africa, Mr. Austin Okwu, made a new appeal to Kenyan Foreign Ministry officials to ask President Kenyatta to personally use his powers to get peace talks started.
- In a letter expressing concern about the deterioration of Nigerian-United States relations arising from the method of distribution of relief for victims of the civil war, the Nigerian-American Chamber of Commerce has urged President Nixon to

support Nigeria in unity both verbally "and in any concrete action possible."

- Zambia, Tanzania, Gabon and Ivory Coast, and "half a dozen other African countries" have sent congratulations on Biafra's 2nd anniversary, according to Biafra radio.

News from the States

Midwest State will spend an estimated £N18m. in the 1969-70 fiscal year. Estimated revenue is £17m. Education will take up £4.1m. of expenditure; health £1.2m.; works, land and transport £1.7m.; rehabilitation £200,000. Capital expenditure accounts for £4.1m. and £3.2m. has been allowed for financial obligations due this year.

No significant tax changes were announced by the Governor. But the 5s. primary school levy stops this month "because it is a too heavy burden." He said that the main projects during the year would be the Warri-Benin and Ovu-Ughelli highways, Benin city drainage, reconstructions of bridges and roads, provision of water to rural areas and new court buildings.

- The University of Lagos is prepared to face an inquiry into its affairs, but not by newspapers, the registrar, Mr. Abdul Eke said when commenting on press allegations of lavishness and financial irregularities (The *Daily Times* has investigated the University closely). "We have nothing to hide," he retorted.
- After an article appeared alleging irregularities in the appointment of Ibadan University staff, the Editor of the state-owned *Sunday Sketch*, Mr. Adebayo Shitta,

has been sacked by the Western Governor who also dissolved the paper's board.

- The board of the Mid-Western paper Corporation, with Dr. O. O. Abiodun as chairman and Mr. Abiodun Abiodun as general manager, has been dissolved by State Governor. The editor of the *Observer*, published by the Corporation, still Mr. Edun Akenzua.
- Nigeria's external reserves (to £N42,202,630 at the end of April) fell with £42,946,851 in mid-April.

● A new Federal Government stipulates that tax defaulters in Nigeria have their properties seized and sold for outstanding income tax payments.

● The British Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Mr. Maurice Foley, has said that Prime Minister, Mr. Smith, succeeds referendum and declares Rhodesia a republic. Britain will have to re-examine the situation and hold consultations with Commonwealth countries and with the UN on what steps to follow. Speaking at a news conference in Sierra Leone, Mr. Foley said it was wrong to say sanctions failed in Rhodesia and he ruled out the use of force. He said that sanctions costing Britain about half her technical budget to the whole world.

In Kinshasa, last stop of his six-week tour, Mr. Foley said that Britain will help African countries overcome the economic and linguistic barriers which divide them, particularly the Anglophone and Francophone countries.

His five-day visit to the Congo was described as being primarily to re-examine the situation. He met President Mobutu and discussed Nigeria (on which a full agreement was announced) and other matters. On this, he said Great Britain would never abandon the Africans, he said voters to reject the new constitution.

LONDON



President Tubman of Liberia has been seen at the London Clinic after a medical check. He is here pictured on arrival in Liverpool on board the Elder Dempster ship "Aureol." With him are his ADC, Lord Mayor of Liverpool, Mr. Stephen Minion. In the background, Ernest Eastman, Liberian Under-Secretary of State. The President, who is on a week private visit to Britain, is accompanied by a small entourage.



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the fun of going E.D. never gets old!



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HEAD OFFICE: INDIA BUILDINGS, WATER STREET, LIVERPOOL
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