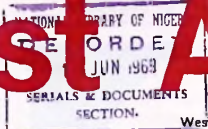


West Africa



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Two Years of Biafra

ENCOURAGED by his recent military success Col. Ojukwu has said that Biafra is ready to face a 10-year war. The position two years after the declaration of Biafra's secession is such that he can be taken seriously. Biafra's people have shown such fortitude and ingenuity, her leaders have shown such stubbornness, that their continued resistance can be taken for granted. The people, still genuinely persuaded, in spite of the experience of millions of their fellow-countrymen in Federally held areas, that the alternative to resistance is torture and massacre, the leaders who have staked all on a gamble which they still hope to win, are deaf to argument and indifferent to suffering.

Objective calculation would show that in the end the Ibos must be confined into their overcrowded and infertile heartland, so that they should now negotiate the best terms they can with the Federal Government. Resistance will continue to depend, as it has depended, on an air-lift of food and supplies (almost all from non-African countries) of an unprecedented kind, which could end at any time—and not only by the loss of Uli airstrip. Foreign exchange could dry up completely, disease might weaken a resistance which starvation has little affected. More countries might recognise Biafra; but some which have offered recognition could withdraw it. In spite of the strength of the human will, the physical basis of Biafra's survival is flimsy. But Col. Ojukwu and his colleagues continue to demand that, in effect, the Federation should recognise secession before negotiation and should accept the possibility of Biafran re-occupation of the non-Ibo areas of Eastern Nigeria.

On the Federal side the disposition to negotiate is now weak. There is confidence that the Federation can economically sustain a war indefinitely, whatever political strains that may bring. It is probably Col. Ojukwu's realisation that the swelling oil revenues are the main reason for Federal confidence that has persuaded him to adopt the otherwise dangerous policy of attempting to terrorise the oil companies, and to concentrate his military effort on a drive to the oil areas of the South, where the Third Division has lost much of its panache

because of dilution by new recruits. But just as Federal air raids have probably done more to strengthen than weaken Biafran resistance, so Biafra's present raids—like the early Biafran ones on Lagos and other cities—strengthen Federal resolve to carry on the war.

The Federal Government is convinced, too, and the evidence is very strong, that the non-Ibo peoples of the former Eastern Region would bitterly oppose even discussion of their possible return to what they regard as Ibo domination. In spite of the continuing backstage approaches, the prospect of negotiation appears negligible. Col. Ojukwu will continue to insist on recognition of secession before talks. General Gowon on renunciation of secession and acceptance of the new twelve-state structure.

On the Federal side the army has increased ten times in size since the war began, and the training and supply of this force—as well as restoration of discipline in the original force—have been a considerable achievement. Federal strategy and tactics during these two years can be questioned, but there now need be little argument about objectives and the command is more unified than in the past. Talk of military stalemate is, therefore, premature; talk of recapture of the Rivers State by the Biafrans only speculation. But the Federation is now on the defensive, while the Biafrans talk of another invasion of the Western State and are sustained in their confidence by the illusion that they are successfully fighting not Nigeria but Britain and the Soviet Union. Leaving aside the question of continued arms supplies, there can be no certainty of a quick or easy Federal military victory.

All over the world, therefore, even some who have strongly supported the Federal cause ask why another effort should not now be made to negotiate peace, even if that means conceding a form of sovereignty to at least the East-Central State. The answer may seem callous; but it is the one on which real peace depends. To concede sovereignty to an Ibo State would certainly lead later to another, and perhaps more bitter, war; while for the Ibos the East-Central State cannot offer a livelihood.

The Federal case does not depend, as



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many suppose, on the hypothetical consequences to other African countries of successful Biafran secession, important though these may be. Nor does it really rest on another hypothesis, the possible consequences for the rest of Nigeria which, like Biafra itself, may be fragmented if Biafran secession is accepted. The real Federal case is that if Biafran secession was accepted, but the Federation remained intact, the peace would only be a prelude to another war.

Sovereign Biafra could only comprise the Ibo areas of the East-Central State since it is quite impossible for the Federal Government to abandon the fifteen non-Ibo states of the former Eastern Region. Even the East-Central State could be called viable by present African standards, but the Ibos could not be contained indefinitely in this area and would seek, as they have in the past, but now as foreigners, an outlet in the Federation. So the hope-for separation of Ibos from Nigeria could never be complete.

Over the Niger there are, too, half a million Ibos in the Mid-West State. If the East-Central State became sovereign these Ibos might be anxious, or be urged to join the new Biafra. Measures taken by the Nigerians in these circumstances could supply the pretext to Biafra for another war. An independent Biafra would also seek allies elsewhere inside the Federation, and would continue to be aided by some of those abroad now assisting Col. Ojukwu. Relations between the Federation and sovereign Biafra would be bitter even when not hostile.

It is argued, however, that if the Ibos were forced to remain in the Federation they would only bide their time to make another attempt at secession, and could never develop satisfactory relations with other Nigerians. Although a large number of Ibos now live in peace outside the former Eastern Region and a small number are returning to the North, relations between Ibos and other Nigerians will be extremely difficult. But that is no reason to condemn this part of the world to perpetual war.

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Personalities and Politics in Ghana: 3

From a Correspondent

AS soon as it was realised that the National Liberation Council was serious about an early return to civilian rule in Ghana, politicians began to consider possible groupings. It was clear at once that, as is still true, the two men who had most chance of civilian leadership were Dr. Busia and Mr. Gbedemah. But to return to the leadership of men, however excellent, who had made their political reputations in the early 1950s and, accordingly, to the issues of those days, was not a prospect that appealed to everybody. The idea of "the third force" was born—a grouping of people, whatever their previous allegiance, who were determined only to look forward and to forget the quarrels of the CPP and the National Liberation Movement, and to draw together Ghana's best talent from whatever quarter.

Dr. John Bilson, a Southerner with a medical practice in Kumasi, is generally credited with originating the idea of the Third Force. He was considered to be without political experience, but that was all to the good. Even if later the Third Force might have to call on the political experience of Dr. Busia or Mr. Gbedemah, it was argued, at least it could first be established as a genuinely new and independent movement.

All this time political parties were still officially banned (the ban was lifted in April by Brig. Afrifa), but there were a large number of private political gatherings. It was hoped, however, that when the Constituent Assembly met, in January, it would be possible for like-minded people to get together and form a grouping from which a party might later emerge.

In the end there was no Third Force. If anything emerged from the Constituent Assembly it was that its members tended to support Dr. Busia (though because of the way it was appointed, selected and elected, too much need not be read into that). No single person could be accepted as a possible alternative leader to Dr. Busia and Mr. Gbedemah although a number of men thought themselves suitable for this role.

Bilson Departs

In the end Dr. Bilson went off with his small All Peoples Congress, while a man like Mr. Joseph Amamoo, the former CPP supporter who left Dr. Nkrumah's camp and now edits the *Ghanaian Times*, supports Dr. Busia, and some other potential Third Force men are with Mr. Gbedemah. Dr. de Graft-Johnson has established his own All Peoples Party. Mr. Joe Appiah has his own Nationalist Party. Paddling your own canoe or following the big guns, prove more attractive than subordinating aspirations to an untried leader.

In my previous articles I referred to other of the small parties which are

claiming attention in Ghana because of the failure of the Third Force to emerge. There is the Peoples Popular Party of the former CPP supporter, Dr. Willie Luterodt (now in trouble with the NLC since he is alleged to want to bring Dr. Nkrumah back). There is, Alain, the Ghana Youth Front of Mr. A. K. F. Grant. There is the Black Power Party of Mr. Robertson Safi (who is temporarily out of action having gone to London, as he put it, for "medical check-up", without any apparent realisation of the implications of this for his programme). Others come and go, but none gives the impression of permanence.

It was expected that the Trades Union Congress might decide that the time had come to establish a Labour Party. But



Flute players at the opening of the Constituent Assembly—no Third Force appeared.

now by an overwhelming majority, it has decided to remain neutral. Its leaders are, no doubt, divided between those who retain some CPP sympathy or have a CPP past and those who are conscious only of the CPP's efforts to destroy independent trade unionism. There was a Labour Party unconnected with the TUC, but this has now been merged with the Republican Party of Mr. P. K. Quadoo, the former CPP minister who had been expected to join Mr. Gbedemah but who has remained on his own. Another former CPP supporter, Mr. Alex Hamah, has also established a party.

What policies are the parties advocating? I said earlier that the real issue in Ghana is who is able most efficiently and with the greatest popular support to carry on the present policies for restoring the economy. The parties, however, can scarcely present themselves to the electorate purely on this platform. Dr. Busia at the formal launching of his Progress Party went into little detail but promised improved health services and housing, protection of workers' interests against exploitation etc. Mr. Gbedemah,

now formally elected leader of the National Alliance of Liberals, promised that his party would salvage the Ghana economy. He criticised present economic policies and claimed there had been three years of deliberate stagnation. He promised a liberal democracy (he has already claimed that there were many people in the CPP of liberal tendencies).

It is not clear, however, from the speeches of either of the two main leaders what changes they would or could make in present economic policies. Those who have less prospect of power have felt it easier to make precise promises.

Addy's Secret Formula

Mr. Joe Appiah has promised almost to double the price paid to cocoa farmers—a great temptation for all parties since farmers are known to be discontented with their present price. Mr. Mark Addy of the National Reconstruction Party neatly avoided any precise commitment while making the biggest promise of all. He said that for "reasons of political strategy" his party's "secret formula for curing all the economic ills" of the economy could not at present be divulged.

Some of the new small parties, it is alleged, hope that before nominations are actually made for the general election, one of the major parties will accept their assistance and offer a suitable reward for it. Others may disappear, others may merge. But the general picture is the same as it was at the beginning of the year. Only two figures stand out as likely leaders—Dr. Busia and Mr. Gbedemah.

For the future the important thing is that neither bases his support exclusively or even mainly on one area of the country, that no party can be called a "chief" party or an "anti-chiefs" party, that no party is attempting to divert the voters from real issues by slogans about neo-colonialism. More important, it is already clear that the mass of Ghanaians, after their experience of the Nkrumah régime, are very wary of politicians. No politician is going to find it easy this time to win power even if organisation rather than ideology will probably be the deciding factor.

This also means that any party or alliance that wins power must know that it is on trial. It should also mean that any party or group of parties that forms an official opposition should realise that if it does its job well, it has every prospect of coming to power. This may be the most important development of all for the future of democracy. For the behaviour of oppositions in West Africa in the past has fully demonstrated the truth of the judgment recently made about a distinguished American senator who holds no office "power corrupts but lack of power corrupts absolutely".

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MATCHET'S DIARY

New York

SWITCHING on my hotel television set for the news I find myself confronted with a professor lecturing on African history. Looking at the fashion pages in the New York *Sunday Times* magazine I see a trouser-suit made in Liberia of hand-woven cloth. But this kind of recognition of Africa is now commonplace here. The arrival at the Metropolitan Museum of Art of an exhibition in which African sculpture plays a major part is far more significant. This is the special exhibition of the art of Oceania, Africa and the Americas, taken from the New York Museum of Primitive Art. It is from the collection Governor Nelson Rockefeller gave to the Museum of Primitive Art (he must feel his current rebuffs in Latin South America the more because of his devotion to traditional American art). Its importance is that, probably for the first time in the United States, traditional African art is on show at a major art gallery as art, not as ethnography, as "antiquities", or merely as curios (the single Benin cock in the National

raffa, spotlighted with jungle colours and given a special Muzak and bongos". They are displayed each for its own worth. At the Metropolitan Museum, it is true, in a room adjoining the exhibition, a film runs constantly to explain that, for example, masks are meant to be worn, usually in a dance. But this is a long way from the Peabody Museum at Harvard or the Smithsonian Institute. Soon, too, a book on Yoruba aesthetics by Robert Farris Thompson of Yale seems likely to upset fashionable notions about the purely religious or ritual nature of traditional African art. For what is normally called "taste" is widespread among the Yoruba when discussing traditional art—the delicacy of a line or the roundness of a mass attracts approval in Oyo no less than in Paris, and the most favoured works are those which are sited at a point somewhere between "absolute abstraction and absolute likeness".

Never have I attended a more cordial meeting than the session of the Trusteeship Council which elected the new President and the Vice-President for the coming session and discussed procedures. For in spite of all the heat engendered by colonialism, South West Africa, by Rhodesia and even by Anguila, the UN Trust Territories are now reduced to two and, as Lord Caradon said, this was one organ of the UN whose object was to extinguish itself and which had nearly achieved this object. The leader of the French delegation, formerly the Vice-President, was unanimously elected President. The leader of the Australian delegation (who had two men from Papua-New Guinea, one of the two remaining Trust Territories, in his delegation) was unanimously elected Vice-President. The chief Russian delegate, while taking the opportunity to emphasise the Soviet Union's consistent anti-colonial stand, congratulated the President and Vice-President warmly. The Chinese delegation did the same. Beaming on the small gathering from the platform was Mr. Issoufou Djermakoye of Niger, the UN Under-Secretary responsible for the Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories. A tall impressive figure, and formerly a very important politician in his country and in the "French Union", Mr. Djermakoye has plenty of trouble with the other part of his portfolio (though I found him to be most reasonable and objective about Rhodesia and the rest); so the cordiality with which he greeted the delegates on this occasion was entirely sincere.

It was shortly after this meeting that young Bruce Mayrock burnt himself to death on the lawn outside the UN building in protest against Biafran suffering. He seems to have been a former student

in a Jewish Theological Seminary, but had later gone in for general studies at Columbia. His friends said he had long been deeply upset by the world's inaction about Biafra's suffering and he left on the grass a large cardboard sign saying: "You must stop genocide—please save 9 million Biafrans." Whether his gesture will have the slightest effect I can't say. Students I asked about it said that it might arouse public opinion or have some effect on the American government. When I asked them would it have any effect on General Gowon or Colonel Ojukwu they seemed surprised. For all their idealism they seemed unable to break away from the idea that it was the United States that mattered in these affairs.

One of the least known of the United Nations' agencies is also headed by a West African, Chief Simeon Adebó. But perhaps the United Nations Institute for Training and Research should not be called an agency, since, established in 1965, it is an autonomous body depending on voluntary contributions from U.N. members. It is, in a sense, a United Nations university, with a board of trustees of which Mr. Kenneth Younger, Director-General of Chatham House, is chairman. Seventy-seven countries and eight private foundations have pledged or paid over \$5m. for UNITAR, whose estimated expenditure this year is \$1-34m. In his office in a building across the road from the U.N. headquarters, Chief Adebó told me about his training programme. This includes a course at Dakar for new recruits and junior officers in the foreign services of twelve independent French-speaking countries, and a similar course for English-speaking officers at Makerere. There are courses and seminars for officials of permanent missions at the U.N. seminars on problems of technical assistance and development at Addis Ababa and at Dakar, and several courses in collaboration with other organisations. A UN staff college is also planned.

Obviously the Institute's main task is to train people for work connected with the U.N. or international bodies, and the main beneficiaries are those from poorer countries which cannot arrange such training themselves. On the research side the programme includes study of the international "brain drain" of professional people from developing to developed countries, and of certain problems of international law. Chief Adebó was already Vice-Chancellor designate of Ibadan when U. Thant appealed personally to General Gowon to release him for the UNITAR job (he is called Executive Director and holds the rank of a United Nations Under-Secretary). His predecessor, and first Executive Director, M. Gabriel D'Arbousier of Senegal, had managed to get UNITAR under way. Chief Adebó's administrative talents will ensure that the staff, and the money so far contributed (still inadequate), will produce results.



Fertility figure at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: from the Baga of Coastal Guinea.

Gallery at Washington scarcely affects the argument). The exhibition is beautifully mounted and lighted. For example a Benin belt mask of the kind now very familiar takes on a new significance because of the subtle lighting which emphasises the beautiful colour of the old ivory. The familiar Bambara antelope head pieces take on a new elegance when displayed individually against a background and with a light which emphasise their form.

Above all, as is claimed by the Museum of Primitive Art for its own exhibits, these pieces are not "displayed like a boy scout's collection of arrow heads". Nor are they "swamped in

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ILO's Golden Jubilee

THE International Labour Organisation (ILO) celebrates its 50th anniversary this week. Founded in 1919, and affiliated to the League of Nations, it is the only major organisation set up as a result of World War I to survive intact. Developing slowly but surely from sane, firm foundations, it is now recognised as one of the elder brethren of the United Nations family, which it joined as a Specialised Agency in 1946. If in some ways ILO's ideas and methods seem a little old-fashioned and slow, compared with those of some of the big, brash organisations that came into being after World War II, the fact that it has managed to survive in the stormy waters of labour relations (as difficult and dangerous now as they have ever been) says a great deal for its innate stability and the good sense with which it has been run over the past half century. This stability in particular is perhaps due to a unique and wise decision on the part of ILO's founding fathers, namely that governments, employers and workers should all be officially and separately represented in the bodies controlling the work of the Organisation.

Today, with a membership of 120 States (compared with 45 in 1919), ILO is better equipped than ever to pursue its aims, redefined in 1944 to proclaim the right of all human beings "to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity". To this end, the International Labour Office, a secretariat of over 2,000 under a Director-General (for the past 20 years, David A. Morse of the United States) operates at the Organisation's headquarters in Geneva. As a field force, ILO also commands more than 600 experts working in some 250 technical co-operation projects, mostly in the developing countries still in the early stages of industrialisation.

The Organisation's programme is decided by the International Labour Conference, which meets annually and at which each member state is represented by four delegates: two from the government, one each representing the employers and workers. This pattern is repeated in the 48-member Governing Body, which operates as an executive council. The three bodies, Conference, Governing Body and Secretariat, together make up the International Labour Organisation as a whole. While the bulk of the staff are at the Geneva headquarters, there are some 30 regional or area offices, three of them at Dakar, Lagos and Yaounde.

The programme is implemented in three main ways: by setting up internationally agreed standards for such matters as working conditions, levels of pay, industrial safety, and all aspects of workers' welfare, through technical co-operation projects; and by information, education and research into relevant problems. Some 260 Conventions and Recommenda-

tions for international standards have now been adopted by the Conference and passed on to its member governments; in effect, they constitute an International Labour Code, the creation of which is perhaps ILO's greatest achievement. Although the Organisation has no way of enforcing compliance with these standards, the machinery exists to examine complaints that they are being broken or ignored by any country that has ratified the Convention concerned. Thus, two recent instances dealt with allegations of forced labour, in one case in Portuguese African territories, in the other, in Liberia. In each case, investigation showed that governments were not directly responsible, and were in fact prepared to take action to rectify the situation shown to exist in certain private commercial undertakings.

In common with the other specialised agencies, ILO carries out many projects financed through the United Nations Development Programme. They range from sending individual experts to deal with specific, *ad hoc* problems, to the establishment of large permanent training institutions. In recent years, for example, expert advisers have been to Cameroon, Morocco, Ethiopia and Congo (Kinshasa), among other countries, advising on the establishment or codifying of social and labour legislation and similar activities. Elsewhere, recent projects have been concerned with setting-up rural vocational training centres, with the object of providing more opportunities for training young artisans in the villages and small towns. In this way it is hoped to prevent or forestall their drifting to the cities, where all too often their presence only adds to unemployment and social unrest. This is, of course, especially a problem in countries where the population explosion is making itself felt, which is not generally the case in West Africa. But the enormous growth of centres such as Ibadan shows what can happen, and highlights the need for the sort of anticipatory action that ILO helps to make possible.

At the opposite end of the scale, on the training side of its fieldwork, is ILO's increasing activity in the higher echelons of industry. While the shortage of skilled workers on the shop floor is still critical in some countries, there may often be an even greater lack of local managerial talent and experience. It is this appreciation which led to the establishment, as an ILO/UNDP assisted project, of the Management Development and Productivity Institute at Accra, where a total of six ILO experts are already at work. A similar centre at Conakry is now also coming into operation, and this development is likely to be followed elsewhere in the region.

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Ghana's delegation to last year's ILO assembly: From left, J. D. Vanderpuye and Mr. Yonekpc, government delegate and adviser; Mr. Bentum, TUC General Secretary, and Mr. Bannerman-Menson, employers' delegate.

Training Centre at Dakar, where the idea of "sandwich" courses is being put into effect: the pupils at this establishment, which is run in close collaboration with local industrial undertakings, spend three years at the Centre, full time for the first year, then on a basis of two months there at a time, followed by two months at a factory.

Other West African projects have led to the establishment of the Advanced Training Centre for Labour Administration at Yaounde, which caters for French-speaking Africa; and, at a national level, a smaller centre training labour inspectors at Kinshasa, Congo. At the highest level, in relation to this type of training, is the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training, established by ILO at Turin, Italy, in 1965. This is intended for developing the managerial and higher technical skills of those who have advanced beyond the facilities

available in their own country, which applies to many of the developing countries of Africa.

work centres on the International Institute for Labour Studies, which was set up at Geneva in 1960. Its speciality is research on social and labour policy, and advanced education in labour problems. As such, it is a centre at which leading experts—administrators, trades union officials, university lecturers and others—meet both as instructors and pupils. This Institute will have an increasingly important part to play in the coming years, especially in relation to the great new development being initiated by ILO's Director General to celebrate the 50th anniversary, the World Employment Programme.

Basically, the aim of this ambitious new global initiative is the determination to stem the rising tide of unemployment and underemployment, by foster-

ing parallel rural and industrial development in the developing countries, while encouraging the industrialised countries to rethink their own policies in ways that will provide for opportunities for the "have-nots." What must be done, in fact is to show how to provide more jobs, and to ensure that the skills needed to make those jobs worthwhile are everywhere available. In effect, this amounts to a concentration on the development of human resources, which are still all too often left behind as industrialisation goes ahead on the most modern, mechanised lines. The programme for Africa is already in preparation, and will certainly be one of the activities discussed at the present International Labour Conference in Geneva. Once it has been formulated and agreed in common with those for all the other regions, action programmes will follow which together will constitute the ILO contribution to the Second UN Development Decade for 1970 to 1980.

No other UN Agency's work is more closely tied to the lives of human beings than that of ILO, many of whose problems and policies are directly connected with the details of every working man's life. No other agency can call on so many years unbroken experience. The new, dynamic approach implied in the World Employment Programme should make the Organisation's second half century as successful as the first has been, and even more valuable to mankind.

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Africans Before Columbus?

MR. THOR HEYERDAHL, the Norwegian anthropologist who became famous for sailing across the South Pacific on a raft of balsa wood, has begun to sail across the Atlantic, from Morocco to the Caribbean, in a boat of papyrus reeds. But why that kind of boat, why not a West African sailing canoe? For the real interest of Mr. Heyerdahl's bold enterprise is likely to lie not in demonstrating that the Pharaonic Egyptians could or did cross the Atlantic, but that West Africans could and did arrive in the Americas before Columbus.

It is an old controversy. Columbus and other early European arrivals in the Americas came back with quite a bit of evidence, suggestive but inconclusive, that black peoples from Africa had already reached those shores. Various writers have pointed, from time to time over the past twenty years and more, to the likely West African origins of these black explorers, notably of that "tribe of Almayms" who were said to have settled in Honduras. They remind us that Columbus himself reported that the American Indians of Hispaniola had told him that "there had come to Hispaniola from the south and east—a black people who have the tops of their spears made of a metal which they call *guanin*, of which he had sent samples to the Sovereigns to have them assayed, when it was found that of 32 parts, 18 were of gold, six of silver and eight of copper."

One writer has claimed that *guanin* was a Mande word meaning gold, and this same writer, Leo Wiener, goes on to point out that the Dutch memoirist William Bosman, writing around 1700, explained that Africans on the west coast frequently made an alloy of gold, silver and copper. Another writer, Harold Lawrence, further strengthened the same case for a West African origin of these black people in Hispaniola by recalling Ibn Battuta's description of the imperial court of Mali in 1352. At royal audiences, Ibn Battuta recorded, "armour-bearers bring in magnificent arms—quivers of gold and silver, swords ornamented with gold and with golden scabbards, gold and silver lances, and crystal maces."

Mansa Musa's Story

And then, of course, there is the famous conversation of 1324-5 on trans-Atlantic voyaging between the Emperor Mansa Musa of Mali (c. 1312-37) and a Carrene scholar called Ibn Amir Hijib (recorded in turn by al-Omari, a few years later, in his *Musalik ah Absar fi Mamalik al Amsar*), which, one hopes, is also in Mr. Heyerdahl's mind.

"I asked the Sultan Musa how it was that power came into his hands. 'We are,' he told me, 'from a house that transmits power by heritage. The ruler

who preceded me [probably Mansa Muhammad] would not believe that it was impossible to discover the limits of the neighbouring sea [i.e. the Mali empires' western and south-western sea, the Atlantic. He wanted to find out and persisted in his plan.

"He had two hundred ships equipped and filled with men, and others in the same number filled with gold, water and supplies in sufficient quantity to last for years. He told those who commanded them: Return only when you have reached the extremity of the ocean, or when you have exhausted your food and water. They went away; their absence was long before any of them returned. Finally, a single ship reappeared. We asked the captain about their adventures.

"'Prince, he replied, we sailed for a long time, up to the moment when we encountered in mid-ocean something like a river with a violent current. My ship was last. The others sailed on, and gradually as each of them entered this place, they disappeared and did not come back. We did not know what had happened to them. As for me, I returned to where I was and did not enter that current.

"'But the emperor [Muhammad] did not want to believe him. He equipped two thousand vessels, a thousand for himself, and a thousand for water and supplies. He conferred power on me [Mansa Musa] and left with his companions on the ocean. This was the last time that I saw him and the others, and I remained absolute master of the empire."

Small Boats on the Sea

Now it seems very probable indeed that Musa said this to Ibn Hajib who told al-Omari, a careful annalist whose information about Mali rested on other eye-witness accounts by Egyptian scholars who had sojourned there. But most European historians have supposed that Musa was merely boasting, and have pooh-pooed the idea that he might have been telling the truth.

Perhaps Mr. Heyerdahl, in sailing in an ancient sort of boat from Morocco to the Caribbean, will be able to persuade them differently. Given the capacity of small boats to sail the oceans, as shown by many venturers in these past years and months, the matter can do with some more thought. The Mali of Musa's time undoubtedly possessed large sailing boats for the Niger—on this the evidence is scarcely in question—and it is hard to see why these boats should not have sailed on the sea as well.

Those who believe that the sailors of Mali did in fact reach the Americas have other evidence to adduce. They point out that ships sailing west from Senegal would pass the Cape Verdes a

little north of latitude 10 degrees North, and that in doing so they would sail into the steady westward-flowing North Equatorial current, and thence into the Antilles Current as far as the Gulf of Mexico. They also recall that Columbus on his third voyage had information from the Cape Verde Islands that "canoes had been found which start from the coast of Guinea and navigate to the west with merchandise".

The view that Mansa Muhammad's expeditions were a figment of Mansa Musa's imagination, or that, if they really did take place, they altogether failed to reach the Americas, has thus to overlook a great many bits and pieces of evidence to the contrary. This evidence has been largely set aside by historians, one cannot help feeling, because of some inherent preconception about the inability of Africans to navigate at sea. Modern historians might well reconsider the matter, especially if Mr. Heyerdahl's venture is successful. Medieval Mali was no mere outpost of the civilised world of those times; on the contrary, it was in touch with the eastern world of Islam through many travellers and learned men, and the eastern world of Islam was very familiar with the sea. Travelling was very much in the spirit of West Africa, then as later; and if by land, why not by sea as well? Good luck to you, Mr. Heyerdahl!

Basil Davidson



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Letters to the editor

SUDAN'S PROBLEM

Sir.—The publicity given to the Biafrans convinced me that money is the most important factor in politics. Red genocide has been going on in Southern Sudan for over five years yet no one says anything about it. The Pope knows about it, the World Council of Churches knows about it, the International Red Cross knows about it and above all the OAU whose members include Tanzania, Ivory Coast, Gabon and Zambia.

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I do not doubt that Sir Ahmadu Bello was a notable ruler who deserves to be remembered, but I suggest that a hall of residence be named after him (is the Sultan Bello Hall at the University of Ibadan connected with him or not?)

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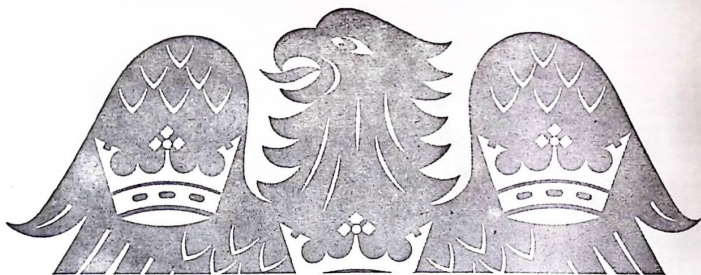
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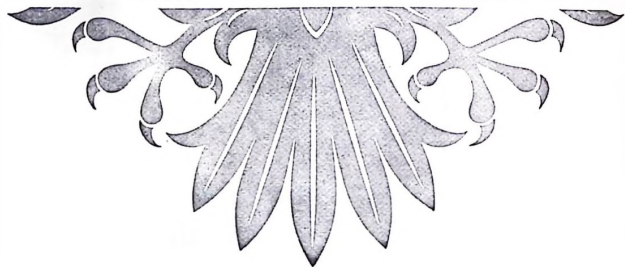
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ROUNDBOUT

Unhappy Relations

Although the Ivory Coast has officially given no explanation for their break in diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, it is not difficult to divine from the utterances of both the President, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, and the Secretary of the ruling party, M. Yacé, that the Ivory Coast Government seek to blame the the Soviet Union for troubles in the University of Abidjan (see page 659). The Ivory Coast has probably been the most reluctant of any African country to entertain any sort of relations with any Communist country, so pronounced has been the Ivorian preoccupation with insulating themselves against any sort of subversion. The opening of relations in 1967 was partly influenced by the cordiality of relations between France and the USSR at the time, and the fact that the Russians seemed, in the wake of the fall of Nkrumah, to be pursuing a much more kid-glove policy to Africa; but relations have never been especially happy. There have been several critics of the Ivory Coast economy in the Soviet press, including a famous article in *Pravda* which was replied to in a front-page article in Abidjan's daily *Fraerité Matin* by the Ivorian Foreign Minister, M. Usher. Then came the "opening to Moscow" in Nigeria, which seems to have re-awakened old suspicions, and may have played a part in the Ivorian decision to cast in their lot with Biafra. This tied in with a section of French opinion which, we are told, has been showing growing concern at the role of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean, and the development of what is seen in Paris as an Algiers-Lagos axis, under the influence of the Russians, using naval and military aid to further their interests. This was a message which M. Usher was giving out strongly on his visit to London last autumn, and it must be seen behind the current attack of the jitters in Abidjan. Whether breaking relations is the best way to meet it is another matter.

Developing Development Studies

A milestone in the establishment of "development studies" at the University of Cambridge is marked by the appointment of Mr. Paul Howell to the twin post of Director of the Course on Development in the University of Cambridge, and Director of Development Studies at University College there. This is an appointment financed jointly by the college and the Ministry of Overseas Development, where Mr. Howell has been working as head of the Middle East Development Division since 1961. The interest of the Ministry is in the Course on Development, which Mr. Howell will be directing on behalf of the University's Overseas Studies Committee. This course, for 30 men and women sent by a number of overseas governments who receive British aid

(the number will rise shortly to 45), is the present-day version of what used to be known as the "Devonshire course", running at both Oxford and Cambridge in the days of the Colonial Office, and which has many distinguished alumni now to be found in the administrations of independent countries. In its present form it has been running since 1963, but it is now to be discontinued at Oxford. Under the new arrangement the course is attached to a particular college, thereby benefitting from the advantages of college life, or, as the College describes it "the mature international community of a graduate society". University College is a five-year-old post-graduate college, still trying to raise money for its impressive-looking modern buildings, which has among its aims "exploring and developing contact with the outside world in a number of fields". Mr. Howell's duties at University College will be concerned with links with developing countries—for example he will try to increase the number of fellowships and studentships available for research workers from developing countries in Cambridge and vice versa.

Exhibitions to Come

The forthcoming Hampstead exhibition of contemporary African art, of which I have already written in these columns, seems to be taking interesting shape. I have been talking to Jacqueline Delange (the head of the *Afrique Noire* department of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, and joint author, with Michel Leiris, of a book on African art, a translation of which was recently published in London) who is helping with the selection of works. She tells me that the Musée is planning to hold its own exhibition of contemporary African art in November or December this year, so in a way the London exhibition is far her a trial run. The Paris exhibition will be in the public gallery of the Musée, and the cases of traditional art will be, perhaps symbolically, curtained over. She hopes to be able to tap the Ulli Beier collection which is currently being stored at the Prague Ethnology Museum, whose curator, Erich Herold, is holding another similar exhibition in January 1970. This collection, which includes specimens of "pop-art" from Ontsha which he collected during the last phase of his period in Nigeria, is something which deserves wide showing. I asked Mme. Delange about contemporary art in French-speaking Africa, to which Beier in his recent book devotes limited space on the grounds that it is too influenced by individual teachers, such as Pierre Lotz, currently of the Ecole de Arts in Senegal. She shares this preoccupation with the problem of the *eminentia grise* behind modern African artists, and participates in a study group on "decolonisation in African art" set up in the intellectual ferment in Paris in May 1968.

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THE BRITISH LEGACY

The Civil Service in Commonwealth Africa, by A. L. Adu (Allen & Unwin; Cloth 36s., Paperback 26s.).

NOBODY is more suited than Mr. Adu to write a book with this title, or with its sub-title "Development and Transition." He is former Head of the Ghana Civil Service, former Secretary-General of the East African Commonwealth Organisation, and now Deputy Secretary-General at the Commonwealth Secretariat. He has also been chairman of important committees advising on re-organisation of the civil service in Malawi and Tanzania, and has much other experience of this kind.

The book is an excellent guide for civil servants themselves and, more important, for those, notably politicians, who depend on the services of their officials, but often fail to realise fully the nature of the organisation that supports them, and the rules that must be respected if the machinery is to work. Mr. Adu is, on the whole, satisfied with the type of structure left behind by the British and impressed by the adaptability of the services to their new conditions. He emphasises that traditions of integrity, impartiality, efficiency, loyalty to the government of the day, and devotion to duty are essential for any service. But now the civil services, having survived the period of transition have to become agents for change—rapid change. The question is whether they are suited for this task (Mr. Adu makes no attempt to describe the position in non-Commonwealth parts of Africa of which he says he has little experience).

In a sense there are two books here. One is a handbook for civil servants—about financial control, the proper organisation of ministries, the use of professional officers as administrative heads of ministries and departments, the most satisfactory grouping of portfolios, pension schemes, grading etc. Although himself an administrative officer, trained in the British tradition, he urges the need for administrators to have management and planning training and for administration to be regarded as a profession, rather than an art, just like medicine or engineering. He discusses the need for certain government activities to be undertaken by statutory corporations, asks whether the education and local

government services should not be integrated into the national civil service. He discusses the need for mobility between the different sectors of the public service and exchange between the public and the private sectors. Behind all this is the acceptance of the concept of the independent civil servant, whose role is separate from that of the elected politician and who is, above all, permanent. Within that concept this is an excellent hand book.

There is, however, another subject on which Mr. Adu touches only briefly, and that mostly in connection with the racial problem in East and Central Africa. There he recognises that the policy of Africanisation, intended to reduce the imbalance in numbers between the different communities, was inevitable, even though it meant some injustice and some inefficiency. But this was a policy made necessary by past history. Mr. Adu then goes on to say that in Nigeria "all parts of the Federation should be equitably represented in the Federal public service". But there is no further discussion on this point which, in fact, applies equally to Ghana and Sierra Leone. What does "equitably" mean? Does it mean that in Nigeria each of the 12 states, for example, must have a similar number of senior appointments in all branches of the Federal Service? And if, as is the case, that is at present impossible, what steps should or could be taken to improve the situation? Does it mean that in Sierra Leone efforts should be made to ensure that Northerners hold at least as many senior appointments as do Creoles? Does it mean that the continued predominance of Southerners among administrative officers in Northern Ghana must quickly be ended?

This, a recent editorial in this magazine suggested, is now a major political issue. Throughout West Africa there are complaints about the alleged predominance, or even monopoly, of senior appointments by certain groups. The composition of the civil service, in other words, is now, when the question of "Africanisation" is settled, still a political matter. The problem could become particularly acute when, as is often the case, a political party based largely on one section of the community, and perhaps one that considers itself



"MONEY" You probably read about or heard of the gentleman who, wanting to get his own back on what he thought was a very mean local government council, wrote them a cheque on the living hide of a cow and led the cow to City Hall! The requisite revenue stamps having been duly affixed, of course, the cow was legal tender! (Its flanks were probably very tender too—after all that scratching about with a red hot quill!) I suppose, in the way that banks return old cheques to their customers, the cow eventually found its way back to home pastures—having been stamped with the Teller's number of all!

But, joking apart, there was a time when, if they had banks or safety deposits in some pastoral communities, they would in all probability look more like cattle ranches than banks as we now know them. For in such communities cattle would be money—the actual medium of exchange against which goods and services were valued in other communities grain, wool, fish-hooks, skins, furs, cowries and shells have been used as currency. Indeed, in parts of Nigeria, cowries and manilla were, less than 100 years ago, legal tender. If you were to lose your cheque book and you decide to write your next cheque on the flanks of a cow, National Bank of Nigeria will honour it—provided you do have an account with the bank and that all legal requirements for valid cheques—duties, etc., are complied with.

Quite apart from the slight inconvenience to all concerned—of leading an unwilling cow through the traffic to the bank—though National Bank of Nigeria Limited would much rather you used more conventional cheques—like in the National Bank cheque book you get when you open your current account at any of our National Bank's branches in Nigeria and abroad! What's more you'll find that National do know about money—money's their business. Savings, transfers, foreign exchange—you name it! If it's money you are talking about you should talk to National Bank of Nigeria Limited—the Bank You Can Trust.



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unfairly treated in the past, comes to power but finds that the official machinery is run largely by people from other parts of the country.

In such circumstances, it might be suggested, the system of introducing either in a minister's personal "cabinet" or in senior positions in the ministries, people sympathetic to the ruling party, who would leave their appointments if the party lost office, might be considered. But in the countries Mr. Adu is considering the machinery is so firmly based on the British model that, even if there were suitable people in sufficient numbers to "inject" in this way (which there are not), conflict and inaction would be likely results.

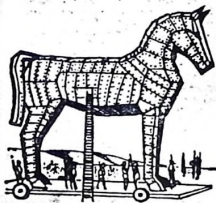
It is true, as Mr. Adu points out when listing the formulae for deciding policy on standards, recommended by the working party of officials on Africanisation in the Gold Coast, that different rules might apply to different sectors of the public service. In a number of spheres it is possible for the government to decide that in the interests of the service as a whole and, ultimately of efficiency, the need to rectify an imbalance should take precedence over the need for absolute efficiency—though not integrity. Certain appointments, too, can be formally transferred to the political field—such as those of some ambassadors or high commissioners or, as has again happened in Sierra Leone, those of heads of local administration in major areas.

There is also the possibility, which Mr. Adu discusses in another connection, of widening the field of recruitment so that people who have shown administrative talent as head teachers or in local government service, even if they have not got the degrees or other qualifications normally required, can reach the top in the national civil service.

Mr. Adu himself is such a model civil servant that, conscious only that he and people like him are anxious to see their country loyally and impartially, he may not fully appreciate how these highly educated and experienced men may look to young and immature politicians and their followers. Their very permanence may be an irritant and their expertise, however tactfully used, a constant reminder of the politicians' inexperience.

Mr. Adu rightly assumes that corruption is not a serious problem in the higher branches of the services which he is discussing. It is, however, a very serious problem lower down and one would have welcomed in the chapter on "financial control" something more than formal consideration of the nature of Treasury control, the Auditor-General's function and the like.

Yet, as so often, a reviewer is now complaining that a writer has not chosen to write a different book. The book Mr. Adu has chosen to write achieves its object admirably. D.W.



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books and publications

The Writer in Modern Africa, edited by Per Wastberg (The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 28s.).

Per Wastberg has brought together several papers and some discussions from the African-Scandinavian Writers' Conference held near Stockholm in 1967. As Wastberg, himself a leading writer and a participant at the conference, explains in his "Opening Remarks", the subject was literature from all parts of the African continent. There were papers from Dan Jacobson (ex-South Africa) and Ketch Yacine (Algeria), but the concern of the majority of African writers present was the position of the African writer and the validity of his artistic vision.

The most biting essays of the volume, two pieces which stand in their own right as significant polemic literature, are Wole Soyinka's "The Writer in a Modern African State" and Sonnet Dipoko's "Cultural Diplomacy in African Writing". Soyinka, in his essay which has also been published in *Transition*, argues that valid literature must have cultural relevance. He concludes that African authors have too often ignored present reality and prospected only in "archaic fields": "A concern with culture strengthens society, but not a concern with mythology".

The reader does hope, in the case of writers who do have a vision which encompasses contemporary reality, that Soyinka exaggerates by asserting that their works "are without impact". It is tempting to agree partly with Soyinka's statement that his own brilliant plays or Achebe's novels, for example, "are without impact", when I recall the difficulty of persuading a small group of Ghanaian teachers-in-training and their sponsors to stage one of Soyinka's plays instead of the usual "classics". Despite this literary conservatism which confronts modern authors in many parts of the world, Soyinka's plays do get staged and Achebe's novels are read by increasing numbers in Africa; the minority who have enjoyed these two significant writers and other important authors of vision such as A. K. Armah will have an increased appreciation of their cultural reality. But Soyinka undoubtedly hopes for more than a small minority and his case is well taken.

Dipoko in his essay analyses the *Négritude* movement from its phase of protest against imperialism to its time of reconciliation with European culture. Dipoko notes that authors of the last phase of *Négritude*, in being cultural diplomats to Europe, built a pretty dream from backward glimpses of old Timbuktu and the ancient empires:

"The beautiful reconstruction of the past remained only in the pages of books, the pages of our books, never in the way of life of the writers, never in our way of life." Dipoko's case is carefully argued, but there still remains the hopeful fact that the humanistic poetry and public activities of several writers of the *Négritude* movement are partly a practical attempt to carry the moral and cultural values of the past into a disruptive present, and in the long run to rehabilitate and preserve some traditional African human values in a flourishing technical-industrial society. This goal of the writers of *Négritude* seems to be dismissed too completely by Dipoko as romantic escapism, but his essay is stimulating.

Aside from other useful critical contributions from individuals such as Professor Eldred Jones of Fourah Bay, there are four sensitive accounts of African childhoods, each author juxtaposing attractive against harsh elements from his memory. Dan Jacobson recalls his rootless freedom in Kimberley, disturbed by an awareness that freedom there was solely the result of his white skin. Dennis Brutus describes his isolated Cape Coloured home, as well as his formative contact with chivalric poetry. James Ngugi narrates a tale full of the social and economic detail of Kenyan village life. George Awonoor-Williams recollects his pre-school days in Eweland; his extended family, the funerals, his grandfather's farm.

R. W. Noble

A History of the Asians in East Africa, 1866 to 1945, by J. S. Mangat (Oxford University Press, 55s.).

Prosaic, but containing a wealth of invaluable primary source material, J. S. Mangat's over-priced first book succeeds in providing a straightforward historical study of a topical subject.

Any attempt to substitute fact for emotion in a matter which is basically racialistic rather than economic or political is commendable, although the resulting dryness sometimes results in serious shortcomings: for instance, to record that Allidina Visram, "the uncrowned king of Uganda," bought crops for less than the price he could sell them at Liverpool, is begging the question. Was this action inspired by the promise of long-term business benefits or by a genuine concern for African growers?

Although its usefulness in terms of explaining or even describing racialism is limited, the book does provide information of importance to an understanding of the history of East Africa, particularly the way the Asians played a vital role in frustrating the advance of white self-government on the southern African model and their indispensable part in developing the economies of Kenya, Uganda and what is now Tanzania, even to the extent of being responsible for the introduction of motor

transport in the interior. Despite the present attacks on them as avaricious middlemen, the economies of these countries would not be as nearly developed as they are without their activities.

Their early political championing of the African cause is also chronicled, and should be read by politicians who today dismiss them as "fence-sitters." Throughout the period of this book, the Asians basic demand was for "the recognition of their rights as British subjects to equality of treatment." Their failure to achieve this aim which should have been their right was due to one reason: they were discriminated against by Britain and Britons because they were brown, not white. Thus Britain's recent racialist immigration legislation can clearly be seen as merely the culminating point of nearly a century of unprincipled, indefensible treatment of Asians in East Africa. D.N.

The Sahara is Yours, by Jon Stevens. (Constable, 42s.).

Based on the theory that, as European holiday makers seek ever more distant places the Sahara offers opportunities, which the now crowded beaches of Italy, Spain and South of France do not, this book is a traveller's guide. The author, his wife and two friends made a two-month, 9,000-mile journey in two Land-Rovers in the Sahara and most of the book deals with the technical aspects of such a journey, even giving addresses of the appropriate embassies and tourist offices in London, Paris, or the countries themselves. There is, however, a narrative, too, of the places and people they saw and there are a larger number of photographs. The journey took them as far as the Bilma Sands in the Niger Republic (the most difficult travel for the tourist) and the possibilities of travel in Chad (where the game reserves offer a good start for tourism) are also discussed. P.D.

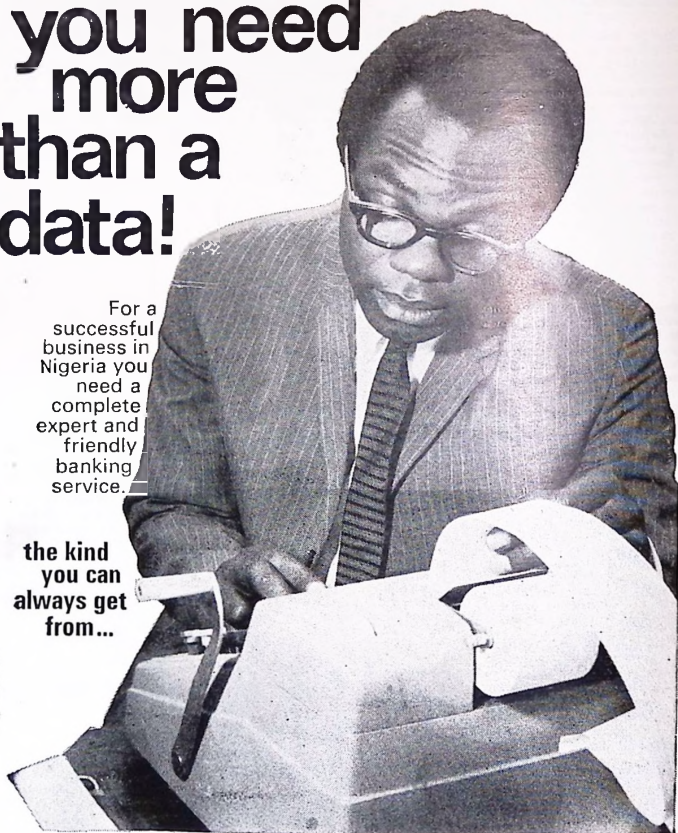
Introduction to Biology, by D. G. Mackean with June Mitchellmore (John Murray, 25s.).

This is a new edition, especially written for tropical areas of a most widely used science textbook. Miss Mitchellmore is a former teacher from Mfantipim, one of Ghana's leading secondary schools. Drawings and descriptions have, where appropriate, been replaced by new ones of tropical organisms studied and drawn in West Africa. The tropical examples, however, are suitable for many other countries. The requirements of the biology syllabus of the West African Examinations Council have been kept in mind by the authors, and the questions at the end of the chapters are taken from past papers of the Council and from the overseas papers of London University. L.P.N.

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commercial news

Lowest-ever US aid budget

AFRICA is bottom of the list in President Nixon's foreign aid budget, which is itself the lowest proposed by a President since the programme began 22 years ago. The breakdown of the budget (which is still \$900m more than Congress actually allowed for direct economic assistance last year) is: Near East and South East Asia \$625m., Latin America \$605m., Vietnam \$440m., East Asia \$234m., Africa \$186m.

His request for \$275m. for military assistance is the same as that asked for by President Johnson. Three-quarters of this figure is scheduled for four countries: Greece, Taiwan, Turkey and South Korea.

Among the proposed innovations are the creation of a new overseas private investment corporation to offer guarantees and engage in lending to help back up a greater stress on the role of private enterprise in the assistance effort, and a greater emphasis on technical assistance, the funding of which he wants to be on a two-year rather than annual basis.

Republican members of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee told the President that they would like a cut in the proposed totals but White House officials are reported to be reasonably confident that the budget might escape the particularly severe treatment meted out to President Johnson's aid recommendations, although some reductions will almost certainly be forced.

HUGE BANK MERGER PLANNED

Terms of the proposed merger between the Standard Bank and Chartered Bank, which is almost certain to take place, will take about three months to complete. The merger would create a bank with deposits of £1,750m. and would oust Barclays DCO from its position as the biggest British overseas bank. There is likely to be keen competition in Africa where Barclays is very strong, although West Africa is an important area for Standard, whose world wide results for the year ended March 31 rose 11 per cent to £4,753,000.

The two banks together have 1,400 branches in Africa and the Far and Middle East, employing about 30,000 people.

- Barclays Bank DCO's Nigerian business has been transferred to a subsidiary, Barclays Bank of Nigeria Ltd. to comply with the Federal Government's Banking Decree that all banks operating in the country must be registered locally.

- A four-man delegation has left Accra for the United States to negotiate with the World Bank for \$3.5m. for the financing of the Accra Tema water project.

- Canada has budgeted for a 17 per cent. increase in aid spending to a total of \$338m. in 72 countries. An assessment in the *New York Times* refers to a growing attachment to French-speaking African countries in order to counter Quebec's initiative in claiming to speak and act for French Canadians.

- Japan's economic aid has been increased by 22 per cent. to £437m. in 1968, representing 94 per cent of the country's National income and 74 per cent. of gross national product.

- Britain's total outward investment between 1967 and 1968 rose by over 30 per cent. to £372m. but the amount actually flowing out dropped by £4m. to £87m., a *Board of Trade Journal* survey reported. Overall net overseas earnings rose 30 per cent. to £575m. (about half of this representing the result of devaluation) but dividend remittances went up by only 10 per cent.

- UN Secretary General U Thant has called for contributions totalling £166m. for the organisation's world food programme in 1971/72.

- East Germany and Mali have signed a cultural and scientific co-operation agreement.

Cocoa substitutes warning

Some United States manufacturers may use more chocolate substitutes this year because of rising cocoa prices, according to a report by the Government's Department of Commerce. Substitutes could be used as replacements for chocolate coatings, said the report, and there were also indications that manufacturers would reduce chocolate confectionary production. The situation could worsen in 1969 if prices continued to rise.

- Further opposition to the concept of a world agreement as a panacea for cocoa problems has been voiced by James P. Thol and Company, who warn that a stable price, in itself, solves nothing. Referring to a demand by Western Nigerian farmers for an increase in the price from £N100 a ton to £N250, the comment says that the key factor is to pay farmers well, only expect cocoa to pay for its own part in a nation's economy and to ensure that some money is ploughed back into the industry to enable world markets to absorb increasing amounts of cocoa. "Our solution is to let cocoa and other commodities carry on in their own endeavours, produce a plan to help any nation in need, not to try to take over something established, which appears always to be the main objectives in most operations."

Rudolf Wolff and company point out that

SHIPS COLLIDE

"Elmina Palm" is in dry dock for repairs following a night-time collision with the Norwegian cargo ship "Hoegh Augvald" 10 miles from Dakar port. There were no casualties. "Elmina Palm" was north-bound after calling at Bathurst to which the Norwegian vessel was heading.



An improved method of handling passenger baggage has been adopted on the Elder Dempster liner "Aurore" using special baggage "cribs" with three permanent wire mesh sides and one adjustable canvas side to permit loading of baggage. A tow bar allows individual hand steering or the cribs can be made into trains of six for mechanised towing. As well as providing greater protection from damage caused by handling, the new system will speed up the discharge of baggage, facilitating customs formalities and enabling passengers to complete landing arrangements in a shorter time.

weather conditions in West Africa now hold the key to price movement. The rains in Nigeria have been normal so far, but Ghana had an exceptionally wet May.

- Preliminary consultations under UNCTAD auspices on an international cocoa agreement begin in Geneva on June 16. Discussions will show whether participating countries—the seven major producers and seven major consumers—have changed their attitudes since the last meeting almost a year ago.

- Industrialised countries were urged not to encourage the production of synthetics which competed directly with natural commodities in a resolution adopted by the UNCTAD committee on commodities which finished its fourth session in Geneva. Synthetics and substitutes were cited as the main cause of falling prices and diminishing shares in world markets of products grown by developing countries.

- Unofficial estimates put Ghana's main crop cocoa purchases at 315,552 long tons. The Cocoa Marketing Board recently announced that the 1968-69 crop had been over-declared by 20,000 tons which indicates the final out-turn will be about 295,000 long tons, the lowest figure since the 1959-60 season.

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER DEMPESTER LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—KUMBA slg. Liverpool Jun. 11; AUREOL slg. Liverpool Jun. 13; DONNA slg. Liverpool Jun. 19; BHAMO slg. Liverpool Jun. 13; OBUASI due Monrovia Jun. 7.
From South Wales/Glasgow:—DUMURRA due Lagos Jun. 6.

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—OWERRI slg. London Jun. 10; EBANI slg. London Jun. 5; EGORI due Apapa Jun. 5; ONITSHA due Luanda Jun. 9. From Continent:—FIAN slg. Hamburg Jun. 14, FREETOWN slg. Hamburg Jun. 20.

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—DUNKWA due Dublin Jun. 7; PERANG due Abidjan Jun. 11.
To Hull/Middlesbrough:—DARU slg. Takoradi Jun. 7.

From London:—EBOE due Bathurst Jun. 10; FALABA due London Jun. 7.
EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada:—DALLA due Port Gentil Jun. 8; DEGEMA slg. New York Jun. 9; DUMBAI slg. Halifax Jun. 10.
WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada:—DEIDO due Freetown Jun. 9; FULANI due Scarsport Jun. 12.
From India/Pakistan/Burma:—BEECHBANK due Douala Jun. 28; PINEBAG slg. Chittagong May 25.

BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE

OUTWARDS—TEMA due Freetown Jun. 9, thence Monrovia, Buchanan, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Tiko, Douala and Cabinda CORNEVILLE due sail New York Jun. 10, Halifax (NS) Jun. 13 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi; FERNWOOD due Douala and Abidjan Jun. 27, Halifax (NS) Jun. 30, for Freetown/Douala range.

HOMEWARDS—FERNWOOD due New York Jun. 10, thence Norfolk and Philadelphia; TIFANIA now due load Lagos/Ghana N. Bound, Abidjan second week Jun., Buchanan/Monrovia mid Jun.; TEMA due load Lagos S. Bound Jun. 19, Tiko Jun. 22, Douala Jun. 23, Lagos/Ghana N. Bound early Jul., Abidjan second week Jul., Buchanan/Monrovia mid Jul.

FARRELL LINES

HOMEWARDS—AFRICAN GLADE slg. Lohito Jun. 11 due Tema Jun. 15, Takoradi, Abidjan for Monrovia for US Ports; AUSTRIAN GEM slg. Lagos/Apapa Jun. 26 due Abidjan for Monrovia for US Ports.

OUTWARDS—AUSTRALIAN GEM due Monrovia Jul. 3 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Jul. 14, Lagos/Apapa Jul. 16; AFRICAN RAINBOW due Monrovia Jul. 29 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Aug. 9, Douala and Sao Tome.

HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LINES

SOUTHBOUND—From Continent:—OLDEKERK due Lagos Jun. 10, KATSEVDYK due Abidjan Jun. 13; DAHOMEYKUST due P. Noire Jun. 20.

NORTHBOUND—To Continent:—GAASTERKERK due Rotterdam Jun. 12, Amsterdam Jun. 15, Hamburg Jun. 19; CONGOKUST due Antwerp Jun. 17, Rotterdam Jun. 18, Amsterdam Jun. 20, Bremen Jun. 24, Hamburg Jun. 25, ROTTERDAMERK due Amsterdam Jun. 20, Hamburg Jun. 26.

PALM LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—IKEJA PALM slg. Apapa Jun. 7; ENUGU PALM slg. Tema Jun. 8; LAGOS PALM due Tema Jun. 9. From Continent:—BAMENDA PALM due Lagos Jun. 13; ICA PALM due Monrovia Jun. 7; BADAGRY PALM due Tenerife Jun. 12.

NORTHBOUND—To London and Rotterdam:—ILESHA PALM due Abidjan Jun. 7. To Liverpool:—LOBITO PALM due Sherbro Jun. 20.
To Bordeaux/North Continent and Liverpool:—SAGA STATE due Victoria Jun. 8.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND—NOPAL SUN slg. New Orleans Jun. 2, Takoradi Jun. 21, Lagos Jun. 24 due Warri Jun. 27; NOPAL TELLSU 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.

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HEIN JENEVELT slg. Rouen Jun. 9; MAK HUGO STINNES slg. Rouen Jun. 14, Bordeaux

Jun. 17; ELLEN HUGO STINNES slg. Rouen Jun. 21.

HOEGH LINE

HOEGH BELLE slg. Liverpool Jun. 5, due Lrs Palmas Jun. 11, Freetown Jun. 15, Monrovia Jun. 17, Lagos Jun. 21, Apapa Jun. 23, Victoria Jun. 29, Douala Jul. 1.

GOLD STAR LINE

WESTBOUND—NOGASH slg. Kobe Jun. 8, Keelung Jun. 11, Hong Kong Jun. 13/15.

EASTBOUND—ISEKID slg. Dakar May 6/7, Singapore Jun. 2, Japan Jun. 16, 20.

BLACK STAR LINE/US/WEST AFRICA
WESTBOUND—OJIN RIVER Ghana May 18, Montreal Jun. 4, thence Great Lakes.

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SOUTHBOUND—OTCHI RIVER Hamburg May 27, Bremen May 28, Antwerp May 31, Rotterdam Jun. 3, Dunkirk Jun. 4; BENYA RIVER London Jun. 7.

NORTHBOUND—NAKWA RIVER Rotterdam Jun. 11, Amsterdam Jun. 13, Bremen Jun. 15, Hamburg Jun. 17, Antwerp Jun. 19; BENYA RIVER London May 27.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINE

INWARDS—STRAAT MAGELHAEN for China and Hong Kong slg. Hong Kong Apr. 3, due Lagos/Apapa Jun. 12, Cotonou Jun. 21, Lome Jun. 23, Tema Jun. 25, Abidjan Jun. 28, Monrovia Jul. 1, Freetown Jul. 3, Dakar Jul. 6, Conakry Jul. 9. STRAAT KRANKLIN for Japan slg. May 21, due Lagos/Apapa Jun. 22, Tema Jul. 1, Monrovia Jul. 5, Freetown Jul. 7, Abidjan Jul. 12, Takoradi Jul. 15.

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

JAPAN "K" LINE

WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Kong 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 Jun. 1 due Japan Jul. 7.

CHARGEURS REUNIS

SURCOUF due Lagos Jun. 10, Tema Jun. 15, Freetown Jun. 21, BOUGAINVILLE slg. Kobe Jun. 26.

MAERSK LINE

JOHANNES MAERSK slg. Bathurst Jun. 9 due Tema Jun. 13; ANETTE MAERSK slg. Luanda Jun. 14 due Matadi Jul. 11.

MITSUI OSK LINE

BUENOS AIRES MARU slg. Kobe May 2 due Lagos Jun. 9; AMSTELSUIS slg. Kobe May 21 due Lagos Jun. 30.

WOERMANN LINE

MOSEL BAY slg. Bordeaux Jun. 27, due Dakar Jun. 5, Abidjan Jun. 7, Lome Jun. 9; ULANGA slg. Rouen Jun. 5, due Dakar Jun. 13, Conakry Jun. 16, Sineo Jun. 20.

WESTIND AFRICA LTD.

BEUNA FORTUNA slg. New Orleans Jun. 1, Houston Jun. 5, for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos, Apapa, Douala and Luanda; SOPHIA C slg. New Orleans Jun. 22, Houston Jun. 28, for Lagos, Abidjan, Freetown.

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SOUTHBOUND—INDIANA ldg. Scandinavia Jun. for WA southern route Jun./early Jul.; BULLAREN ldg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux Jun. for WA Jul.; VIKAREN ldg. Scandinavia including Finland and Bordeaux late Jun./early Jul. for WA second half Jun. for WA Jul.

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commercial news

Shuffling forward at Brussels

A correspondent writes

TALKS in Brussels on May 28-29 between the ministers of the six countries of the European Common Market, and the 11 African states associated with the EEC under the Yaounde Convention, made progress on several important points, although with the expiry of the Convention on May 31, transitional arrangements for a 12-month period have been agreed on. This specifically involves continuation of the free trade terms of the convention, and the use of \$80m left over from the 1964-65 European Development Fund of \$730m. The Eighteen will continue to submit projects for financing by the EEC so that continuity can be maintained with the next fund. It is pointed out, however, that demands that there should be a special fund for the transitional period have not been met, so that in effect the next fund will have the effect of stretching over a six-year period, instead of the anticipated five years.

The amount of the next FED has not yet been finally decided on, but reports indicate that approval has been given by the Six for an amount between \$900m and \$1,000m. This is less than was asked for by the Eighteen, who felt that a minimum of \$1,200m was necessary to counter the effect of rising costs and population and the deterioration in the terms of trade. The decision to increase the fund's amount from the \$730m of the last fund by about 15 per cent represents a concession by the Dutch and Germans, who had been inclined to advocate it should remain at the same level for the next five years, but it is nowhere near the increase of 36 per cent suggested by the French, and which would have come nearer to satisfying the Eighteen. There is still room for pressure to keep the figure near the \$1,000m mark; but the outcome depends on a wrangle between the Six on the amount each member should contribute to the Fund. The French and the Germans each contribute one-third of the fund, and other members, especially the Dutch and the Italian, have been under pressure to increase their share. The Dutch, says one report, have agreed to raise their portion to the level of the Belgians, but the matter has yet to be finally decided.

The Six have also agreed that a new treaty and its provisions for trade preferences "do not represent an obstacle for the associated African countries to participate in a system of general preferences on a world scale and will permit its achievement." The formula will be added to the new treaty in a special protocol.

The Six have also spelt out the details of their own general tariff reductions on certain products to non-associated countries, thereby reducing the margin of preference of the associates. The duty on palm oil is to be lowered from nine to six per cent, that on coffee from nine to seven per cent, and that on cocoa from 5.4 to four per cent. Both these measures can be seen in the context of the move towards generalised preferences for developing countries agreed in principle by the Six, along with other developed

countries at the Unctad conference in New Delhi last year.

M. Gaston Thorn, Luxembourg Foreign Minister, and M. Konan Bedie, Ivory Coast Finance Minister (respectively heads of delegation of the Six and the Eighteen) told a news conference that they were pleased at the atmosphere in the closing stages of the meeting. The first day of the meeting the mood had been "bad", but later a "spurt of energy" was found and the spirit of the Association had emerged reinforced, said M. Thorn. Aid would be distributed in a more rational way in the second convention, and new attention would be given to the development of industry in Africa. Some African delegates expressed disappointment at the way negotiations were proceeding, especially at the evident signs of disunity on the part of the Six. A ministerial meeting of the Six and the Eighteen in Luxembourg towards the end of June is expected to complete the agreement, which will then have to be ratified by parliaments (where possible) in all 24 countries.

Rice expansion

"Very encouraging results" from controlled rice growing experiments on selected Ghanaian farms are reported in the Commonwealth Secretariat's monthly *Rice Bulletin*. Although relatively small, the country's rice production is expected to increase by about 3.5 per cent a year, partly through improved yields but largely because of increased acreage. Reports from Sierra Leone say that cultivation is improving and self-sufficiency is prophesied.

● A tractor hire service was one of the measures designed to boost agriculture mentioned by Western State officials at a meeting of the Government-backed, 40,000 strong Western State Farmer's Union. Members of the Union, which will liaise with the State Government on agricultural matters particularly cocoa producer prices; which the Government promised to increase from the next buying season, were told that £76,000 would be spent in each of the next three years on cocoa rehabilitation and cotton yield development.

● Reuters index of commodity prices rose over 61 per cent during the twelve months ending in April, taking it to the highest level for 16 years. *Barclays Bank quarterly review* cites this as evidence that commodity prices are more stable today than they were 20 years ago and that, apart from a few exceptions, prices are firm and rising. On the whole, says the Review, no shortage of any major commodity is likely to develop in the foreseeable future.

● Thirteen French experts are to be sent to work in Congo Kinshasa's Ministry of Agriculture.

Telecommunications study

The US is to finance studies for improving communications between Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria, under a £93,750 agreement signed in Fort Lamy by the US Charge d'Affaires and the Secretary of the Chad Basin Commission. Road projects to be studied will include one linking Maguiguri in Nigeria's North-East State with Fort Foreau in Cameroon, and one linking Kaele in Cameroon with Bongor in Chad. A team of US specialists is also to study the possibility of a telecommunications linkup.

Cargo-handling 'is a century behind'

Cargo-handling in Africa, as well as in South America and the Far East, is still in the 19th century by European standards. A Swedish Ministry of Transport official told an international conference in Gothenburg. Industrialised countries often appeared to be ignoring the plight of developing nations in the freight field, he said, adding "At a container conference organised by the United Nations in London in 1967 delegates perpetually talked over the heads of the African representatives. The situation has hardly improved since." The only speaker from a developing country was Mr. Joseph McEwen, general manager of the Nigerian Ports Authority.

● Developing countries suffering from congested ports should seek help through the United Nations Development Programme. The U.N. shipping committee recommended at a meeting in Geneva which set up a working group on international shipping legislation.

Japanese textile mill for Lagos

A Japanese delegation will visit Lagos next month to conclude plans for the setting up of an £800,000 textile mill in the Nigerian capital. Tentative name for the project, which follows a ban on the import of textiles into Nigeria, is Nigeria Synthetic Textile Industries.

● The Kumasi brewery, who make Star Beer, paid NC4m to the Government in excise duty last year, bought all its bottles, packages, labels and sugar from local manufacturing firms and used only Ghanaian transporters, Mr. J. O. Mensah, the Commissioner for Finance, was told when he visited the factory.

● From a contracting viewpoint, Ghana is at present the most active of the Commonwealth West African countries, says Mr. Francis Taylor, chairman of Taylor Woodrow, in his annual report. Despite severe competition he anticipates that profits for the forthcoming year will be "not unsatisfactory," although local exchange control regulations continue to restrict the remittance of dividends.

He forecasts that a substantial amount of construction work will be required in Nigeria in the future. For the present the organisation is being maintained on a care-and-maintenance basis but every effort is being made to win contracts like the one awarded to the company for a large warehouse at Warri in the Midwest.

The group's net profit for 1968 was £1,668,174 and overseas turnover accounted for 15 per cent of the total. It is looking for further work overseas.

● Second phase of an NC60,000 extension to the Ghana Sanyo Electrical Manufacturing Corporation has started at Tema.

● A Gabonese delegation visited Athens to discuss the possibilities of Greek co-operation in industrial projects.

● North Korea is to help build a match factory in Congo Brazzaville.



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More money for Cameroon railway

A \$10m. loan agreement for the financing of the second section of the Itrav-Cameroon railway has been signed by the Cameroon Government and the United States. The money will finance the extension of the line to Fort Archambault in landlocked Chad which will then be able to use the Cameroon part of Douala.

- Trade and road communication agreements with Nigeria were drawn up during a visit to Fort Lamy by a Nigerian delegation.
- An agreement worth DM61m. has just been signed with West Germany for the development of the Central African Republic's Haute Sanga river transport system.
- An agreement has been signed in Abidjan between the UAR and the Ivory Coast on the establishment of a direct air service between the two countries to be used by United Arab Airlines and Air Afrique. The line opens on June 15.
- Plans for river ports in Congo Brazzaville at Makoua, Fort Rousset and Mossaka are being drawn up. Work has already begun on a new port in Ouesso on the Sangha.
- France has become the 30th country to sign an agreement with Ghana for the mutual operation of air services.
- Direct flights between Madrid and Kinshasa begin this month.

Timber, rubber mergers

- A rash of mergers among Britain's timber firms is forecast by Mr. Tommy Macpherson, deputy chairman of William Mallinson and Sons who recently outbid J. Gilkinston for Denny Mott and Dickson. His group, he said, would be the country's biggest timber company by the end of 1970.
- Strong rumours are circulating in the City of London about possible mergers in the industrial rubber industry, particularly involving BTR Industries, Slater Walker and Greengate and Irwell.
- Export taxes imposed in the Federal budget would damage the timber trade beyond redemption, the Nigeria Timber Association said after an emergency meeting in Sapele.

Ray of hope

- After six years' research, a French company and the University of Dakar say they have developed a pump which, driven only by the rays of the sun, can pump six cubic metres of water an hour. They hope to develop the machine on a commercial basis.
- Electrical engineers from Taiwan are to carry out repairs on the hydro-electric plant at the Kaijui Dam as part of the Nigerian Federal Government's programme of ending a series of power failures in the country.

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NOTICES

UGHIEWEN UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

At the Annual General Meeting of the Union held on the 18th May, 1969, the following were elected for 1969-70:

President Mr. F. B. Efekeaurhobo
 Vice-President Mr. G. P. Ghogdi
 General Secretary Mr. B. Ghudje
 Assistant General and Publicity Secretary Mr. T. Esienwa
 Social Secretary Mr. E. W. Ovais
 Financial Secretary Mr. G. E. Orugho
 Treasurer Mr. S. Ghidi
 Welfare Officer Mr. S. K. Shoute
 Ex-Officio Member Mr. P. Iherbe
 Ex-Officio Member Mr. K. Rihuada
 Taiyieta Esienwa—Publicity Secretary.
 N.B.—All communication to The General Secretary, Mr. B. Ghudje, 76 Sunny Gardens Road, London, N.W.4.

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ISARA PROGRESS UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The following officers were elected for the year 1969/70 at 57, Laitwood Road, London, S.W.12 on 27th April, 1969

President Mr. J. S. Tonsibi
 General Secretary Mr. Kpile Sufuji
 Anti Cor. Secretary Mr. "Kayode Adibani
 Publicity Secretary Mr. S. D. Fagunwa
 Social Secretary Mr. A. K. Amusan
 Financial Secretary Mr. Wole Seunmi
 Treasurer Mr. J. S. Olatunji
 Auditor Mr. S. O. Awoniyemi
 Ex-Officio Members Mr. E. B. Sofuyi
 Mr. Tai Omisoye

N.B. Please note the change of name as above, it is no more "Austimadi Progressive Union of Great Britain and Ireland". All future communications should be directed to the General Secretary, Mr. Kpile Sufuji, 57 Laitwood Road, London, E.7.
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Salary: Salary payable will depend upon the qualifications of the successful applicant.

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IN MEMORIAM

In evergreen and affectionate memory of our dearly beloved father, The Late President of Abimissionary Movement in Islam IKORODU—MR. MUSTAFIA AGBOMEJI ALUKO.

Who died on Monday, 3rd June, 1968. One year has rolled away, your good deeds and profound affections are ever remembered. Your loss has been like a long continuous dream to us.

We thank Allah that you once lived.

Rest in Perfect Peace.

Sun te o, Omo, ciklu moden, imale aleleja, Omo oha Diabur, Aluko tnat Oloro, Omo oha aphe tja oha.

Sunre o Baba Atala, Sunre o MUKAILA A. ALUKO (London) and children.

IN MEMORY OF OMOOSA PAUL ADENYI OLANIRAN ADEYEMI who died on June 8 1948. Father 21 years but like yesterday that you have left us. Gone but never to be forgotten. AKANBI ALOMO, GELORUN OMO ATIPASLE LAFIN. Oron reno. By Ade Awagemi (daughter) for the family (England).

dateline Africa

GHANA

KEEPING THE NLC OUT OF POLITICS

BRIGADIER AFRIFA has told chairmen of Regional Committees of Administration to ensure that the NLC is not dragged into the controversial political activities going on in the country. He said that no regional officer of any grade must openly associate himself with any party, facilities must be provided to avoid breaches of the peace at rallies and the Government must be told of any attacks on it by politicians. No reply should be made at regional level.

He also told chairmen to combat the activities of certain politicians who were collecting voters' registration forms from people by using chiefs to spread the word that it was improper for anyone to part with these forms. Anyone making an approach for forms should be reported to the police.

● All civil servants with the rank of higher executive and above have been ordered by the NLC to declare their involvements in any business interests before June 14. Special forms on which interests are to be declared are being distributed to all those concerned.

● A special meeting of the Ghana Trades Union Congress at Kumasi agreed to stay neutral in party politics by a majority of 106 votes to two, with one abstention.

● Mr K. A. Gbedemah, elected last week as leader of the National Alliance of Liberals, apologised to the NLC for remarks about delays in the findings of the Jigge Commission which may have caused the Council embarrassment. The Council and its chairman, he said, had been known to be critical of such delays.

A few days later he launched his party with a strong criticism of the Council's economic policies and a pledge to end the slump if his party came to power beginning with "a great crusade of national recovery" with the emphasis on efficient government and an agricultural policy aimed at developing basic food crops as distinct from cash crops.

Three ex-Ministers have been named as members of his party. Mr. Alex Quaison Sackey (former Foreign Affairs Minister), Mr. Mumuni Bawumia (Local Government) and Mr. Kwaku Bonsu (Pensions). None of them can hold party posts or become MPs as they held office at the time of the 1966 coup. The former NLC Commissioner for Information, Mr. Ibrahim Mahama, has been appointed joint secretary and Mr. John Cobbinah has been elected interim chairman.

The *Evening Standard*, recently acquired by Mr. Gbedemah, said the party's symbol would be a "rising sun" symbolising "a new ray of hope on the horizon for Ghana."

The party was registered at the same time as Dr. Kofi Busia registered the Progress Party.

● The Saviour Party has been founded by Mr. Adofu-Akowitz. Its symbol is a cutlass.

● The leader of the Republican Party, Mr. P. K. Quaidoo, has pledged to make agriculture the pivot of the country's development.

● Fifty arrests were reported to have been made after clashes between demonstrating miners of the Tarkwa gold fields and police in which five people were injured. The workers were demanding better pay and working conditions and the removal of a mines security officer.

● An attempt to get the Constituent Assembly to rescind its decision that MPs should be paid allowances and not salaries has been rejected.

● The Constituent Assembly has endorsed a provision in the Draft Constitution giving full powers, rights and privileges of a High Court to the special committees to be set up in the National Assembly to serve as "watch-dogs" on ministries and government departments. It has also decided that no question for decision in the Assembly shall be proposed for determination unless at least half the members are present. The Speaker shall have neither an original nor a casting vote, and if the votes on any issue before the Assembly are equally divided, the motion shall be lost. On Bills, it was decided that whenever a Bill was mentioned the first time in the National Assembly it should be referred to the appropriate special committee for detailed examination. The President should signify to the Speaker within seven days whether he assented to a Bill or not.

● Tema is to be made a municipality, and the board of the Tema Development Corporation is to be reconstituted, including the Tema Manche or his representative and a Health Ministry representative. The managing director of the Corporation, Mr. F. K. A. Jigge, has urged the Government to approve the third phase of development of the major port and industrial centre (now administratively attached to Accra), saying that otherwise 2,000 workers would be made redundant; he also called for a town centre.

● The Editor of an Accra weekly, *The Guardian*, Dr. V. G. Kubina-Mensah, was released after nearly three weeks in detention following publication of an article speculating on the possibility of another military coup after the country has returned to civilian rule.

● An armed forces court martial appeal court has been set up. It will consist of Supreme Court judges and people with legal experience appointed by the Chief Justice.

● A former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. C. H. Chapman, died aged 63.

SIERRA LEONE

Hint of a new role for Army

IF the army could change its role to work for economic development, it might be the saviour of Sierra Leone. The acting-Prime Minister told officers during a visit to the Myohaug Mess. Dr. Forna, former Army Medical Officer, said that the army could be a most valuable instrument for technical and agricultural training. He would like it to be said that "army engineers built this bridge, built that road and that hospital or owned this large agricultural estate." Army discipline could produce first class training and there were many examples elsewhere to show what the army could do for development. An enlarged army of two or more battalions could simply carry out the traditional military function, Dr. Forna added, would simply be a burden reducing the country to poverty.

It is understood that plans have been discussed for enlarging the Sierra Leone army which at present consists of only one battalion with supporting troops.

● Mr. Desmond de Silva, one of the London defence lawyers in the treason trial, who was discharged by a court earlier, has been re-arrested on the charge of unlawfully conveying two miniature bottles of brandy to a prisoner in Pademba Road jail. Mr. de Silva represents Mr. George Panda, Secretary to the former Prime Minister, Sir Albert Margai. Mr. de Silva was earlier discharged on a legal technicality after his lawyer submitted that the magistrate had no jurisdiction.

New Bank director

Dr. S. Brodenek has been appointed Director of the Bank of Sierra Leone in place of Dr. Davidson Nicol, now Sierra Leone's UN Ambassador. Dr. Brodenek was former Assistant Director of Education.

● Forty-four foreigners have been expelled from the Kono diamond area, having been deported. They include Senegalese, Nigerians and Gambians. Foreigners in the area without residential permits have frequently been warned to leave. A number of foreigners have been expelled at recent weeks.

In addition twenty-four Lebanese have been ordered out of the area. It is believed illicit diamond digging on the Selektor Trust leases in the area is financed largely by Lebanese, some of whom are Sierra Leone citizens.

● In contrast to the loss of Le.13,940 in 1967 the Paramount Hotel made a profit of Le.449 in 1968. The annual report of the Commonwealth Development Corporation, major shareholder with the government in the hotel, says that political conditions led to fluctuation in business during the year but more stable conditions meant an improvement. "The Paramount Hotel did well to break-even in the circumstances."

● Two experts from the African Development Bank have been considering projects in Sierra Leone, including extension of the Guma Valley Dam and road links between Sierra Leone and her neighbours.

● On his return from his tour of the United States, Japan and Taiwan, the Prime Minister said that among fields in which he had invited investors in these countries to take an interest was hydro-electricity. He had assured possible investors of the country's stability, since some foreigners appeared to have doubts about the economic and political situation because of the coups. He felt his visits had been valuable, in particular that Sierra Leone should strengthen her links with highly industrialised Japan. He had asked the Japanese to accept Sierra Leoneans for training courses.

Mr. Stevens, who had met President Nixon in Washington, had a long discussion with President Chiang Kai-Shek in Taiwan. The Minister of External Affairs told reporters in Taiwan that Sierra Leone continued to support Nationalist rather than Communist China at the United Nations. Taiwan is at present providing Sierra Leone with technical assistance, particularly in agriculture.

In his welcoming speech Foreign Minister Wei Tao-Ming said: "We have the highest admiration for the spirit with which your country has gained economic viability since you took charge of its administration."

● As part of his tour of a number of West and Central African countries, Mr Maurice Foley, Parliamentary Secretary at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, has spent two days in Freetown. Mr Foley, who had already visited Senegal and the Gambia, is accompanied by Mr Donald Tehbit, head of the African Department at the Foreign Office. He is expected later to visit Ghana, Cameroon and Congo (Kinshasa).

● During his brief stop at Freetown on his way to London aboard *MV Aureol*, President Tubman said that he was concerned about smuggling on the Sierra Leone-Liberian border. He had had discussions on the subject with the Prime Minister. Questioned on the present state of the West African Economic Union (in which Liberia, Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone were to improve trading relations) the President said that he could not say what was now happening.

● A motion by which Mr. Nigel Murray, Counsel for former Brigadier Lansana in the treason trial, was seeking to question the jurisdiction of the Court in view of Lansana's extradition from Liberia has been dismissed. Mr Murray claimed that Lansana had been extradited to face charges of false imprisonment and not of treason. The acting-Chief Justice ruled that documents purporting to be copies of the 1892 Extradition Treaty between Britain and Liberia and the judgment of the Liberian Court which allowed the extradition of Lansana could not form "part of the record," since they were not properly before the court. For the prosecution, Mr. Rogers-Wright, said that Lansana was being charged for treason on the basis of the facts on which the claim for his extradition was grounded.

● Dr. Arthur Porter, Principal of the University of Nairobi, has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters at Boston University in recognition of his services to education in Africa. Dr. Porter was Vice-Principal and Professor of History at Fourah Bay College and is now Principal-designate of the college.



President Ahidjo meets traditional chiefs of Mumle during his recent visit to West Cameroon.

IVORY COAST Students and Troublemakers

President Houphouët Boigny has announced that the University of Abidjan, closed last week, following a student strike, is to be reopened, as are several leading schools in the capital. Announcing this before a large crowd in the Abidjan stadium, the President said "we give to all the pardon of the Ivory Coast. The misled students have just recognised their errors, regretted their actions and have implored pardon... The Ivory Coast being a country of liberty and fraternal love, it should not know what it is to have political detainees." The President said he was "terribly disappointed" by the bearing of certain "troublemakers" among the students who were only a handful of extremists; he also spoke of the "unleashing of hatred and jealousy in certain countries which wish us ill."

The former Ivorian Ambassador to Soviet Union, M. Denis Koffi Bilé, was present in the stadium, but no direct allusion was made to the break in diplomatic relations announced the day before, which followed the withdrawal of all Ivorian embassy personnel from Moscow.

Earlier last week, M. Philippe, Yacé, Secretary-General of the ruling PDCI, had announced that the new students' union, MEECI, formed in April this year, would become immediately an organ of the PDCI, within which all students could operate from primary school to university, henceforth scholarships would only be awarded to union, and thus party, members. Speaking on the radio, M. Yacé, said that "certain foreigners had led our children astray. These foreigners will suffer the consequences of their actions, for we deny to anyone at all the right to interfere in our affairs, or to want to inoculate in our children doctrines of any kind in force elsewhere, and contrary to the realities of our country."

Students of MEECI, controversy on the status of which caused the strike which led to the closing of the university on May 24, later pleaded to the President to reopen the university in the interest of the whole student body. Ivory Coast students were the best provided for in Africa, and there was no material problem between them and the government, they said.

DAHOMEY Strikers and Soldiers

Early this week civil servants ended a two-week strike, pending negotiations for a final settlement of their dispute with the government over aspects of their pay and allowances. The return to work followed intensive negotiations over the weekend between the coordinating committee of the strikers and the government, during which a dramatic warning was issued by Major Maurice Kouandété, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces (who is also Military Prefect of Atlantic Department). The warning said that heads of government services had been ordered to send him complete lists of employees on strike and of those at work. Any section head who failed to supply such lists would be replaced, he said; strikers' pay would be suspended until the end of the year and strikers occupying government houses would be given 48 hours notice to quit. Those who did not return to work would be incorporated in the armed forces and employed on tasks of public interest. Those who returned to

work, he said, would have to sign a document declaring that any absence would mean automatic dismissal.

The strike had reportedly not been total: postal workers had come out early on, but had apparently gone back, while railway workers were solidly out. Customs workers were reportedly divided. A new anti-strike union had reportedly been set up. Students on strike at lycées and at the Porto Novo branch of the Higher Education Institute have continued to stay out, although the strike has been less than 100 per cent.

On May 24 President Zinsou publicly praised the army for not taking part in recent agitation against the regime. Speaking at the handing over of about £120,000 worth of military equipment from France to Dahomey, he said "all these Jays, sirens with honeyed voices tried to sway our army from its duty," but the army had reacted to this "with scorn," by sticking to its duty of serving the country (a reference to the plot uncovered on May 5).

GUINEA

In a broadcast from Conakry, President Sekou Toure said: "Let imperialists lament because there have been hangings and men led to the stake." He was speaking in the context of a denunciation of the concern shown by "imperialist radio and newspapers" at the fate of Guineans accused of plotting against the régime, while "every day hundreds of people die in Vietnam and the imperialists are very happy because the dead are revolutionaries." The broadcast has caused new speculation that the 13 men sentenced to death on May 12 may already have been executed.

The President speaking to soldiers of Conakry garrison, congratulated the soldiers on a "revolutionary march" they had executed that day: "Soldiers of Guinea, you were right to dance from your barracks right up to the presidential palace," he said.

SENEGAL

This week the Federation of Bank Employees in Senegal began a ten-day strike in protest against non-implementation of a two-year old claim on reclassification. The strike is the fourth "limited duration" action by an individual union in the last three weeks. Previous strikes have been by the PTT union, the petroleum workers' union, the family allowance workers' union, and the workers at ONCAD (the National Office for Cooperation and Development). None have previously been for more than 72 hours, however.

CONGO-B

The first of a series of trials before the Revolutionary Court in Brazzaville has taken place. M. Jacques Debret, alias Debreton, a Frenchman, has been sentenced to life imprisonment for spying and for threatening the security of the state. It was claimed he was involved in an attempt to persuade certain officers to overthrow the government in May, 1968. The prosecution said he had confessed to having been recruited by a certain Saint-Martin for an "organisation of information and action" at Frankfurt, W. Germany, led by a German and a Frenchman. He had gone to Brazzaville to make contact with officers hostile to M. Moussembe-Debat, he said, and had notably contacted Lt. Kikanga, alias "Sirooco" (who was tried at the same time as M. Debret and sentenced to death). M. Debret also reportedly confessed to having installed a radio transmitter within the military air base of Maya-Maya. It was said that a rifle with telescopic sights was found in his hotel room and on the night he tried to carry out his plan, Lt. Aimé Portella was wounded. Defence counsel claimed M. Debret was a "mythomaniac", and expressed doubts as to the real existence of the secret organisation he claimed to be working for. (Journalists were not allowed into the trial, which was relayed over the radio.)

Future trials are notably expected to feature former Interior Minister Commandant Mouzabakani, and ex-President Moussembe-Debat himself.

■ A strike at the Brazzaville College of Higher Education (part of the embryonic Central African University) has ended after twelve days.

THE GAMBIA

NEW REFERENDUM ON REPUBLIC

The Executive Committee of the ruling People's Progressive Party (PPP) has urged the Government "to consider as a matter of priority, the holding of a referendum before the next general election, in order to introduce a republican constitution, providing for a President, a Vice-President and embodying all the elements of democracy."



Sir Dauda Jawara

within the Commonwealth." The meeting was attended by the Prime Minister, Sir Dauda Jawara, and other Government ministers, who undertook to give urgent consideration to implementing the resolution.

A spokesman for the PPP was quoted by *The Gambia News Bulletin* as recalling that the 1965 referendum on a similar proposal for a republic under an executive President, failed by a mere 700-odd votes. This was, he said, because not many people voted. "I am confident that most voters will vote and that we will be through this time. The strength of the party has greatly increased since 1966, membership has swelled and the results of the recent by-elections have demonstrated vividly to everyone that the overwhelming mass of the people support the government."

A correspondent writes, Sierra Leone too has proposals for a republican constitution this year, which would leave The Gambia as the only monarchy in West Africa. The prospect is that the referendum will be held sooner rather than later, as another general election is due in 1971, and it is known that Gambian political parties with their limited resources, do not like having to fight too many electoral campaigns too close together. The opposition United Party is likely to oppose the referendum as in 1965, on the grounds that it concentrates too much power in the hands of the president. But it will as before face the charge of conservatism, and of giving the impression that The Gambia is "under Britain." If only the UP contest the election, the PPP should obtain the necessary majority, judging by recent by-election figures; but the unknown quantity is still the new PPA of ex-Finance Minister Sheriff Sisay, which declined to contest the recent by-elections, but claims to have a certain amount of support up-river.

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dateline Africa

NIGERIA

OJUKWU TO RELEASE OILMEN

THE Portuguese Foreign Ministry announced on Wednesday that Biafra had decided to release the 18 oilmen (14 Italians, three Germans, one Lebanese) captured in the Midwest, who had been sentenced to death last week-end. This, they said, had followed a request from the Portuguese for clemency. The Biafra representative in Lisbon had called at the ministry with a Biafran reply saying the men would be released as soon as necessary formalities were completed.

The men had been sentenced to death by a special tribunal "presided over by a high court judge. They were given three days for their defence." They had been charged with helping the Federal troops. Col. Ojukwu in his speech to the Biafra Consultative Assembly at Abiara said "because a handful of white men collaborated with the enemy—fighting side by side with the enemy—were caught by our gallant troops, the entire world threatens to stop. For 18 white men Europe is aroused. What do they say about our millions?"

Dr. Eke, Biafra Information Commissioner, said later that the men had been armed when captured. They had also been helping to build roads. As to their future, he said: "It is now government-to-government affair, not humanitarian affair."

There has been considerable pressure on Biafra, especially from their friends, for clemency for the men. Among those who had appealed were Emperor Haile Selassie, Cardinal Angelo Dell'Acqua (Vicar of Rome), Dr. Connor Cruise O'Brien ("I have confidence in Biafran justice"), U. Thant and Raymond D'Elroy, former French envoy in Lagos. The Ivory Coast Defence Minister, M. Mbatiafle, and a Gabonese Minister have both been in Biafra interceding for the men, following a visit to Abidjan from the Italian Deputy Foreign Minister, Signor Pedini. Pope Paul personally expressed his sadness at the incident, and later sent a message to Ojukwu.

In Italy itself there has been a domestic furor, with scenes in parliament. President Saragat said the 11 men (10 Italian, one Jordanian) now confirmed killed when their caravan was attacked at Kwaile had been "victims of a homicidal fury which took no account of their contribution to African progress." The Rome daily *Il Messaggero* compared the death sentence with the verdicts of Nazi courts, and another paper said that if the men were executed it would put Biafra "outside the pale of civilised society." ENI the Italian state oil company has denied the Biafran charge that the men were fighting for the Nigerians, and the charge of the Midwest government that the men had been molested by Biafrans for two weeks, and had given them money.

Italian efforts to secure the men's release has brought a Nigerian reaction. Mr. John Garba, Ambassador in Rome, said in an interview in *La Stampa* that relations with Italy would be broken off immediately, all Italian citizens expelled from Nigeria and Italian oil interests in Nigeria nationalised, if Biafra secured even *de facto* recognition from Italy.

The West German Government has also asked Emperor Haile Selassie to intervene. A Bonn spokesman rejected Col. Ojukwu's accusation that Europeans were more concerned for the fate of 18 white men than for millions of Biafrans: "Our aid to Biafra proves his statement a lie."

Nigeria's High Commissioner in London, Brigadier Ogunjide, said that Ojukwu dared not execute the remaining oil technicians because the action might dry up all the sympathy and financial and military assistance which he had been receiving. The murder and detention of the oilmen was designed to scare foreign businessmen.

The bodies of those killed have been taken to Lagos for funeral rites prior to being flown to Italy for interment. A special funeral service was held for them at Lagos' Holy Cross Cathedral, conducted by Archbishop Aggey. General Gowon sent messages of condolence to President Saragat of Italy and the President of the ENI.

■ Reports of Col. Ojukwu's Abiara speech suggest it was of marathon length. He claimed that Biafra's air force had destroyed more military targets in four days than the federal air force had done in two years and that the only superiority of the Nigerian air force was in the number of civilians killed. The Nigerian air force had not operated according to "the best traditions of civilised warfare" and if attacks on "innocent people" continued "I will feel justified in considering the entire area known as Nigeria a military target." He predicted that Nigeria would eventually have to sit down at the conference table with Biafra.

He claimed his forces in the south were holding positions in Ede, and on the outskirts of Igbira, while in the north the Nigerians were confined to the highway between Enugu and Onitsha, "not venturing north or south of the road." He also spoke of the Biafran Navy supporting operations along the Niger.

Col. Ojukwu described Biafra's struggle as a movement against racial prejudice and the tendency to regard the black man as inferior. "No matter the odds, we will fight with all our might until black men everywhere can with pride point to this republic standing dignified and defiant as an example of an African nation triumphant over its many and age-old enemies." He listed the basic principles of the "Biafran revolution" as belief in the sanctity of human life, opposition to genocide, sovereignty and power belong to the people, public accountability of those in power, social justice and equal opportunity for all, and all property belongs to the community. He also attacked "Arab-Muslim" expansion, which had "menaced and ravaged" the African continent for 12 centuries. Biafra was a stumbling block to the Arab plan to control the continent, a control fast becoming manifest in the OAU. "Indeed in recent times by its performance the OAU might well be called an Organisation of Arab Unity."

More Biafran Air Raids

Following raids on Port Harcourt and Benin, last week Biafra claimed its recently introduced Air Force had bombed Enugu airport, destroying five aircraft, bringing the total they say have been destroyed to 11. The raid was followed up by another on

the Ughelli power station. Several rockets were fired and one found the target. Although generating capacity was not reportedly affected, electricity was cut for a time.

The New Nigerian attacking Van Rosen claimed he had been introduced into the situation by "thoroughly discredited European humanitarianism." The episode served to show links between humanitarian, intelligence agencies and the military backing of foreign powers.

The Count and his colleagues have now left Biafra to return to their jobs as pilots in Sweden. They have left Biafrans trained for two weeks to fly the five aircraft which form the Air Force.

The Swedish envoy in Lagos, Mr. Swartz, has said van Rosen could not be prosecuted by Swedish law for flying in Biafra. He repeated the Swedish government's condemnation of the Count's action.

Malam Neck, Commissioner for Internal Affairs, North Central State, has called for the arrest of all Swedish nationals in Nigeria in retaliation.

President Kaunda has said Count von Rosen's action was humane in that it might help peace talks start.

About 100 demonstrators from the University of Lagos and the NTUC burnt Swedish flags outside the Swedish embassy in Lagos in protest against van Rosen. The NTUC and the National Union of Nigerian Students (NUNS) have both issued statements calling on the federal government to pull out all the stops to end the war quickly.

■ Federal spokesmen have denied that two companies of federal troops were surrounded in Elele, between Port Harcourt and Owerri. A federal counter-offensive called "Operation Lawal" had been launched in the area. In the Midwest the rebels had been forced back to the Niger and Okpan and Abohi retaken. The Biafrans, however, were claiming to have taken Kwaile.

A Biafran claim to have cut off a battalion of Nigerian soldiers west of the Niger was described by the Ministry of Defence in Lagos as "absolute nonsense."

■ Dr. Augustine Lindi, representative of the International Red Cross in Lagos, and three other Swiss citizens, were detained for a night at Lagos airport, on the orders of the airport commandant, Captain Paul Dickson. Dr. Lindi had arrived from Dahomey in a small Red Cross aircraft, and Captain Dickson claimed that they had failed to get landing permission. The four detainees were released after the intervention of M. Reil, Swiss Ambassador, who saw Dr. Arifko, External Affairs Commissioner. The Air Force Commander, Col. Shituro Alos, ordered the release, after receipt of a letter signed by Brig. Hassan Kalsina, commander of the armed forces.

Switzerland later protested to the Federal Government over the detention.

■ New coins, for one shilling and three-pence, have been introduced in Biafra. Previously the lowest monetary unit was a 5k note introduced after Nigeria switched to a new currency in December, 1967. The coins bear a palm tree, the rising sun and the words "Peace, unity and freedom" on one side, and an eagle on the other. Two further coins are planned, a sixpenny piece and a half crown.

NIGERIA—continued

Biafran Dick Tiger, 39-year-old former World Middleweight champion, beat Nino Benvenuti, current champion in a non-title fight in New York. Subsequently appeared before a grand jury investigating underworld links with boxing. Reports said the inquiry did not involve Tiger's latest victory.

● A large underground store containing hundreds of packets of sugar, 250 bags of salt, 350 yam tubers and 50 bags of gari and believed to be destined for Biafran held areas has been discovered at Nsukwa in the Mid-West.

● Joint Church Aid, the consortium of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish relief organisations organising mercy flights from São Tomé to Biafran territory, has announced its 2,500th flight. These flights have earned 25,000 tons of relief supplies.

● OAU Deputy Secretary-General Mohammed Sahnoun, has described the April Monrovia conference of the OAU Consultative Committee as "one of the most successful". It was "the first time that the belligerent parties had adopted positions to close to one another".

● Gen. Gowon has been on a one-day visit to Lomé, to discuss "bilateral, African and world problems" at the invitation of President Eyadema. He told newsmen there that as far as he was concerned the second anniversary of Biafra's independence would be its last.

● About 50 Biafran and Israeli students demonstrated against British arms supplies to Nigeria outside the UK embassy in Tel Aviv.



Sir Leslie Glass, new British High Commissioner in Lagos.

● Admiral Wey, head of Nigerian Navy has delivered a message to Brigadier Afrifa, Chairman of Ghana's NLC.

● A seven-man official delegation from Norway is to visit Nigeria and Biafra to take stock of relief problems.

● About 100 Italians demonstrating outside UK Consulate in Mian called for Italian veto of Britain's entry to the EEC until she stopped supplying arms to Nigeria.

● The weekly *Jeune Afrique* has called for a permanent OAU committee to work for peace in Nigeria.

NEWS FROM THE STATES

For the first time in its history, the Western State government is planning for a deficit budget of ₦52m. Recurrent and capital expenditure is put at ₦25.5m and ₦16.1m respectively while recurrent and capital revenue is expected to be ₦22.5m and ₦13.3m. Announcing the figures, Military Governor Brigadier Adeyinka Adebayo said that because the State's economy was in a depressed condition (as a result of import restrictions and excessive rain) it was unrealistic to try and raise additional tax. In fact, 320,000 people have been given relief by an extension of the flat rate range of direct tax, although yields are expected to benefit by greater collection efficiency under the PAYE arrangements.

If continued growth was to be achieved, said Governor Adebayo, "fundamental changes are needed in the area of fiscal policy as well as in the supply of money and credit. In this, we require the active support of the Federal Government." Determined efforts would also be made to effect economies, such as a number of announced reductions in the fringe benefits of civil servants.

In the agricultural sector, ₦400,000 will go towards the self-help scheme, ₦250,000 for reforestation and ₦175,000 to increasing cotton production. Grants from the Western Nigeria Marketing Board will continue to be the main internal source of capital finance, and Brig. Adebayo said that the Federal Government had promised a ₦450,000 grant for agricultural development.

Reconstruction of primary school buildings is allocated ₦400,000 and ₦307,000 is budgeted for improved terms of service for teachers. Five radio and six television stations will cost ₦400,000. The World Bank has promised ₦2.7m for the construction of three major roads and the United States Agency for International Development is lending ₦1.3m for the Ibadan Water Supply Scheme.

Commenting on the budget, the *Nigerian Tribune* said that the deficit budget showed the government's inability to cut its cost according to its cloth and "is the kind of unique achievement which reflects adversely on its authors."

● Ila Orangun community has called for a commission of inquiry into the tax riot which took place there last month.

The *Sunday Star* published in Ibadan has reported a new tax riot in Ogbomoso, in which the car of a chief was burnt.

● The Mid-West Government has spent ₦300,000 on refugee rehabilitation in recent months and was asking the Federal Government for a further ₦700,000, the chairman of the state's rehabilitation and construction committee Chief S. Eke, said in a newspaper interview. Asaba contains 15,000 refugees, Ibusa 5,000, Agbor 587 and Benin City 332. In addition, 2,600 Ibos in Onitsha receive some of their food from the Mid-West Committee.

● An administrative staff college for senior public service executives is promised in a white paper on staff development policy in the Federal Public Service. It will be open to quasi-government bodies and senior executives from the private sector. In addition, the Government will reactivate the Federal Training Centres in Lagos and Kaduna.



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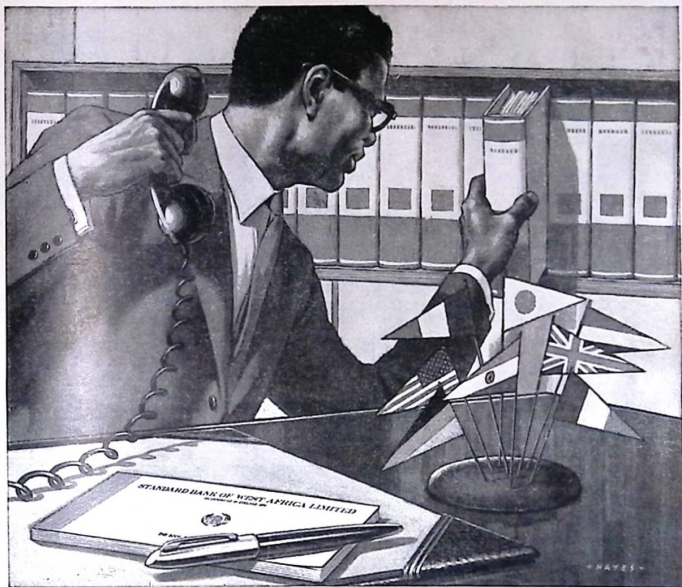
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