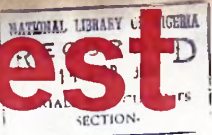


West Africa



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Ghana's Last Chance?

CYNICISM about public morality is still not so deep in Ghana that confirmation of one of the widespread allegations against men in high office can now be answered simply by the resignation of the guilty man. General Ankrah, a brave and competent soldier, has suffered enough in losing, perhaps because he listened to men more full of guile than himself, his legitimate hopes of the Presidency—which he might easily have reached without resort to bribery. But unless it is accepted that the revolution of February 24, 1966, was to no purpose, Ghanaians want to know, through a commission of enquiry or through police investigations, who were the politicians ready, even before the return of civilian rule, to sell their allegiance without regard to the national good; and which the companies seeking improper influence through assisting a Presidential candidate to office. Those politicians must be banned—preferably through public opinion—from any place in politics; companies must be exposed and ostracised. Otherwise—as the powerful demands in Ghana for full exposure show—Ghanaians would have to admit that the corruption of the Nkrumah regime was characteristic of their country, and not a tragic aberration.

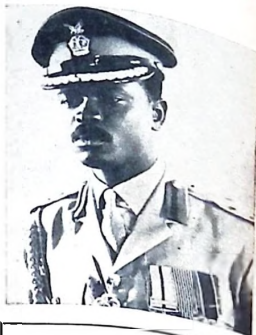
Is General Ankrah's admitted venality, however, only the tip of an iceberg? One can dismiss the excessive statements (similar ones are made in Nigeria and were made in Sierra Leone) that under the military regime corruption in Ghana has been worse than under the politicians. But the Ankrah affair gives such ammunition to the critics, including Nkrumahists abroad, that one wonders if Brigadier Afrifa, the new Chairman of the National Liberation Council, can limit inquiries to it alone. He is the last member of the NLC to wish to postpone the return to civilian rule, still expected on September 30 this year (a "Portrait" of him appear on page 405). But he is also the last NLC member the people of Ghana, among whom he enjoys a unique popularity, would expect to allow civilian rule to return without a clean slate.

There is something almost predestined

in his accession to the chairmanship of the NLC, to which he and the coup leader, General Kotoka, called General Ankrah from retirement. The Council's maverick member, often in a minority of one, an Ashanti in a country where Southerners have always dominated politics, he succeeds to the office which many thought the murdered General Kotoka, with whom Afrifa planned the coup which overthrew Nkrumah, should have taken himself. His colleagues on the NLC have shown great wisdom in appointing him, rather than one of the men formally more senior. The NLC's standing was undermined by rumours, Brigadier Afrifa's appointment not only gives it a new lease of life, but is a sign that peaceful change at the top is possible, that corruption can be punished, and that, in a country where most voters are under 30, youth is no bar to leadership. While General Ankrah, by no means only a titular head of Ghana's military government, might have accepted a purely formal role as civilian President, Brigadier Afrifa may be persuaded to play a more active role in civilian politics.

This is the long-term significance of the appointment. Could Brigadier Afrifa carry over into civilian politics the ideals he brought to the overthrow of Nkrumah, ideals which the people at large still believe he honours? It is formally impossible for the chairman of the NLC to stand for election to the new civilian government. But Ghana will soon suffer from a plethora of parties and a shortage of personalities—and principles. Afrifa is a personality who could offer something which Ghana desperately needs: honest leadership (though one need not support the theory that in Ghana those who are honest cannot lead—and vice versa). If he proves himself in the months before the return to civilian rule, Ghana can once again feel that February 24, 1966, marked a genuine change.

The Ankrah affair has struck a blow at Nkrumah's reputation abroad. It falls to one man to restore that reputation. And for Ghana there will not be another chance.



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Afrifa's New Men

DOES Brig. Afrifa's reshuffle of Commissioners, announced as yet to press, show the expected decisive One major Commissioner, Mr. E. Omaboe (Economic Affairs) retains portfolio but five other Commissioners have been dropped—Mr. R. S. Amey (Lands and Mineral Resources), Ibrahim Mahama (Information), Ribeiro-Ayeh (Trade), Mr. Ma Poku (Communications) and Mr. J. T. Torto (Forestry). Some of these have been considered too old; reasons, have been given for the dropping of the others.

Brig. Afrifa has, however, brought some outstanding new talent there is Mr. J. H. Mensah, the very ECA official, who returns to Ghana as Commissioner of Finance. Then there is Mr. Richard Quarshie, resident director of Consolidated African Selection Trust, who takes the Ministry of Trade and Industries. There is a new portfolio of Rural Development, reflecting interest of Brig. Afrifa; its Commissioner is Mr. I. M. Ofori, of Kumasi University.

The NLC's Economic Commission was formed straight after the coup in 1966 but dissolved in the following year. It has been reconstituted. Brig. Afrifa is Chairman. Mr. Omaboe, who headed the Commission before, is now an *ex-officio* member together with the new Agricultural Commissioner (Professor K. Twum-Barima) and others.

Five members of the NLC still retain their portfolios. Four civilian Commissioners besides Mr. Omaboe retain their previous portfolios, while Mr. Issifu Ali becomes Information Commissioner.

Mr. Victor Owusu, former Attorney-General, is now Commissioner for External Affairs in succession to Mr. Paul Anin, who becomes Commissioner for Lands. The new Attorney-General is U. V. Campbell, the Solicitor-General who is of West Indian origin.

This is a younger and more able group than the old one, and is built on a solid base. Brig. Afrifa has made a good

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SENEGAMBIA

The Smuggling Question: 1

THIS week a group of experts from Senegal and The Gambia have been meeting in Bathurst to consider possible interim measures to deal with the question of smuggling from The Gambia to Senegal, to be considered by the Extraordinary Session of the Senegalo-Gambian Inter-Ministerial Committee scheduled to meet in Dakar on April 21. The possibility of "interim" measures was agreed on at the last meeting of the Inter-Ministerial Committee in Bathurst early in February, at which a Senegambian customs union was agreed in principle. According to the communiqué, the methods of application of this union would be considered at the next regular meeting scheduled for Dakar in September. A correspondent recently in Dakar and Bathurst reports.

At a National Council meeting of the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS) on January 11, the Finance Minister, Jean Colin, said that it was "incontestable that an important and increasing proportion of goods entering The Gambia officially is in fact destined for Senegal. To that extent the smuggling from the Gambia can be said to assume the character of an economic aggression and ought to be, it appears to me, resisted as such." This uncompromising statement was reinforced by President Senghor himself at the same meeting, when he said that a recent cabinet meeting had emphasised the smuggling from The Gambia "which, over and above the economic aggression referred to by the Minister of Finance, becomes a mortal peril for the nation."

Senegalese complaints about smuggling of goods from The Gambia and of smuggling of groundnuts from Senegal have been a fairly regular feature of Senegambian relations for years, and the Gambians have tended to listen politely and take very little action. The 1964 United Nations Report on the Alternatives for Association between The Gambia and Senegal, which has suddenly become required reading matter in Bathurst, says that the smuggling was causing "great concern to the Senegalese authorities", because it causes loss of revenue (especially customs revenue on which the Senegalese budget depends heavily) and competes with certain local products such as matches.

The reason for the traffic is easy to locate in the widely differing cost of living between The Gambia and Senegal, and Bathurst and Dakar in particular. As Sir Dauda Jawara, the Gambian Prime Minister, told the House of Representatives in Bathurst on March 5, "this so-called phenomenon of smuggling is due, of course, to the fact that in The Gambia we have maintained over the years a low cost economy and a liberal trade policy, with the result that quality goods are very much cheaper in The Gambia than they are in neighbouring countries". Senegal is a particularly high tariff area with heavy indirect taxation apart from import duties. The UN report's figures for difference in duties between the two countries range from 15 per cent on some textiles to 150 per cent on cigarettes, but it points out that when Senegal modified its duties on whisky, smuggling became unprofitable. The report quoted unofficial figures from

a study carried out in 1960 estimating the annual value of smuggled goods from The Gambia at about £700,000. The case the Senegalese have been press-



Jean Colin—"economic aggression"

ing this year rests on the undeniable premise that the traffic has been increasing significantly in the past few years.

M. Colin, the Senegalese Finance Minister, in his famous statement of January 11, cited statistics published by The Gambia government in support of his charges. Although he does not seem to use figures from the 1966-67 Customs Department Report, which is the obvious source book for such information, the customs statistics do seem to some extent to tally with his figures. He claims, for example, that from 1964 to 1967 the number of transistor radios imported into The Gambia rose from 17,035 to 66,822 (which meant that in 1967 The Gambia imported 212 radios for every 1,000 persons, as against five for every 1,000 persons in Senegal).

The nearest figures to these in the Customs Department Report show that while in 1963, 11,810 radio receiving sets and gramophones were imported into The Gambia, in the financial year 1966-67 the total was 268,295, which seems, if anything, more startling than any of M. Colin's figures. Of these radios and gramophones in 1966-67, 243,332 were imported from Japan. The Japanese, indeed, have virtually trebled their exports to The Gambia between 1963, when imports from Japan were worth

£457,033, and 1966-67, when imports from Japan were worth £1,344,051, or virtually half the exports of the United Kingdom to The Gambia. Even given a certain natural expansion of trade, and bearing in mind that the early '60s were lean years financially, while in 1966-67 there was a fairly buoyant financial situation owing to a good groundnut harvest, these figures are grist to M. Colin's mill.

The Senegalese also complain about the traffic the other way, across the border from Senegal, in groundnuts. Last week's "Letter from Up-River" pointed to this phenomenon, noting that it appeared that the amount coming in from Senegal had doubled in the groundnut buying season just concluded, and the amounts, while still small in comparison with the Senegalese total, have been increasing.

The marketing system in Senegal, whereby farmers are given chits to be cashed later, from which as like as not taxes may be deducted at source, has lately proved discouraging to Senegalese peasants. Consider this against the background of Senegal's delicate economic and financial position, and the uncertainty for farmers involved in the abolition of French subsidies for groundnuts. Add to this the fact that the Gambians started their buying season early in December, at a price increased from £27 to £28 a ton, while the Senegalese season did not apparently get under way until the third week in January, and at prices not much above the Gambian level; note also the fact that the "strange farmers" (mostly from Guinea-Conakry and Guinea-Bissau who have been a phenomenon of the Senegambian agricultural scene for years) obviously prefer to have cash down and have been farming in The Gambia (and if not farming, selling) in increased numbers; also, given the unreal exchange rate and low tariffs of Bathurst, there are plenty of cheap consumer goods to be bought with the Gambian currency obtained.

No one in The Gambia denies that the smuggling exists. No one, either, would dispute a less frequently quoted part of M. Colin's speech: "Considering the length of the Senegalo-Gambian frontier, and its physical and human nature, that is to say, artificial to the highest degree, moreover Senegalese customs officials being what they are, brothers to the Gambians, a satisfactory control of the land and sea frontier separating us from The Gambia can only be guaranteed at a considerable cost, using methods which would be burdensome, but which would, above all, bring into existence a frontier with an entirely unpleasant character, contrary to the nature of things as well as to the well-known fundamental interests of the two countries." The objections, which have shown themselves fairly strongly over the last three months, have been more to the way the Senegalese approached the issue, through the use of open diplomacy instead of the usual channels, and above all, through exaggerating the extent of the problem.

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portrait

NEW MAN IN THE CASTLE

By a correspondent

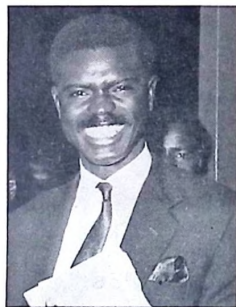
IN a previous "portrait" of an African military man a correspondent made a distinction between the "avuncular" and the "dashing" types of officers. In Ghana, it seems, an archetypal "dashing young man" has just superseded an archetypal uncle, which at the very least should lead to a change in the style of government. Among the members of the National Liberation Council Brigadier Afrifa has tended to be in a position apart, by virtue of age, viewpoint and personality—an individualist in a gathering of good committee men. Partly because of his key role, second only to that of Col. Kotoka, in the coup of February 24, 1966, partly because of his youthful good looks and swaggering "man on horseback" image, it has been Afrifa who has tended to get the crowds cheering and the mammals ululating in a fashion usually associated with the early "showboy" days of the CPP.

Akwasi Amankwaa Afrifa is unusual in that, even before his propulsion to the "hot seat" he has written his own life story in his short book, *The Ghana Coup*. In this he tells us he was born on a "Sunday in the late sowing season of 1936", at Mampong, 30 miles north of Kumasi. Descendant of a long line of chiefs who served in the Ashanti army (a background which has surely encouraged his romantic attitude to history), he was called Afrifa after the linguist of the Mamponghe. His father, Kwaku Amankwaa, a stonemason attached to the Garrison Engineers of the Gold Coast regiment in Tamale, he detachedly describes as "a cowardly man, a man who always stayed clear of trouble". His mother, who died in 1943, he recalls as "tall, black and extremely beautiful", and he says he inherited his fondness for schnapps from her.

For a time after his mother's death he worked as a mason's apprentice under his father in Tamale, but when he was nine, his grandmother felt that he should start school, quarrelled with his father and took the young Afrifa back to Mampong to send him to the Presbyterian school there. Although initially reluctant to be educated (he preferred the building trade) he progressed rapidly, and in 1951 won a scholarship to Adisadel College at Cape Coast, where the scholarly atmosphere induced in him the ambition to be a priest, so he "took to the classics with zeal". (Later during the planning of the coup he is supposed to have drawn up a master-plan in Greek characters as his own kind of

code.) Despite his brilliance at school he was expelled from Adisadel for disobedience, and so he turned to an alternative career which had always fascinated him, the army. Having been selected as "officer material", he went to the Officers' Training School at Teshie, and was then selected, in 1957, to go to Sandhurst, which he enthuses about in lyrical fashion ("one of the greatest institutions in the world").

All along there are signs of the maverick streak and unusual temperament which made him into a successful coup-



maker. His disobedience at Adisadel was extremely rational—he didn't see why he should sit for seven subjects at GCE when only six were necessary, and the one he missed, whether by chance or by design, was religious knowledge. Likewise at Sandhurst, for all his devotion to it, he was "always in trouble for breach of discipline", although he "followed his punishments with religious zeal". Of his spirit there was no doubt; his fondness for practical jokes (as well as fast cars and funny hats) is well-known, and he has reportedly said that at Sandhurst he always participated in "de-bagging" rituals. But such fun-loving activities are only a part of the man. He is also a talker—even perhaps an intellectual *manqué*, as his own well-known desire to go to Oxford, study history and write books about the Ashanti past, might seem to indicate.

On leaving Sandhurst in 1960 he was plunged almost straightaway into the drama of the Congo, in which the Ghana Army, partly through the pretensions of Ghana's President, played a significant part. The use of the Ghana Army, in what seemed to him to be none of Ghana's business, seems to have played a formative role in disillusioning Afrifa with the Nkrumah regime, a disillusion compounded by the evident whittling away of liberties, especially after the coming of the Republic in 1960. He writes himself that the thought of a coup first entered his mind as soon as he returned from the Congo in 1962, but, lacking the nerve at that time, he

refused to discuss politics with anyone, refused to read the Ghanaian papers, and only listened on the radio to *Listeners' Choice*. But his discontent swelled as the army became increasingly neglected, at the same time as the possibility began to develop that an adventure in Rhodesia might be embarked on. So, when Colonel Kotoka on the fateful day early in February, after several hours conversing about politics, casually suggested a coup to his 29-year-old brigade major, whom he half thought had been planted to spy on him, he met with an enthusiastic response.

The relationship Afrifa developed with Kotoka as a sort of junior partner to the man behind the coup still seems to be one of the most important things in his life. One could almost say that his claim to the chairmanship of the NLC derives from this paradoxical role as the "legitimate heir" to the man of February 24. Not that Afrifa's part in the planning and execution of the coup was negligible. He, for example, took the Accra radio station, and made the famous "stand by for Colonel Kotoka" announcement. He may also have been a catalyst which by his very enthusiasm spurred Kotoka on.

In 1966, he and Kotoka shared most of the lionising for having staged the coup. After the tragic death of Kotoka in the "Guitar Boy" mutiny of April 1967, Afrifa seemed somehow to be out on a limb. Not only had there been a certain amount of resentment in the army at his promotion to Brigadier, but his utterances seemed all too frequently at variance with the known views of the rest of the NLC. He has been passionately outspoken on the freedom of the press, and was known to have disapproved of the sacking of editors in December 1967 after the "Abbott affair". He is also a declared democrat, who was known to have been one of the main advocates of an early return to civilian rule at a time when there were those who inclined to favour a longer period of army-police rule. As member of the NLC responsible for Finance, and subsequently, since July 1967, Commissioner for Finance, he has delivered several budgets, and has the reputation for working well with his civil servants.

He gave several news conferences on the cocoa price and several other important financial and economic matters, and represented Ghana at some international financial meetings.

The very fact that he participated in the overthrow of Nkrumah, alongside some of the views expressed in his book (as well as the doubtful adulation heaped on him by Tibor Szamuely) have caused some to describe him as a right-wing figure. But there is a case for saying that, like his friend and Sandhurst contemporary Chukwuma Nzeogwu, one of the main figures behind the January coup of 1966 in Nigeria, he is the sort of romantic figure who might have been in any coup, if he thought it just.

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ROUNDOABOUT

Student of English

During his visit to Britain last week, President Hamani Diori of Niger discussed the sending of British teachers of English to Niger. He himself is a keen student and he told me that he particularly enjoyed listening to the clear enunciation of the Speaker (who specially recorded a tape for the President to take back to Niger) the Lord Mayor (whose welcome to the President at the Guildhall banquet produced at any rate a few perfect words of English in reply, including "London belongs to me") and the Prime Minister who arrived back from Nigeria and Addis Ababa just in time to entertain the President at Downing Street. The President's quest for perfect English must



President and Madame Hamani Diori outside the Savoy Hotel.

also have been assisted by his visit to a performance of *Hadrian VII*, with some excellent speaking by Douglas Rain as the imagined Pope, although his main entertainment was the gala performance at Covent Garden of *Benvenuto Cellini*, which was sung in French. Since in this, too, the Pope plays a prominent role, the President might perhaps have got a misleading impression of the place of the Papacy on the English stage. Apart from teachers of English, Niger would like assistance for a geological survey from Britain. He had little political discussion on his visit, but was pleased to find that the position of the British Government on Nigeria was very similar to that of the great majority of African governments. He did take the opportunity to visit the nuclear power station at Dungeness, because of his own interest in the possibility of setting up something similar in Niger, to use some of its own large uranium deposits.

Minister for Nomads

Of all the members of President Diori's entourage none aroused more curiosity in London than the Minister for Saharan and Nomadic Affairs, Mouddour Zakara.

His post, he tells me, is the only one of its kind in the world. A tall, imposing Touareg, head and shoulders wrapped in a copious white turban, M. Zakara is 52, the same age as President Diori. Son of a *chef de canton*, the Minister was born at Filingué, sixty miles north-east of Niamey. He went to the same school as Diori, but left to join the civil service, when the future President went on to further studies in Dahomey and Senegal. He is a scholarly man—on a recent visit to Egypt he astonished his hosts by deciphering hieroglyphics on ancient monuments. After working for six years in the treasury in Niamey he was sent in 1938 to the Tahoua area in the heart of the Sahelian zone, halfway between Niamey and the ancient city of Agades, to act as an interpreter between the Frenchmen of the administration and the Touareg nomads of the area. This enabled him to travel extensively, and to observe the life of the nomads at close quarters. "In those days we all had to travel by camel; there were hardly any vehicles. There were no offices as such, so we had to have mobile palavers." (He still keeps well in as a camel-rider; I saw him myself at the head of a parade of camels during the OCAM summit in Niamey last year.) In 1947 he moved back to the treasury, to work in Tahoua itself.

Not Haphazard

This was the time in which he gradually became involved in politics, and he became a territorial counsellor and then in 1957 Deputy for Tahoua in the Niger Territorial Assembly, of which he became a Vice-President. From 1959 to 1960 he was Secretary of State for the Interior, and since 1960 he has held his present job, to which the portfolio of Posts and Telecommunications was added in 1965. The responsibilities of the Ministry for Saharan and Nomadic Affairs, are, he told me, mainly a question of co-ordination with other ministries such as Works, Education, and Rural Economy. Niger's 350,000 nomads (the total population is 4m.) are mainly Touareg, Peuhl, Arab and Toubou. The area in which they "nomadise" (as the French say) amounts to possibly four-fifths of the total area of Niger, although few live in the Sahara. It should be remembered that their wanderings are in fact not haphazard but governed strictly by the location of waterholes. The Minister stressed to me that unlike in the neighbouring states of Chad and Mali, Niger had had no political problems from its nomads. There were stresses, as they started to settle little by little, but the Niger government was very aware of their problems. It is a member of the embryonic grouping of Sahara states (with Algeria, Mali and Mauritania, which last met in Agades last year), and Niamey was the scene for a large ILO conference on nomads last September.



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Sierra Leone as a Market

CREDIT is given to the "sincere and hard working" government of Sierra Leone in a report on their visit to the country last February by Sir Arthur Smith, chairman of the Africa Committee of the British National Export Council, and Mr. J. B. Davies, the committee's secretary. Sir Arthur is chairman of the United Africa Company and Mr. Davies is a former chairman of U.A.C. (Nigeria). The government, which invited the mission to Sierra Leone, is anxious, says the report, to maintain stability and to achieve a favourable trade balance.

The B.N.E.C. Africa Committee is concerned with British exports to African countries, and the report notes that the U.K. percentage of total Sierra Leone imports continues to fall. In 1964 it was 37 per cent but had dropped to 27 in 1968. The British share of Sierra Leone's exports fell from 68 per cent in 1965 to 64 per cent in 1967. It is expected that final figures for 1968 will show a considerable increase in total imports, although provisional figures show Sierra Leone to be in trade balance for the year.

Noting that mining continues to be the main foreign exchange earner, with diamonds leading and iron ore following, the report says that agriculture is likely to develop away from subsistence with an increase in production of coffee, cocoa, palm produce, maize and tobacco. It is also hoped that by 1971 production of rice, the staple food, should be in surplus: 430,000 tons of paddy were

produced in 1968 while production of 500,000 tons would make Sierra Leone self-sufficient. Then attention can be given to other crops.

Local production of poultry feed, of which some 200,000 tons is now imported annually, is a possible new industry, says the report. Between 70,000 and 80,000 day-old chicks are imported yearly and Sierra Leone is almost self-sufficient in poultry and eggs. Similarly, pig breeding stock is being imported, mainly from Holland, and food for pigs could also be produced at a poultry feed factory.

Modernisation of the road system, as the railway is phased out, should result in greatly increased demand for road transport, says the report, which notes that the British share of Sierra Leone's vehicle market has fallen considerably.

Sir Arthur and Mr. Davies were impressed with the Forest Industries Corporation, at Kenema, which deals with up to 900,000 cu ft. of timber each year. The Corporation makes components for building and packaging and exports small quantities of furniture. Foreign private capital would probably be needed for a proposed new plywood, sawmill, and chipboard factory which would cost about £14m. The Corporation imports machinery, spares and furniture components worth £250,000 a year. The mission were told of the prospect of a World Bank loan of \$3.9m. for extension of the King Tom power station, the Freetown distribution pro-

ject, and new stations at Kenema and Koidu. They were also told of the scheme to double the filtration treatment at Guma Valley.

In a section devoted to tourism, the report says that Sierra Leone has great deal to offer but only through package tours, whose organisers would have to be assured of good hotel accommodation and transport.

Describing local manufacture, the report lists industries now established. It notes that both the oil refinery and the flour mill can produce more than the local requirements and that the cigarette factory could meet any expected increase in local demand, while at the same time using more local tobacco.

Business men complained to the mission of delays in documentation and of incorrect documentation. When documents arrived late, goods could not be released. British exports were also sometimes unsuitably packed for a country with such heavy rainfall.

For British exporters the report lists the following possibilities: vehicle mining equipment, agricultural equipment, construction equipment, wharf handling equipment, heavy electrical equipment, water filtration equipment, ready-made clothing, packaging for local products, and consumer goods of all sorts.

The report concludes: "Given a period of stable government, Sierra Leone will gradually but surely develop her natural resources and there is great scope for agricultural development."

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Nigeria's Power Struggle

From a Correspondent

SO overwhelming has become the place of mineral oil in the Nigerian economy that it is easily forgotten that, almost alone among the countries of tropical Africa, Nigeria possesses a broad range of sources of power, providing far more energy than foreseeable domestic requirements.

Associated with mineral oil is natural gas, although there are also separate gas wells. Gas reserves are difficult to estimate but for practical purposes they are limitless. The problem is how to use them internally, except very near the wells. At present natural gas from the Afam field in Eastern Nigeria and gas from Ughelli in the Mid-West, has been used for electricity production and for industry. But the bulk of gas associated with oil production has to be "flared" off. Negotiations with Britain for the supply of gas in highly concentrated liquid form have reached no conclusion, partly because of the discovery of sources elsewhere. Enormous capital investment would be required for a liquifying plant in Nigeria and for special ships, but the Nigerian gas is of good quality and, although Algeria and Libya are better placed for the European market, Nigeria enjoys the same transport benefits for gas as she does for oil in relation to Middle East producers.

Kainji and Consumers

Although the coming into production of the Kainji hydro-electric scheme on the Niger has so far meant little improvement for consumers, this £100m. project allows for almost 1m. kilowatts initially. Four of the projected twelve units are in operation, at the capacity of 320,000 kilowatts. Further dams on the Niger, at Jebba, and on the Kaduna river, which together would have the same capacity as Kainji, are proposed. Other projects are also possible, giving Nigeria an abundance of power from hydroelectricity although distribution remains a problem.

Coal has long been important as a source of energy in Nigeria, which has the only workable deposits in West Africa. Unfortunately, the large coal and lignite resources are of poor quality. In the past the three main consumers were the Electricity Corporation, the Railway Corporation and the Nigerian Cement Company at Nkalagu. But before long only the cement company will be a customer—the Enugu mines are close to the factory. The proposed iron and steel mill could be a consumer, although there are considerable technical problems in using coal which is not suitable for coking. Whatever happens the coal corporation, which ceased production at Enugu during the war, has a difficult time ahead. The new Okaba mine, which began production in 1968, may still have to give way to

Enugu when the mines there can be restarted.

Mineral oil as an export will in time revolutionise the Nigerian balance of payments. But it also has made and will make a very considerable contribution because the oil refinery at Port Harcourt can meet most of Nigeria's internal requirements in oil products. It does not, however, produce aviation spirit, lubricants, and certain other products, and domestic demand may for a long time be inadequate to justify special plants for these. But to meet, from Nigeria's oil, the domestic demand for motor spirit, kerosene and certain other products the refinery produces a surplus of fuel oil, which is a valuable source of energy for industry, and in the last full year of production much of this had to be exported at low prices.

The refinery is expected to be in operation again within a year and Nigeria's demand for motor spirit, kerosene and aviation turbine fuel are estimated by the Nigerian Institute of Social and



The international observers look at oil refinery tanks. Within a year the refinery will be in full production; within three years it will have to be expanded, or joined by a second refinery.

Economic Research to exceed the refinery's capacity in 1971. The capacity, however, can be increased relatively easily to meet the demand for these products up till 1974 although there will continue to be a large surplus of fuel oil. After that either further expansion at Port Harcourt or conceivably a second refinery, perhaps in the big oil producing centre of the Mid-West at Warri, is possible. Even the Ijora power station in Lagos which now uses fuel oil will be a customer for Kainji, and the fuel oil surplus can be expected to grow.

It should not be forgotten that in much of the country, wood, charcoal, and vegetable waste are important fuels although experience elsewhere suggests that wood will decline in importance

even for domestic consumption. The abundance of other sources of energy makes unnecessary development of the use of solar and wind energy, which might otherwise be important. It is also too early to estimate Nigeria's potential in nuclear fuels, although they are present.

Energy and Industry

Nigeria's energy sources not only offer a basis for industrialisation in general, chiefly by producing cheap electrical power, but can assist establishment of specific industries. For example, it has been estimated that factories to produce ammonia, ammonium-sulphate or ammonium-nitrate could use considerable quantities of natural gas, as could other chemical industries. Oil clearly offers further possibilities than those already exploited by the existing refinery. There are possibilities, too, of using low grade oil and lignite for carbo-chemical industries.

Yet, valuable though the other sources of energy are for the development of Nigeria, oil remains pre-eminent as a source of government revenue and foreign exchange. Because of the special circumstances of the oil industry, producing countries do not retain the whole of the overseas earnings of oil but secure from concessions, rentals, royalties, petroleum profits tax and customs duties, as well as indirectly through premiums and harbour dues, a substantial revenue which is paid in foreign currencies. There is also considerable, if diminishing, expenditure by the oil companies in foreign currency on development. Assuming an export price of £N5 per ton, the quantity of oil exports is expected to increase to 40m. tons next year, exceeding pre-war production, and to 80m. tons in 1975 and 120m. tons in 1980. In the period 1967-73 government revenue from oil are expected to reach about £N650m.

"A Certain Competition"

In his paper on Nigeria's energy resources, given at last month's Ibadan conference on reconstruction and development, Mr. Mourtaou Diallo, ECA's adviser on energy, noted that in Nigeria there was "a certain competition" between the various fuels. This particularly affected natural gas, and, geographically, the Western State, although the Enugu area might also experience competition if coal production continued. Mr. Diallo also said that Nigeria's economic planners were in a position to choose between different forms of energy on purely commercial grounds: production for its own sake was obsolete. And in making a choice international factors could not be ignored.



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MATCHET'S DIARY

SUPPORTERS of the Nigerian Government would have glowed with satisfaction to hear what Mr. Wilson had to say to the House of Commons about Nigeria on the day he returned from Addis Ababa last week. He said, for example, that he had seen (on his visit to Enugu) that the administration of the East Central State was carried out by a "distinguished Ibo who is in complete authoritative control of the State". He had seen other evidence of the advancement of Ibos; for example at the Military Academy an Ibo had received the Sword of Honour. Recalling the enthusiasm shown during his visit to the capitals of the two new, non-Ibo states in the former Eastern Region, Mr. Wilson said that anybody who had gambled money by supporting Biafra in the hope of getting a share of Rivers State oil would get his fingers "badly burned". He paid tribute to General Gowon's readiness to weaken his direct military efforts by allowing food supplies into Biafra through the blockade, although he knew that at the same time arms would go through, and the General's concern for civilians. Mr. Wilson said, probably accounted partly for delay in ending the war. Mr. Wilson also said that he thought a cease-fire without arms control would be "extremely one-sided", assisting only Colonel Ojukwu. It may seem unnecessary, but in view of the world-wide propaganda onslaught, it is important that Mr. Wilson should declare categorically that there was "no question" that General Gowon was in every sense Head of State and Head of Government in Nigeria. The cordial relations, at least at the top, now existing between Britain and Nigeria may not last. But as the editorial in this journal said last week, while Biafra's hostility can be assumed, Britain was in danger of incurring Nigeria's hostility, too. Mr. Wilson's visit has at least put that right, and Mr. Maudling's niggling criticism of Mr. Wilson when he gave the House of Commons an account of his Nigerian visit, makes one wonder whether the Opposition really care for anything except scoring points at the Prime Minister's expense.

Brigadier Afrifa's claims to political leadership in Ghana are clear enough. But, although a police chairman of the NLC can be ruled out, the decision of Major-General Ocran to accept Brigadier Afrifa's political leadership shows statesmanship. Presumably, since he is Ghana's most senior serving soldier—he was a Brigadier at the time of the coup when Afrifa was a Major—he was considered as a possible successor to General Ankrah. He must himself have felt it better to continue to concentrate, as he has done since the murder of General

Kotoka, on the army, of which he is now designated "Commander". He is still under 40 and, although he originally joined the army in 1947 as an education N.C.O., his rise after transferring to the infantry was remarkably speedy. He was commissioned in 1954 and by 1962, at the age of 33, he was a Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1965 he became Commander of the First Brigade. Although he played no part in the original organisation of the 1966 coup, the support of his brigade, which covered Accra and Southern Ghana, was essential for the coup's success, particularly as he commanded the armoured cars. His own book, reviewed in this journal last week, gives his account of the affair.

While efforts continue, as described by my colleague Griot last week, to relieve developing countries of some of the cost of copyright in books, in Britain the Overseas Development Ministry and the British Council have arrangements for providing books for those countries. There are also voluntary bodies in the field. The Ranfurly Library Service sends great numbers of donated books, in bulk, to 59 countries, where local people see to their distribution—the Ministry of Education and Ashanti Goldfields in Ghana, the Library Service in Sierra Leone, for example. The service is a "charity" (enjoying free sea freight). It was founded in 1954 by Lord Ranfurly when he was Governor of the Bahamas,

and later extended by him and his wife and "adopted" by the English-Speaking Union. Some books go to schools with VSO members on the staff, under the "VOLS" (Voluntary Overseas Library Service) scheme; most are distributed, mainly to schools, at the discretion of the local agents. Sir Charles Jeffries, who served forty years in the Colonial Office in London—as Joint Deputy Under-Secretary of State from 1947 to 1956—is now, in active retirement, adviser to the Ranfurly Service. A well-known writer on colonial rule and its demise, and a veteran of many constitutional conferences, Sir Charles has naturally close links with Commonwealth West Africa; while his brother Wilfrid—who also lends advice to the Ranfurly Library—was head of the North Regional Literature Agency in Nigeria during its literacy campaigns in the '50s, and contributed an interesting chapter on this to Sir Charles' latest book, *Illiteracy—A World Problem*.

Anti-British demonstrators in Kano, before Mr. Wilson's Nigerian visit, carried placards saying "Remember your Wars of the Roses". I am not clear what precise analogy was being drawn, but throughout Nigeria I have found great irritation at what many suppose to be the European assumption that while most other countries are entitled to a civil war, this is a political exercise in which Nigerians are not to be allowed to indulge.

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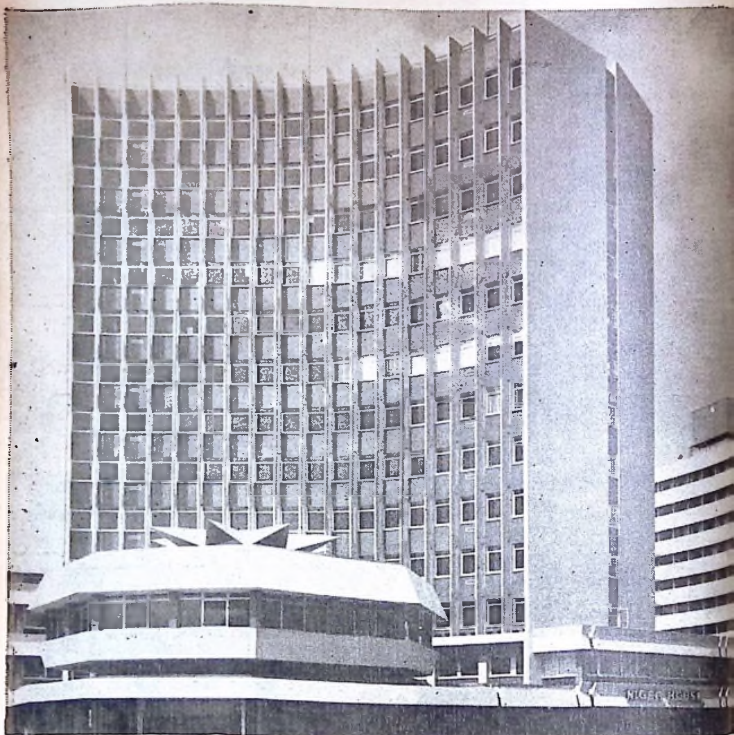
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books and publications

CITIES IN CRISIS

Urban Government for Metropolitan Lagos by *Babatunde A. Williams and Annmarie Hauck Walsh* (Pall Mall Press: 104s.).

The City of Ibadan edited by *P. C. Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe* (Cambridge University Press: 45s.).

SEPARATED by less than 100 miles of first class road, and both of Yoruba origin, Lagos and Ibadan, the two biggest cities in tropical Africa, appear at first sight to be very similar. In fact, however, their differences are more important than their similarities and, unhappily, the most important similarity lies in the inadequacy of their municipal administration.

The study of Lagos made by Dr. Williams, of the University of Lagos, and Mrs. Walsh, of the New York Institute of Public Administration, is one of a series covering a large number of capital cities. The study is concerned with the government institutions, responsible for the administration of Lagos and their inter-relationships. The description of the city itself and its peoples is limited, but the opening paragraph sets the scene most admirably.

"Great Lagos is an urban complex of 1m. people that embodies tremendous contrasts. The capital and major port of the largest nation in Africa, it is a powerful magnet for migrants from all four regions of the federation of some 55m. people. On to a nucleus of traditional African urban settlements are grafted modern industrial, commercial and administrative establishments, as well as mushrooming settlements of new entries into the labour force, which extend 20 miles from the city centre. Elements of widely spaced centuries and cultures co-exist and intermingle; suburban subdivisions of modern, single-family homes and closely packed extended-family compounds without water or paved streets; large, air-conditioned department stores and thousands of street hawkers, market stalls, and tradeswomen bearing trays of cloth, oranges and toothbrushes on their heads; trade unions and professional associations; kinship meetings and tribal associations; elected councilmen and inherited chieftaincies; factories and subsistence agriculture; office skyscrapers, luxury hotels, and open sewers."

Administration in such a setting would clearly be difficult in any circumstances. But the division of the greater metropolitan area between the former Western Region and the former Federal territory,

the incursion of irrelevancies from national politics, the corruption and self-interest of councillors (who were even prepared to hold up sewage schemes in the interests of conservancy contractors), the weakness of staff and the chronic shortage of funds, have combined to allow urgent problems to remain unsolved and sometimes unattended. It is too soon to say whether the establishment of Lagos State, making possible a unified policy for the metropolitan area instead of the former rivalry between the Federal and Western regional authorities (the authors note that a Western Region delegation did not even attend a meeting in 1964 to discuss the proposals for the area made by a UN technical assistance team) will at least remove some totally unnecessary and artificial problems.

The real problems are appalling. "Lagos," says Dr. Williams and Mrs. Walsh, is on the threshold of "major developments in transit, housing, education, sewage and water supply. Because the first giant steps are about to be taken in all of these categories, there is a unique opportunity to harmonise them in such a way as to influence the shape and direction of metropolitan growth for many generations to come.

This is the strongest argument for the organisation of a planning effort that will consider the ramifications both in time and space of major public investments."

The most serious problem, in the view of the authors, is that of sewage disposal although, hitherto, water supply has fortunately been reasonably adequate. "While the water distributed is consistently safe by health standards, dysentery and diarrhoea are the third highest cause of death in Lagos, and the medical officer of the city council estimates that over 80 per cent. of school children are infested with intestinal parasites. The infant mortality rate is extremely high—62.9 per 1,000 live births in 1960. The major contributing conditions to these health problems, however, are lack of water-borne sewage and the overcrowded living conditions. The quality of the existing water supply system, which was introduced in 1914, is largely responsible for the fact that there have not been epidemic expansions of disease.

"The quantity of potable water must be rapidly increased, however, not only to parallel population growth but

also to expand service to populations relying on wells and streams (as in Isolo, Iwaya and Ajegunle) and to provide water for a sewage system, if health hazards are not to increase. . . . Increasingly severe low-pressure periods during the annual dry season could cause infiltration of ground water, which is heavily polluted with sewage. It is occasionally necessary during the dry season to stop supply for some hours a day."

Public transport is another serious problem, to which far too little attention is paid, while Dr. Williams and Mrs. Walsh, without blaming the Lagos Executive Development Board, also retell the sad story of slum clearance and rehousing in central Lagos.

Ibadan, says Dr. P. C. Lloyd, introducing this collection of papers presented at a seminar organised by the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ibadan, is a "city village". It is a city "of a million inhabitants; the capital of a Region of 8m. people and is a larger and more wealthy territory than many African states. Yet the core of Ibadan, settled in the nineteenth century, is peopled by farmers, traders and craftsmen living in large compounds organised on principles of common descent—a society more resembling the villages of Africa than the urban areas of the modern world."

While in Lagos school attendance reaches a very high level (95 per cent.

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... some sections of the urban area, with the inevitable problem of "school leavers"). In Ibadan the percentage in some areas is only 20. Even in the centre of the city the lineage and the compound are still the basis of social organisation. Town planners, engineers, doctors, despair, says Dr. Lloyd of "transforming the heart of Ibadan into an area which befits its status as the centre of a regional capital".

Although the Ibadan symposium was published much earlier than the book on Lagos, it is in a sense more up-to-date since there has been no change in the administration of Ibadan such as that brought about by establishment of the new Lagos State. Nor, as residents and visitors can testify, has there been any improvement in the services available. For example, average consumption of water per head is less than 10 gallons compared with 30 in Lagos. Ibadan has excellent hospitals and medical facilities but, as Dr. Mabogunje says, it has intractable health problems and the signs are that the preventive and social health services, far more important for the city than the hospitals, are losing the battle.

The book deals with religion, politics and history, and is throughout readable. But exciting though the prospects of the city are and fascinating though it must always be, the book is a depress-

ing one. As Dr. Mabogunje says: "the city of Ibadan presents a picture of a traditional pre-industrial Nigerian city adapting itself to the needs and demands of the twentieth century's industrial society. Throughout its recent history as a city, it has served as a metropolis. The scope of the functions it discharges in this respect, however, has constantly been changing and the city in turn has been responding to these changes. In the modern period Ibadan is already an important commercial centre and a major transport centre. Its prospects for industrial growth are also far from bleak. These developments are already straining the resources of the city and calling attention to the weaknesses of its infra-structure, its social amenities and its administration. In the next decade or two, therefore, it seems obvious that if Ibadan is to play its role as the most important metropolitan centre in Western Nigerian, there is need to overhaul its administrative and planning machinery to achieve greater efficiency."

L.D.W.

Traditions und Wandel aus der Sicht der Romanschristfeller Kameruns und Nigerias by Otto Bischofberger (Eizel Druck AG Einsiedeln, Switzerland, 1968)

This book is a sociologist's comparative view of modern Cameroonian and

Nigerian literature. It was presented as a doctoral dissertation to Dr. H. Huber, Professor of Ethnology in the University of Freiburg, Switzerland. Though a member of a religious order the author has eschewed the pitfall, narrow partisanship and made a pioneering effort worthy of note in a hitherto scarcely explored field.

Both countries are treated on a strictly parallel pattern. An introductory chapter on the historical and socio-cultural background is succeeded in each case by biographical sketches of the authors. Summaries of their individual works. The third chapter deals with the themes of tradition and change in the novels.

In comparing the two literatures Bischofberger comes to the conclusion that traditional life is treated at greater length, and with considerably more sympathy, in the Nigerian novel. Their Cameroonian counterparts are without exception "in a typical colonial situation" and, therefore, tend to be imbued with the spirit of protest, showing at the same time a greater sense of alienation from the traditional background as a result of French assimilationist policies. The Cameroonian authors appear as near-homogeneous group; the Nigerians speak in many individual voices. Comparison with the rich crop of novels that has come out of Nigeria after independence, Cameroon looks barren. Only one novel published there after 1960, Jean Ikellé-Matiba's *Cette Afrique*. Talented writers like Ferdinand Oyono and Mongo Beti seem to have lost the bearings, and in Dr. Bischofberger's view only a return to the resources of tradition can resolve the crisis.

The author is well-read but his personal acquaintance with Africa is rather sketchy. He quotes with scrupulous honesty from anthropologists, missionaries and literary critics alike and gradually develops an opinion of his own. Some of his information is glaringly out of date (D. O. Fagunwa, who died in a motor-accident in 1963, is reported as alive or simply false (a Yoruba Oba's successor is not chosen among his sons as stated on p.89). Obi Egbuna could hardly have set his novel *Wind Versus Polygamy* in a Yoruba town (p.114), what with the hunter by the name of Ojukwu around. On the whole, however, Dr. Bischofberger's book should prove useful not only to the social anthropologist but also to the student of comparative African literature.

W.F.

Benjie's Portion by Martin Ballou (Longmans Young Books, 21s).

This is a short story for young people about the foundation of the colony of Sierra Leone in 1787. The central character is an ex-slave brought up in Nova Scotia, from which many of the first colonists in Freetown came. Although he is fictitious, many of the events in the book are historical. N.A.

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letters to the editor

AWO'S NEW NIGERIA

Sir.—After reading Mr. Omire Nobi's letter on March 29, and the review of *Awo's The People's Republic* on Feb 1, and after reading about letters written in the *Daily Times* of Nigeria and comments that followed from a section of Nigeria's intelligentsia, I am inclined to speak out in defence of Socialism.

Those who wrote letters to Tai Solarin in the *Daily Times* likening Chief Awolowo to a Capitalist preaching Socialism only showed that a good many of us don't know what Socialism is all about and what Capitalism stands for. A Capitalist employs hired labour for exploitation purposes, or owns the means of production, or is a big merchant money magnate. Awolowo does not belong to any of these classes.

Your reviewer criticised Awo for predicting in his book that Capitalism would give way to Socialism, he said Marx and Lenin predicted the same long ago. I am convinced that Capitalism will give way to Socialism for the following reason which Chief Awolowo did not include in his book: Economic law of motion is such that the more productively capable a political system is in meeting unlimited economic demands caused by population increases, the more it will establish itself in any such given society. This is why the communal production system of our great grandfathers had to give way to slave-owning system, and slave-owning to a Feudalistic system.

For similar reasons Feudalism had to give way to Capitalism. At the present stage of our society Capitalism will inevitably give way to Socialism which creates justice in production and distribution processes. In other words, the course of history is determined by developed of material production.

Mr. Nobi's comments on Chief Awolowo on his not making efforts to stop Nigerian War, need few comments. All of us read in newspapers about Chief Awolowo's mission to Ojukwu, his recommendations to General Gowon to lift economic blockade of Eastern States. Gen. Gowon lifted the blockade, but what was the response from Ojukwu? He seized the opportunity to transfer millions of pounds from Nigerian Banks. Chief Awolowo was thoroughly deceived by Ojukwu on all points.

It is no good discrediting others' well-thought-out economic and social panaceas without having a better alternative.

AFOLABI FARHIDO

London.

Sir.—Mr. Omire Nobi's letter (Mar. 29) makes interesting reading, but one point he failed to realise is that *The People's Republic* was written when Chief Awolowo was in prison, and was published and launched after his release. How then does Mr. Nobi think Awolowo could have foreseen that Ojukwu would be a rebel leader of secessionists, or that Gowon would have led the Nigerian Government against which Ojukwu is now rebelling; or could have asked "Why are we fighting?"

SUNDAY ONADERU

AIR RAIDS AND SUICIDE

Sir.—It is difficult to be unemotional about the Nigerian war. However justified bombing is politically, and realistically as a result of war, it is a cruel act; but the Nigerian bombing is no less cruel than the bombing in Lagos and the North by the Biafrans in the early days of the war, or in Vietnam by the Americans.

One result of the war has been acts of violence by Biafrans in Colleges and Universities, at home and at work where Nigerians and Biafrans live or work together. Nigerians are labelled as enemies, and I have almost got a punch up for being or trying to be realistic about the situation.

Anybody who has a family or friend in Biafra would know why Ibos are so emotional about the situation. Yet, God knows what life would have been under them if they had taken Lagos in the early days of the war. At the same time the old arguments that they started the bombing, and that their vicious and selfish acts now backfire, wear thinner every day the war is fought. Anybody who has children would agree with me that this war is entering a cruel phase. The fact that the two regimes are military makes the sufferings of the innocent people look like nothing to them and the war, a war without end. The TV films of bombing are bad publicity for Nigeria but they are undeniably true.

I, like many of my kind, believe in one Nigeria, and in fact one Africa. But now I am appalled by both sides' actions, particularly Ojukwu's throwing away reasonable proposals for peace and thus sacrificing so many innocent lives.

The war was a result of politics going

stark mad, now the two new regimes have made the old regime look like a golden age. There was corruption, nepotism and other malpractices; nobody was satisfied with it, but at least nobody was starving, nobody was fighting wars, you could and would find a job. That was better than the mess and chaos the military junta have plunged the country into.

How many more lives will Ojukwu sacrifice to achieve a dubious, and perhaps, an unviable Biafra? When will he realise the realities of this war? Should not Ojukwu stop this suicidal war, and Gowon bend a little too?

MARK KOJA ASHIMU.

London.

MAN O'WAR BAY

Sir.—In your issue of 21 Dec. 1968, there is a reference to the British Council's Annual Report 1967/68, mentioning the Man O'War Bay school in Cameroon.

The full name of this school is the Bilingual Grammar School, Man O'War Bay, and its buildings were formerly occupied by the Citizenship and Leadership Training Centre. The Secretary of the Citizenship and Leadership Training Centre, Mr. V. A. Adeduro has written asking us to point out that the Centre has moved from Man O'War Bay and now has its headquarters at PO Box 1171, Lagos, Nigeria.

N. SUTCLIFFE,

Director,

Information Department.

British Council,
London.

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WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER Dempster Lines

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—FOURAH
BAY due Tema Apr. 12, DUNKWA slg.
Liverpool Apr. 10; PERANG slg. Liverpool
Apr. 29; DARU slg. Liverpool Apr. 21.

From London:—FALABA slg. London Apr.
11, EBANI slg. London Apr. 15.
From Middlesbrough/Hull:—KOHIMA slg.
Middlesbrough Apr. 25.
From Continent:—FIAN slg. Rotterdam Apr.
9.

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—AUREOL
due Monrovia Apr. 12; KUMBA due Abidjan
Apr. 12; OBUASI due Bathurst Apr. 13; OTI
due Ghana Apr. 12; OWERRI due Sapele
Apr. 15.

To Avonmouth:—DUMURRA due Avonmouth
Apr. 17.
To Dublin/Belfast:—TWEEDBANK slg. Abidjan
Apr. 11.

To London:—BHAMO slg. Sapele Apr. 15;
EBOE due London Apr. 10; EGORI slg.
Lagos Apr. 16; KADUNA due London Apr.
11; ONISHA due London Apr. 16; PATANI
due London Apr. 16.

To Continent:—FOCACADDS due Monrovia
Apr. 11; KABALA due Apapa Apr. 11.

EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada:—DALLA
slg. Halifax Apr. 16.

WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada:—DEGEMA
due Lagos Apr. 11; DIXCOVE due Baltimore
Apr. 13; DONGA due Douala Apr. 16;
DUMBAIA due Carteret (New York) Apr. 19.
From India/Pakistan/Burma:—INVERBANK
due Douala Apr. 12.

BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE

OUTWARD—CORNVILLE due Abidjan Apr.
14, thence Tema, Lome, Lagos/Apapa, Victoria,
Douala, Warri, and Takoradi. FLEKNWOOD
due Dakar Apr. 20, thence Freetown, Monrovia,
Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala
and Takoradi; TITANIA due sail New York
Apr. 22, Halifax (NS) Apr. 25 for Freetown,
Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa,
Douala, Cabinda and Takoradi.

HOMEWARDS—TEMA due load Takoradi
mid Apr., Abidjan third week Apr. Buchanan/
Monrovia fourth week Apr.; CORNEVILLE
due load Lagos 5, Bound about Apr. 18,
Victoria Apr. 22, Douala Apr. 24, Lagos/Ghana
N. Bound end Apr. early May, Abidjan first
week May, Buchanan/Monrovia second week
May.

JAPAN "K" LINE
WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong
and Cape) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan,
Freetown etc.—DENMARK MARU slg.
Japan Mar. 14, due Lagos Apr. 22.

EASTBOUND—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema,
Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Cape and
Hong Kong)—DENMARK MARU slg. Lagos
Apr. 7, Tema Apr. 25, Freetown May 3, due
Japan June 10.

WOERMANN LINE
ROLAND RUSS slg. Rouen Apr. 4 due
Conakry Apr. 14, Since Apr. 18, Cape Palmas
Apr. 19; KOFHOGO slg. Antwerp Apr. 2 due
Dakar Apr. 22, Abidjan Apr. 26.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE
EASTBOUND—NOPAL TELLUS slg. New
Orleans Apr. 3 due Takoradi Apr. 28, Lagos
Apr. 30, Warri May 3; NOPAL LUNA slg.
New Orleans Apr. 19 due Takoradi May 9,
Lagos May 12.

WESTBOUND—NOPAL SUN slg. Luanda
Apr. 3 due Takoradi Apr. 16, New Orleans
May 5; NOPAL TELLUS slg. Luanda May 19,
due Takoradi May 26, New Orleans June 13.

HUGO STINNES TRANSOZEAN
SCHEFFARTH GMBH
MAX HUGO STINNES slg. Rouen Apr. 8
due Sta. Cruz Apr. 14, Dakar Apr. 17,
Conakry Apr. 19; KOHOLYT HUGO
STINNES slg. Dunkirk Apr. 14, Rouen Apr. 16
due Las Palmas Apr. 23, Dakar Apr. 26.

HOEGL LINES
HOEGL WILRI slg. Rouen Apr. 15 due Dakar
Apr. 22, Freetown Apr. 25, Abidjan Apr. 29;
HOEGL AILETTE slg. Bremen Apr. 16, Hamburg
Apr. 18, Antwerp Apr. 22 due Freetown
May 5.

FARRELL LINES
HOMEWARDS—AUSTRALIAN GULF from
Apapa Apr. 22 for Monrovia May 4, For US
ports; AUSTRALIAN ISLE from Matadi Apr.
23 for Luanda, Lobito, Abidjan May 6,
Monrovia May 9 for US ports.

OUTWARDS—AFRICAN RAINBOW due
Dakar Apr. 25 for Conakry, Freetown, Mon-

rovia May 3, Abidjan May 9, Takoradi May 13,
Douala May 22, and Sao Tome; AFRIC
GLADE due Conakry May 13 for Monrovia
May 16, Abidjan Takoradi May 23, Tema
Matadi, Luanda and Lobito.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE
SOUTHBOUND—MANGARELLA slg. Su-
dinavia and Bordeaux first half Apr. for
during May; MINNESOTA slg. Scandinavia
and Bordeaux during second half Apr. for
during May.

NORTHBOUND—HJELMAREN slg. Wa-
during Apr., for Scandinavia first half Apr.,
YARAWONGA slg. W.A. second half Apr.
for Scandinavia second half May.

CHARGEURS REUNIS
TANAGRA due Lagos/Apapa Apr. 16, Fu-
town Apr. 17. SURCOUF slg. Kobe Apr. 16.

MITSUI OSK LINE
ARIZONA MARU slg. 1,066 Mar. 25 a
Lagos Apr. 23. HODAKASAN MARU a
Kobe Apr. 4 due Lagos May 8. HUDON
MARU slg. Kobe Apr. 20 due Lagos May 10.

MAERSK LINE
JESPER MAERSK slg. Tema Apr. 16 a
Takoradi Apr. 17; HENRIETTE MAER-
slg. Matadi Apr. 16 due Douala Apr. 18.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE
SOUTHBOUND—HERBERT MACAUI
slg. Rotterdam Apr. 1; OBA OVONRAMVI
slg. London Apr. 22.

NORTHBOUND—EL KANEMI due Liverpool
Apr. 19, NNANIDI AZIKIWE due Hull Apr.
20.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES
INWARDS—HOLLANDS DIEP from Ce-
and Hong Kong slg. Hong Kong Mar. 16
Lagos/Apapa Apr. 9, Cotonou Apr. 15, Be-
Apr. 17, Tema Apr. 19, Abidjan Apr. 21, Be-
Apr. 24, Freetown Apr. 26, Dakar Apr.
30, Conakry May 4; STRAAT FRAZER to
Japan slg. Kobe Mar. 21 due Lagos/Apapa
21, Tema Apr. 27, Monrovia May 1, Freetown
May 3, Abidjan May 7, Takoradi May 11.

OUTWARDS—HOLLANDS DIEP to
Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong a
China second half Apr.; STRAAT FRAZ
from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong
and Japan second half Apr. first half May.

GOLD STAR LINE
NOGAH slg. Lagos Apr. 28, Freetown Mar.
TSEDEK due Lagos Apr. 21, Freetown Mar.

BLACK STAR LINE/SEVEN STAR LINE
USNH/WEST AFRICA
WESTBOUND—LAKE BOSOMTWE to
Apr. 15, New York Apr. 29, Philadelphia
Apr. 29, thence Genoa.

BLACK STAR LINE UK/CONTINENT
WEST AFRICA
SOUTHBOUND—OTI RIVER Hamburg A
5, Antwerp Apr. 10, Bremen Apr. 18, Rot-
terdam Apr. 12, Dunkirk Apr. 14, OCHI RI-
Bremen Apr. 29, Hamburg May 3, Ant-
May 2, Rotterdam May 7, Dunkirk May 8.
NORTHBOUND—OCHI RIVER London N
20.

EDWARD NASSAR LINES
EMIR BECHIR slg. Tema Apr. 16 due Takoradi
Apr. 16, Gibraltar May 1; TERESA
Takoradi Apr. 6 due Famagusta Apr.
Beirut Apr. 24.

PALM LINE
SOUTHBOUND—From London:—AKAS
PALM due Port Gent Apr. 13.
From Liverpool:—ELIMA PALM due Leb-
Apr. 17.

From Continent:—ANDONI PALM due L
Palmas Apr. 13.
NORTHBOUND—To London:—AFRIC
PALM due Dakar Apr. 14.
To Liverpool:—ENUGU PALM slg. Takor
Apr. 17.

To Continent:—BADAGRY PALM slg. Dou-
Apr. 12.
To Continent:—BAMENDA PALM due L
Apr. 12.

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE
WESTWIND slg. New Orleans Apr. 23, Ho-
ouston Apr. 28 for Freetown, Lagos, Lu-
BUENA FORTUNA slg. New Orleans May
Houston May 6 for Freetown, Abidjan, Lu-
HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LIJN

SOUTHBOUND—From Continent:—L
ERIAKUST due Pointe Noire Apr. 15; SEN
GALKUST due Freetown Apr. 24.

NORTHBOUND—To Continent:—TOC
KUST due Rotterdam Apr. 21, Amster-
Apr. 23, Bremen Apr. 28, Hamburg Apr.
BOVENKERK due Amsterdam Apr. 28, Ha-
burg May 8. OLDEKERK due Rotterdam
24, Amsterdam Apr. 28, Hamburg Apr. 30.

commercial news

NIGERIA

Groundnut Pyramids to Go?

NIGERIA'S groundnut stocks may all have been reduced to negligible size at the end of the current season says the *Tropical Products Quarterly*, which forecasts a crop of 750,000 tons shelled, evacuation of 594,000 to ports (not all for immediate shipping), and deliveries of 300,000 tons to local mills. At the start of the season stocks were 144,000 tons. The *Quarterly* quotes unconfirmed reports that allocation of crushing nuts to local mills might be reduced by 60-100,000 tons to increase exportable supplies. Mills have recently been working to capacity, says the *Quarterly*, and with more railway wagons available some stocks of groundnut oil and cake have been cleared. There has been congestion in ports, however.

* Published by the Commonwealth Secretariat Commodities Division.

In 1967-68 opening stocks were 380,000 tons all over Nigeria, purchases 684,000 tons shelled, deliveries to oil mills 300,000, while evacuation to ports accounted for 620,000 tons.

Nigerian shelled groundnut exports, according to incomplete figures, were 642,000 tons in 1968, or 100,000 tons more than in 1967. France remained the biggest customer, but its purchases fell from 154,000 to 143,000; Italy's rose from 95,000 to 104,000; Portugal's fell from 78,000 to 71,000 but remained in third place, with the Netherlands now fourth (44,000 tons in 1967, 66,000 in 1968) and the UK fifth (55,000 in 1968, compared with 52,000 the year before). Groundnut oil exports rose by over 50 per cent, from 71,100 tons (revised figure) in 1967 to 109,300 in 1968. The UK took nearly all, as before (99,400 tons).

More Sokoto Cement

Production at Sokoto by the Cement Company of Northern Nigeria is running at the rate of 50,000 tons a year, and it is hoped to step this up to 100,000 tons a year in 1970. Technical difficulties "have been overcome" and the quality of the product is said to be "very good," says the *Standard Bank Review*. Major wholesalers are taking up supplies, and it is expected that Sokoto cement will be used exclusively by the Public Works Departments of the six northern states. The price of cement in Kano has been reduced by 1s a bag.

● A grant of £5m. has been given to the States by the Nigeria Government to enable them to launch a Special Agricultural Production Scheme. Another £3m. has been earmarked by the Government for establishment of an Agricultural Credit Bank.

● Lagos State is to be divided into four zonal sectors for planning purposes, the State's Commissioner for Finance and Economic Development, Alhaji I. A. S. Adewale, has said.

● The BOAC pilots' strike, which grounded the flights between London and Lagos operated under the BOAC-Nigeria Airways "pool" agreement, has now ended.

● The UK imported £627.36m. worth of crude and partly refined petroleum in 1968 (£487.68m. in 1967). Nigeria's share fell by 60 per cent, from £26.51m. to £11.91m.—because of the war, which cut off petroleum supplies from mid-1967.

● British Titan Products, which owns a 20 per cent share in Sherbro Minerals—miners of rutile in Sierra Leone—records great increases in sales and profits in 1968. The other 80 per cent of Sherbro Minerals is held by the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.



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

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

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

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



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New York correspondents: French American Banking Corporation
J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corporation

Cocoa: 300,000 tons in Ghana?

In Ghana, says Gill & Duffus' monthly *Cocoa Market Report*, "purchases declared up to 13th February had totalled 313,296 long tons. Reliable reports indicate that in the three weeks since then purchases in fact totalled just over 1,900 tons, bringing the cumulative figure up to 6th March to 315,223 tons. It is difficult at this stage to gauge the extent of over-declarations. Some sources have indicated that they might be as much as 20,000 tons but a tonnage of 12,000/15,000 tons over-declared seems more reasonable. Last year the Main Crop was over-declared by 8,341 tons. If this estimation of over-declarations is correct, then the final output of the 1968/69 Main Crop will be in the region of 300,305,000 long tons."

The report says it is too early to form any reliable estimate for this summer's Mid Crop in Ghana, and provisionally suggests

commercial news

a figure of 15,000 tons.

In Nigeria. "Unofficial figures of purchases reported over the past few weeks continue to indicate that the crop is coming in rather better than expected, although the weekly rate of purchase for most of February was under 15,000 tons per week. At that stage last season, it was still running in the 2,200/2,600 ton range." Gill & Duffus is increasing its estimate for Nigeria for 1969/70 to 195,000 long tons, "taking into account an average outturn for this summer's harvest based on the past eight-year average outturn of 8,000 tons, though in the past two seasons the summer crop has yielded well under this figure—4,000 and 3,000 tons respectively."

Ghana Farm Industries

The Ghana Federation of Farmers Association is to set up rural industries to process agricultural produce. Two American business institutions, the International Resources Development Corporation and Philco-Ford Corporation have offered to give financial aid to these industries.

● Mr. John B. M. Place and Mr. E. J. W. Hellmuth have been appointed Directors of the Standard Bank and Standard Bank of West Africa. Mr. Place, Vice-Chairman of The Manhattan Bank, succeeds Mr. George Champion, who has relinquished his seat on the Boards of the Standard Bank and SBWA following his retirement from the Board of The Chase Manhattan Bank. Mr. Hellmuth is a Director of the Midland Bank and Vice-Chairman of Midland and International Banks.

● Twenty-two states fishing in the Central and Eastern Atlantic have decided to organise a meeting of experts to study the problem of overfishing in some areas. The FAO's Committee for Fishing in the Central and Eastern Atlantic, meeting in Accra, has also decided to ask for experts from Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, France, Morocco, Japan, Spain and the USA, to study the problems in collaboration with other international bodies concerned.

● Mr. J. K. A. Darfour, Principal Secretary of Ghana's Ministry of Agriculture, said at the meeting that the Ghana Government wants a strong body to cater for the African fishing needs and demands.

● The Carnegie Corporation has given a \$177,740 grant for establishment of a Child Development Research Unit (CDRU) at Ahmadu Bello University. The centre's primary goal will be to produce basic information on children and parents in Northern Nigeria, to help planning of health, education and welfare services; and to further training and research in the behavioural sciences.

The project will be carried out in co-operation with the University of Chicago, which will supply personnel equipment, and supplementary financial support. Robert A. Levine, Professor of Human Development and of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, will be the director.



Shell-BP Petroleum Development Co. are shipping a double-storey houseboat to their oilfield installations in Warri, Nigeria, where it will accommodate Shell employees working in the area. The houseboat was loaded into the Elder Dempster cargo liner "Fulani" (7,689 gross tons) which sailed from Rotterdam last month. Weighing 72 tons, the houseboat measures 69 ft. long, with a beam of 26 ft. 3 in. and is 25 ft. 8 in. high.

Coffee Crop Goals

● The International Coffee Council, which governs the international Coffee Agreement, has agreed on the basis for national production goals geared to an estimated total world demand in 1972-73 of 80.2m. bags. World export demand in 1972-73 is estimated at around 59m. bags, and internal demand in the producing countries at 21m. bags.

The Executive Board of the ICO had earlier rejected all the production goals submitted by the 41 exporting members.

● Ghana's National Investment Bank made a net profit of 200,506 new cedis 25 new pesewas in its last financial year, to Dec. 31, 1968. Mr. E. P. L. Gyampoh, chairman, said the profit was 24 per cent. over that of the previous year.

● Two major shipping agencies operating in Ghana, Elder Dempster Agencies and Palm Line Agencies, are to be merged as Liner Agencies (Ghana) on 1st May.

● Protocol agreements have been signed by Ghana with Yugoslavia and Poland on a year's exchange of goods.

Talks have been held on rescheduling of Ghana's commercial debts to France.

Book Fair in Accra

A report from Accra

THE first-ever commercial international Book Fair in Ghana, whose aim is partly to encourage the world's publishing industry to re-think its procedure and attitudes on book exports to and production in Africa, was held last month in Accra at the central Library of the National Library Services. The sponsors, Annewoo Educational Publications of McCarthy Hill Accra, were supported by the Ministry of Education and the Library Services.

There were exhibits from Ghana, Great Britain (fully represented), Russia, Le France, Poland, the USA; there were books, trade books, children's books, novels etc., in English, Russian, Italian, German and Ghanaian languages, there were audio aids items, technical equipment, and unpublished manuscripts from African writers. It reminded one of the First Ghana Trade Fair when crowds daily thronged the fair grounds.

Besides the usual viewing and buying of books there were very important side-events. A Businessmen's Seminar brought exhibiting publishers face to face with officials of the Ministry of Trade, the chronic problems of insufficient import licences, book and foreign exchange restrictions, money transfers were discussed. Then there was the seminar of publishers and Ghanaian writers, where the whole question of book marketing, how it affects the writer and what he must do about it, were discussed.

A third back-up activity was the social and the theatrical feast which featured two plays by Mrs. Efua Sutherland, *Obasan* and *Ananse and the Dwarf Brigade*.

After the book fair the greatest hope is that a new book culture free of any form of restriction will flourish. It is for these hopes that one cannot but congratulate Mr. Asare Konadu, for dreaming up and directing the Fair.

Ofori Akyea

● CMS Bookshops in Nigeria celebrate their centenary this year. It was founded to provide devotional service books, stationery and some religious literature for the Church, as an arm of the work of the Church Missionary Society. Later, as the bookshop developed in Lagos and extended to West and North, the CMS (Niger) Mission founded a Bookshop in Onitsha, where Lagos established and supervised a branch in Port Harcourt. Later, the branches in Onitsha and Port Harcourt became CMS (Niger) Bookshops.

In 1950 both CMS Bookshops, with its Printing Press, and CMS (Niger) Bookshops with its Printing Press in Port Harcourt were merged and registered as one company, named CMS (Nigeria) Bookshops. In 1958, at the Lambeth Conference, a joint meeting of the Bookshops Managing Committee and the Bishops of Nigeria was presided over by Mr. S. Kingsley Tubbs, then Honorary Treasurer of CMS; it was agreed that the Company (as registered in 1950) be handed to the Church in Nigeria in due course. This decision materialised on 27th July, 1961, when CMS (Nigeria) Bookshops was formally handed over to the local Association and Chief, Simcon Adebayo CMG, became its first Chairman.

It was later agreed that the Company be renamed Church and School Supplies Bookshops, trading as CSS Bookshops.

SITUATIONS VACANT

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DEVELOPMENT COMPANY
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Applicants must be Nigerian nationals who are graduates in civil engineering, with 5-10 years' experience in construction and maintenance of roads and related crossings.

Method of Application:

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**The Head of Recruitment and
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Lagos.**

Applicants should not send original documents or certificates.

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A leading commercial organisation in Nigeria has vacancies on its staff in Nigeria for Nigerian engineers who have obtained the Ordinary National Certificate or the Higher National Certificate in Mechanical Engineering.

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SITUATIONS VACANT—Continued

VACANCY

FOR

NIGERIAN ENGINEER

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OIL SERVICE COMPANY

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THANKS FOR SYMPATHY

This is to express my sincere thanks to relatives, friends and co-Nigerians in U.K. and abroad, who by cablesgrams, telegrams, telephones and personal calls have shown their deep sympathy on the death of my dearest and beloved husband, Yusuf Ajiboyega Alamu Kaffo, A.A.I.A., answered the call of Allah on Monday, the 17th of March, 1969.

Although he has left us, his memory shall ever remain.

Mrs. Yetunde Kaffo (wife), Misses Oluyemisi and Olusolape Kaffo (children)

CHANGE OF NAME

I, formerly known and addressed as Jumbo Oluremi Fasulu, wish to be called and addressed henceforth as Dorcas Oluremi Esan. All former documents remain valid.

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NOTICES—Continued

LAGOS LEAGUE

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The following officers were elected at the Annual General Meeting held at Brush Council, Hans Crescent, London, S.W.1, on Sunday, 9th March, 1969, for the year 1969/70.

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MEETINGS

**IESHA UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN
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Time: 2 p.m.

Place: 103 Gower Street, W.C.1.

OBOKUN J. ABE WA O.
King Olu. Olaitan, General Secretary.

dateline Africa

GHANA

Afrifa Installed: Politics on May Day

LT-GEN. Joseph Ankrah's resignation as Chairman of the National Liberation Council was announced on April 2. The election of Brig. Akwasi Afrifa, by what was said to be a "unanimous" vote of the NLC, was announced at the same time. Lt. Col. E. A. Yeboah, chairman of the Western Region Committee of Administration, was appointed a member of the NLC, whose membership (on the assumption that General Ankrah left it altogether) thus remains as three army and four police officers.

Brig. Afrifa announced on April 7 that the ban on political parties will be lifted on May 1. The 32-year-old officer, who had been sworn in as head of state that day, made a special radio and television broadcast, in which he said he had accepted office because he believed the National Liberation Council owed it to the nation to complete the task it had set itself three years ago.

The Government statement on the resignation said the Executive Council (consisting of the NLC and fourteen civilian commissioners) had ordered investigations into allegations that certain people had been collecting money, from various companies and particularly expatriate firms, for building up political funds. It found, said the statement, that Mr. Francis Nzeribe, of Jeafan Ltd. (a firm which has carried out public opinion polls in Ghana) had collected from companies money for research into General Ankrah's prospects of being President after the restoration of civilian rule.

Statements were taken from the firms concerned, most of which said they had paid sums of money as alleged, mostly (they said) through Mr. Nzeribe; but one, the statement declared, claimed it had paid a sum of 6,000 new cedis directly to General Ankrah. Mr. Nzeribe, the statement added, admitted collecting sums of money totalling 30,000 new cedis, and said he has passed it all on to General Ankrah, less his agreed commission.

The statement went on to say that on March 29 the Attorney-General, Mr. Victor Owusu, and a leading judge of the Court of Appeal, Mr. Justice N. A. Ollennu, had been to see General Ankrah, with Mr. J. E. O. Nunoo, member of the NLC and Commissioner of Police; and that the NLC Chairman admitted receiving Nc6,000 in the presence of Nzeribe and the manager and assistant manager of the firm concerned (which was not named anywhere in the statement). The General, it went on, claimed he had not made any use of the money himself, but it had almost immediately been collected by politicians, whose names he gave in confidence to the three men who had called on him.

At a meeting of the NLC in the Castle later General Ankrah, according to the statement, admitted his part in the transaction, having been given an opportunity to explain his action, and accepting full responsibility, offered to resign. The

Council then decided to take the measures announced, in accordance with the pledge to stamp out corruption, made at the time of the coup.

Civil Rule Pledge

The Government declared that it had no intention of altering the target date for the return to civilian rule (Sept. 30 1969) because of the resignation of Gen. Ankrah.

No more official announcements followed for several days, and after April 3 the Easter holiday started, with no newspapers. But a public demand for a full enquiry into the affair began almost at once. General Ankrah was said to have gone to his home, where he was guarded, and an official statement was reported as saying there would be no action against him. For a time Brig. Afrifa was reported not to have gone to Christiansborg Castle and he was out of the public eye. Ankrah, according to a London *Daily Express* report, moved out of the Castle "to the boos of servants and workers" on April 3. Brig. Afrifa attended the Good Friday service at the Calvary Methodist church in Accra, according to this report. On Easter Sunday both he and Mr. J. W. K. Harlley—Police Inspector-General and Vice-Chairman of the NLC since Feb. 24 1966—were purified with water from the river Jordan in a ceremony performed at Akropong, 30 miles north of Accra, by the Rev. Akuffo.

It had been rumoured already that Brig. Afrifa would make a broadcast soon after Easter. Before he did so the call for a full enquiry spread. Mr. Jo Appiah, President of the Bar Association and one of the politicians most in the public eye recently, said: "The whole thing is rather mystifying and one hopes for further and fuller details." The press joined in calling for an enquiry. The NLC still gave no further details of the affair. Unofficial reports said the firms were probably Lebanese and Indian (perhaps those threatened with loss of their businesses by the decree restricting non-Ghanaians in some commercial enterprises), but nothing was officially said about them.

Afrifa's Broadcast

In his broadcast Brig. Afrifa said the task to be completed by the NLC included the elimination of corruption and other abuses of office, the restoration of freedom and justice and economic repairs.

On the civilian rule programme he said it would be a tragedy if the NLC were to hand over power and leave the impression in the minds of the people that any future government of Ghana was no: likely to be different from Dr. Nkrumah's. As the Council had done what it thought right on the case of General Ankrah, so all in authority should take firm action on corruption.

As a group and as individuals the NLC would not try to influence the people in their choice of political leaders. The new

dateline Africa

decree on political parties would make it a serious offence for any person or political party to accept political contributions from non-citizens of Ghana. *Brig. Afrifa* said:

Ankrah and the NLC

General Ankrah, now 53 years old, was chosen to head the NLC after the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah in which he took no part. Though it is believed that suspicion of a plot by General Steven Otu and Ankrah led to their dismissal as Chief and Deputy Chief of Defence Staff in July 1965. Ankrah, born in Accra and educated at a Wesleyan school (he was later a mission school teacher for a time, and has remained a prominent Wesleyan), served in the Gold Coast Regiment from the beginning of the Second World War, after working as a 2nd Division clerk in the Civil Service, and rose to be a WO II. In Oct. 1946 he was chosen for the Officer Cadet Training Unit in the

General Barwah, Chief of Defence Staff since July 1965, had been killed in the coup. General Kotoka was shot dead in the unsuccessful coup by junior officers on April 17, 1967, when Gen. Ankrah himself narrowly avoided capture by escaping out of the Castle into the sea. The vacant place on the NLC was never filled, though it had been rumoured that Air Marshal Michael Otu—who was in fact arrested in Nov. 1968, having become chief of Defence Staff and is now being investigated by a tribunal—might fill it. General Ankrah was, until his downfall, C-in-C. of the Armed Forces, while Maj.-Gen. Ocran was Army Commander and Acting Chief of Defence Staff, and Brig. Afrifa commandant of the Military Academy.

● The *Accra Sunday Mirror* said on March 16 that Mr. F. A. Nzeribe, "the young energetic West African Co-ordinator in Accra of Jeafah Limited—a United Kingdom firm of management and public relations consultants," has been appointed an Executive Director for Africa of The Travellers Bank of Guernsey. It said this bank engaged in "credit financing,

when the ban on party political activity lifted. He postponed a news conference had proposed to give at Parliament in Accra on March 28. Dr. Busia had called the conference "in order to answer certain speculations about leadership and about co-operation between myself and some of my colleagues in former United Party."

● Brig Afrifa returned to Accra on April 11 after visiting Mali to sign an agreement rescheduling of Ghana's £5m. loan to Mali made in the Nkrumah era. He held goodwill and trade delegation including Commissioners for External Affairs (Patrick D. Arim) and for Trade (M. Ribeiro Ayeh).

Mali is to start repaying the loan in July 1974, and will complete repayments 20 equal half-yearly instalments. Ghana Mali signed a trade agreement, provision for exports of cocoa, cement, timber, ducts, pharmaceuticals and other products to Mali, in return for Malian livestock and cereal exports to Ghana.

SIERRA LEONE

The Contractor Finance Burden

BECAUSE so high a proportion of government revenue has to go to "ruinous debts" resulting from contract finance, Sierra Leone is still short of funds for development, said the Prime Minister in a broadcast at the end of last month. Debts, now being investigated by a Commission of Enquiry, must be paid by Mr. Stevens, for the sake of the country's international prestige. But many of the projects had contributed nothing to "development effort."

Listing five "pre-finance" projects, Prime Minister said that they would cost the taxpayer Le. 61m. in the next 3-5 years.

First was the West Africa 5 and Rubber Industries, a Swedish project "first conceived" in 1964, to produce annually 100,000 pairs of leather shoes, 75,000 pairs of leather sandals, 150,000 pairs of canvas shoes, and 350,000 pairs of other sandals. The government had Le. 60,000 of the equity of Le. 100,000, also backed promissory notes of Le. 336,000. No tenders were invited, said the Prime Minister, nor any alternatives considered. But in the early government was committed to Le. 533k. The Swedish partner had since gone into liquidation. Not a single pair of shoes had been produced, and indications were that the Prime Minister, that the buildings and equipment were unsuitable. They now had to safeguard the plant. Le. 533,000 said to have "gone down the drain."

The story of the Freetown oil refinery which the Prime Minister next related somewhat different. In 1962 Shell proposed a refinery with a daily capacity of 10 barrels, at a cost of Le. 3m., with equal participation of the government and company. But Dizengoff West Africa, Israeli firm, put up a proposal in association with Haifa Refineries, for a refinery to cost Le. 6m., with the same capacity but wholly government owned. By a "miracle of judgment" the Margat government accepted this proposal instead of Shell one. It was also left to the Haifa firm to select the contractors, although they chose a firm which had not entered in a tender. The contract price rose to Le. 6.9m.



General Ankrah (second from left) on his visit to the UK in Oct. 1967, with (left to right) Mr. J. E. O. Nunoo of the NLC, Mr. Nathan Quao (a senior civil servant), Attorney-General and Justice Commissioner Victor Owusu, and Major Seth Anthony, High Commissioner in London.

UK and in 1947 he was commissioned as lieutenant. Promoted colonel in Aug. 1960, he served with the Ghanaian contingent of the UN force in the Congo in 1960-61, and was Brigade commander in Luluabourg. He was the MC in Jan. 1961, the first and only Ghanaian to win it. His period as Deputy Chief of Defence Staff began after the dismissal of Maj.-Gen. Henry Alexander as Chief of Staff. Seven months after Ankrah's dismissal in 1965 the leaders of the coup chose him, because of his popularity in the army (where his Gen. Otu's dismissal had aroused resentment), as leader of the NLC. In this position he visited many parts of Ghana and also the Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, the UK, the USA and (last February) Kenya. Broadcasts by him marked all the different stages in the development of the civilian rule programme, as well as anniversaries of the coup and many other occasions.

The NLC originally included four army officers (Ankrah, Kotoka, Afrifa and Ocran) and four police officers (Harley, Doku, Nunoo, Yakubu). At the time it was constituted General Otu was appointed High Commissioner to India and Gen. Nathan Afrifa (who had succeeded Ankrah in July 1965) as ambassador to Mexico, while

industrial investment in the private sector and property development in Africa." It also reported that Mr. Nzeribe (who is an Eastern Nigerian by birth) was due to leave "soon" for the UK to attend a board meeting (of which firm, was not made clear) and then to make a tour of African capitals.

● Dr. K. A. Busia, chairman of the Centre for Civic Education, said on March 29 that he would declare his stand

PHOTOGRAPHY

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When the civilian government took over last year the refinery was, Mr. Stevens said, "in a shambles." They had succeeded in getting it into operation, but it had cost Le 7jm. It seemed possible, however, to use only some 40-50 per cent. of its capacity, even then it would produce surpluses in some items, but not meet local needs in others. Over the next five years, under the best of managements, the loss would be Le 3jm. Consumers could meet the loss, or the taxpayers. But that was not the object of industrialisation

Lumley Beach Hotel

No "white elephant" in West Africa is more famous than Cape Sierra Hotel, built at Lumley beach near Freetown under the Margai Government as a tourist attraction. Dizengoff proposed construction of the hotel, at a cost of Le 1jm. No tenders were invited, and the National Construction Company got the job under "contractor-finance." The hotel was completed in June 1967, but has never opened. It is too small, Mr. Stevens said, to attract an international tourist organisation, but the government cannot afford to extend it without international support. Nor did it offer a proper range of facilities even at its present size. To operate the hotel would be far too costly. The cost, Le 1,400,000, payable in 7 years with interest, was being met by the government. Repayment would be finished in 1970, but the property would be worth only some Le 1m. They were doing all they could to interest international operators and were considering how to expand the hotel.

mitted the government further. An outside firm continued to draw management fees based on turnover, not profitability. The factory was in debt to the tune of Le 1jm. The company was bankrupt, while the government would have to meet its debts. The price of cement continued to soar.

Another Dizengoff project, continued Mr. Stevens, was Metal Alloy Limited. This was to produce metal doors and windows, a good idea in itself, but put into practice without investigation. Estimated costs soon rose, but those responsible insisted that the project was profitable. The Margai government guaranteed promissory notes of Le 222,400. No tenders were sought, nor alternative schemes considered. Operations began in August 1966. The company had been unable to meet its obligations. Annual sales were some Le 120,000, instead of the estimated Le 720,000. Mounting annual losses and other liabilities meant that the government would have to find some Le 500,000.

This, the Prime Minister said, was the reason why school fees could not be reduced, why roads could not be improved rapidly.

Finally the Prime Minister said that the decision to "phase out" the railway had been taken by the military regime and because external loans had been made available for road development on condition that the railway should be phased out, it was not possible to go back on the decision. In any case money to restore the railway was unobtainable. He himself felt that the union had not been properly consulted, but this would now be done.

● Fresh disturbances are reported from the Bonthe district and Port Loko, arising out of disputes over the conduct of local chiefs.

● Charges against Paramount Chief Madam Ella Koble Gullama, one of the 16 people accused of treason and misprison of treason, have been suspended because she is seriously ill. It is not known whether fresh charges will later be preferred against her. Madam Ella, a leading Paramount Chief, was a minister in Sir Albert Margai's government, and was one of the most prominent SLPP leaders.

DAHOMÉY

● Dahomey has nationalised all maintenance operations at the harbour of Cotonou, hitherto carried out by the private firm group GEMADA (Groupeement des Manufacturiers du Dahomey). There will be an Office Dahoméen des Manutentions Portuaires, under the Ministry of Public Works and Transport, to take over from GEMADA in 30 days; it will receive dues paid from maintenance operations. A communiqué said the nationalisation decree was "of the highest importance for the Dahomeyan economy."

Four days later, on April 4, President Zinsou addressed a public meeting dealing with the economic and financial situation, and said, "We do not want to provoke anyone, we do not make war on anyone, but, whenever possible, the State will take charge of the administration of public services. We will make all nationalisations necessary in the national interest, following the example of General de Gaulle, who nationalised banks and insurance." Dahomey must get out of the "anti-economic" situation where it had had to rely on foreign budgetary aid.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Evacuation of Spanish Civil Guards has been completed. The detachments in Santa Isabel were the last to leave, on April 6. Evacuation of Spanish civilians has also been completed, except for about 600—mainly planters and heads of timber concerns—who have decided to stay, mainly in Fernando Po.

The Civil Guard garrison of 260 was kept in Equatorial Guinea under the agreement which gave the territory independence last October 12. The detachment in Rio Muni was reported to have intervened to protect Spaniards at the end of February during the first stage of the recent crisis, and President Macías' demand for their removal was continued thereafter throughout the subsequent internal political crisis, until agreement was reached on withdrawal after departure of Spaniards wishing to go.

Atanasio Ndong's wife, who was Cameroon by birth and previously married to the assassinated Cameroon revolutionary leader Felix Moumie, is reported to have died after ill-treatment.

It is also rumoured that Dr. Atanasio Ndong, the Foreign Minister, who led the rising in Bata according to the official account, has now died in prison. (A picture of him lying wounded outside the window of Government House in Bata, from which he jumped according to the official account, has been reproduced in *Newswatch*, whose correspondent says President Macías himself took the photograph. His report casts doubt on the story of a coup attempt.) Señor Enrique Gori, vice-chairman of the provincial council of Fernando Po, is also said to have died of gangrene after ill-treatment. Federico Nguemo, who headed the general assembly before independence, is reported to have escaped from Santa Isabel to Spain.

Bonifacio Ondo Edu, who was prime minister of Equatorial Guinea during the self-government period immediately before independence, is said to have died in prison in the violent reaction following the alleged coup of March 5 in Bata. It is not known whether the report is true, nor whether Ondo Edu was arrested after that date or before it.

UPPER VOLTA

● The military regime will plan the hand over to civilians between Nov. 1969 and Nov. 1970, and political parties will be allowed to reorganise in a few months, after which will be possible to arrange elections, says an AFP report from Ouagadougou. The report, quoting sources close to Brig. Lamuzana's regime, follows rumours that the army, which seized power on Jan. 3 1966, would stay in power until 1972. Political parties' activity was suspended in Nov. 1966 for four years, after clashes between parties had followed a decision to allow them to reorganise.

CENTRAFRICA

● The tenth anniversary of the death of the abbe, Barthélemy Boganda, first head of government of the Central African Republic, has been marked by a day of national mourning and recollection, as were previous anniversaries. It was on March 29, 1959, that Boganda, who founded and led the nationalist party MESAN (Mouvement pour l'Evolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noire) in the former Oubangui-Chari territory, was killed in an air crash while returning to Bangui from Berberati in the West.



Mr. Siaka Stevens speaking to trade union leaders at Parliament Building after the recent wave of strikes in Freetown. He emphasised that although the right to strike was established, these strikes, because the requisite 21 days notice had not been given, were illegal, and could not disrupt the economy at a difficult time. The Prime Minister also pointed out that in Sierra Leone the line between strike action and hooliganism was very thin.

It was Dizengoff, too, which put up the proposal, in 1963, for the Sierra Leone Cement Works. This was to crush clinker and it was claimed that the price of cement and it was claimed that the price of cement would therefore be reduced. In fact the world therefore is reduced. In fact the world price has soared. No alternative proposals were considered, and in the end the government guaranteed expenditure of Le 340,000. The company was never a success and very intricate new financial arrangements com-

GUINEA Call for Death Penalty

RADIO CONAKRY has described a mass meeting in Conakry at which "workers, soldiers, youth and women" demanded the death penalty for all plotters. There have been similar demonstrations organised daily in all the main towns of Guinea, says the radio, since the March 21 announcement of the arrest of two members of the government, Col. Kaman Diaby and M. Fodeba Keita, in connection with the plot uncovered several days earlier.

Commentators have observed a rising tone of drama in Guinean broadcasts. Militants have been urged to eschew sentimentalism and have no pity for those who are at their feet. "This is the time for are at their feet." (According to the correspondent of the French left-wing *Combat*, Col. Kaman Diaby, who was the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Guinea Army, may already have been shot.)

Another broadcast claims that the French have been training riflemen of Guinean origin in subversion at Rivesaltes in the Pyrenees, one of the "concentration points" of mercenaries. One of these "shady individuals" had been arrested with a card marked "OSCG, Centre de Formation Technique, Rivesaltes, France", and "Signature, CPT", which, according to the radio, stand for "Secret Organisation Against Guinea (OSCG) and Commander of Surtung Post (CPT)". It is also noted that Rivesaltes is the birthplace of Marshal Joffre, specialist in colonial wars in Tonkin, Soudan and Madagascar.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* notes that Rivesaltes was from 1962-4 a professional training centre for former *harkis* of the French army who had fought for the French in Algeria. It subsequently became a camp of the Mobilisation Centre 124 of the French Army.

● Guinea's new Ambassador to the UN, M. Abdoulaye Touré, has presented his credentials to U Thant, he replaces M. Achkar Marof, who was recalled in mysterious circumstances last autumn, and subsequently arrested for plotting against the regime.

● The administrative council of the newly constituted Guinea Bauxite Company (CBG) held a meeting at Boké at the end of March. The Guinea Government, which has a 49 per cent. interest in the company, was represented at the meeting by M. Ismael Touré, Minister for the Economy. The international companies participating in the CBG are Harvey Aluminium, Alcoa, Ugine-Kuhlmann, Pechiney, Alcan Aluminium, Vreemig Aluminium, and Montecatini Edison.

● A "delegation of solidarity" from the Mauritanian government and the ruling party (PPM) has been in Conakry.

CHAD

The enquiry into the murder of M. Emmanuel Vergès, Procurator of Chad, has ended. A communiqué from the Presidency, summarising the results, says the murderer, Jean-Christophe Nadour (who committed suicide after the act) was a recidivist embezzler of public funds, and policemen who guarded and searched him did not prevent him carrying a gun when he went to

the Palace of Justice to answer a charge of falsifying a signature; there had been no search of his person at the Palace. When Nadour opened fire, says the communiqué, no policeman drew a gun, and two fled. Eight policemen have been charged with manslaughter and failure to bring help to a person in danger.

President Tombalbaye himself conducted the funeral of M. Vergès, who was killed on Feb. 6.

● The political bureau of the Chad Progressive Party (PPT) has spoken of "squandering of public funds" and promised severe punishment. A communiqué from the Presidency has alleged that the head of the family allowance service embezzled a large sum. The political bureau is to launch a "Chadian cultural revolution."

SENEGAL

There was a lull in the schools crisis over the Easter break, as the schools and universities were scheduled to be on holiday anyway. Up to just before Easter the strike of Dakar lycées remained effective, with pupils ignoring a plea from the parents' organisation to abandon the strike. Some schools in the provinces, such as the lycée at Louga, has reportedly returned to work. At the university about 1,250 Senegalese students were on strike but some foreign students were reportedly attending lectures. In a speech on National Day (April 4) President Senghor said that behind the agitation in educational circles should be seen "an attempt at subversion telegraphed from abroad" (speech reported fully in next week's issue).

The pro-government organisation of Senegalese businessmen known as COFEGES has issued a statement saying the current strikes threaten the future of Senegal: "every passing hour confirms that a conspiracy is attempting to create a situation of national disorder, even of panic, which would favour all intrigues". The statement, which was broadcast, linked the strikes with "a handful of anti-nationalists full of ambition, who are trying to restart the operation that failed in May 1968." The statement appealed to students "doubtless blinded by lying anti-national propaganda" to return to their studies, and called on COFEGES members to boycott the "subversive movement" by taking their children to school themselves.

UNIGES, a rival organisation of Senegalese businessmen set up after the May troubles last year and independent of the government (COFEGES was inspired by the government because it believed UNIGES was unsympathetic; various attempts to unite the two bodies have so far proved unsuccessful), has also issued a statement. This calls on the authorities to work unceasingly for a dialogue between "pupils, parents, workers and businessmen" with the greatest understanding. The organisation offers all resources at its disposal to help resolve the schools crisis.

● National Youth Week, which was to have been held from April 4 to 11, and for which preparations had been made on a scale larger than in previous years has been cancelled because of the crisis.

● The National Assembly has adopted laws related to the declaration of a state of emergency and a state of siege, as well as on the control of the import of "foreign political propaganda material."

CONGO-K Mobutu and de Gaulle

President Mobutu is holidaying in after paying visits to Greece, West Germany and France. In Paris he had his meeting with President de Gaulle, who he said that although he had not been to Africa for 10 years, his understanding of African problems was very good. President Mobutu also said at the end of his visit "there remain no misunderstandings between our two countries. General de Gaulle has laid special emphasis on Congo's relations with its francophone neighbours. He indicated the attitude which a country as important as ours should adopt. He is right a thousand times, it is up to the Congo to prove its gratitude to show that it is magnanimous."

President Mobutu has been invited to pay an official visit to France in autumn.

● The late President Kasavubu was given a State funeral in Minshasa and a day of mourning was declared. Thousands of people lined the streets for the funeral.

CONGO-B

The prime minister of Congo-Brazzaville, Cdt Alfred Raoul, has called on the French prime minister, M. Couve Murville, at his official residence in Paris. Later he met M. Yvon Bourges, Secretary of State in charge of Cooperation in former High Commissioner for French Equatorial Africa, based in Brazzaville.

● France and Congo-B have signed an agreement on French aid for "five projects" including a study of forest resources in the Ouessou region, a hospital at Moussou, and supply of material for measures against major disease.

IN BRIEF

President Tubman has announced that the ministerial meeting and summit of the 14-nation West African Regional Grouping have been put off until towards the end of the year, at the request of the French-speaking states. The ministerial meeting was to have been held in Monrovia in March, and the summit in Ouagadougou in April (one reason for the postponement is the current tension within the Senegal States Organisation—OERS—arising from Guinea's accusations against unspecified neighbours, which led to the cancellation of an extraordinary summit of OERS scheduled for Conakry on March 27).

● Portuguese Prime Minister Caetano is visiting the "Overseas Territories" of Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. He will leave Lisbon on April 14 and return on April 21. Former Premier Salazar never made the visit in all his thirty-six years of office.

● The funds of the Union of Central African States (UEAC) which have been blocked in banks in Central African Republic (CAR) following that country's withdrawal from the grouping, have been freed. M. Abdoul Boukar, UEAC's Chad Secretary-General, making the announcement in Kinshasa, said that the UEAC building in Bangui had been put at the disposal of UEAC, the grouping which CAR rejoined.

dateline Africa

NIGERIA

Federal Forces Near Umuahia

BIAFRAN evacuation of Umuahia began about April 4 in face of the Federal attack, said a report in the French paper *Le Figaro*, adding that many children were being taken to the Uli airstrip for evaluation and an order for evacuation of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Umuahia had been given. In the next few days further Federal advances were reported. A bulletin issued in Lagos on April 8 said the railway centre of Nzu, a mile south of Uzuakoli on the road to the Biafran headquarters town, had been captured by Federal forces, and the advance of the First Division southwards from Alikpo and Okigwi was progressing "very satisfactorily." It was suggested the Federal forces were advancing towards Bendu (east of Umuahia) and moving to cut off Umuahia from Orlu, rather than moving on Umuahia.

Earlier the Biafrans had claimed to have recaptured Uzuakoli, this was quickly denied in Lagos (where the BBC was criticised for reporting the Biafran claim on April 5). The Federal capture of Uzuakoli had been claimed on April 2.

Four Federal jet aircraft raided Umuahia, an administrative centre five miles east of Umuahia, on April 8, according to Biafran sources; three people were killed and 21 wounded. At the same time Dr. Eke, Biafran Information Commissioner, dismissed reports that Umuahia was being evacuated. The capture of Nzu, it was claimed in Nigeria, put Umuahia within range of Federal artillery bombardment, which was said to have started. Lagos reports spoke of people fleeing Umuahia and children being flown to Gabon.

Col. Muhammadu Shuwa, commander of First Division, said Umuahia was not important; what mattered was to take the Uli airstrip and split the rebel forces. It was suggested that the Biafran headquarters might move to Orlu, 36 miles north-west of Umuahia.

Le Figaro's report said deliveries of supplies to Uli airstrip had increased recently. Having waited for most of one night on the runway, the paper's correspondent reported: "In three hours I saw some 40 four-engined planes put their landing lights on briefly and land with a squeal of brakes." Though many aircraft brought relief supplies, he was told that the hold-up of military supplies had ended, after some French-speaking "observers" had been told in Biafra that unless the arms airlift was resumed soon it would be the end of Biafra. But he reported Biafran authorities had met previously, "barely concealed their anger with Paris".

This same report, and others, say that the Biafrans moved many troops from Umuahia to Owerri for the recapture of the city, which they believed they could certainly bring about, after besieging the Federal garrison here for several weeks; but then, when the moving of troops became known, the new Federal advance on Umuahia began, and troops were rallied to defend Umuahia (*Le Figaro's* report says they stopped the Nigerians "only seven miles from the town").

At the time of going to press, the Biafrans were claiming advances north of Uzuakoli, towards Ovim, and some gains in the Owerri area, while reports from Gabon suggested that no general evacuation of children to that country, or of other people from Umuahia, had started by this week. But correspondents were now allowed on to the Federal side, and reported that Uzuakoli was firmly in Nigerian hands (there had been a brief and unsuccessful counter attack), while field guns were being moved up to shell Umuahia. There were Biafran ambushes reported behind the Federal front lines. The Biafrans were now reported to be gathering forces at Nkwere.

A correspondent writes:

Nobody, not even the most ebullient Federal spokesman, could any longer refer to any Federal attack as "the last push." But Biafra has now shrunk to an area some 100 miles long and 40 miles wide, so the present attack ought to qualify for the title. Public expectations in Nigeria are insistent, supplies, even of ammunition, have been built up in the months of relative inactivity. There is some evidence that there has been a falling off in French supplies of arms to Biafra, although the food situation is better.

Moreover, whatever the truth of allegations that the soldiers are not as keen on a quick finish as the civilians are, the three Federal divisions cannot be expected indefinitely to put up with persistent Biafran harassment.

There are other indications that what we are now witnessing is a major push.

For example, last January Brigadier Hassan Katsina, Army Chief of Staff, for the first time held a conference in the field—at Benin—with the three divisional commanders. It was widely assumed that the conference planned a strategy for the final push—perhaps cutting Biafra in two by the joining of the First and Third Nigeria Divisions, while the Second, the least effective, pinned down Biafran forces in the West. In such a strategy the actual taking of the Biafran capital of Umuahia would be less important than cutting Umuahia off from the busy airfield at Uli, to the West. In any case the taking of Umuahia, apart from any military consideration, might mean serious civilian casualties of the kind which General Gowon has been anxious to avoid. It is possible, too, that the Biafran administration, the real object of Federal attention, is moving to Orlu, which is much nearer the Uli airstrip, leaving Umuahia with its throngs of civilians as an "open city".

The Benin conference also probably decided that co-ordination among the three divisions, minimal at the time, must be greatly improved—a decision which, because the participants have attempted to carry it out completely, may have delayed things.

Another clue to Federal intention is the position of Owerri, which has been for many weeks under heavy Biafran attack, with the Federal garrison sometimes virtually encircled. But Colonel Adekunle, the Third Division Commander, has evidently not been prepared to divert to the relief of Owerri the necessary troops, since that would divert them from the attempt to link his division with the First Division to the North. The Biafrans, on the other hand, may well have exhausted their strength, at any rate in supplies, through their constant harassment of Federal forces in recent months and particularly by the Owerri operation.

There was some doubt at the time of going to press about the coming meeting

of the OAU Consultative Committee in Nigeria, due to be held in Monrovia on April 17-18. After the downfall of General Ankrah, chairman of the Ghana NLC and a member of the Committee, it was uncertain what the Ghanaian attitude to the meeting would be, in view of General Ankrah's own personal involvement in various peace efforts, including the OAU Com-



A woman shows her store of yams at Ahakalki, which was a centre for yam storage when it was captured by Federal forces last year, and escaped the starvation which hit much of the war zone.

mittee. But President Ahidjo of Cameroon was due to visit Liberia from April 9 to 11 for talks with President Tubman (both are members of the Committee), and it was reported that President Mofutu intends to go to Monrovia afterwards.

According to an AFP report, Mr. Wilson and President Hamani Diori discussed the possibility of Col. Ojukwu and Gen. Gowon meeting in Monrovia during the OAU Committee's meeting. The same report says President Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast might be invited and might bring Col. Ojukwu with him in his own aircraft. There is no confirmation of any of these theories.

Mr. Wilson suggested in answer to a Commons question on his return that new attempts to arrange a meeting with Col. Ojukwu should involve direct communication with him, and he (Wilson) thought the best place would be the Monrovia meeting. He said he had put President Tubman in the picture, and added this meeting would be best "to carry on what was said by Gen. Gowon". (In Addis Ababa he met the OAU Secretary, Gen. M. Diallo Telli; an OAU statement on their talks dealt mainly with Rhodesia but mentioned Nigeria.

Mr. Wilson told the House of Commons he had received assurance from the Federal Government that it was prepared for unconditional talks on a settlement (though it will accept nothing less than Nigerian unity; that it stands by its guarantees to the Ibo and is prepared to offer more; and that it would facilitate relief supplies for war areas and would consider all possible means to import them. On the air raids, he spoke to General Gowon of the House's concern at raids on civilians; he said he accepted General Gowon's determination to avoid these, but had expressed doubts about the adequacy of control and of some people involved in air operations.

In Ibadan, the *Nigerian Tribune* reported that Mr. Lateef Jakande, its managing

NIGERIA—continued

director, has been detained by police. (The newspaper has called for a return to civilian rule.) It said Mr. Jakande (sole African member of the International Press Institute executive), was detained by Lagos police on April 2 and taken to an unknown destination at the weekend.

Mr. Jakande is a prominent Lagos member of the former Action Group, gaoled with Chiefs Awolowo and Enahoro, and is head of the John West publishing group.

● The Nigerian Federal leader, Maj.-Gen. Yakubu Gowon, is to marry on Saturday of next week the nurse to whom he announced his engagement six months ago. She is Miss Victoria Zakari, daughter of a senior civil servant in Northern Nigeria.

● President Zinsou of Dahomey, at a mass meeting in Porto Novo, said that, since the "agitation" which recently occurred was connected with difficulties on the Dahomean-Nigerian border, and since these difficulties followed the establishment of the Red Cross airlift to Biafra from Cotonou, "I wish people to know that as long as I remain the Supreme Head of this country nothing will be done . . . to compromise the brotherly and friendly relations between Dahomey and Nigeria." As far as the war was concerned, the attitude of the Dahomey Government and his own attitude were known. He said: "I have always affirmed that we are against secession. I have also affirmed that, while we are for the integrity of Nigeria, we are at the same time against war."

● Both Gen. Gowon and Col. Ojukwu have sent messages of good wishes to Brig. Afrifa, the new chairman of the Ghana National Liberation Council. Col. Ojukwu's said Biafra counted on outside support for its right to self-determination.

● The USSR is reported to have asked the Federal Government for permission to open consulates in the 11 states of the Federation outside Lagos.

● A 30-year-old Martiniquaise, Mlle. Francine Lecomte, burnt herself to death last Sunday in Avenue Kleber, near the Nigerian Embassy, in Paris. Newspaper cuttings about Biafra were found on her body, and it was thought she was protesting about the Nigerian war. She had a psychiatric record, and, according to her family, had been very preoccupied with Biafra.

● The US Government has made a diplomatic protest to the Federal Government against reported bombing of civilians in Biafra.

Corporations Commission

● The Federal Government has established a Statutory Corporations Service Commission with effect from April 1. Mr. Nathaniel Ade Martins, formerly Nigeria's Ambassador to Guinea, Liberia and the USA, has been appointed Chairman. This Commission is one result of the Ani Report, which also recommended salary cuts on public corporations, and whose proposals all took force on April 1.

Other members of the Commission are Chief Titus O. Ejiwunmi, Alhaji Dr. Abubakar Imam, Mr. Joseph O. Atuona, and

Mr. Felix A. Ogisi. All are appointed three years.

There were many union protests against the salary cuts ordered by the Government in accordance with the Ani report. Among the bodies affected are the Railway Corporation, the Ports Authority, the Broadcasting Corporation and the National Shipping Line.

Alhaji Musa Daggash has been appointed Chairman of the Corporation's Standards Tenders Board, also for three years.

● The report of Mr. Justice Ayoola's commission of enquiry into the Western State tax riots has been presented to Brig. Adeniyi, Governor of the State.

● The Adebisi tribunal, probing the case of six LEED officers, has adjourned for the Easter holidays and has now resumed. Before it adjourned, it heard evidence of the erstwhile deputy chairman of the board, Mr. Ben Sutherland. (The report in last week's issue that this tribunal had completed its hearings was incorrect.)

LONDON

● Two British reporters who have covered the Nigerian war, particularly from the Biafran side, in the past few months have received IPC awards. Walter Partridge of the *Daily Express* was named International Reporter of the Year and Michael Leapor of *The Sun* as Campaigning Journalist of the Year.

● An Easter dance is being held at the Africa Centre, King Street, on Saturday April 12, by the newly formed All-Africa Women's Association, in aid of the Commonwealth Students' Children's Society.



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