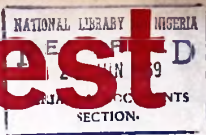


West Africa



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Making Relief Work

THE reported agreement for river transport of relief supplies to Biafran-held territory (see page 725) is a success for those who have patiently pressed for a land or water corridor as the only satisfactory way to ensure the success of adequate relief supplies to the secessionist areas. The statement that daylight flights would also be allowed is still hedged around with conditions and ambiguities, but it is clear that this, too, is an area where influence from international quarters can be exerted on the secessionists. If daylight flights to Uli are to be allowed, even temporarily, this is a step towards separating the relief effort, as far as is possible, from the military operations. We have yet to see how any such operations will work in action, however, especially in view of the deterioration in the relief position which has been a disturbing factor of the past few weeks.

It was always likely that the Federal Nigerian authorities would decide that they could no longer tolerate some of their relief operations to the secessionist areas. These have grown from a trickle to the point where Uli is the second busiest airport in Africa. When the Federal Government originally, in Nov. 1967, gave permission to the International Red Cross to fly relief into Biafra, it did not envisage the possibility that war would still be raging 20 months later, or that the relief operation would become so vast.

The original permission, which was for daylight flights, for so long, though with considerable Federal reservations, extended *de facto* to night flights. The official Nigerian position, however, has always been that flights should be made by day (the aircraft shot down in daylight two weeks ago appears to have rejected a request to land for inspection); then it would be easier for the Federal air-force to distinguish gun-runners from relief aircraft. Those flying by night have been told that they must take the risk of receiving the treatment intended for gun runners.

In spite of the justifiable conviction on the Federal side, however, that relief was one of the main factors sustaining Biafran resistance, the Federal authorities have never been ready, on the ground

that this was the way speedily to end the war, to clamp down on flights altogether—even if it could be argued that a quick end to the war, whatever suffering this meant, was the most humane course in the long run. The result has been that Nigeria has to some extent had the worst of both worlds—Biafra has had the relief but Nigeria has had no credit, certainly not among Ibos, for permitting it.

The Red Cross and other agencies have been active on the Federal side, too, and this has been, no doubt, one reason why the Federal authorities have permitted relief for Biafra to continue. But all the time the Federal Government and many people outside have been urging the need for land corridors, as well as daylight flights, and until this week Col. Ojukwu had only made counter proposals which were considered by Nigeria to be politico-military manoeuvring.

From a distance the Federal Government appears to have behaved with much restraint in permitting, and in some degree assisting, an operation without parallel in history. The present quarrel with Dr. Lindt (an article on the subject appears on page 702) is merely a delayed reaction to a long period of frustration. Sometimes Red Cross personnel have allowed their enthusiasm for their work to make seem that they had insufficient respect for Nigerian (and Equatorial Guinean) sovereignty: even in Biafra it is said that they do not operate as tactfully as the churchmen, many of whom have had long experience in Nigeria. The Federal Government may also feel that a reply is needed to the air-raids on Federal targets by Count von Rosen and his colleagues who, in some Nigerian eyes, seem to personify the accusation that relief may be involved with arms supply.

Contrasts are drawn between Federal toleration of relief for Biafra and the very different policy of the allies against Nazi Germany in the 1939-45 war. But there should be no analogy. The Allies were faced with a major industrialised power, which had planned and prepared for war for years. The Federal Government is faced with a rebellion which, remarkable though resistance has been, is officially regarded as the responsibility of a small group, misleading and coercing



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millions of innocent people. Let the Federal Government should these people to escape from the quences of the policy of their rulers, for Ibos have to be rene as full citizens of the Federation was never any question of the being welcomed as citizens of France. The resistance of an im powerful enemy like Germany broken only by the most measures. To break the resista small rebel area should require ruthlessness, which might only later task of reintegration more

For the sake of future relations the Ibos, relief operations should on, even if it is true, as Dr Ferguson. Mr. Nixon's special represent recently said, that "to the extent civilians are fed with relief supplies relieves a certain charge on supply the military". The prompt acceptance of the supply route by into Biafra, shows the sincere Federal intentions, and as Sir Brooke of Massachusetts told Foreign Relations Committee of US Senate, it would not be heros Biafra's leaders to take million innocent people to their deaths

It is, in any case, the arms which are the main Federal cor. The virtual suspension of relief may have little immediate result of war, even if Col. Ojukwu was gerating when he said this month Biafra, after the rains, could now forward to a "period of compa plenty". So it is to be hoped that or without the ICRC, the Federal Government will enable relief oper preferably on land or water to Bia continue—and get credit for it—concentrate on the gun runners.

Red Cross in Trouble

By a correspondent

DR AUGUST LINDT, the of co-ordinating ICRC relief work both sides in the Nigerian war, declared *persona non grata* by Federal Government on June 1. A time, Dr. Lindt was in Moscow wrap up his affairs as Swiss ambassador. Federal Government said the IC work in Nigeria was under review.

Dr. Okoi Arikpo, External Affairs Commissioner, said Dr. Lindt dece airport authorities about a flight Lagos, falsely told Dahomey that Ni would allow relief flights from Coto spent more time in Biafra than in La and "acted in many respects as il assignment was to bring relief to rebels to sustain their rebellion". ICRC rejected the last two char saying that Dr. Lindt had been scroulously impartial throughout, and pilot had responsibility for seeing the criticised flight was in order. Arikpo said nothing had been d about a promise to hand over IC

work in Federal-held territory to the Nigerian Red Cross, and Dr. Lindt had made an improper statement about the Biafran determination to resist.

ICRC operations in Federal territory have gone on undisturbed, but their flights from Cotonou and Santa Isabel had been suspended at the time of going to press, soon after being resumed. At first the reason was said to be mechanical trouble, but then it was said guarantees were being sought. Mr. George Hoffman, ICRC delegate-general for Africa, has been in Lagos.

After heavy air raids on Uli airstrips last week, Nigeria claimed the destruction of two DC3's on the night of June 12, saying they were gun-runners; the relief agencies said none of their aircraft were hit. Only one Joint Church Aid aircraft from São Tomé landed there on June 15; then all those flights, too, were suspended, except for one which JCA hoped to send every night with medical supplies. Some reports say Nigeria is using radar, perhaps that of a Soviet ship at sea (first reported in March). JCA, like the Red Cross, said it wanted guarantees for the safety of flights, vital for the feeding of hundreds of thousands of displaced people in secessionist areas. It warned that the consequences of prevention of flights could be "pretty ghastly"; JCA only had stocks for three or four days, and in a few weeks there might be a famine like last year's.

Appointed in July 1968, Dr. Lindt was called Commissioner General of the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) for West Africa, his job has been to co-ordinate the Committee's relief on both sides.

The Nigerian Red Cross was working behind the Federal lines from an early stage in the war, with supplies and personnel from abroad. The ICRC, based in Geneva, was involved from an early stage, but particularly after the mid-1968 food crisis. Since then military observers and others have reported generally good relations between the ICRC's representatives, other relief workers, and the civilian and military authorities in these areas. There has been some local friction, but relatively little, and last January the ICRC was allowed its own berth in Lagos.

The problem of relief in Biafran-held territory was already serious in November 1967, when the ICRC asked for, and obtained, Federal permission to fly relief by day to Biafra. This permission (expressed by a bombing halt) was soon withdrawn; then the Red Cross flew in food at night from Fernando Po—not in great quantities at this stage. It was generally assumed then that the flights had full Federal permission.

The Red Cross efforts on this side achieved more publicity after May last year, when a mass exodus from Port Harcourt and other areas caused a collapse in the Biafran refugee relief organisation and the great famine with which, it was clear, no airlift could cope. The ICRC,

like others helping relief work, hoped for agreement between the two sides on transport of aid to the secessionist area, discussions were held on this at the Niamey and Addis Ababa talks and elsewhere. The resulting impasse made the Red Cross's position delicate because of its limited role in civil wars.

The four Geneva Conventions of 1949 regulate the conduct of war, and relief operations in war, in minute detail with regard to interstate conflicts. But only one article in each of them (Article 3) covers internal conflicts, this gives the ICRC only one right to offer its services to both sides in such a conflict. Each is at liberty to refuse the services or to tell the ICRC to leave.

The ICRC seems, according to expert legal opinion, to be within its right in trying to make relief arrangements with Biafra. It is allowed to try this with



Dr. Lindt—Lagos accusations denied.

any side wielding *de facto* authority in an internal conflict, regardless of legal status—as it must be if it is to operate in a civil war, the essence of which is that one side contests the other's legality.

Biafra, but not Nigeria, agreed publicly to night relief flights. According to legal opinion, the Federal Government would, if it wished, have only a dubious right, if any, to stop the ICRC carrying out an agreement with the Biafrans for relief confined to secessionist held territory. There may be room for legal dispute on this; but in practice Nigeria may never have wished to stop relief flights.

Gen. Gowon's regime has been caught between its desire to see suffering relieved on both sides and its desire to prosecute the war. These have been difficult to reconcile, especially since last September, when the Federal advance was halted, partly, it is thought, by a massive airlift of arms. That same month, the ICRC began a greatly increased food airlift from Fernando Po. After September there was only one Biafran airstrip in normal use (Uli), so that the Nigerian authorities could not guarantee to leave relief flights unmolested without giving a similar guarantee, in effect, to other aircraft, some of which carried arms.

In November, when night air raids on Uli made the problem more acute, Chief Enahoro said the Red Cross could go on flying in "at its own risk". This seems to have been the Federal line

since September. Dr. Lindt remained throughout on close terms with the Federal Government, which knew about the flights from Fernando Po and, after the crisis with the Macias Government in January, from Dahomey. (On the agreement allowing ICRC to fly from Cotonou the Red Cross, in its reply to the Nigerian accusations against Dr. Lindt, says the previous "at your own risk" consent was repeated on Feb. 28.)

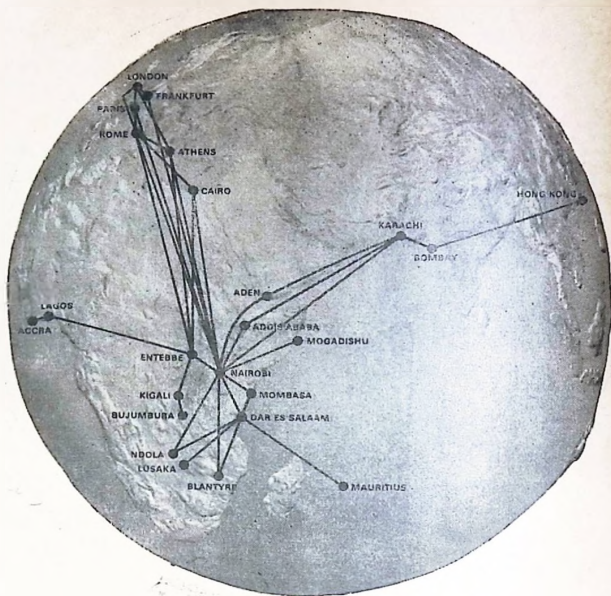
The Red Cross has said (to the anger of the Biafrans) that it gave details of its flights to the Federal authorities to help them avoid shooting down aircraft, and no ICRC aircraft was shot down until June 5. Whatever the arrangement, increasing amounts of protein went in; up to 300 tons, a night in April from both the Red Cross and the Churches.

Many Nigerians have thought the airlift was helping Biafra militarily. Some say the Red Cross was flying in military supplies (a charge for which no proof was offered); others, that it paid foreign exchange to the Biafrans (it apparently did, with reluctance; it has also contributed to Nigerian foreign exchange reserves). Each side had accused the Red Cross of spying for the other. ICRC workers are also accused of partiality to Biafra (a charge probably true of some, but not of August Lindt).

The ICRC is accused of letting itself be used to help Biafra by the mixing of relief and arms aircraft at night, which has not stopped all attacks on night-flying aircraft (there have been repeated night raids on Uli), but may be thought to have restricted them. There can be no certainty on this, but many Nigerians accuse their Government of deliberately tolerating night flights.

These criticisms, owing perhaps to frustration over the war, flared up recently, even before the incident where Dr. Lindt was arrested at Lagos Airport, accused of falsely saying he had special permission to fly to Cotonou. The shooting down of a Red Cross aircraft may have been due to some change in policy.

If the ICRC's work in Nigeria was threatened, the results would be serious even though Nigeria is in contact with the outside world and its money and food, and the Nigerian Red Cross and the Rehabilitation Commission have wide resources. Figures issued by the ICRC say it has been feeding a million people in Federally held areas, as well as all POWs and war patients in hospital. It had, last month, about 1,300 employees in these areas (232 of them expatriates); it runs regular goods flights to Port Harcourt, five of its ships take food from Lagos to Calabari. It helps Federal prison authorities in caring for POWs, it helps people trace relatives on the other side and send family messages. Four hundred and thirty-seven Red Cross lorries carry food of all sorts. The expense of all this (8.5M. Swiss francs a month on the Federal side, compared with 5.5m. on the other side) has been bearable partly because of the ICRC's resources.



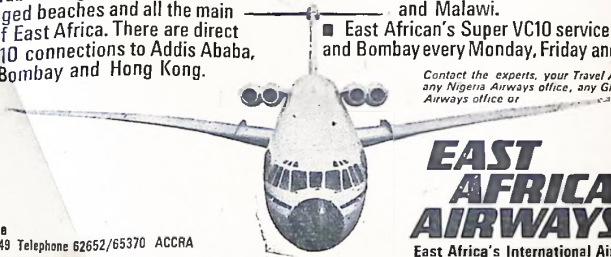
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GHANA

The State of Local Government : 1

By a correspondent

"Local government in Ghana is at present in a state of chaos: the reputation of local authorities has reached its nadir. . . . Local authority administration is associated in the public mind rightly or wrongly with financial irregularities, incompetence, nepotism and waste; and there is understandably a strong body of opinion in favour of the total abolition of local government."

THESE hard-hitting words at the beginning of part III of the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Electoral and Local Government Reform, headed by Mr. J. B. Siriboe, are not chosen lightly, and reflect the sad state into which democratic local government has fallen in the twenty years since it was introduced. One uses the word "democratic", because democracy was the intention (and, says the report, should still be the intention) back in 1947, when a new policy towards African administration was introduced by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones. In the "programmes of political, social and economic advancement on which we have now embarked," he said, he believed the key to success lay in the development of an "efficient and democratic system of local government . . . local because the system of government must be close to the common people and their problems; efficient because it must be capable of managing the local services in a way which will help to raise the standard of living; and democratic because it must not only find a place for the growing class of educated men, but at the same time command the respect and support of the mass of the people."

Blend of British and traditional

These words are almost taken as the text for the report, although it stresses right at the beginning that local government in Ghana was not "an innovation introduced under the British", as the basic functions—maintenance of law and order and provision of basic communal amenities—were inherent in "the ancient institution of chieftancy". The British policy of indirect rule was seen in the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance which operated between 1878 and 1947, and aimed at providing a statutory basis for the exercise of local government functions by chiefs; and for such modifications and adaptations as might be needed.

With the changed British policy of 1947, and the plan to introduce a "democratic" element, the Coussey Committee on Constitutional Reform in 1948 was charged with submitted detailed proposals

* Published Accra 1969, price 40 new pesewas.

on the matter. Finding that the Native Authorities through which local government had been carried on were restrictive in membership, old-fashioned in procedure and inadequate in finance and staff, the Committee recommended a blending of the British local government system and the traditional pattern.

This system provided for the establishment of district councils, covering areas with a population of between 100,000 and 200,000, as the main unit exercising purely local government functions, as well as urban councils with more limited power for urban areas, and local councils; for areas of smaller population. Coussey also proposed that the central government should, to the maximum possible degree, decentralise powers to regional administrations, in the nine regions, which had already been envisaged by the earlier Watson Commission.

Following Coussey as many as 26 District Councils, with populations of 26,000 to 188,000, and 252 urban and local councils with populations from 1,000 to 71,000 were set up and it was soon clear that the government had not considered the factors which should have been taken into account in establishing viable local government units. Difficulties of finance crop up again and again in considerations of local government, and many of the smaller local authorities set up at that time were living solely on the government and Cocoa Marketing Board grants, while "district councils were largely ineffective except in the former Northern Territories."

The Greenwood Commission of 1956, appointed to review the structure of local authorities with a view to reducing their number, cut the total to seventy, and abolished the system whereby urban and local councils were responsible to the larger district councils. By 1962, however, political pressure from Regional Commissioners, and "other functionaries of the banned Convention Peoples' Party (CPP)" led to the arbitrary increase in number of councils to 155 "without consulting the wishes of the people and without taking into account the need to have units which would be economically viable and geographically convenient."

Recommendations ignored

At the peak of the local government pyramid stand the regions, at present run by Committees of Administration each headed by a military man who is directly responsible to the NLC. The report examines the question of the regions, noting that the need to establish regional representative organs was appreciated by all the pre-independence constitutional commissions, but their recommendations for devolution of functions were not implemented because

of the aims of the CPP. The Phillipson Commission of 1951 did not, however, accord the same degree of importance to regional administration as Watson and Coussey, but it did say that an elected regional council "having a strong executive committee with a regional administrative machinery to which the central government would devolve powers in a suitable manner" was needed. Sir Frederick Bourne and the Achimota conference which considered his proposals, also backed the creation of regional representative organs, and the Independence Constitution, "reflecting as it did the compromise between advocates of federalism and the unitary form of government, consequently provided for the establishment of regional assemblies, in some of its entrenched clauses".

Assemblies abolished

The Van Lare Commission subsequently worked out the structure and functions of these assemblies, their source of revenue and relations with the central government, but these were rejected as "wasteful, cumbersome and altogether unsound administratively", introducing into the local government structure another tier "where would be exercised powers and functions which have normally been exercised by local authorities". The government considered in any case that the main role of the assemblies should be advisory, and abolished them completely in 1958, a few months after they had been established.

Where Coussey had favoured maximum decentralisation to the regions, who should act as agents of the central government in matters affecting more than one region, such as aviation, transport, posts and telecommunications and police matters, Phillipson gave prominence to only the deliberative and consultative functions of the regional councils, with allocation of a wide but not all-embracing range of legislatively conferred power relating to the creation, coordination, supervision and support of local authorities. Van Lare gave wide-ranging powers to the regions, but Van Lare was rejected.

None of the commissions "even in the days of economic prosperity" favoured regional direct or indirect taxation, however; they wanted to be financed by subventions from the central government in the form of grants to cover administrative expenses, special grants for specified national projects and general grants for disbursement to local authorities for their specific local functions, as well as grants from public boards and corporations such as the Cocoa Marketing Board.

(To be continued next week)

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Seven More Years for Tombalbaye

TO accept to run his country's affairs for another seven years must surely require a strong sense of duty and considerable courage on the part of M. François Tombalbaye. It has undoubtedly been an uphill struggle for him during the ten years he has held office in Chad, one of the largest countries of Africa, but certainly not any way near being one of its richest or most peaceful. Internal strife, underdevelopment, difficult foreign relations, all these in different ways made President Tombalbaye hesitate to stand for office again. "I was tempted to leave the political scene," he stated recently, "and to taste at last the sweet things of private life." He resisted this temptation, and now finds himself charged with continuing the task he has been carrying out with determination.

A landlocked territory of enormous size, much of it desert and semi-desert. Chad is sparsely populated (with fewer than eight inhabitants per square mile), and has enormous communications difficulties to overcome. Like so many other countries of Africa, Chad is torn by the struggle between North and South. In the North live nomadic tribes of Moslem faith who are at continual variance with the distant central government in Fort Lamy. In the South live African animists and Christians (President Tombalbaye himself a Christian). In the east and south-east aggressive and very mobile gangs of bandits roam the countryside, and as a result traffic has had to be organised in convoys. At times relations with neighbouring Sudan have been impaired by the bandits' activities.

The main occupations of Chadians are agriculture, cattle rearing and fishing. Cotton is the country's principal export, and a record production is currently expected. The fall in world cotton prices, however, threatens to have disastrous results for Chad, at a moment when the renewal of the Yaoundé Convention, which helped to relieve France of its support of cotton prices in Chad, is being negotiated.

Nigeria is Chad's principal customer for cattle, sheep and goats. Commercial relations between the two countries have bordered on the lawless, with private trade and exchanges taking place outside the control of the state. To bring order into these relations, economic negotiations took place in May with a view to ending the clandestine trade which deprives the state of important sources of revenue. These negotiations, which also dealt with road transport, are to be followed by talks on an air agreement.

Chad is, of course, dependent to an important degree on Nigerian rail links, but it has no railways of its own. At the beginning of this year Chad proposed a trans-African rail link joining Nigeria and the Sudan. This will no doubt have to await the return to normal conditions in Nigeria. Presumably the Trans-Camerounian railway which is slowly being built in the direction of Chad and

the Central African Republic would link up with this scheme. Another plan, which has a rather long-term look about it, concerns Libya. Last February, Chad signed an agreement under which Libya will provide special facilities at one of her ports on the Mediterranean for the transit of Chad exports and imports. The Chad government is obviously very conscious of the importance of transport to the future of the country. A reminder—not altogether a minor one—was the blocking a few months ago of road links by the authorities of the Central African Republic. After severing its bonds with the Central African Customs and Economic Union, and setting up a Union with Congo Kinshasa and the Central African Republic, Chad became involved in a quarrel with the latter country. Fortunately agreement was reached and the lorries were again able to move across the frontiers.



No "sweet things of private life" for Tombalbaye.

President Tombalbaye has been able to survive these many strains and stresses largely through the support the French government has given him in the financial, military, and other spheres. Fort Lamy remains an important French air base. As recently as last April, France, at the request of President Tombalbaye, sent reinforcements of 260 well-trained soldiers. These have already managed to restore order in troubled areas. The French government is also helping Chad to reorganise its army as well as the civil service. As far as trade is concerned, France buys one-third of Chad's exports, and supplies nearly a third of her imports. Chad's revised five-year plan will cost 26,000m. CFA francs of this, France alone will provide 6,000m., and the European Common Market over 8,000m. (the Chad exchequer and private investments will provide about 7,000m. CFA francs). It is no wonder that President Tombalbaye is keenly interested in the outcome of the negotiations of the Yaoundé Convention on the one hand—and that, on the other hand, he stated a few months ago: "Our cultural language is French, our economy is predominantly French, the greatest proportion of the technical aid (we receive) is French. Healthy Franco-Chadian co-operation could thus not be other than fertile."

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600,000 Cows—but not enough

By a Correspondent

THIS week's international conference at Ahmadu Bello University on development of livestock in the drier parts of Northern Nigeria will cover goats, poultry and pigs, but, above all, cattle. For cattle have long been a major source of wealth in Northern Nigeria as in the rest of the savannah belt stretching from Mali and northern Ghana, through Upper Volta, Niger and northern Togo and Dahomey, to Chad and parts of Cameroon. Exports of cattle from these areas of plains and low uplands still form an important part of north-south trade. The populous coastal areas depend on the traffic for their meat, the poorer inland areas for a large part of their long-distance trade earnings and for coastal and imported food and consumer goods.

A study* of the cattle trade made for the Economic Commission for Africa by Professor Maurice de Young points out that traditional cattle marketing needs serious reform. Anyone who has seen herds of cattle, emaciated after journeys sometimes of hundreds of miles, arriving on the hoof from the northern grazing lands in the southern cities, can discern one good reason for change. Professor de Young quotes ECA estimates that, of 600,000 cattle now moved south yearly, natural death and emergency slaughter eliminate six per cent., while the rest lose 20 per cent of their weight in transit. The amount of this loss is particularly serious for Upper Volta, 21 per cent of whose commercialised production consists of meat; also for Niger and Chad (important supplies to Nigeria) and Mali. But the distances travelled by Voltaic cattle, to coastal areas between Ivory Coast and Lagos, are not as great as some distances travelled by cattle. Gabon has recently decided to buy cattle from Niger instead of from Chad, the distance to be covered remaining about 1,000 miles.

In some places modern transport helps. In Northern Nigeria, an area of more concentrated cattle (as well as human) population than other savannah areas, truck and rail traffic can handle some of the cattle sent south. Trucks are used in Ghana, and the railway in Ivory Coast. These modern means of transport are also important for meat as well as for live beasts, and some meat travels by air from the northern zones—where cattle are slaughtered by traditional village butchers (these sometimes form a traditional hereditary caste; in Muslim predominant areas formal slaughter by a marabout is customary), whose work is supplemented by the occasional modern slaughter house, as at Niamey.

Establishment of tinned beef factories in northern areas is one partial solution for the marketing problem, but Professor de Young recalls that the Bolgatanga



How can there be enough of them in 1975?

corned beef plant in Northern Ghana is working below capacity; so, he adds, is the factory at Bamako. (More successful is the NNDC's Kano cannery, not mentioned in Prof. de Young's study). Local processing can only fill part of the demand, partly, no doubt, because fresh meat is wanted in the south as well as tinned beef: large-scale refrigerated transport is, of course, needed for fresh meat.

Changes in both supplying and consuming areas make cattle marketing reforms necessary, says this study. In the consuming areas the rising urban population is having to turn partly to foreign sources for tinned meat. There

is a serious danger of a shortage of grasslands meat; by 1975, says Professor de Young, supply will be between 500,000 and 600,000 head, and demand will have risen to 800,000 to 900,000 head; and most consumers will still look to the hinterland for beef.

In the cattle-supplying areas, grazing is traditionally labour-saving and land-intensive. Herds, owned by Fulani nomads or sedentary peoples like the Mossis, are moved north soon after the start of the rains; after consuming what grass and water is to be had. There, they move south again. Grazing land is depleted, and in Upper Volta some of the better land is being used for production of millet, sorghum and other food. The same is thought likely to happen in Northern Nigeria.

The suggested solution to this problem includes transport improvements and an increase in the number of Zebu cows of productive age—to ensure more income from existing herds, more efficient use of water supplies and more milk for calves. "Failure to modernise the present system will mean stagnation of the beef industry at its present level," says Professor de Young, who adds that the problems should be tackled by member states of the ECA's West Africa sub-region (in international one), though this, one can assume, does not exclude national efforts such as this week's conference at Ahmadu Bello.

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MATCHET'S DIARY

LAST year Gen. Ojukwu's secession anniversary theme was the property-owning democracy and the welfare state established in Biafra: this year's speech to the Consultative Assembly was about the "Biafran revolution". He spoke of the setting up, in the near future, of a "national orientation college" to spearhead the inculcation of Biafran ideology and the principles of the revolution; principles, it must be said, which do not appear very revolutionary: hard work, adaptability, civic participation, creative thinking and an end to the exploitation of the countryside by the towns seem to be the main ones. Other plans which Gen. Ojukwu mentioned included a revision of the laws and the creation of a people's army: "Our military institutions have the stamp of their colonial and Nigerian origin . . . the new Biafran armed forces should therefore ensure unity and co-operation between officers and other ranks, between them and the people. They must rid themselves of . . . rigid class distinctions which are the hallmarks of an establishment army." He declared that the importance of the revolution was that Biafra's problems were fewer than the previous year and that Biafra could now fall only through inner weakness "because arms alone can no longer destroy us". Gen. Ojukwu admitted that resources are severely limited at the moment because of the war (caused by "collusion between the three traditional curses of the black man: racism, Arab Muslim expansionism and white economic imperialism") but said that resources would have been short in any case because of the wrong policies of the past. The unreality of the entire speech can be illustrated by one of his pledges: "Biafra will set great store by the purity of the air which its people breathe. We have a right to live in a clean pollution-free atmosphere." Since Biafra has relatively few vehicles and fewer industries, what pollution there is must be caused by gunsmoke.

Twenty years ago few names were better known in Ghana than that of Mr. Aiken Watson, K.C., who has just died at the age of 72. He was chairman of the commission appointed by the Colonial Office to enquire into the riots of February 1948 which marked the end of the dream that the Gold Coast was a "model" colony. His commission's report made the point that demobilised, and disappointed, ex-servicemen were a focal point for a movement against authority, that educated people were politically frustrated at a time when the colonial government failed to realise that rule through chiefs was becoming outmoded. There were economic grievances, too, particularly against Lebanese. And there was a certain Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, who had recently been brought back to the Gold Coast

to become secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention, and appeared to the commission to have had "Communist affiliations." He told the commission that the document purporting to be the constitution of a secret organisation called the "Circle," found in his possession, merely represented a "dream"—which the commission accepted. Mr. Watson and his colleagues, the trade union leader, Mr. Dalglish, and Dr. Kenneth Murray, Rector of Lincoln, found the people "lovable" with their hearts "in the right place." They suggested not only various methods of strengthening the government's public relations and security, but also a new constitution allowing for African ministers. From this came the Coussey commission and all that followed.

In the official list of parties attending the Conference of World Communist Parties are seven from Africa: the Communist Parties of South Africa and Lesotho, the Tunisian Communist Party, the Party of Liberation and Socialism of Morocco, the Socialist Vanguard of Algeria, and the "group of Marxist-Leninists" from Nigeria led by Dr. Tunji Otegbeye. He formerly led the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria, but this, like all other parties, is officially banned in Nigeria. There are, one is told, representatives of other African Communist parties, but their names are not made public because of their underground nature. Dr. Otegbeye, carrying the torch of Black Africa almost single-handed, warned the conference of the need for new effort to consolidate unity in the face of the increased efforts of colonialism in the African continent, as seen, for example, in the "reactionary coups in Ghana, Mali, Sierra Leone and Dahomey". In Nigeria, the imperialist efforts to split the country had made use of reactionary nationalists, putting forward theories to justify the separation of Biafra, which had been established through the efforts of the US, France, Portugal and South Africa, assisted by the Vatican and Mao Tse-Tung. Among those thanked by Dr. Otegbeye for supporting Nigeria was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which had correctly analysed the situation at an early stage. Dr. Otegbeye maintained that creation of the new States had provided conditions for the exercise of the right to self-determination. "In the light of Marxist-Leninist exposition which has been justified by history and the example of the Soviet Union, the claim of the bourgeois secessionists of the Eastern region of Nigeria to self-determination and secession cannot be justified." He joined those who condemned China, who supported the conference document on Vietnam, and said that Nigerian Marxist-Leninists were making active preparations for the forthcoming 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin; among projects envisaged were the building of a memorial hospital and library to be named after Lenin.

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Archbishop Patterson Retires

Last week the Most Revd. Cecil John Patterson, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.D., M.A., retired as Bishop on the Niger and Archbishop of West Africa. The Revd. T. O. Olufoyo, D.D., Bishop of the Gambia and the Rio Pongas here, pays tribute to his old friend.

PATTERSON was born in 1908, and educated at St. Paul's School, London and St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. From 1931 to 1934 he served as curate in Kingsbury, in North London, where he is still remembered. In 1934 he began a ministry in the Diocese on the Niger which he has continued ever since. After eight years as a missionary priest and schoolmaster he was consecrated Assistant Bishop of the diocese in 1942, and became Diocesan Bishop in 1945. In 1961 he was elected the third Archbishop of West Africa.

In 1955, when I went to teach at the Ecumenical Youth Leadership Training Course at Ama Nwanyi, Awka, I called to see All Saints Cathedral in Onitsha, of which the Lady Chapel had then been built. The Abagana stone was both strong and beautiful, and the three parabola-shaped arches were a source of admiration to many people who visited and passed by. Archbishop Patterson had raised the money for the building from far and near, and he continued to work hard for the completion of the beautiful edifice. I also visited Dennis Memorial Grammar School, Onitsha, and saw a good school of which the Nigerian church can feel justly proud; and I thanked God for Archbishop Patterson's contribution to its progress.

He is a man of great vision. Out of parts of his former Niger Diocese he made the Dioceses of the Niger Delta and Owerri, and had planned the Diocese of Enugu. These new dioceses show what tremendous growth in the work of the Church took place



during his episcopate. He laboured in education, medical work and agriculture, he worked tirelessly for evangelisation, and gave so much thought and prayer to the training of future leaders of Church and State.

I remember the loyal support he gave the Christian Council of Nigeria, and the role

he played on the East Regional Committee. As the former honorary secretary of the Youth Work Board of the Council I am ever grateful to him for the co-operation he always gave me. Whenever I sent out a hundred letters and received fifty replies, it was always of those who would reply.

He was appointed Archbishop in 1959 (so that, in normal circumstances he would still have another two years to go to complete his term). He had been a worthy successor to Archbishops Vining and Hensstead, more than maintaining the status of the Province, first of the Anglican Church in tropical Africa, which has emboldened others to form Provinces in other parts of the continent. There came to my mind the words of Archbishop Fisher at the inauguration of the Province in Freetown on April 17, 1951: "It (the Province) will help to build the Church in your own diocese by the encouragement of working with other dioceses for the same ends. It will keep you always aware that the Church is far more than your own diocese or your own corner of it. And finally, it will encourage you ever to be going out to preach the Gospel and live it before men for their conversion." It was always Archbishop Patterson's chief concern as Archbishop that the Province should fulfil these words.

He worked very hard on the scheme for Church union in Nigeria. He was fully prepared to continue as Bishop of the Niger Diocese, even though it meant that a Moderator would be elected and he would cease to be Archbishop. He gave the scheme wide publicity throughout the Anglican Communion; it was a sad blow to him when it collapsed. He was one of the few people who accepted as constructive the criticisms of the theology of the

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scheme which I published in my Cathedral magazine, and who took pains to examine the points I raised.

It must have been extremely saddening for him when all the genuine efforts made to settle the trouble between the Ibos and the other parts of Nigeria proved unsuccessful. It meant that six of his dioceses went to war with three others. He lost his home, and for some time was a refugee in another diocese. Yet he carried out the work of the Province and of his own diocese with calm and fortitude.

It will take some time for Cecil Patterson's successor to know The Gambia so well as he, who even travelled to Kristi Kunda, a great achievement. In the interregnum between Bishop Pike and myself he acted as Bishop, he was present at The Gambia's Independence celebrations and he laid the foundation of the extension to our Pro-Cathedral. He knew our difficulties and our needs, and has always been very sympathetic with our cause. He himself comes from the Evangelical wing of the Anglican Church. Nevertheless he always felt at home in the Anglo-Catholic dioceses of Accra and The Gambia and the Rio Pongas, where the USPG works. He will be greatly missed by his many friends here.

As a man he is firm in discipline but very unassuming, tactful, and with a quiet sense of humour. When he was younger he was a keen cricketer, and kept wicket for Nigeria. He is a passionate stamp collector, as his friends in out of the way countries will know! He is not married, and when in London still lives with his parents.

We shall be very sorry to have to say goodbye to him. We offer him our respectful and affectionate greetings—and we may add our heartfelt thanks to God for his great gifts of leadership and friendship which have been shared along the coast of West Africa for over 35 years.

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The boss knows how it is done; the leader shows how.

The boss says "Go"; the leader says "Let's go".

And so we say goodbye to one who has led us for so long.

ROUNDOABOUT

More News from Algiers

Latest news of the OAU-sponsored Pan-African Cultural Festival has come from the recent meeting of the steering committee in Dakar—held in Senegal, said the Minister of Culture, Amadou Mahtar Mbow, as a tribute to the role of Senegal in staging the first World Festival of Negro Arts in 1966. Algiers, said the Minister, would be "one of the most important meetings in the world on the cultural level". Thirty-three African countries have agreed to participate, as well as six liberation movements. The

ceiling of participants in each delegation has just been raised from 100 to 150. The budget of the festival has been estimated at \$4,744,000, of which \$3m. is being found by the Algerian government, and the rest is coming from African states and other sources. The OAU itself is contributing \$650,000, and Unesco \$26,000. There is to be a competition, with prizes for a play, a traditional instrumental group, a folkloric dance group, a ballet, songs (in chorus or solo), and a "folkloric number". There will be an African film week, traditional and contemporary art exhibitions, a whole series of shows, entertainments, poetry readings, and a 10-day symposium on the theme "African culture, its realities, its role in the struggle for national liberation, in the consolidation of African unity, and in economic and social development". There are considerable preparations going on in individual member countries—in Nigeria, for example, there has already been a festival of arts in Kaduna as part of the pre-selection, and there is to be a similar function in Lagos early in July. I see that Senegal has announced that it is sending, as well as its national troupe, the National Theatre with their new production *L'Exil d'Alboury*. The Algerians themselves seem to be hoping to make something of a tourist event of the occasion, to judge by the advertisements which have been appearing in British papers recently. One in *The Times* last week says "Algiers is undergoing a general face-lifting. Street flower-boxes are sprouting delphiniums and marigolds at the moment; laurel and eucalyptus saplings are lining the avenues. The main boulevards will be decorated with special colour and lighting effects symbolising African imagery. A dozen movable stages will be mounted on the principal city squares for outdoor performances."

The Senegalese Non-Revolution

The last time I was in Dakar I had a long and interesting conversation with a former head of a cell of the banned *Parti Africain d'Independence* (PAI) of Mahemout Diop. He gave up as an activist a few years ago, and resignedly went to work for the government. When I asked him why, he said: "I ceased to believe in the revolution." There, in a nutshell, is the history of the Senegalese revolution to date. For all the intellectual ferment, all the intoxication of new and strange ideas, which makes Dakar the most stimulating capital in West Africa, there is a certain ineffectuality about the translation of ideas into political forms, which has meant that in practice there has never been a revolution, or even a revolutionary movement worth calling that name. It is in Senegal above all that one hears the stories of the angry young men who could not be more extreme when at university, but who, when they graduate, meekly walk

into the government service and are never heard of again.

Senghor's Rural Support

These thoughts are prompted by the latest events in Senegal, in which, as so often in the past, President Senghor seems to have triumphed again. The challenge this year seems to have been much more half-hearted than in the explosive May of last year, and has, moreover, been accompanied by no violence; but it was an extremely serious situation (see report on page 722). The point that must surely still be made is that in our leader last week—that the privileged urban elite can struggle as much as they like, but Senghor is secure as long as the rural masses and their maraboutic leaders are behind him, and as long as he has the backing of an undivided army. Both of these factors still obtain.

Cameroonian from Guadeloupe

It was remiss not to record at the time (the end of April) the death of Jules Ninine at the age of 69. Ninine was one of the deputies for Cameroon at the French Assembly from 1947 to 1958, and was one of a generation of West Indians who played a significant role in the development of political life in Africa (others who come to mind were Governor Eboue of Chad, and Gabriel Lisette, who preceded M. Tombalbaye as leader of the RDA in Chad). Born in Guadeloupe, and trained as a lawyer in Paris, he had a long administrative career in Cameroon, ending up as Chief Administrator. One of those who rallied to de Gaulle in 1940, in 1947 he was chosen to represent the predominantly Muslim North Cameroon in the French Assembly, where he played an active part in different parliamentary commissions. After 1958 he became President of the Cameroon legislative assembly, but with independence he worked with the UN, first in the Congo, then as representative in the Ivory Coast. Interestingly, his "Portrait" was one of the first which appeared in *West Africa* in 1949, in which he spoke of socialism corresponding to Africa's needs, and recording that his father had been a friend and admirer of the great French socialist, Jean Jaurès. For the record, although one of his fellow Cameroon representatives in Paris, Prince Alexander Douala Manga Bell (descendant of the powerful old Kings of Douala), also died recently, another, Dr. Ajuoulat, a Frenchman, is currently on a French medical mission to Cameroon, and has written a newly-published book on "Education in the Developing World."

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OLD ASHANTI ARCHITECTURE

Ashanti Fetish Houses by Michael Swithenbank (Ghana Universities Press, London: Oxford University Press, 30s.).

BECAUSE of the impermanence of the materials mostly used and the relative poverty of most parts of the continent, architecture is seldom included among the arts of Africa. When it is the interest may be confined to wall decoration or the like. Mr. Swithenbank, who was a lecturer in architecture at Kumasi University, has performed a great service in writing about, and recording in photographs and drawings, almost all that is left (though not entirely in the original form) of the architecture of Ashanti, which so impressed visitors like Bowditch in the last century. These are shrines which, because they were sacred edifices in regular use, may have been preserved where ordinary buildings have been allowed to disappear.

Today, Mr. Swithenbank writes, the old shrines are losing their popularity and importance, largely to the more recently established shrines which emphasise direct practical benefits to individual supplicants, rather than ceremonial and the preservation of morals. There is, too, a considerable increase in witchcraft beliefs, and the new shrines owe much of their prosperity to their practice of witch hunting. He describes one in the village of Bosore, contrasting it with the ancient shrine "In more recent years . . . another God has been established elsewhere in the village and is becoming increasingly popular as he is said to belong more to present-day society. He has been installed with all the trappings of a modern youth for he has European clothing, shaving materials, cigarettes and a record player and seems destined to supersede the elder god."

Even so, every village still has its traditional shrine. Some small villages possess several, although they may only be placed in a single room of an ordinary house.

The examples described are of "temples" which to a great extent have preserved their traditional form and still possess enough of their decorations for one to obtain "a reasonably clear impression of their original appearance. They are all similar but none are identical and in their detail they display an astonishing diversity." They are few, for the most part in disrepair, small and scattered but, says Mr. Swithenbank, they typify an age and way of life of an important state.

Only an exhaustive village to village survey, the author concludes, would

reveal how many examples are still to be discovered, but it will be some time before the chiefs will easily agree to outsiders exploring those inner regions of their palaces where interesting remnants are most likely to be found. But it is doubtful whether further discoveries will throw much additional light on the style. Some of the buildings described are already being restored, though they will never be quite the same as they were before. It seems inevitable that fetish houses ("fetish" is used in its proper, technical, sense) will cease to be used as they were in the past, chiefly because of the increasing popularity of the new shrines.

Some day, Mr. Swithenbank hopes, we may look forward "to a resolved architectural expression of modern Ashanti; one that has absorbed the techniques of the twentieth century, yet still expresses the individuality of the area and in some, perhaps undefinable way, incorporates something of the Ashantis' historic past."

D. W.

The Economics of the Developing Countries by H. Myint (Hutchinson, 11s. 6d.).

This is the fifth edition in less than five years of Professor Myint's short but thorough study, which, as he says in the first chapter, is concerned mainly with "the theoretical elements of the subject." There are chapters on expansion of exports and population growth, mines and plantations, "financial dualism and monetary dependence and independence," population pressure, and peasant exports and the growth of the money economy. On the last point, Prof. Myint notes that in Africa 60 per cent. of adult male labour and 70 per cent. of cultivated land are employed for subsistence farming. He devotes considerable attention to the spread of the money economy, suggesting that for this subsistence farmers must become more separate from workers in mines and plantations. On these last he has an interesting chapter, saying that both in the old days, when these workers were relatively underpaid and, more recently, when they have become unionised "islands" of relatively good pay, this sector has had bad effects on general development, nowadays increasing the modern, traditional "dualism" in undeveloped economies.

A chapter on "financial dualism" deals with the contrasting layers, so to speak, of organised and unorganised money markets, and goes on to the problem of monetary stability (he does not mention here the unusual dependence of franc zone countries on a European currency). In a long chapter on "the critical minimum effort" and "the size of the balanced growth programme," and succeeding chapters, there is detailed examination of ideas followed or proposed, and their strong and weak points.

Prof. Myint's conclusions are not new, but make points that can usefully be made often—such as his suggestions

that the private sector should be trusted and help in countries unable or unwilling to follow the "heroic pattern of forcing economic growth," and that increased trade opportunities can, while "crash" education programmes may not, help the developing world.

J.D.

Trends of Federalism in Theory and Practice by Carl J. Friedrich (Pall Mall, 5s.).

This book, as the title suggests, deals with the theories of federalism starting with Althusius (1562-1638) and ending with present-day theories like the author. The theory which Professor Friedrich postulates is that Federalism is not a static concept that is endowed with a structure that is built to specification but should be viewed "as a process, an evolving pattern of changing relationships rather than a static design regulated by firm and unalterable rules." From this book, the relationship among peoples within a state which gets embodied in the governmental structure is seen as fluctuating along a continuum which allows a devolution of power at each stage. This theory of federalism should resolve the argument not only among academicians but also among statesmen as to what constitutes federalism and what constitutes confederalism—an argument that is more than academic in the case of Nigeria.

The second part of the book is a case by case study of different types of federalism in practice: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Cyprus, Germany, India, Italy, Switzerland, United Europe and Yugoslavia. In the chapter dealing with each country, Prof. Friedrich deals only with the particular factor that differentiates the federal set-up of one country from that of another. For example, the administrative system in Germany which puts the execution of federal policy in the hands of state civil servants is compared with Yugoslavia where other arrangements exist. By the choice of countries, Prof. Friedrich is able to show that under the label of federalism, the variations in the structural relationship among the states within the same nation is limitless. He has shown how possible it is for each country to set up its own brand of federalism, depending on its internal problems (ethnic, cultural, linguistic) without getting bogged down in the doctrinal aspects of federalism. It will come as a great comfort to the new states which are still experimenting with one type of government and another to know that the Americans assembled in Philadelphia to draw up their constitution did not waste their time arguing about doctrine but responded in a pragmatic way in drawing up a document that has survived the strains and stresses of time.

Prof. Friedrich starts to tax the credulity of the reader when he mentions the EEC and the UN as examples of international federalism. Prof. Friedrich ends up in this spot when he dismisses the concept of sovereignty as being relevant to federalism. I doubt whether

any system or structure of a country that allows a part of it to act on the international level can rightly be defined as one country any more. To coin the term "international federalism" for this is to beg the issue.

A. Bolaji Akinyemi

The Government of Ethiopia by Margery Perham (Faber and Faber, £5 10s.).

Although she had never visited the country, Dame Margery Perham, as a result of her travels in Ethiopia's neighbours, found herself deeply interested in Africa's oldest independent country. The result was *The Government of Ethiopia*, originally published in 1948. She has now, still without visiting Ethiopia, where her book was for a time banned, brought it up to date. She has added a general chapter on the main events since 1947; a chapter by Dr. Christopher Clapham, who has done considerable local research, on the central government; a chronology of events during Haile Selassie's reign; the Constitution of 1955, an up to date map and a portrait of the Emperor; a revised genealogy of the royal house; and a new bibliography. But the book still derives its main value from the original chapters, described in 1948 by the *Times Literary Supplement* as "the best reference book on the subject".

In her new chapter Dame Margery concludes that the end of Haile Selassie's reign may confront Ethiopia with a dangerous period: "We have now considered



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some of the reasons why the end of Haile Selassie's reign may confront his country with a critical period. For fifty-two years he has been the dominant influence, active, watchful and, in many ways, progressive. He has used his autocratic powers to create the institutions and, especially in the last years, to promote the reforms which with time and stability could liberalise the state. What, perhaps, he could not do was to arouse in his people the will to demand a larger share of the work of the government. He will certainly be remembered as a great ruler, one who formed a bridge between the medieval and the modern, perhaps the last of the ancestral kings who not only reigned but ruled."

P.D.

The Struggle for Mozambique by Eduardo Mondlane (Penguin African Library, 8s.).

The leader of the Mozambique revolution against the Portuguese completed this work shortly before his murder in Dar es-Salaam, which is mentioned in the brief preface. He emerges from these pages as one of the most clear-thinking and articulate of revolutionary leaders, as truly scholarly as he was committed. A well-written book, it is an impressive indictment of Portuguese rule, which is analysed thoroughly in the first few chapters, before the description of modern nationalist movements from the 1920s to the creation of FRELIMO and

its war waged against the Portuguese since 1964. The book is, of course, an *apologia*—for Mondlane's movement rather than himself (he says very little about his own life), but it is an effective one.

J. D.

Angola: Seventh Year. Unita Central Committee, 1968 (obtainable from 25, Ospringe Road, London, N.W.5).

This is a booklet written in English dealing mainly with activities of the Unita party of Jonas Savimbi, formerly Foreign Minister of Holden Roberto's Angola government in exile. There is a stimulating historical analysis of Angola under Portuguese colonisation (including recollections of early resisters to Portuguese rule), an account of the birth of Angolan nationalism, interpretations of the two dates of February 4 and March 15, 1961, the reasons for the birth of Unita and its programme, as well as an outline for unity among Angolan parties, especially the MPLA and the UPA. Unita, which makes a special point of its existence entirely within Angola, reproaches the MPLA for drawing too much on bourgeois assimilateds and criticises the UPA as too overtly tribal, but acknowledges their genuine place in Angolan nationalism.

K.W.

The Commonwealth Institute Annual Report for 1968 includes an account of the educational cruise to West Africa

for schoolchildren early in the year, and information about the Institute's usual work—exhibitions (including one of paintings and sculptures from Nigeria), the library, social activities, and hospitality for all sorts of visitors. (Obtainable from the Institute.)

Population Growth the Impact of Advances in Agriculture and Medicine—Report of a Conference at Ditchley Park 3-6 Jan. 1969 (published by the Ditchley Foundation, 4s.). A record of the first of the Ditchley conferences to deal with this problem, a conference attended by medical, agricultural and other experts from the UK, the USA and some developing countries. Michael Lipton of Sussex University, conference rapporteur, summarises discussions on cases of population growth and the desirability, chances, and means of reducing it; and on the chances of a "green revolution" in developing countries' farming, the economic background and impact of rising population and food supply, and "research and action requirements for demographic policy."

Books and Publications Received

English Teaching Extracts by Donn Byrne (Longmans, 8s.).

Britain and the Immigrant Doctor by Oscar Gish (Institute of Race Relations, London).



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letters to the editor

DRAWBACKS OF UNITY

Sir—Reginald Green and Ann Seidman's book *Unity or Poverty?* (see *West Africa*, May 17) is a masterly exposition of contemporary African problems. However, their argument is not borne out by history or by present-day progress.

Their main point is that the political and economic fusion of all African countries is a necessity for effective political independence and economic viability. But as they recognise, Nigeria, compared with Ghana, Algeria and Tanzania, is the weakest political entity, even though it outnumbers all the others combined; so size is not synonymous with political activism. Neither are size and population *per se* a sufficient condition for economic growth; the population of Great Britain at the time of her industrial revolution was under 10m. Many countries currently enjoy a standard of living and income per head over and above any African country, even though they are less populated than some African countries. The economic backwardness of Africa is not due to the impact of colonialism nor to the size of the individual countries, but to the absence of collective and intelligent leadership, social and intellectual inferiority, and the utterly destructive use of European languages as means of communication.

The course of the Nigeria-Biafra war has alienated all believers in Pan-Africanism. The war is shamelessly described by European powers as an "African affair," to be solved by Africans through the OAU, even though the combatants and Africa as a whole are incapable of manufacturing the weapons used in the slaughter. To the extent that the OAU has no military capacity to back its appeal for peace, it simply cannot end the war. So, had there been no OAU, the European countries for whom we are fighting would have thought of ending the war by stopping their flow of arms.

God forbid that we should fuse into a political unit at our present state of political mediocrity and military incapacity. Better to be poor but alive than unite and provide a leverage for the liquidation of the black race, just as the OAU is today used to exterminate black Biafrans and Nigerians.

OMIRE NOM

MERIT OR QUOTAS?

Sir—Your remark (May 10) that perhaps in Sierra Leone senior appointments ought to be classified by provinces seems to me to be too important to pass over without comment. Few critics of previous regimes in Sierra Leone appreciate the extent to which civil servants can influence the success or failure of any government. In Sierra Leone some of the serious mistakes of previous governments were due to tensions in the civil service, which led to bad advice or badly executed decisions.

One of the main causes of this tension was tribal jealousies rather than political rivalry. Indeed many civil servants enjoyed far more political influence and backing than they would care to admit under the present circumstances. But in fact such

influence and backing were fairly evenly spread among civil servants. There was very little complaint about this.

The most persistent accusation was of tribalism in the civil service, which meant the "injection" of provincial people into senior posts in the civil service. But that was not all. Even among those "injected" there was complaint of provincialism, which was commonly referred to as "nepotism". The actual position in 1966 was that just over 70 per cent of senior posts in the public service were held by people from the Western area, about 10 per cent by those from the South, 8 per cent from the North and 5 per cent from the Eastern Province. Of the first 16 top posts held by Sierra Leoneans in March 1967, 11 were held by people from the Western area, two from the South, two from the North and one from the East.

Nevertheless, the Westerners complained that all the top posts were held by Southerners, and so did Northerners; while Southerners complained that the Westerners enjoyed undue favours with the Government. It is not possible here to discuss the merits of these complaints. I can only state that people believed in them and felt very strongly about them.

The present Government is accused of surrendering to the more vocal people of the Western area. This could only be a temporary surrender, because if nothing is done about it, the long term effect will be disastrous for both.

P. L. TUCKER

NIGERIA AND BBC

Sir—Unless the Federal authorities have a satisfactory reason for expelling the BBC West African correspondent, the

action was unjustified. Since the outbreak of war I have been relying on the BBC for external service for first-hand reports, since Radio Nigeria is very difficult to hear. Although you cannot expect an accurate report from any foreign broadcasting service, yet comparing the BBC, Voice of America and Canadian external services, I have no doubt the BBC excels in unbiased reports on the war. Peter Stewart is next to Angus MacDermitt in running a fair commentary on Nigerian affairs. We have seen and heard worse programmes and reports from other British correspondents visiting Nigeria, and one wonders why Peter Stewart was made a scapegoat.

London.

A. ADESANYA.

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY

Sir—Mr. S. Onokee Manoghae (7th June) asks if the Sultan Bello Hall at the University of Ibadan is connected with the late Sir Ahmadu Bello.

At the time when this name was given to a Hall of Residence the University was known as "University College, Ibadan" and served the whole of Nigeria. I was a member of Council of the College in 1959 or 1960 when this name for the Hall was chosen. The college wished to honour a distinguished Northerner and therefore chose, very appropriately, the name of Sultan Bello, son of Shehu Usman dan Fodiyo. He was a notable scholar, writer, religious leader and Founder and Architect of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto, 1817-37. He was the great-grandfather of Sir Ahmadu Bello.

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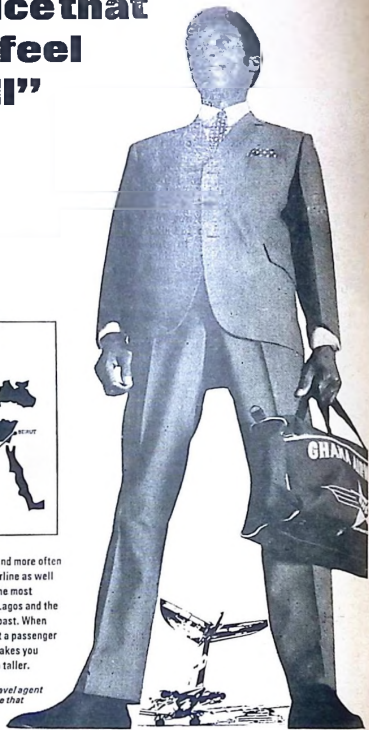
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commercial news

UNCTAD 'irrelevant'

U NCTAD—the United Nations Commission on Trade and Development—has virtually ceased to be relevant to problems of international trade policy. Professor Harry Johnson of the London School of Economics told a seminar on "World Problems Facing Developing Countries" in London.

It was effective at the 1964 Geneva conference when it forced the developing countries to reconsider their trade and aid policies, particularly on the issue of preferences. "But the sharp division on this issue that emerged at the second UNCTAD in 1968 among the developing countries has destroyed the moral force of their claim for trade concessions, so that the preference scheme that eventually emerges (if one finally does emerge) will probably amount to little.

"Moreover," he added, "the concentration of UNCTAD theory on generalising the benefits of agricultural production in the developed countries through the intractable medium of international commodity agreements, rather than on attacking the economic inefficiency and social immorality of protecting agriculture in the advanced countries at the expense of the incomes of competing producers in the poor countries, has resulted in virtually no progress being made in the field of primary commodity trade." The Commonwealth, on the other hand, because of the lack of an atmosphere of confrontation that had stultified UNCTAD and the atmosphere of the rich helping themselves first and the poor only as a matter of charity that surrounded the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, could play an important role in shaping responses to developments in international trade.

Regret for Britain's Euro-centred policies and warnings of the results recurred throughout the seminar. Johnson dismissed the agricultural policy of the European Common Market as "a vastly expensive nonsense" and said that if Britain joined, other Commonwealth countries would be hit. And Mr. Maxwell Stamp, managing director of Maxwell Stamp Associates, noted that the adoption by Britain of the EEC common external tariff would convert the existing preferences enjoyed by certain Commonwealth exports to Britain into an anti-Commonwealth preference for EEC goods. Since this margin of preference was becoming increasingly important as Commonwealth countries became able to send more and more manufactured goods to the British market the complete reversal of the British position could be extremely important to the industries of developing Commonwealth countries.

Britain's increasing attention to Europe was attributed by Prof. Ali Mazrui of the

University of East Africa to geographical convenience and racialism—"it has hit the British people with a renewed emphasis that continental Europeans even at their most alien are perhaps more comprehensible than say the Pakistanis"—and Prof. Geoffrey Maynard of the University of Reading considered that the economic basis for the sterling area had largely disappeared and that the area survives only because its members dare not let it fall apart except in the context of some international or quasi-international arrangements.

Stretching aid

● If foreign aid was used in conjunction with the resources of local capital markets it could be made to go 10 times as far as it does in many developing countries, according to an American economist, Professor David Kleinmann. His proposal envisages the setting up of Special Funds in recipient countries into which foreign grants and credits would be paid and which would then be used to help finance the purchase of securities in "approved development projects" by private investors. The system would require a considerable change in the work of development banks which would have to extend their scope to evaluating and underwriting share issues.

Help for Upper Volta . . .

● The Management Committee of the Mutual Aid and Guarantee Fund of the Council of the Entente has approved two projects for Upper Volta, for the purchase of equipment for army engineers to improve roads, and develop agricultural projects, and for street improvements in the commercial and industrial sectors of Oagadougou.

. . . and for Ghana

● Standby arrangements for Ghana to make foreign exchange purchases worth about £2m in the next 12 months have been made by the International Monetary Fund "in support of Government efforts to promote economic growth in conditions of financial stability." Similar arrangements have been made for Liberia to buy £1m. worth of goods.

● Wheat, cotton and inedible tallow worth £74m. is being supplied to Ghana by the United States. A little over half of the value of the commodities will be paid in convertible currency over 40 years, the rest in local currency.



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

But, joking apart, there was a time when, if they had banks or safely deposits in some pastoral communities, they would in all probability look more like cattle ranches than banks as we now know them. For in such communities cattle would be money—the actual medium of exchange against which goods and services were valued. In other communities grain, wool, fish-hooks, skins, furs, cowries and shells have been used as currency. Indeed, in parts of Nigeria, cowries and manilla were, less than 100 years ago, legal tender. If you were to lose your cheque book and you decide to write your next cheque on the flanks of a cow, National Bank of Nigeria will honour it—provided you do have an account with the bank and that all legal requirements for valid cheques—duties, etc., are complied with. Quite apart from the slight inconvenience to all concerned—of leading an unwilling cow through the traffic to the bank—though National Bank of Nigeria Limited would much rather you used more conventional cheques—like in the National Bank cheque book you get when you open your current account at Nigeria National Bank's branches in Nigeria and abroad! What's more you'll find that National do know about money—money's their business. Savings, transfers, foreign exchange—you name it! If it's money you are talking about you should talk to National Bank of Nigeria Limited—the Bank You Can Trust.



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WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER DEMPSTER LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—AUREOL due Freetown Jun. 25; FOURAH BAY slg. Liverpool Jun. 16; DONGA slg. Liverpool Jun. 19; DUNKWA slg. Liverpool Jul. 3. From London:—OWERRI due Abidjan Jun. 23; EBANI slg. London Jun. 24; FALABA slg. London Jul. 1; KABALA due Takoradi Jun. 24. From Continent:—FIAN slg. Rotterdam Jun. 20; FREETOWN slg. Bremen Jun. 23. **NORTHBOUND**—To Liverpool:—BUJASTI due Roma Jun. 25; PATANI due Liverpool Jun. 25; PERANG due Abidjan Jun. 20. To Hull:—DARU due Hull Jun. 21; EGORI due Takoradi Jun. 22. To London:—EBOE due London Jun. 20; KADUNA due Las Palmas Jun. 26; ONITSHA due Freetown Jun. 26. To Continent:—FORCADOS due Victoria Jun. 27; KOHIMA slg. Freetown Jun. 27. **EASTBOUND**—From USA/Canada:—DIXCOVE due Douala Jun. 21; DUMBAIA due Dakar Jun. 21. **WESTBOUND**—To USA/Canada:—DALLA due Takoradi Jun. 27. **DELCO** due Norfolk Jun. 31; FULANI due Savannah Jun. 27. From India/Pakistan/Burma:—BEECHBRAN due Douala Jun. 25; PINEBANK slg. Madras Jun. 5.

BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE

OUTWARDS—TEMA now due Douala, thence Cabinda; CORNEVILLE due Freetown Jun. 26, thence Monrovia, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Lagos/Abapa, Tiko and Douala; FERNWOOD due New York Jun. 27. Halifax (NS) Jun. 30 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lome, Lagos/Abapa, Douala and Takoradi. **HOMEWARDS**—TITANIA due Baltimore Jul. 1, thence New York, Carteret, Philadelphia and Norfolk; TEMA now due Ibad, Douala Jun. 23, Lagos, Ghana N. Bound end Jun./early Jul. Abidjan/Buchanan/Monrovia first half/mid Jul.

JAPAN "K" LINE

WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.—TEXAS MARU slg. Abidjan May 18, due Lagos Jun. 2. **EASTBOUND**—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Singapore)—TEXAS MAIRU slg. Lagos Jun. 26, Tema Jun. 28, Freetown Jul. 2, due Japan Aug. 6.

FARRELL LINES

HOMEWARDS—AUSTRALIAN REEF slg. Apapa Jul. 1 for Abidjan, Monrovia for US Ports, AUSTRALIAN GALAXY slg. Matadi Jul. 11 for Luanda, Lobito, Abidjan Jul. 22, Monrovia for US Ports. **OUTWARDS**—AUSTRALIAN GEM due Monrovia Jul. 1 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Jul. 12 and Apapa Jul. 14; AFRICAN RAINBOW due Monrovia Jul. 29 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Aug. 9, Douala Aug. 14.

HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LINES

SOUTHBOUND—From Continent:—DAHOMEXKUST due Ibad Jun. 25; ALGOL due Freetown Jun. 25; LIBERIKUST due Pointe Noire Jul. 6. **NORTHBOUND**—To Continent:—LAARDERKERK due Hamburg June 26; TOGOKUST due Rotterdam Jul. 27; AMSTERDAM Jul. 9, Bremen Jul. 14, Hamburg Jul. 16.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND—NOPAL TELLUS slg. New Orleans Jun. 30, Takoradi Jul. 20, Lagos Jul. 23, due Warri Jul. 27; NOPAL LUNA slg. New Orleans Jul. 26, Takoradi Aug. 15, Lagos Aug. 18 due Warri Aug. 21. **WESTBOUND**—NOPAL LUNA slg. Luanda Jun. 15, Takoradi Jun. 25, New Orleans Jul. 13 due Houston Jul. 1; NOPAL SUN slg. Luanda Jul. 4, Takoradi Jul. 19, New Orleans Aug. 8 due Houston Aug. 11.

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CHARGEURS REUNIS

CAPRAIA due Lagos Jul. 14, Tema Jul. 19, Freetown Jul. 28; BOURGAINVILLE slg. Koba Jun. 26.

MAERSK LINE

ANETTE MAERSK slg. Lagos/Apapa Jun. 20

due Tema Jun. 29; TORREN MAERSK slg. Luanda Jul. 13 due Matadi Jul. 18. **MITSUI OSK LINE** AMSTELSLUIS slg. Koba May 21 due Lagos Jul. 4; KINKASAN MARU slg. Koba Jun. 4 due Lagos Jul. 6; KASUGASAN MARU slg. Koba Jun. 20 due Lagos Jul. 19.

HOEGH LINES

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

GOLD STAR LINE

WESTBOUND—NOGAH slg. Durban Jul. 2/3, Lourenco Marques Jul. 4/5, Capetown Jul. 8, Lobito Jul. 11, Luanda Jul. 12.

EASTBOUND—SAHAR slg. Komee Jun. 15, Singapore Jul. 10, Koba Jul. 23/24, Yokohama Jul. 25.

BLACK STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA **WESTBOUND**—BIA RIVER Ghana Jun. 25, Boston Jul. 8, New York Jul. 13, Philadelphia Jul. 16, thence Gulf.

BLACK STAR LINE UK/CONTINENT/ WEST AFRICA

SOUTHBOUND—BENYA RIVER London Jul. 1; SAKUMO LAGOON Hamburg Jun. 21, Bremen Jun. 19, Antwerp Jun. 23, Rotterdam Jun. 25, Dunkirk Jun. 27.

NORTHBOUND—KORLE LAGOON Amsterdam Jun. 21, Bremen Jun. 28, Hamburg Jun. 29; LAKE BOSOMTWE Liverpool Jul. 16.

PALM LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From London:—AKASSA PALM due Lobito Jun. 21.

From London:—ILORIN PALM due Monrovia Jun. 21. From Continent:—BADAGRY PALM due Takoradi Jun. 22.

NORTHBOUND—To London:—AFRICA PALM due Sapele Jun. 21. To Amsterdam:—ENUGU PALM slg. Warri Jun. 21.

To Continent:—IKEJA PALM slg. Sapele Jun. 23. To Continent:—BAMENDA PALM due Victoria Jun. 21.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES

INWARDS—STRAAT MAGELHAEN from China and Hong Kong slg. Hong Kong, Apapa 8 due Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. 27. Lome Jun. 10, Tema Jul. 1, Abidjan Jul. 3, Monrovia Jul. 5, Freetown Jul. 6, Dakar Jul. 10, Conakry Jul. 13; STRAAT FRANKLIN from Japan slg. Koba May 27, Lagos/Apapa Jun. 30, Tema Jul. 3, Monrovia Jul. 6, Freetown Jul. 7, Abidjan Jul. 12, Takoradi Jul. 15. **OUTWARDS**—STRAAT MAGELHAEN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan second half Jul.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

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

NORTHBOUND—INNAREN Idg. WA first half Jun. for Scandinavia Jul. early Aug. **HOEGH BISGAY Idg. WA southern route Jun. for Scandinavia and late Jul. for WA.**

HJELMAREN Idg. WA first half Jul. for Scandinavia including Finland late Jul./early Aug.; YARRAWONGA Idg. WA second half Jul. for Scandinavia including Finland Aug.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

SOUTHBOUND—RIVER BENUE slg. Middlesbrough Jun. 28; RIVER OGUN slg. Liverpool Jun. 27.

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

WOERMANN LINE

HENRI DELMAS due Abidjan Jun. 27, Lome Jun. 30, Coimbra Jul. 1, Douala Jul. 3, Kribia Jul. 5, Pointe Noire Jul. 8; WOLFGANG RUSS due Abidjan Jun. 28, Lome Jun. 30, Cotonou Jul. 2, Libreville Jul. 5, Port Gentil Jul. 8.

WESTWIND AFRICA LTD.

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

EDWARD NASSAR LINES

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

Commercial news

Cocoa consumers seek protection

A meeting to prepare for a full-scale conference to work out a world cocoa agreement has started in Geneva. Among the points to be discussed are the allocation of votes among signatories, counter-measures and preferences: Brazil favors generalised preferences for producer countries instead of selective preferences as those given by the European Community to African associates.

The United States is objecting to cheap imports of processed cocoa by producer countries and there will be considerable discussion on a draft article which proposes that "without prejudice to the need of the developing countries to broaden the base of their economies... through the export of manufactured products, no member shall apply such practices in favour of processed cocoa beans as to result or threaten to result in serious injury to the market of traditional importing countries."

World cocoa production had a good chance of increasing by 10 per cent and possibly even 20 per cent next season, a leading manufacturer said during the 95th annual convention of the National Confectioners' Association in Chicago recently. But he noted that if this 10 per cent increase was not achieved the market could be in some trouble and that some confectioners were already buying on a hand-to-mouth basis. Another speaker indicated that under better management West African yields per acre could be increased significantly.

Observers expect Nigeria's West African State cocoa crop output for 1979/80 to be about 190,000 tons. It is considered likely that farmers will keep their summer pickings until next season in the hope of getting a higher price.

Although Ghana's crop estimates statistics allow for cocoa smuggling, it should not be accepted as a fact of life about which nothing could be done, Finance Commissioner John Mensah told customs officials in Accra.

Purchase and sales of Ghana's 1969/70 crop cocoa began on June 13. A minimum price of NCB per 60 lb. load will be paid for Grades I and II at all buying centres.

Cotton production in Nigeria's Northern States for the 1968/69 season is estimated at 300,000 bales, of which 190,000 bales have been allocated to Nigeria's textile industry.

Coffee exports cut

In a bid to raise the currently low coffee prices, representatives of exporting and consuming countries agreed in London to a temporary cutback in exports equivalent to about 2.5 per cent of each country's quota. Export quotas for the year beginning October 1 will be set at a full meeting of the International Coffee Council in August.

PROFIT RISE FOR COSTAIN

Costain's net profit in 1968 was £810,311, compared to £697,215 in 1967. Africa accounted for 12 per cent of the £86m. turnover. The company has four subsidiaries in Nigeria: Costain (West Africa), Dolphin Properties, Foundation Engineering (Nigeria) and Foundation Construction. The group's annual report says that the civil war had some effect on operations, but contracts successfully completed included a canoe harbour and jetty at Yelwa; stage two of Kaduna Polytechnic and Abdulla Bayera College, Kano. The Faculty of Science building at Ifa University is currently being constructed.

It also notes that difficult working conditions were overcome to complete on time, and in less than a year, a £38m. housing contract for the Niger Dams Authority. New homes were provided for the 40,000 inhabitants of 37 villages along a 55-mile stretch of the River Niger, displaced because of the Kajini Dam hydro-electric scheme. Despite



The Hinna Bridge, which spans the Gongola River in North East state, under construction.

the difficulty in moving men, plant and materials, with many supply routes impassable during the three-month long rainy season, all the 1,500 housing compounds were completed on schedule.

The reconstruction of 60 miles of the Wuya-Bokwam road was achieved and the 850ft. long Hinna Bridge, spanning the Gongola River in Northern Nigeria, was completed. The third significant civil engineering project completed during the year was the £880,000 second stage of a telecommunications network—£750,000 relating to civil engineering works and the installation of cables and ducts in Lagos and other main centres; £130,000 relating to the construction of telephone exchanges.

● The West African Portland Cement factory at Ewekoro, Western State, is not working at full capacity and because of the restricted supplies, the retail price per bag has risen and is 22sh in Ibadan compared to 13sh six months ago when supplies were plentiful. The price of flour, slat, sugar and milk has also risen slightly in the Western State.

Bank complies

In compliance with the 1968 Companies Decree, the Banque Internationale pour l'Afrique Occidentale has been incorporated in Nigeria under the name International Bank for West Africa Ltd.

● Barclays Bank DCO assets increased from £1,930m. to £2,104m. in the six months ending March 31 1969. Over the last 12 months assets have risen by £364m.

● The new headquarters of the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas will be opened in Kinshasa in October. The building cost 100,000 zaires.

NIGERIAN FLEET TO EXPAND

The Nigerian National Shipping Line will increase its fleet at the end of the civil war to cope with transportation requirements necessary for the country's economic growth, said Mr. Joseph Tarka, Federal Commissioner for Transport, at a reception in honour of the first two Nigerian ship captains, Mr. S. O. Kadiri who commands "Nnamdi Azikiwe" and Mr. Olatunde Jonah, who is master of the "Ahmadu Bello".

● "Elmina Palm", which collided with the Norwegian cargo ship "Hoegh Augvald", will be undergoing repairs at Dakar port until July 10 and is expected to arrive in England later that month. Cargo destined for Avonmouth has been discharged for the duration of repairs.

● Although Israel denied any liability for the loss of a Ghanaian airliner during a raid on Beirut airport last December, Foreign Minister Abba Eban told Parliament that an Israeli delegation in Accra had discussed how Israel could help overcome the difficulties caused by the loss of the plane which, he said, should have been insured against war damage.

● A detailed feasibility study on the development of important road links in the Chad Basin, including the Maiduguri-Fort Lamy road and the Bama-Mora road, is being carried out by USAID.

● Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone were among the countries represented at the seventh meeting of the Commonwealth Air Transport Council which met in London last week.

Brighter outlook for Lambert's Congolese companies

African assets of the Brussels-based Compagnie Lambert pour l'Industrie et la Finance rose from 3.6 per cent. of its total in 1967 to 7.2 per cent. in 1968. The annual report shows that the company's gross consolidated profit rose from BF275.5m. to BF407.2m. in the same period.

The report notes that Socobanque benefited from Congo Kinshasa's economic recovery. The year closed with an appreciable profit permitting remuneration of the capital of 600,000 zaires at the same level as in 1966 when it was only 300,000 zaires. The Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie de la Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) recorded a profit of CFA76m., an increase of 19 per cent. over the previous year. Capital is being raised from CFA300m. to CFA500m. this year to satisfy expansion requirements.

In Congo Brazzaville, the political situation had little impact on the business of the Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie du Congo. Results were similar to last year's, and an unchanged dividend of eight per cent. is anticipated.

Because of current rent restrictions, earnings of the Union Immobiliere Congolaise SCARL remain depressed even though tenants paid more towards the running expenses of its buildings. Profit for 1967 amounted to Z24,979 (no dividend), and that of 1968 is

expected to be "somewhat higher". Better 1968 results are also forecast for the SA Compagnie de Constructions Civiles whose 1967 profit was BF4.4m. Satisfactory business was recorded for the Compagnie Congolaise de Construction SCARL, whose book order ensures that the company will profit from an adequate volume of work.

The restarting of plantations belonging to the Societe Agricole de la Belgika continued under improved conditions during 1968 in the Kisangan area. Output amounted to 790 tons of rubber (593 tons in 1967) and 492 tons of palm oil (83 tons). The balance sheet on December 31, 1967 closed with a net profit of Z233 after Z11,619 in amortization but increasing production in 1968 gives hope for better results. Easing of import restrictions in the Congo resulted in a sizeable increase in trading volume for the Belgika-Sodexcam in 1968 but due to intense competition and an increase in operating expenses profit margins tightened.

Business for the Societe Congolaise d'Usinage remained at a depressed level but the agricultural recovery in the Eastern Province is expected to improve the situation. The overall business of the Belgika Congolaise companies ended 1967 with a net profit of Z2,506. The SA Bureau d'Etudes et des Gestion Belges made a net profit of BF68,059. It continued to act as European representative for several African countries.

Sales for all the breweries of the Interbra group in Congo Brazzaville, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo Kinshasa and Angola expanded by about 10 per cent. over 1967 while sales of soft drinks were, on average, down some 20 per cent. As the situation in Maniema returned to normal, the Belgikamines-Congo was able to reopen, early in the year, works that had been abandoned as a result of the disturbances at the end of 1967. Output for 1968 amounted to 482 tons of tin ores (412 tons the previous year). In addition to fluctuations in world tin prices, the increase in production costs and the impact of high indirect taxes were the main factors influencing results and the depletion of ore deposits remained a disturbing factor.

Profits available for distribution amounted to Z15,679 for Somkat, a Fondaf subsidiary. Production in 1968 totalled 3,200 tons of cast-iron and 175 tons of bronze. The volume of sales was upheld in Katanga, but fell off somewhat in the other Congolese provinces.

The political situation brought fresh disturbances to transport between Kinshasa and Brazzaville and the complete suspension of traffic after mid-October brought serious financial difficulties to Fima, which had to dismiss many of its staff and sell two of its craft. Traffic was resumed earlier this year.

DAILY TIMES FINAL DIVIDEND

The Daily Times of Nigeria Limited is to pay a final dividend of 7½% (N1'6d per Ordinary Stock unit) less income tax, for the Trading year ended 28th February 1969 on the 24th June 1969.

This was announced by the Directors on 23rd May and together with the interim dividend of 7½% paid on the 24th February 1969, will equal last year's level of 15%.

THE DAILY TIMES OF NIGERIA LTD.

Notice is hereby given that the transfer books and register of the Ordinary Stockholders of the company will be closed 8th-21st June, 1969 both dates inclusive.

By order of the Board
W. H. Batterberry,
Company Secretary.

Somima up to schedule

Progress on the development of the Somima copper mine at Akjoujt, Mauritania, has kept to schedule and opencast mining should begin early in 1970 at an annual production rate initially of 30,000 tons of copper in concentrates, says the annual report of Charter Consolidated, which has a 44.6 per cent interest in Somima. The oxide ore (estimated reserves of 7.7m. tons overlying 15m. tons of sulphide ore) will be treated by the Anglo American Corporation group.

● Foreign oil companies were assured by Information Commissioner Chief Anthony Enahoro that their men and investments in Nigeria were safe. Sporadic Biafran infiltration into the mid-West posed no major problems. In the House of Commons, Britain's Parliamentary Under Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Maurice Foley, told a questioner that the protection of British and other oil installations in Nigeria was the responsibility of the Federal Government.

● Half of the shares of Minière du Bakwanga, which produces about 60 per cent of the world's industrial diamonds, have been acquired by the Congo Government. The company was owned by a Belgian company, Sibeka. Sales will continue to be made through British Congo Diamond Distributors, a subsidiary of the Central Selling Organisation.

● Tin prices have moved up to their highest levels since December 1965. Mainly as a result of political uncertainty in Malaysia, last week's price stood at £1,439 15s. a ton.

● United Tin Areas of Nigeria made a profit of £10,435 for the year ending March 31, compared with a loss of £20,420 in the previous year. Sales of tin concentrate totalled 214½ tons (198 tons in 1967-68).

Crop booster

The European Common Market announced aid grants worth £192,000 to Dahomey for boosting oil palm, groundnuts, coconut palm and coffee production and £194,000 to Chad for cotton price supports. These grants complete the commitment of funds for production aid provided by the first term of the Yaounde Convention.

● Demand for imported oils and fats by West European countries is expected to decrease this year for the first time since 1964, the *Oil World Weekly* forecast, partly because of a slowing down of increases in consumption. Anticipated drop in demand is 160,000 tons, or 3.2 per cent, less than the previous year.

● The Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board estimates that its trading surplus for 1968/69 will total £780,000, compared to a 1967/68 deficit of £378,476.

● The Northern States Marketing Board announced that the ground nut price for next season will be £N29 8s. a ton, compared with £N26 last season.



Frederick Pedler, who retired as deputy chairman and managing director of the United Africa Company last year, will be knighted in the Queen's birthday honours this week (see page 726). And the UAC announced that chairman Sir Arthur Smith was retiring to be replaced by Mr. Andy Anderson.

● Mr. Michael Olawole Omoloye, a director and senior manager of Levent Brothers (Nigeria) has been appointed to the board of directors of the United Africa Company of Nigeria.

● The Chairman of the UAC of Sierra Leone, Mr. H. McCartney, is to retire in November this year after 31 years' service with the UAC. He has served the company in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Cameroons before taking up the appointment of Chairman in Freetown in 1962. He will be succeeded by Mr. W. B. Smart, presently serving with the Niger Motors, in Nigeria.

Daily Times progress

Following the drop in turnover and profits by the Daily Times group of companies in 1967 because of the economic disruption of the Nigerian civil war, last year's trading was almost back to pre-war levels. Profit for the year ended February 1969 totalled £N300,129 (£244,554 the previous year). Newspaper sales reached 340,000, compared to 446,000 two years ago; last April the *Daily Times* was selling 114,119 copies an issue and the *Sunday Times* 217,157. Lagos *Weekend* increased its circulation by 67 per cent, during the year and is currently running at over 70,000 a week. But the greatest progress was made by the printing and packaging divisions (Times Press and Nigerpak) which, aided by increasing demand as a result of import restrictions, increased their turnover from £534,000 to £734,000.

During the year Alhaji Babatunde Jose became chairman and managing director, and this year, if the remaining debenture stockholders exercise their right to convert to ordinary stocks, Overseas Newspapers of London will hold less than 50 per cent of the company's equity capital. The International Publishing Corporation, through Overseas Newspapers, will thus no longer control the Daily Times group but will continue to influence operations.

● A study course for 30 heads of technical services of African radio and television services took place in Dakar.

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1969-1970

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The Editor,
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ham Gardens, London S.W.5.

**AGENDA: (1) Draft Constitution.
(2) A.O.B.**

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POST GRADUATE TRAINEE MINING ENGINEERS

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(Not later than 15th July 1969.)

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on Saturday, 28th June, 1969.

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IN MEMORIAM

In Loving Memory of our dear father
Jonathan Olagunju Soyebé
(Alias Baba Oyo)

died on June 15th 1968, Sun re O.

Arelu Omo Onida Komiana

Lape Sodeke (daughter)

for the family (London)

IN MEMORY OF ADEBOWALE ADEOSUN,
(8th February, 1939—22nd June, 1968). "You whispered
not a fact far away, you said goodbye to none, the Heavenly
Gates just opened and a gentle voice said 'Come',
instructed by Adekunbi.

dateline Africa

SENEGAL

GENERAL STRIKE FLOPS: UNION SPLITS

A CALL for a 48-hour general strike on
Wednesday of last week led to a
declaration of a state of emergency by the
government, and a subsequent split in the
trade union movement and the calling-off
of the strike.

The strike call came in tracts circulated in
Dakar on the Wednesday morning, and the
government declaration, signed by Interior
Minister Amadou Cleodor Sall, using power
conferred by the National Assembly in April,
came at mid-day.

At the same time, M. Doudou Ngom,
Joint Secretary-General of the National
Union of Senegalese Workers (UNTS),
announced his resignation from the UNTS
because those who sought to "overthrow
established order", who, not having been
able to achieve their objectives and aware
that time was against them, had resorted to
a campaign of intimidation of members of
his family by anonymous telephone calls
threatening murder and arson. The struggle
was not over, however; "it is a question of
restoring the true face of Senegalese
unionism."

The Political Bureau of the ruling Senegalese
Progressive Union (UPS) also issued a
statement condemning the strike "pro-
jected in the name of the UNTS."

Later the other joint Secretary-General of
the UNTS, M. Alioune Cisse, called for a
postponement of the strike; he was given the
facilities of the radio to make the appeal.
The reasons he gave were firstly "the situa-
tion created in the central organisation with
its political implications, dangerously
threatening the cohesion of the workers";
secondly, the impossibility of calling meet-
ings to analyse the situation because of the
state of emergency. M. Blaise Dieme, a
member of the UNTS national bureau
(formerly Secretary-General of the CNTC,
the Believers' Trade Union), also broadcast
an appeal to workers not to strike.

Subsequently M. Ngom announced the
creation of a new central organisation, the
National Confederation of Senegalese
Workers (CNTS), which, he said, would,
like the UNTS, support the claims of bank
workers who have been on strike since
June 2, but would also work alongside the
UPS.

The bank workers strike, which was
originally of 10-days duration, but was made
indefinite through the expiry of an ultimatum
from workers to employers, had
earlier been described by the President as
illegal, and the Minister of Labour, M.
Abdoul N'Diaye had said that the workers,
who were a small minority, would be
exposed to the full penalties of the law.

In a broadcast on Friday of last week,
President Senghor said that civilised
nations had regulated the right to strike with
arbitration procedures; in some countries,
such as the Socialist ones, all strikes were
forbidden ("not perhaps a bad thing"). It
was natural that Senegal, which practised

African socialism, should choose a similar
way, with a labour code which was one of
the most constructive in Africa.

Repeating that recent strikes were
unreasonable and anti-national, he said that
for three years Senegalese unionism had
deviated renouncing its constitutional role
and its nation-building mission; people had
sought political power through a trade
union short-cut. He also noted that the
130,000 salaried workers of Senegal were
among the best paid of all French-speaking
Africa. The true proletariat were the
fishermen and peasants, who were earning at
least ten times less than a wage-earner in
the private sector. "The duty of the govern-
ment is first of all to be concerned with
the rural people, especially as the drought of



Abdoul N'Diaye—strikers "in a small
minority."

last winter was a catastrophe, and
many peasant families were reduced to only
corn meal a day."

The President also cited, to prove the
political nature of the strikes, leaflets
printed in Cuba, circulated recently in Dakar,
calling for commemoration of the 100th
anniversary of the founding of the banned
Marxist party, the PAI, on June 10.

● The release from detention has been
announced of former Minister M. Joseph
Mbaye, for health reasons.

A report in *Le Monde* early this month
said that since mid-May there had
been insistent rumours circulating in
the Senegalese capital that former
Premier Mamadou Dia was about to
receive presidential clemency and be
released from detention (M. Dia was sen-
tenced to life imprisonment in May 1963
for his attempted coup in December 1962).
Some of the rumours, says the report, even
suggest that the release would be a prelude
to the return of M. Dia and his
detainees (former ministers Valdés

N'Diaye, Ibrahima Sarr and Joseph Mbaye) to political life. Those who sustain this line see some connection in the impending constitutional reform, which envisages the reintroduction of a Prime Minister (since 1963 Senegal has had a presidential constitution), albeit controlled by the assembly and responsible to the head of state. The origin of these reports seems to lie in a recent visit by one of the lawyers of the detainees, Me. Francois Sardia of the Paris bar, to his clients in the prison at Kedougou, Eastern Senegal, for the first time since 1963. However, says *Le Monde's* correspondent, official sources put these rumours on the level of fantasy, noting that the former Premier's "economic administration, particularly on planning questions, was far from being a success." The idea of a presidential pardon, said these sources, had never been expressly broached, but such a measure could occur in a period of calm "which is not quite the case at the moment," if M. Dia was prepared to renounce definitely all political activity. In any case, such a development would be more likely to mark the inauguration of the new regime, rather than be seen as a manoeuvre destined to prepare that regime.

● Senegal's third four-year plan, due to begin on July 1 after having been passed by the National Assembly, envisages a rapid increase in agricultural production, as well as developing fisheries and tourism. Industry would concentrate on putting to use products of the soil, sub-soil and the sea. Without neglecting long term development prospects, the plan stresses the importance of finding solutions to a certain number of difficulties, such as the vulnerability of the groundnut monoculture to variations of climate and to fluctuations of the world market, and the unfavourable trade balance arising from the massive import of consumer goods which could be produced in Senegal. At the end of this plan, the import of rice, sugar, market-gardening produce, milk and fruits should be in clear decline, while exports of fish, groundnut oil and cotton should have strongly progressed.

To obtain these objectives, it is foreseen that 130,000 m. CFA francs (a little over £200 m) will be invested in the course of the four-year plan. In the actual state of Senegalese finances, over one-half this sum will come from public overseas aid, and 20 to 25,000 m. CFA from investors, especially overseas.

● The European Development Fund has granted 1,738 m. CFA francs (nearly £2.5m.) as this year's portion of the programme of aid to groundnut production. Devoted mainly to structural improvement, but also to price support, this sum is the last of five grants under the programme which has formed part of the Second FED since its inception in 1964.

GHANA Press Freedom Study

A special committee has been set up by the Assembly to review a motion seeking to ensure press freedom. The motion, introduced by Dr. Jones Ofori Atta (of the University of Ghana), says no Government shall own or control any of the information media, "except through a national trust created for that purpose and on which the political parties are being and

other independent identifiable groups are represented" or when a medium is necessary "for good government" and gives only facts and figures on Government activity. Mr. J. G. Amamoo, editor of the *Ghanaian Times*, is, like Dr. Ofori Atta, on the committee.

The Assembly, rescinding an earlier decision, has adopted the Constitutional Proposals' clause giving the Supreme Court appellate jurisdiction in matters determined by the National House of Chiefs. It has also ruled that anyone being investigated by a commission of inquiry must give evidence to it, and may not appeal to any court if he is aggrieved by its findings. Commissions of inquiry are to have the powers, rights and privileges of a High Court in dealing with evidence. They may be ordered by decision of the Prime Minister or the National Assembly.

● Mr. E. Ako-Adjei, former Foreign Minister, has withdrawn evidence he gave before the Manyo-Plange Assets Commission about the purchase of the Ghana Chancery in Washington, soon after Mr. K. A. Gbedemah had denied it in evidence. Mr. Gbedemah, at the time of the purchase, was a member of the Presidential Commission, which Mr. Ako-Adjei alleged had approved the purchase of the Chancellery; he denied this, saying the Presidential Commission had taken no decision on the matter in 1961.

● Dr. W. K. Lutterodt, interim chairman of the proscribed Peoples Popular Party, has said the allegations made by the government against his party were unfounded. He denied ever attending a meeting at the residence of Mr. G. Aduamah (as alleged) and said if the government really had evidence it should state the time, and place of the meeting and the matters discussed; at the time of the alleged meeting in January, the PPP had not been formed, he claimed. He said it was not true that a manifesto was found on him during a search at the Kotoka International Airport, the three letters he was carrying from three ex-Ministers contained nothing subversive, he said, adding that according to the Political Parties Decree it was only on the application of the Attorney-General that the registrar of parties could declare a party prohibited.

Nii Odoi Amman, an Accra barrister and member of the PPP, has called for a public enquiry into the circumstances which led to the banning of that party. He said he had not attended any meeting at the house of Mr. G. Aduamah on Jan 21 with other persons, as alleged, and was not a founding member of the party. Mr. R. D. Amofa, a founding member of the proscribed party, has called for a commission of inquiry.

Mr. Kwasi Amoako-Aita, former Finance Minister, has denied ever attending a meeting as alleged, and said he did not know the contents of a letter alleged to have been written to him by Mr. Kojo Botso, from London, through Dr. Lutterodt.

● The NLC cannot abdicate its responsibilities of protecting the people against a resurgence of an incompetent, tyrannical and corrupt regime, Major-Gen. Ocran, NLC member and Acting Chief of Defence Staff, has declared at Dodowa. It will "continue to exercise the greatest vigilance to ensure the protection of the country," he added.

● The Liberian Senate President, Mr. Isaac David, has denied press reports that President Sekou Toure of Guinea had put an end to courtesy treatment of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, his guest. After visiting Guinea, he told the Freetown *Daily Mail*, "Nkrumah always had a motorcade complete with out-riders when travelling around the town"; and at every function he attended "President Nkrumah was always on one side of President Toure and I on the other."

● Brig. Afrifa, chairman of the NLC, has been to Abidjan for talks with President Houphouët-Boigny, accompanied by the Commissioners for Economic Affairs (Mr. E. N. Omaboe), External Affairs (Mr. P. D. Anin) and Finance (Mr. J. H. Mensah).

● Dr. K. A. Busia, leader of the Progress Party, has said at Tamale that before political unity, the economic equality must be first established. Addressing the party's inaugural ceremony for the Northern Region in Tamale, he added that one of the principles of his party was to stop the widening of the gap in development between regions.

● Mr. Gbedemah has said his criticism of the delay in publication of the Jagga Assets Report (which ordered him, among others, to repay a sum of money) was not directed against Brig. Afrifa or the NLC; he apologised to the Council for any embarrassment caused.

● Mr. Justice E. N. P. Sowah, chairman of the Sowah Assets Commission, has presented the inquiry's report to Mr. J. W. K. Harley, Deputy Chairman of the NLC. It covers 35 specified persons, some of them former Ministers and Regional Commissioners, including Mr. Ofori Atta, Mr. K. Amoako Aita, Mr. Owusu-Affiyie and Mr. K. E. Bensah, all former ministers.

● The All People's Party, headed by Dr. E. V. C. de Graft Johnson, has asked the NLC to control lavish expenditure by major parties in the electoral campaign.

● Mr. P. K. K. Quaidoo, head of the Republican Party, has said it aims to prevent social unrest that might arise from assumption of power by a revived UP or CPP. It would tackle unemployment and the high cost of living, lay stress on agriculture, and work for the "total liberation of our continent."

● The TUC has decided not to align itself with any political parties but to remain neutral.

● Dr. Edward Buohene, former managing director of Ghana Airways, has won a libel action arising from an article in the *Kumasi Pioneer* two years ago. The author, Mr. Kingsley Abeyie, and the publishers were ordered to pay damages and costs.

● The balance of payments was in deficit by 140m. cedis in 1965 but by less than 50m. in 1968, the Economic Affairs Commissioner has said.

● The Government is to spend over 20m. cedis on construction and maintenance of roads in the next financial year. He mentioned the great damage to roads in last year's rains (the Accra-Kumasi road was still in a poor condition last month) and said the road administration system was being rationalised.

dateline Africa

SIERRA LEONE

Honour for Speaker

A Knighthood has been awarded to the Speaker, Mr. Justice Luke, in the Queen's Birthday Honours. Other awards include the C.M.G. for Mr. Justice G. F. Dove-Edwin of the Sierra Leone and Gambia Court of Appeal, the C.B.E. (Military) for Brigadier J. A. Bangura, Force Commander, who is at present undergoing medical treatment in London, and the C.B.E. (Civil) for Mr. G. L. V. Williams, Secretary to the Prime Minister since civilian rule returned. Mr. Jenkins-Johnston, ex-Town Clerk of Freetown, and Mr. J. G. Smith, M.V.O., Deputy Commissioner of Police, receive the O.B.E.



Mr. Justice Luke—C.M.G.

● For the second time Mr. Desmond da Silva, the London lawyer who is appearing for the defence in the treason trial, has been acquitted on a charge of conveying miniature bottles of brandy to Mr. George Panda (secretary to the former Prime Minister, Sir Albert Margai), his client. The magistrate said that the prosecution had failed to prove any details of the charge.

● Mr. Siaka Stevens has said his Government would take measures against what he described as "irresponsible journalism". Speaking at the opening of a local branch of his All People's Congress, Mr. Stevens said the Government encouraged a constructive press, not one which attacked persons rather than policies. It was reported that the present parliamentary session would debate a bill aimed at improving the quality of newspapers. *Unity* attacked the proposal, saying: "It is the reader not the Government that judges a newspaper's qualities". The Minister of Information has denied the report.

● Within the last year rice imports have been reduced by over 50 per cent. The Minister of Agriculture and National Resources said at the opening of the Horticulture Show. Mr. Koroma suggested that within 18 months it might be possible to end rice imports altogether, although in the past very large amounts had been imported. During the 1970s Sierra Leone not only produced enough for internal needs but a surplus for export.

The Minister emphasised the importance of the present UN Special Fund project for survey of possible agricultural development in Sierra Leone. Palm plantations, exten-

sion and improvement of cocoa, water control and irrigation for rice and establishment of abattoirs were being considered. Another survey was examining fish resources and there was new research into forestry. He also believed that there was no need to import vegetables on the present scale and his Ministry was ready to assist not only in production but in marketing. A central marketing organisation seemed necessary.

● The BBC TV programme "24 Hours" has shown a film about the problems of illicit diamond diggers in Sierra Leone. The film showed conditions in Koidu and in the Sierra Leone Selection Trust concession area. The reporter, Linda Blandford, interviewed the head of the Sierra Leone Selection Trust security force, Mr. Leslie Marsden (former Commissioner of Police in Nigeria), and Mr. John Morten, SLST's resident director in Freetown, as well as the Finance Minister, Dr. Mohamed Forna. Scenes were also filmed in the Government Diamond Office, Kenema.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

A joint industrial and commercial commission of proprietors who suffered losses in Equatorial Guinea in February and March has estimated the value of assets left behind in the republic as 1,500m pesetas (about £8m). The sum necessary for resuming commercial and industrial activities is, according to the commission, over half that figure. The commission is currently negotiating for the grant of a nationwide moratorium, and authorisation of credit for 15 years.

● Spain has relieved its ambassador to Equatorial Guinea, Sr. Juan Duran Loriga, of his post. He had been appointed in October last year, when the colony became independent, and was recalled in March after the anti-Spanish riots had broken out.

● Following the new agreement between Spain and Equatorial Guinea it is learnt in Madrid that Guinea will have a national currency to replace the Spanish peseta, and a national bank, within six months.

GUINEA

President Sekou Touré has announced that the Guinea army is to be "purged and reconverted". Speaking to army officers in Conakry last week he called for the drawing up of a list of "elements whose presence in the army is incompatible with Guinea's will to radicalise its revolution". These elements would be excluded from the army, but would be found other jobs. The army staff had already prepared a list of 900 soldiers who had reached the upper age limit and would be retired. The President also said that civil service conditions of employment would be applied to the army.

● M. Mamady Kaba has been re-elected Secretary-General of the Guinea Trade Union Congress (CNTG) at its fifth national congress last month.

● Emperor Haile Selassie has sent a message to President Sekou Touré expressing his solidarity, and saying Africa was grateful for "all the services you have rendered her". The monarch urged closer Guinea-Ethiopia ties. Mentioning Guinea's internal difficulties, the Emperor sent "warm congratulations" on President Touré's

efforts to "ensure the prosperity and well-being of Guinea". During his visit in Conakry in April, the Emperor said, he has been "eye-witness of the popularity enjoyed by President Touré".

CAMEROON

President Moktar Ould Dadda of Mauritania has been on a three-day private visit to Garoua in North Cameroon. He talks with President Ahidjo. A communiqué said the two presidents condemned this week's Rhodesian referendum, and hoped for an early negotiated settlement to the Nigerian war.

Also visiting Garoua has been President Tombalbaye of Chad. After his talks with President Ahidjo it was announced that the two countries had decided to reinforce bilateral co-operation. President Ahidjo is to visit Fort Lamy at a later date.

MAURITANIA

The political bureau of the ruling party in Mauritania, the PPM, has approved ways and means of integrating the army and security forces with the party.

● Former Mauritanian Foreign Minister M. Wane Brane Mamadou, and the former Mayor of Atar, have been arrested, accused of embezzlement of public funds.

MALI

In the middle of a nation-wide tour, Lt. Moussa Traoré, head of state, said that the economic situation at the time of the coup in November last year, was catastrophic. The country had owed more abroad and the treasury had been practically empty. He launched two elegant-increased production in all sectors and revaluation of the currency—and urged farmers to return to the land. The army had no intention of hanging on to power and when the time came the people would choose their new leaders "democratically and freely".

MEETINGS AND VISITS

The OAU *ad hoc* committee of military experts has met in meeting in the Tanzanian town of Tanga. An arm of the Liberation Committee, the experts are from 17 countries (Algeria, Cameroon, Congo-K, Congo-B, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, UAR and Zambia). Commanders of liberation movements also attended.

● At a meeting of the board of the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO) in Nouakchott it was decided to keep basic lending rates unchanged. Credit policy had prevented any excessive repercussions of outside monetary events, without hindering the financing of African economic needs.

● M. Bomboko, Congo-K foreign minister, has held talks in Belgium on technical assistance, especially for agriculture and education, and on air transport and aid for the health services.

● President Kaunda of Zambia is to visit Sierra Leone, Mauritania, The Gambia, Guinea and the Ivory Coast at the end of June.

● Col. Schramme, ex-Congo mercenary, but denied reports that he intended to return to Africa; he was visiting Spain and Portugal looking for a place to settle down.

NIGERIA

Relief: river route and day airlift

BIAFRA has accepted, with qualifications, a plan for a former American landing ship, *Donna Mercedes*, to go up the Cross river from Calabar with food for Biafran-held areas, in an attempt to open a new relief route there; it had earlier been approved by the Federal Government after talks with Prof. C. C. Fergusson, President Ntafia's special envoy on Nigeria-Biafra relief. The ship, owned by a Colombian firm and chartered to a private US firm, was expected to reach Lagos this week; it carries hundreds of tons. Dr. Anikpo said the ICRC would be welcome to join in this Nigerian-US venture.

The Biafran statement on June 18 said details were awaited so that instructions could be given to the Secessionist Forces. American guarantees were also expected "against probable Nigerian abuse." The Biafran statement said the river route was supplementary to a continuing airlift, recalling Colonel Ojukwu's suggestion of a special airfield for daytime relief flights, it said that this was now being built. Until this was completed, Biafra would allow "combined day and night relief operations for a limited period subject to effective international or other third party guarantees," if this was "absolutely necessary" and if it did not threaten security.

● The Biafrans claim to have "completely recaptured" the oil and gas field at Owaza, about 15 miles north of Port Harcourt and on the West bank of the Imo river, opposite Afam. They took it after 10 days' fighting, during which, according to the secessionists, two crude oil storage tanks were set alight by the Federal forces. Owaza is west of the main Aba-Port Harcourt road, which crosses the river near its sharp bend towards the east, at Obigbo. Last August the 155th battalion of the 17 Federal brigade crossed the river at Owaza and pushed on to Asa, the main road bridge having been put out of action by the retreating Biafrans.

The Nigerians claim to have defeated counter-attacks in Awka and Amansee, to control the situation in Umuahia and Bende, to have destroyed river craft taking Biafran infiltrators across the Niger, and to be recovering lost ground north of Port Harcourt. The Biafrans claim to have gamed 21 miles of riverside and territory S. and S.W. of Aboh in the Mid-West, and to be consolidating or holding positions in the north and south. In the Okigwi area they have spoken of a defeat of a Federal attack, followed by a big Nigerian artillery bombardment.

● Biafran commandos ran into Federal troops at Uba village in Aboh division, Mid-west, and were driven back across the Niger, according to the *Nigerian Observer*. More than 11,000 refugees at Ibusa town in Asaba division were told to return to their homes less than 24 hours after a Biafran aircraft bombed the area in which they were camped.

A border defence corps has been set up in the Opobo division of South Eastern State to counter Biafran activity.

● The Nigerian Air Force claims to have destroyed two of Biafra's Swedish-built Minikon aircraft and set their jungle base ablaze in a series of raids, destroying the fuel dump and damaging the camouflaged hangars. There is no confirmation of this from the secessionist side.

In an editorial the *Nigerian Tribune* (which also prints in full the alleged story of the negotiations leading to Biafra's acquisition of the Minikons) claims that the air raid on Port Harcourt was made from Gabon, and says the government should threaten to bomb Gabon's airport if such a thing happened again.

A report from Biafra says at least 50 civilians were killed last week in Federal air raids which it said were on civilian targets. Another says three days of raids have completely destroyed a central relief storage point belonging to Caritas in Okigwi province, killing two persons; the resident priest has been instructed to move.

● Before the expulsion of Dr. August Lindt (see page 702) the Nigerian press attacked the ICRC almost daily. The *Daily Times* said it should be asked to leave Nigeria and told that the Federal air force would shoot down "all aircraft which violate Nigeria's airspace." The *Nigerian Observer* said "unless saner counsel prevails" the ICRC seemed to be aiming at a "collision" which would be a "disaster for all concerned"; it had instructed its pilots to become blockade runners, the Benin newspaper added. The *Morning Post* said the Committee were "hitlings of imperialism." Earlier a Lagos Radio talk had attacked Dr. Lindt, saying he had played a "dubious role" and the Red Cross had acted as spies for Biafra and helped it acquire arms. The International Red Cross had created "chaos and confusion" everywhere, it was alleged in the talk.

There has also been Nigerian criticism of foreign reactions in the affair of the Italian oil technicians. The *Morning Post* criticised Mgr. Karl Bayer, head of Caritas for his reported suggestion that some of the oilmen might have been killed by Nigerians, and said they only went into the area because they thought they could trust "brother Ojukwu" in view of what it said was Italian and Vatican support for him.

The ICRC protested against Nigerian press attacks, which have continued.

● Armed troops patrolled Lagos streets on two days last week, stopping vehicles and asking passengers to produce evidence of employment or face immediate arrest. The action was described as a routine security check.

● The Gabon Information Minister, Martino Bango, and Public Works Minister Paul Malekou, as well as the Ivory Coast Defence Minister, M. Mbahia Ibe Kouadio, have been in Italy as guests of the government. Their mission to Biafra helped secure the release of the Italian oil technicians captured near Kwalé.

M. Debre, French Foreign Minister, said that France had played a significant role in the release of the oilmen. Before their release, a Biafran envoy, Dr. Kenneth Dike, had had discussions with M. Debre and officials at the Quai D'Orsay in Paris.

● The Federal Government has strongly criticised Swedish and US statements deploring the shooting down of the Red Cross relief aircraft on June 5.

● The Red Cross says the crash of one of its aircraft on May 6 was due to a pilot's error.

● Mr. C. C. Mojekwu, Biafran Home Affairs Commissioner, has accused the ICRC of flying Federal forces to the front, and of being involved in a British-Nigerian

plot for the taking of Uli by British forces, after halting of relief flights, on the pretext of allowing these to restart. Speaking in Oslo, he also accused the UK of promising Nigeria six Hawker Hunters manned by RAF volunteers.

The Norwegian Foreign Ministry has criticised Mr. Mojekwu's attacks on the ICRC.

● Mr. Peter Stewart, BBC West Africa correspondent, was deported on the same day as Dr. Lindt was expelled. He said the action (which has been praised by the *New Nigerian*) might have been due to his report of a big Soviet arms shipment.

● Miss Sally Goucher, an English nurse working for the Save the Children Fund, was released by the Biafrans after intervention by the Presidents of Cameroon and Gabon. She had been held for 17 days after driving into Biafran territory from an Italian Red Cross relief base near Federal-held Obilagu. She said that she had been questioned but well-treated and that Biafran morale was high.

It was learned in London that three other Britons are being held in Biafra as well as a Finnish born woman with a British passport. Relatives of Mr. Daniel Crickmar said that no charge had been made against him since he was imprisoned almost immediately after arriving at Port Harcourt to work there in April 1968. (One said he had gone to Biafra in late 1967, but was accused of working for Nigeria.) The Red Cross, which has been negotiating on the Britons on behalf of the British Government, is also trying to trace about 40 British and Commonwealth citizens believed to be in the area, including British wives of Ibos.

● Alhaji H. P. Adebola, president of the United Labour Congress, has suggested the formation of a West African Trade Union Movement comprising all labour movements in West Africa. A meeting of all Nigeria's trade union organisations is planned.

● Harold Wilson has told the House of Commons he understood that French arms supplies to Biafra had been resumed, after earlier drying up. Urged by MPs to seek a meeting with newly-elected President Pompidou on the subject, he said: "We would have to consider what would be an appropriate means of representing to the French Government our very strong feeling that these arms should stop, even if they go through other countries and are officially denied in France."

● When Sir Leslie Glass presented his credentials as British High Commissioner to Gen. Gowon, the federal leader said there was goodwill for Britain in Nigeria, and called for greater cooperation.

● A fund to provide homes and relief to children who have lost their parents as a result of the civil war has been named after its originator, Lady Hunt, wife of the former British High Commissioner who has left to take up a new post in Brazil.

● President Ahidjo of Cameroon said his government will never recognise the secessionist state. Addressing newsmen in Yaounde at the end of his visit to West Cameroon, President Ahidjo said: "Those who have recognised the rebel regime and encouraged secession, will carry before history the responsibility. They have rendered no service to Nigeria or to the secessionists."

NIGERIA—continued

● A new Ghana High Commissioner has presented his credentials to Gen Gowon—Mr. Jacob Owusu-Akyeampong, who succeeds Alhaji Yakubu Tali, Tolon Na.

A new Congo-K ambassador, M. A. Tshilumba-Kabishi, has also presented his credentials.

● The Archbishop, Bishop and Representatives of the Church of an Anglican Province of West Africa, at the meeting of the Provincial Standing Committee in Takoradi, Ghana, have issued a declaration urging "that fighting should stop immediately and that with the help of a common mediator both sides should more earnestly engage in meaningful negotiations as is customary among Africans in an attempt to settle a dispute".

Bishop Kale of Lagos said this resolution was a compromise to which his delegation agreed, being a Church and not an official Nigerian delegation.

News from the States

● £11,580,570 is to be spent by the Lagos State Government in 1969/70. The budget provides for an estimated revenue of £12,153,500. No new taxes are proposed but the present law on income tax is being reviewed for the sake of a uniform law. The state is to spend £3,332,680 on education; health services and social welfare take the second largest share, with £3,718,080.

An inquiry will also be set up into the financial administrations of councils which are alleged to be involved in malpractices.

The Governor, Col. Johnson, said a committee had been set up to consider the desirability of hospital management committees to run health centres and small hospitals in the state, and the government proposed to establish a branch of the Nigerian Arts Council.

There are to be rent tribunals in the State. Rents in Lagos are "exorbitant", says the *Daily Times*, which supports this decision but says standardisation and reduction of rents are desired. The newspaper questions the decision to make the City Council caretaker committee "more representative", saying this would bring in politicians.

● Seven former public officers in the Western State have forfeited assets, totalling £231,701 15s. 8d., to the State Government. They are Chief B. Olowofoyeku, former Attorney-General; Prince A. O. Awogboro, former chairman of the State Housing Corporation; Alhaji Saka Layonu, ex-Minister of Co-operatives and Community Development; Chief J. O. Omokwajo, former Minister of State; Mr. N. A. B. Kotoye, former Minister of Trade and Industry (who has protested at the order); Mr. Duro Ogundiran, former Minister of Lands and Housing and Chief E. B. Arowojulu, former Minister of State.

● The ex-Etsu Nupe, Alhaji Usman Sarki, has been banished from Niger Province. North Western State governor Usman Faruk said it was for "security reasons." Sarki abdicated last month following a commission of inquiry into the causes of last October's disturbances in the area.

LONDON

The British representative on the International Observer Team in Nigeria, Lt-Col Douglas Cairns, has been awarded the O.B.E. in the Queen's Birthday Honours List. Others honoured for services in Africa include: K.C.M.G.—John Cotton, former British Ambassador in Kinshasa. C.M.G. Edgar Laird, former deputy High Commissioner, Kaduna. C.B.E.—George Edinger, deputy vice-chancellor at Ibadan University. Miss Cecily Ety-Leal, special duties officer at the Federal Ministry of Establishment. Stanley Gray, managing director of Shell BP in Lagos. O.B.E.—Frank Fraser, who has headed UAC in Northern Nigeria. Charles Gardner, former First Secretary of the High Commission in Lagos. Jol Hardestie, agricultural research director in Nigeria. Camille le Clair, deputy police commissioner in Nigeria. Hugh Pierpoint for services to British interests in Angola. Douglas Salt, managing director of Caxton Press in Northern Nigeria. Archibald Sutt, head of the chemistry department at the University of Ife.

M.B.E.—Miss Audrey Davis, London representative of Ahmadu Bello University. Geoffrey Dearsley, for services in Northern Nigeria; Thomas Edwards, chief police superintendent, Nigeria; John Foulsham, lands officer in the Nigerian Electricity Corporation; Reginald Horner, former architect at Ahmadu Bello University in Northern Nigeria; Miss Jennifer Mayo, for nursing and welfare services in Senegal; Eric Pickard, agricultural superintendent, Nigeria; Reginald Usher, for education services in Cameroon, Eric Warren, for services with British relief teams in Nigeria; John Wilson, former chief superintendent of police in Nigeria, and the present chief superintendent, Martin Walsh; Mr. Margaret Feeny, Secretary of the Africa Centre in London.

WASHINGTON

● Mr Joseph Palmer, US Assistant Secretary of State, African Affairs, is to become Ambassador to Libya, replacing Mr David Newsom who has succeeded him in Washington.



Col. Ambrose Gwinda, outgoing Sierra Leone High Commissioner (who had his farewell audience of the Queen last week), presents a cheque for £1,250 from his Government for the Africa Centre, to Mr. A. L. Ali, Assistant Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, he received it as a member of the Council of Management of the Centre. Miss Margaret Feeny, Secretary, is in the centre here.

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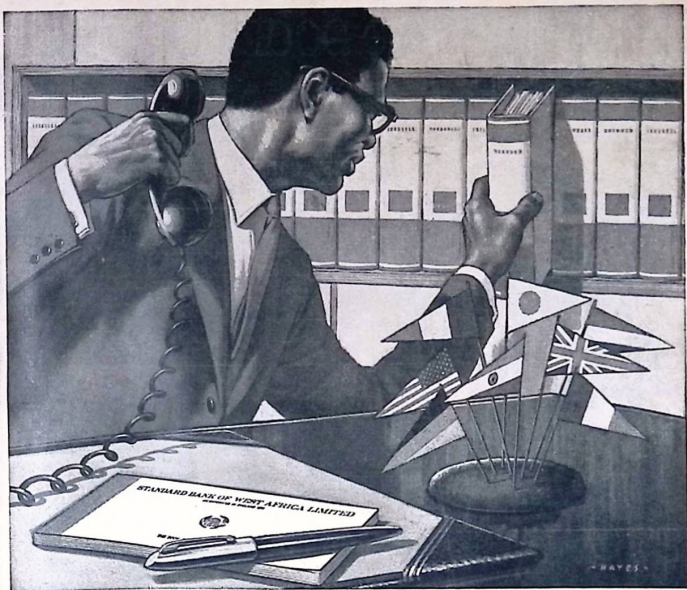
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