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DOCUMENTS
SECTION.

Twelve Years of Ghana

LAST week Ghana celebrated the third anniversary of the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah. Next week, on March 6, Ghana celebrates the twelfth anniversary of independence. Between these two anniversaries we take stock of the country.

Twelve years ago it would have seemed inconceivable that Ghana would, in 1969, be attempting an entirely fresh constitutional start because of the general agreement that Ghana had experienced a total political failure. But, at least, Ghanaians can justly claim that it was they themselves who recognised the failure, who overthrew the régime responsible for it, and set about rebuilding political life.

It is easy to smile at those who think that the perfect constitution is available if you search long enough, and the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly was certainly right to remind members that if they failed to adopt some new procedures (they have now accepted them) the meeting would last for a year, and so completely disrupt the programme for return to civilian rule. Yet there is no more heartening sight in Africa today than this Constituent Assembly, the proof that dictatorship has been overthrown without outside assistance, that the soldiers really are determined to give way to the civilians, and that the civilians still believe that parliamentary democracy can be made to work.

These twelve years, certainly, have left a deep mark on the people as a whole, making them cynical about authority and unenthusiastic about politics. And although the N.L.C., belatedly but wisely, has now abandoned the original intention of banning from politics all who could be said to have had any responsibility for the old régime, and have decreed the banning instead only of a small group, Dr. Nkrumah's saddest legacy to Ghana is not an economy in ruins, but a political generation most of whose natural leaders were tempted by him to leave the democratic path.

The ruin of the economy, however, is serious enough. It is difficult to explain just how, after three years, with very favourable world cocoa prices, and much generous external assistance, Ghana still

finds herself in an economic straight-jacket.

The military régime's main economic achievement has been to restore sufficient confidence abroad in the administration of Ghana, both to secure a rescheduling of the enormous debts bequeathed by Dr. Nkrumah to make repayment a tolerable burden, and to begin once again to attract foreign investment. This it has done at a heavy price. Unemployment has risen because of retrenchment in uneconomic state enterprises and the reduction of the government payroll. Rigid import and currency controls have had to be maintained, even if their administration is more honest and efficient than under the previous régime. But the whole process is taking longer than was expected three years ago, even if there is now sanity in the jungle of State industries, and realism in the budgets.

In one vital economic sector, however, the situation seems to have deteriorated. For, as is made plain in an article on Page 233, the state of Ghana's cocoa farms is as bad as it has ever been. For this the blame is laid on the Government's continued denial to cocoa farmers of the full fruits of their overseas earnings. It is true that the NLC has increased the internal cocoa price and that devaluation of the cedi also had the same effect; but the Ghana cocoa farmer, who is also a consumer of taxed goods, is still paying what in Britain might be called super-tax.

This, however, is not the only reason why the cocoa crop has declined and may decline further. The NLC has courageously shut down various state and other collective farms. Under the NLC food prices, which were reaching intolerable levels under Dr. Nkrumah, have been reduced—and not only because of the large shipments of US and Canadian food. Guaranteed prices for maize and rice, the beginnings of a feeder road programme, and the transfer of agricultural extension services from the Farmers' Council (under which the services had deteriorated badly) to the Ministry of Agriculture, have all helped. But there is still no confidence among the farmers, whether they grow cocoa or food, in the government's agricultural services, and the con-



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trast between Western Nigeria's confidence in the possibility of increasing cocoa production, and the possible decline in Ghana can be explained partly, at least, by the greater effectiveness of the Nigerian extension services. The staff of the Ghana Ministry of Agriculture, too, themselves appear to lack confidence. The government's support, apparently now withdrawn, for the spectacular but unproven project for large-scale ranching, put forward by Lord Ypres and his colleagues, seems to show the same lack of confidence. Peasant farming that characterised C. Nkrumah. The feeder road programme and even repair of existing roads damaged by last year's rain, is painfully slow.

West Africa has already had two agricultural revolutions. The first followed the introduction by the Portuguese of new crops, many of which became the staple diet of the people. The second followed the adoption of export crops by the peasant farmers. A third revolution is now needed, and particularly in Ghana. This is the revolution that will apply modern science to peasant farming which whatever modifications may be made to land tenure and farming practices, will remain the basis of West African agriculture. This revolution will never happen unless the African governments sincerely accept the farmer as the most important man in the economy. This, one feels, even the present Ghana régime has not yet done. The test will be its treatment of the cocoa farmer.

ROUNDOABOUT

Calaba

Arriving here by chance on the day of Nigeria's Head of State was paying his unexpected visit to this historic town now capital of the South-Eastern State I was impressed not only by the popular enthusiasm for this State shown on the occasion, but also by the personal role ascribed to General Gowon, as the symbol of a 12-state Federation.

Holy

Holy, Holy, Holy

Saviour

Yakubu Gowon

This song, chanted by a group of refugees for the General at their camp in warehouse on Calabar's Marina, is typical of the messianic fervour his person arouses. This was Gowon, creator of the states, visiting one of the states of his creation, and assuring all communities in the state of their right to participate in its affairs, and in the Nigerian community. In this mystical context of recurring Christ images do not seem exaggerated.

The South-Eastern State is a good example of "new state" enthusiasm, channelling of energies released in the realisation of a long felt political desire. To such enthusiasm, no obstacle created by the aftermath of war seems insuperable. "There is absolutely no question here of anybody refusing to pay taxes," I was told by the State Commissioner for Finance, Mr. Ud

Inyang. "Even though in some cases they have lost everything, they still want to pay taxes for the new state." Thus there is nothing but horror expressed here at Dr. Azikiwe's suggestion for a plebiscite in the state to decide the state's future position, reasonable though this might seem in the abstract.

The Military Governor, Col. Esuene, a bright cheerful-faced air force officer from Uyo, told me that such a plebiscite was out of the question because the state was already a fact, "a spontaneous thing, a miracle in the contemporary Nigerian history." Agitation for a state here had been going on for 15 years, he said, political parties had "played on this whenever they wanted to catch votes." The Action Group won all seats in these parts in the election of 1959 on the creation of states ticket. In any case, the Governor declared, "Ojukwu never had a plebiscite for secession."

The strongest argument against the plebiscite seems to be that it renders the whole future of the state negotiable, creating uncertainty when the building of confidence is needed.

Events surrounding secession and the war have still not receded sufficiently for bitterness against the Ibos to die down. Calabar, which once counted Ibos as a third of its population, now has very few, except for some who had intermarried, and 70 or so in a refugee camp. (many others have been resettled in Lagos). I have heard some fairly harsh things said here about the Ibos. At the same time it is fairly generally accepted that they will come back, but this time not as rulers. The Governor said to me: "We have to let our people get over the psychological factor created by the war. The Ibos are Nigerians and we are very good-natured." They would have legal claim to their property, but since, many of their houses had been destroyed, some of the property was damaged. Likewise, Col. Esuene said, it is hoped that eventually South-Easterners who had been in Ibo areas, would be able to claim property in Aba and other places.

This, however, is a small problem compared with the vast amount of rehabilitation that must be done in this state. With around half a million on the feeding list, the state has one of the most serious relief problems in the liberated areas. Not all these people are in camps; some live in congested conditions in towns, while more constantly trickle in. There are possibly two million displaced people of various kinds trying to get back into business or employment. I visited several refugee camps on a tour of what is known as the mainland area of the State, west of the Cross river. These camps are peopled by refugees from the areas still disturbed by war on the state's borders, in a curve stretching from the swampy area where the Enyong river joins the Cross south of Arochuku, through Annang country to the Aba-Ikot Ekpene road. The war has not moved very much from this area for the past five months and the camps

are all on the fringe of this belt, full of people awaiting return to the villages.

Ikot Ekpene's dispersion

Ikot Ekpene I found to be completely in Federal hands. The front is about seven miles to the north of the town on the Umuhia road, and the Biafrans also control a stretch of the road to Aba, although you can reach Port Harcourt via Azumini. For the time being, however, civilians are not being allowed to return to Ikot Ekpene, because of what happened last summer. Then the town was won, and almost lost again because of what was described to me as "divided loyalties" on the part of some of the civilians. The Federal army regard it as too important a communication centre to risk a return of civilians until the front has moved well away from the area. So now the people are dispersed. I came across a community of them lodged at the Qua Ibo Bible College, near Abak, where they have built neat huts in the compound and have even continued, commercially, the raffia weaving for which the town is famous.



Representative Charles Diggs, head of the Africa sub-committee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and leader of the US Congressional delegation is introduced by the military governor, Col. U. J. Esuene (left), to civilian commissioners.

Ikot Ekpene raffia weavers in exile also operate here, with difficulty, in Calabar.

Compared with last autumn, with its high death rate from malnutrition, food supplies are now more or less adequate. Mr. Kemmis, Red Cross co-ordinator in Uyo and head of an Oxfam team (he was in the administrative service in Western Nigeria for 15 years), told me they are now trying to stockpile 15,000 tons of food, enough to feed a million people for two months, should there be a Biafran breakthrough. At the moment the Red Cross teams (Mr. Kemmis' own Oxfam, the German Red Cross, the Swedish "Save the Children" Fund, the Christian Council of Nigeria, the Salvation Army, the Lutheran Church and an Austrian team, who apparently do not speak a word of English) are more or less marking time. UNICEF provide helicopters and nutritionists. The relief operation in the State is in some ways much more complex and sophisticated than in either the Rivers or East-Central states, because here you have an operational state government rehabilitating its

own medical services at the same time, with its own doctors, although some of the best personnel were taken away by the Biafrans along with the contents of the hospitals. Only one hospital was conspicuously damaged, the Mary Slessor Hospital at Itu; this, I was told, was scheduled to be moved away because of its location on top of a hill.

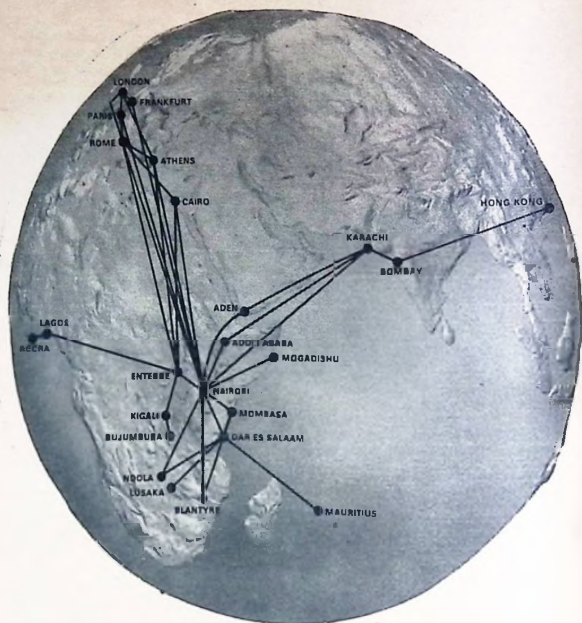
Ntoe and Muri

It would be inconceivable to come to a place like Calabar and not write a little of the town, its story and its monuments. As Mr. E. U. Aye says in his book, *Old Calabar through the Centuries*, Calabar was not, like Port Harcourt, built by Europeans, although the different communities have had a long and fruitful interchange with the Europeans. I called on two of Calabar's traditional rulers, the Ntoe of Big Qua, and the Muri of Efut, in search of enlightenment. While the Ntoe, whose community still retain, to some extent, Ekoi culture (they migrated centuries ago, he said, from Mba-Akang in what is now Cameroon), talked to me of the complicated history of land disputes between the Calabar communities, I interrupted the Muri in council, so I was only able to exchange courtesies (my questions were written down in the minutes book and translated into Efik).

The Efuts, also originally from Cameroon, are more assimilated with the Efiks, whose settlements of Duke Town, Henshaw Town and Old Town, as well as Creek Town, a few miles away across the river, were the heart of that Old Calabar which achieved such eminence in the nineteenth century. Monuments of that heyday can be seen, in the fine two-storey buildings, such as the old Residency, now the V.I.P. guest house, where the ghost of Sir Roger Casement, once the British consul here, is rumoured to walk. Mary Kingsley remarked on the prosperous villa residences of the Efiks; there was one 19th-century king who ordered a prefabricated iron palace from Britain, which was buried with him after he died.

As well as commercial flowering, these years brought the missionaries in abundance. All this area is, as they say, word, "ver churchous." Solid enterprises such as the Hope Waddell Institute, with its imposing hillside position, are the continuing memorial of the pioneers. Calabar also has a large Catholic community with their Cathedral—undamaged in the fighting, unlike some buildings on the Marina, or the prison, which is a pile of rubble. Apart from the effects of war, Calabar has much leeway to make up, because of the decline it has suffered in the twentieth century. There are few tarred roads, fewer modern buildings. Neglect, first by the British, then by the politicians in Enugu, made it a by-word as a decadent backwater. Now at last there is hope for a new lease of life.

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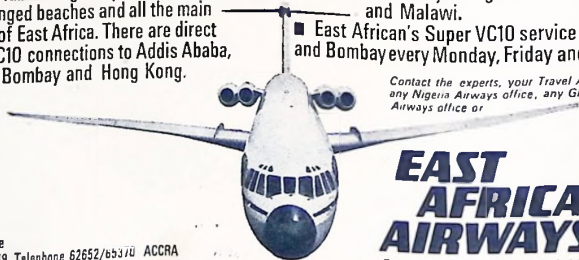
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Ghana's Cocoa in Crisis

Is the fall in Ghana's cocoa production due to temporary factors, particularly the heavy rains last year? Or, instead of the same acreage producing, as technically it could, far more cocoa, is it doomed to produce an annually diminishing crop? An article by a Special Correspondent, reprinted from this week's supplement on Ghana in the London "Financial Times", concludes that the lack of incentive to farmers and neglect by the government, and not temporary factors, is the trouble.

THE recent downward trend in cocoa production in Ghana seems to have shown the inadequacy of the studies which have so far been made regarding the responsiveness of the Ghanaian farmer to economic incentives. These studies have emphasised the lagged-response of supply to changes in price and have concluded that in the short run the supply of cocoa is not influenced by the price received by the farmers. The main reason given to support this view is that a long period of development is required before new plantings come into production.

The missing link here which needs to be filled in the light of recent experience is the responsiveness of the Ghana farmer to lower prices or lack of economic incentives. The history of the production trends in the past four years provides an answer to this question. While it is accepted that low prices will reduce production in the long run because they discourage the development of new farms, it is now clear that in the short run lower prices can have immediate effects on production as a result of changes in cultivation practices. The significance of cultivation practices has become extremely important in recent years and it quite clearly provides the clue to the understanding of the recent low production trends in Ghana.

The tree population that produced Ghana's bumper main crop of 542,000 tons in 1964-65 season should not be very different from the tree population which produced the crop of 396,000 tons in 1965-66, 363,000 tons in 1966-67, 390,000 tons in 1967-68 and the estimated disastrous crop of 320,000 tons for the 1968-69 season. Therefore, during the past four seasons, we can assume that the tree population is unchanged. If the tree population has not changed since 1964-65, then the reason for the sharp decline in production must be found on other grounds.

One factor that glaringly stands out is that in the absence of price and other economic incentives, cultural practices on the peasant cocoa farms have fallen to their lowest level in recent years. As far as price is concerned, it is true that the National Liberation Council has been following a policy of gradual but progressive increase year after year since it assumed the reins of Government. But the overall economic policy of the Government, which has been described as cautious and prudent, has been overly concerned with achieving both external and internal equilibrium and has used blunt instruments for the purpose; thus

ignoring the special needs of the cocoa industry and starving it of the incentives necessary to encourage proper cultural practices.

Fiscal measures—both taxes and Government expenditure and monetary regulators—have been the principal tools for regulating aggregate demand, aggregate propensities to consume, import and save. Added to these are the physical controls such as import licences, etc. Employment has also been regulated and at one time it was hoped that the deflationary policy would have the effect of shifting labour from industries in the urban areas where it was redundant to the cocoa farms where it was desperately needed.

A foreign economist who wielded immeasurable influence and was always very loud in the corridors of power immediately after the 1966 February coup actually believed that this could happen because he thought that even in the highly stratified society of Pakistan this weapon had been used to shift workers from jute factories into agriculture. The adviser who had never seen a cocoa tree before in his life, of course, did not know that cocoa farm labour is very specialised and that the unemployed factory labourer would rather resort to burglary to continue to enjoy the amenities of the cities rather than to go to the village to work on the farm.

As a result of this advice the price paid to the farmer during the 1966-67 season was not high enough to attract the right kind of labour to the farms and it is estimated that over 10 per cent of the crop was left on the trees.

Pre-occupation with showing a surplus on the domestic budget to induce confidence abroad has led to the reduction of the State Cocoa Marketing Board, which was originally designed to build up funds to stabilise the farmer's prices and to do anything necessary in the interest of the industry, to a mere tax-collecting organisation. An inordinately high proportion of the price per ton earned by the Board is paid to the Government in export duties. The profits of the Board, if any, at the end of the year have also to be paid into the Government chest. The Government's takings from cocoa, therefore, amount to over 60 per cent of the world price of cocoa. On the other hand, the subsidies on spray chemicals and sprayers are not enough to bring them within the depleted budget of the cocoa farmer.

The effect of the Government's economic policy is that cocoa, which is

the back-bone of the economy, has never received the sectoral attention which it needs, except as a tax-bearing source. The instruments used for deflating the economy are not sufficiently discriminating in their effects and unwittingly have depressed the cocoa industry.

If Ghana's cocoa industry is to resume its rightful place in the world cocoa market, it is necessary that the Government direct its attention to the provision of the necessary incentives to the farmer. Balancing the budget and restricting incomes of the farmers to control inflation may be a laudable policy as far as they induce confidence in potential foreign investors, but it is suicidal if it does so at the expense of neglecting the peculiar problems of the cocoa industry.

To kindle the interest of the farmers in new plantings and the use of proper cultivation practices, a new price of Nc.10.00 (10 new cedis) per head load will be a step in the right direction and a vast improvement on the present price of Nc7.00 which is barely half of what the smugglers get for their cocoa across the border in neighbouring Togo.

The Government will have to ensure that more gammalin gets to the farmer at a price which he can afford. To destroy the heavy build-up of capsids, the present annual supply of just over 200,000 gallons of gammalin has to be trebled and the price reduced from Nc1.13 per quart to about Nc0.50. The distribution channels for the gammalin will also have to be changed to ensure delivery of the insecticide at the doorstep of the farmer. It therefore seems inevitable that a scheme should be designed to transfer the distribution from the Ministry of Agriculture to the Licensed Buying Agents of the State Cocoa Marketing Board.

In the long run, the industry can be put on its feet by remunerative prices and wise incentives pump-primed through the appropriate channels. Therefore, it is imperative that the State Cocoa Marketing Board is allowed a more positive role to play in the cocoa economy. In the past, the rehabilitation programmes had been carried out with grants donated by the Board. The Board is no longer in a position to do so because all its funds have been used either to finance projects or as loans to the Government. But this gap in financing the maintenance and development of the cocoa industry has not been filled since the Government initiated the new policy of taking all the profits of the Board at the end of every season.

With so many calls on the funds of the Government, it is quite easy to understand why this situation should arise. But if allowed to continue much longer it would spell the doom of the cocoa industry and it would be of immeasurable help if, before the country is restored to civilian rule, the State Cocoa Marketing Board is restored to its former pre-eminent position in the economy.

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"Not with a Bang, but a Whimper..."

From a Nigerian Correspondent

SLOWLY, but remorselessly, the lights are going out in the old Institute of Administration in Zaria. Set up early in the 1950s, this pioneer institution was widely admired and imitated all over Africa. To this day its premier status is tacitly acknowledged by the Post Office, as letters arrive addressed "Institute of Administration, Africa". During the decade 1953-1962 it performed a magnificent task in providing the former Northern Region with a cadre of men with professional administrative know-how whom no ordinary academic institution could have trained in the time. It was the apple of the Sardauna's eye and whilst the former civilian regime endured, its fortunes were assured.

When Ahmadu Bello University was established outside Zaria in 1962, the Institute of Administration and the Institute for Agricultural Research were made part of it, despite the misgivings of academic members of the University senate, who felt that such Government-sponsored in-service training institutions, with their sub-degree courses, were out of place in an independent university. The formidable personality of the Institute's Director, Mr. Sam Richardson, was also somewhat indigestible, but until his departure in 1967 the University had to accept the Institute of Administration with as good grace as it could muster.

But now the old order changes. No-one should condone any waste of scarce resources on continuing to support an outmoded organisation for purely sentimental reasons. What is doubtful, however, is that the Institute is outmoded. The public services of most of the six new States in the North have a desperate need for practical administrative, managerial and legal skill to be imparted to their existing staff, which must for many years be predominantly non-graduate. Indeed, the new States are pressing for more, and more varied, courses: special courses have recently been run, for instance, for Works Supervisors of local authorities, and for the inexperienced young District Officers drafted in to run the "sub-areas" of North-Central State; more are planned.

The Institute is threatened, however, by hostility in the University, and still more by inertia in the States. The hostility is pardonable, for the University's pride has often been piqued by the favoured status of the quasi-independent Institute, with its massive government and business funds. Often at international conferences senior academics have been asked: "Ahmadu Bello University? Where on earth is that? Oh, Zaria—the Institute of Administration, you mean?" Again, the Vice-Chancellor, a medical doctor, is naturally preoccupied with his new Institute of Health and Faculty of Medicine,

created after herculean efforts on his part, but still lacking adequate accommodation or the funds to build it. The Institute of Administration lies right alongside the Zaria General Hospital, which will be expanded to form the teaching hospital. What more sensible than to transfer the university functions of the Institute to the main campus, and the in-service training to, say, the new Polytechnic in Kaduna, thus releasing buildings adaptable for the Institute of Health and the in-service para-medicals which it is, *inter alia*, to train?

These ideas, however, encounter sundry obstacles. Neither the University campus nor the Polytechnic can at present house the large numbers of mature-age students, who now find lodgings in Zaria while they attend in-service courses in law and local government and accountancy. Then the Institute's library is renowned as the best library in the fields of law and administration in the whole of Commonwealth Africa: this, and the Institute's international reputation, attract staff of a calibre that the Polytechnic could not hope to secure.

Moreover, the Institute and its library were financed by inter-government aid, notably from the USA and Britain, and belong as much to the six northern States as to the University; the Business School, too, was largely built with funds provided by industrial and commercial interests, and would be difficult to move.

Divided responsibility, however, means no responsibility. No one State is keen to turn aside from its own pressing concerns to fight battles for an institution with so many other masters. Nor is there any leadership in the Institute. Since Richardson's departure successive expatriates, with little knowledge of Nigeria or its needs, have unwillingly acted as Director. A Nigerian Director is clearly needed, but nobody of real calibre is going to take on a job with a hostile University hierarchy and with no guarantee whatever of pugnacious backing from the Northern States.

A young and inexperienced District Officer from North-East State, who resigned from a lectureship at the Institute last year, has now taken over as Acting Director: he is junior to nearly all his staff—both Nigerian and expatriate. Nothing dramatic is likely to happen. But the senior African staff are restless and looking round for other jobs; the expatriates are quietly accepting other posts as their contracts draw to an end—the Institute's reputation still ensures that there is a ready market for them. At least three heads of department are leaving in the next few months. And so, gradually, the noble machine is running down, and sooner rather than later it will wheeze quietly on to the scrap heap.



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Two Years Work for ECA

By a correspondent

FULL meetings of the UN Economic Commission for Africa now take place every two years, because it was felt that if they took place annually, ECA's staff would scarcely have started to implement the decisions of one meeting before having to prepare the agenda for the next. At last month's ninth session in Addis Ababa a draft programme* of "work and priorities" for 1969-70, with "projections" up to 1973, was approved, together with the detailed budget and staff requirements for the programme. So ambitious is the programme that a single year clearly could not contain it, while many of the projects will still be incomplete when the Commission meets in Tunis in 1971.

ECA, it must again be emphasised, is not an executive body nor does it disburse funds. On the other hand it is far more than a research organisation (although its vast output now represents the most valuable body of information for economic planners in Africa) or even a co-ordinating body for economic activities affecting more than one country or sub-region.

* *Draft Programme of Work and Priorities for 1969-1970 with Projections to 1973* (E/CN.14/447, January 24, 1969)

This can be seen particularly from its training programme at a number of levels. For example, this year seminars in French and English are planned for those concerned with the administration of public enterprises which, the programme points out, will absorb over 50 per cent of capital investment foreseen in the current development plans of most African countries. There will be courses in the techniques of manpower planning and training programming, sub-regional training courses on rural extension and community development and a host of other courses, held either in Addis Ababa or in other African capitals.

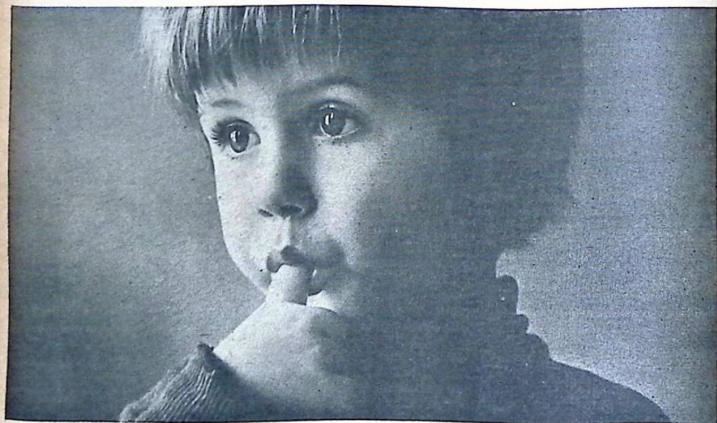
The programme, indeed, emphasises that "the basic problem of development in Africa" is a "social and human one". ECA maintains that it is relatively easy to determine the technical requirements for improving productivity; the problem is how to induce "tradition-bound communities" to accept technical improvements.

The pace of agricultural and industrial development in the region is seriously hampered, says the programme, not so much by scarcity of capital and natural resources as by the forces of African

social tradition, "coupled with a complex of rigid human factors". Rigid "property structures and land tenure systems, in certain cases, are rendering futile the efforts of Governments to achieve more equitable distribution of income. Inflexible customs and philosophies of traditional life continue to act as a brake on the introduction and acceptance of social change and modernisation."

Most of the transformation which has so far taken place in the social structure has been due, continues the programme, more to the sheer force of contemporary political, economic and demographic factors than to deliberate action. But still out of every ten children born in Africa, between 3 and 5 die in infancy, 40 per cent do not live to adulthood. Communicable diseases remain a major concern. Education produces school leavers without jobs. "Unemployed idle youth—youth with hopes aroused by national independence and the promise of a new life, but whose illusions are shattered by the lack of any movement towards the fulfilment of these hopes—represents perhaps the greatest of all threats to the new régimes of independent African states."

The programme, a document of over 170 pages, must be seen against this background. It covers an extraordinary variety of activities within the "guiding principle" of the "modernisation of



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Africa", with emphasis on industrialisation and the modernisation of agriculture.

Among studies to be undertaken is one which will analyse the tariffs and non-tariff barriers to trade between African countries; one to identify manufactured or semi-manufactured goods which are or could be exported by African countries; one to consider improvement of African trade with Eastern Europe. The programme emphasises that the most serious "constraint" on industrialisation is the small size of the national markets. There will be a study on the harmonisation of industrial programmes and one on the factors "which major investors examine and techniques they use for making assessments", together with others on the possibilities of external investment.

Cartography is one of ECA's most important executive functions. In addition to training in this field ECA in the next two years will improve its own stock of maps, and will consider establishing a research institute for aerial surveys.

Development of energy resources is essential for industrialisation and among studies in this field is one on the long-distance transport of large quantities of energy. Water, too, is essential for industry and there is to be in 1972 a high level seminar on the technology and economics of water desalination, in which technique, the programme says, there should have been such progress by

1972 that it could provide water for some arid African countries. Identification of raw materials, too, is an important prerequisite of industry, and there will be, for example, a study of resources for the fertiliser industry.

Industry itself brings problems, however, and among the ECA seminars, is one on the role of private employers and of unions in training; there will be others on the social effects of industrialisation. In transport there will be a number of studies, one a continuation of the study of inland waterways already begun with the Niger and Senegal rivers, to determine the economic advantages of inland water transport.

In agriculture, backward almost everywhere in the continent, ECA, says the programme, can do little directly but it can assist the governments to make the proper assessments and to co-operate with each other, for example in market studies. One of these concerns the cattle and meat trade between Ghana, Upper Volta and Niger. There is to be a study of the fish trade in West Africa, including inland fisheries, and the relations between fish and meat traders. The ECA and FAO Secretariats have agreed that there should be only one UN agricultural programme in Africa and that the FAO regional conference will be the sole UN forum for discussing the strategy of agricultural development (a proposal that FAO's organisation in Africa should be merged

with that of ECA was rejected last year by the FAO African regional conference).

For such an enormous programme the Secretariat has assistance from many other UN bodies such as the World Health Organisation and FAO, but it is ready to use appropriate assistance from any quarter, as is shown by its request for assistance in the preparation of model by-laws for house building and physical planning, and the preparation of codes of practice for these, from the British Building Research station and its French equivalent. ECA also co-operates very closely, if not always harmoniously, with OAU. The African Development Bank is also consulted about many matters, as is the Association of African Central Banks.

Even for work projected up to the end of 1973 Mr. Robert Gardiner, ECA's Executive Secretary, is asking for very little more than the present staff, and for virtually no more in the most senior appointments. This is not surprising. Apart from Mr. Gardiner's determination to work within his budget (which is a UN one) the great argument at last month's meeting concerned "Africanisation" of the staff. Because of the difficulty of finding suitable Africans, or persuading their governments to release them, more than 40% of the senior ECA staff are non-African; so additions would inevitably mean more non-Africans.

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Death of a Hero

World-wide sympathy was expressed on the death of Eduardo Mondlane last month. The earlier death, in action, of an equally impressive leader of the struggle against the Portuguese in Africa, Américo Boavida, received far less attention.

NOW that the Vietnam war appears at last to be drawing to a close, it may be reasonable to hope that the world will turn its attention to those other Vietnams created in misery and suffering by the Portuguese in Africa. In resisting Portuguese imperialism, the Africans of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are paying a bitter price in death and destruction at the hands of Portuguese expeditionary forces, not least by bombing from the air. How long must it go on? How long will the rest of the world—including the rest of Africa—stand by and patiently observe this Calvary?

Américo Boavida's death gave fresh poignancy and anger to these questions. And all the more because it seems characteristic of these wars of resistance in Africa that they are muffled from the world's knowledge behind a strange wall of silence.

Yet Boavida's story deserves a noble place in the records of mid-century Africa. From any point of view, national or international, and without the least exaggeration or pretension, Boavida was a hero of our time. He belonged to the ranks of those rare few whose example can only inspire decency and courage.

He died under Portuguese attack on September 25 last year, while tending wounded at a guerrilla base hundreds of miles from the South Atlantic coast of West Africa. His death is a tragic loss to the peoples of Angola, but I do not think that Boavida will have felt it as a tragedy for himself. He was a man with a strong and good love of life, and with years of work ahead of him. "But I am doing what I have to do," he said to me the last time I saw him, just over eight months ago, "and I can tell you that I have realised myself in a way that I can never regret. I have thrown away my career, my personal career, and I am glad. I am working for my people. I am where I belong."

"Assimilado" Rebel

Not the words, let me explain, of a professional failure or a social misfit or a neurotic seeking to overcome his neurosis by some desperate act of "faith." Boavida belonged to that tiny minority of Angolans—he himself was Kimbundu in origin—for whom Portugal has always reserved the sweets of academic distinction. His calm intelligence earned him easily through the medical school of the University of Porto, and, afterwards, through specialist courses in gynaecology at the University of Barcelona. Before the age of thirty he could be sure of a safe and brilliant career in specialised surgery in almost any European country. Proud of his skill, restlessly curious, stubbornly scientific, he could be certain of distinguished success.

But that kind of success, however much he loved his science, was not enough for Boavida. This African *evolué*, this privileged *assimilado* this senior academic did not forget the world he had come from. As early as 1960 he declared himself a nationalist rebel against Portuguese imperial rule. He was one of that first small mission of Angolan nationalists led by Mário de Andrade, who visited London and other European capitals in 1960 seeking support

for their cause though finding little or none. Later, after the period of armed resistance had begun in Angola, he went to Kinshasa (then Léopoldville) and became one of the founders of the Angolan Volunteer Corps for Aid to (Angolan) Refugees (CVAAR) under the aegis of the MPLA, of which Dr. Agostinho Neto was and is the president. After CVAAR—and the MPLA—were banished from the Republic of Congo (Kinshasa) by the then Adoula government in 1963 (acting under various pressures, including those of Dr. Holden's UPA), Boavida and his colleagues moved across the Congo to Brazzaville. There he continued his medical work as well as he could and found time to publish a factual analysis of Portuguese colonialism which he called *Five Centuries of Colonial Parasitism*.

IMPLA's Troubles

They were bitter years. Harried by the Kinshasa government and Holden's UPA when ever they tried to reach northern Angola by way of Congo (Kinshasa), reduced to action in the small Portuguese enclave of Cabinda north of the river, riven by the doubts and worries of exile, Boavida and his friends might well have despaired. Why not give up the unequal struggle? Why not retreat to a well-paid hospital in Europe? Why not accept high-paid employment in a surgical research institute

thousands of miles from Africa? Like his friends, Boavida listened to none of the temptations. He stayed where he was, but with a growing sense of frustration.

A new way ahead, hazardous but possible, opened late in 1966. The MPLA under Agostinho Neto's vigorous leadership found that at that time a new scene of resistance inside Angola, no longer in the north but in the eastern and central provinces. Small fighting units began engaging the Portuguese in the vast districts of Moxico and Cuando Cubango. Soon the MPLA had cleared a space for themselves, a space large enough for essential services to be installed inside the country. The time had come to "move inside." Medical services were needed, and Boavida answered the call. In June 1967 he went inside to set up field clinics and hospitals.

Boavida worked at this all through the second half of 1967 and the first half of 1968, coming "outside" in June last year for a few weeks to supervise the channelling of medical supplies from East Africa. The beginning of August saw him back again at his post. Less than two months later he gave his life for the cause he believed in. "On September 25," runs the MPLA communique, "Dr. Américo Boavida was killed by Portuguese bombing at an MPLA base near Muíde in the district of Moxico, while in charge of the medical services in our third fighting region. Intensive bombing and machine gunning was carried out for two hours by three helicopters and three bombers; Dr. Boavida was repeatedly and fatally hit . . ." He was buried two days later. He was 45. He will not be forgotten.

B.D.

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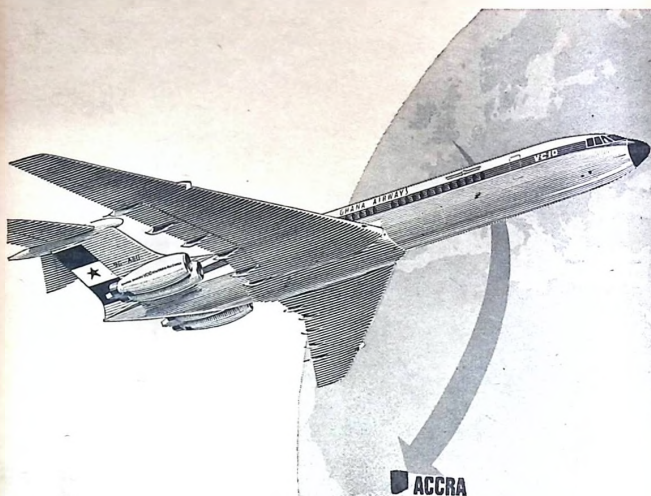
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books and publications

GETTING AWAY FROM TARZAN

Tropical Africa by Robert Coughlan and The Editors of Time-Life Books (Time-Life International (Nederland) N.V., 35s.).

APPREHENSION at what may be the result of trying to cram a guide to tropical Africa into 170 pages—about a third of them illustrations—soon gives way to relief. For Mr. Coughlan is an extremely skilled, and readable, summariser, and not only warns his readers against the dangers of generalisation, but manages to avoid them himself, at any rate misleading ones. The photographs, too, many in colour, take the story along on their own and do not just illustrate the text.

The area covered is south of the Sahara and north of South Africa, and including Madagascar. The audience is, presumably, newspaper readers bewildered by the news from Africa, and with jumbled memories of Tarzan and jungles. The jungles Mr. Coughlan disposes of in an excellent chapter on geography, where he emphasises that the most characteristic African landscape is the savannah. The Tarzan illusion is disposed of in the rest of the book, although Mr. Coughlan does not exaggerate the change that has come over Africa in recent years. "... the great majority of Africans not only live close to nature—they are themselves, in most essentials, still part of that whole landscape of lion and baobab tree, ant-hill and anteater, orchid, snake, smoke rising, water falling, sunlight and moonlight, in which everything is somehow involved with and conditioned by everything else."

The historical sections should do much to correct the picture of Africa still so commonly held elsewhere as to drive Aimé Césaire to begin his famous poem:—

"Hurray for those who never invented anything

"Hurray for those who never explored anything . . ."

In fact, as Mr. Coughlan says, "the entire sweep of human evolution is portrayed in modern Africa. "The Stone Age has its counterpart in the wandering Bushmen. The dawn of settled agricultural life can be seen in thousands of tribe-dominated rural villages. Ancient Egypt's god-kings and medieval feudalism have their replicas here. So, too, does the modern dynamism of cities, factories and nation-states. But in time, Africa's new life will obliterate its older forms of human enterprise." In addition what

he calls "the sentiments associated with 'we' " have been "the cement of African traditional society. In the new countries, perhaps the hardest task of leadership will be to expand the meaning of we from the tribe to the level of the nation."

Of traditional religion, Mr. Coughlan says: "The whole structure of African traditional beliefs—ancestors, divine chieftaincy, great spirits, gods, forces, emanations, reincarnation—possesses a great deal of internal logic. As Freud pointed out . . . they comprise a wonderfully satisfying faith because they supply an explanation for everything."

The resources of Africa are carefully described as are the bewildering variety of traditional units into which the continent is still divided. Mr. Coughlan emphasises that Africans have always shown a capacity to create and manage large scale units of government. The problem is how the authoritarian tradition that maintained these units will

operate in the modern nation states. The slave trade, art, crafts, the rise of nationalism, and the experience of independent states . . . all are dealt with. In spite of the scope of the book there is nothing of the breathless style of *Time* in it; it is, however, always antiseptic and remote, although Mr. Coughlan has travelled widely in Africa.

His conclusion may be taken from the paragraph with which he introduces a series of photographs showing "modernisation." The influence of the West "is spreading in Africa, though colonialism itself is dying. Modern life is westernised life, and the innumerable signs of contemporary civilisation now lodged piecemeal in Africa—pavement cafes and apartment houses, cash wages and bustling traffic, political parties and universities—are inevitably derived from western models. But inevitably, too, the ways of the West will assume new shapes as they merge with Africa's own varied heritage."

In all this there is little to criticise. Mr. Coughlan wrongly suggests that the soldiers who murdered the political leaders in Nigeria in 1966 also established a "military dictatorship," although they were, in fact, very quickly jailed. He uses Hausa in his text but Habe in a caption. He seems to imply that when Nkrumah was training there was only one teachers' training college in Ghana. He ascribes Belgium's abrupt reversal of policy in the Congo entirely to the local agitation, without mentioning that, with



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its budget deficit, the Congo was beginning to look like a liability to the Belgian government. But with so much information packed into the book, which still remains readable, these details do not matter.

D. W.

The Soil Resources of Tropical Africa edited by R. P. Moss (Cambridge University Press, 40s.).

Six of the chapters in this volume were papers given at the symposium on the soil resources of tropical Africa held at University College, London, in 1965. None of the main contributions to the symposium dealt with the problems of commercial tree crops, such as cocoa, which are of major importance to many African economies. To make the volume more complete, therefore, Mr. C. W. S. Hartley (formerly of W.A.I.O.P.R., Benin), has prepared a chapter on this topic.

Otherwise the material included represents the full proceedings of the symposium, with papers and discussions arranged in chronological order. All papers remain substantially as they were presented. There is also a summary of each chapter in French.

It is clear, says Professor Sir Joseph Hutchinson, in his introduction, that the difficulties which are building up in Africa arise from increase in population and the rise in the standard of living demanded by the African people. "Under these circumstances, it is increasingly

difficult to observe the limitations on cultivation that are necessary if a shifting cultivation system is to be stable."

Maintenance of fertility has hitherto been ensured by allowing re-establishment of natural vegetation at intervals determined by the nature of the soil and the effects of short periods of cultivation. Man has inserted a period of cropping into the biological system dominated by wild flora and fauna. This does no harm so long as these periods are not so long or frequent "as to jeopardise the dominance of the natural vegetation." This is no longer possible and tropical man must now undertake, like temperate man, responsibility for "complete management of the soils he cultivates." He must domesticate the soil as he has domesticated plants and animals.

This operation the contributors to this volume explain. The possibilities are shown, for example by D. A. Lawes (1961) working at Samaru in Northern Nigeria, who, on a "high fertility" plot, raised the ceiling cotton yields from 600 pounds per acre to something over 2,500 pounds. He maintained his high fertility plot in cotton and showed that he could be sure of a yield of 2,000 pounds over the wide range of rainfall experience in the region.

It should be possible to aspire, in the tropics, to improvements in productivity as great as those achieved in temperate regions. But this must not be just an aspiration. Population increase rules out the old method of regeneration. So the choice is not between improvement

and standing still. It is between scientific management and progressive degradation of soil which cannot produce what is demanded of it.

N. D.

Africa Between East and West by John Dumoga (*The Bodley Head, 15s.*)

This is, really, a short collection of essays, not hanging together too well, but linked by a common theme: Africa's position in relation to the Western and Communist blocs. There are essays (or chapters) on African socialism, aid and development, African unity, and the press — on which Mr. Dumoga, former editor-in-chief of the *Daily Graphic* of Ghana, speaks with special authority. Exiled under the Nkrumah regime, and dismissed from his *Daily Graphic* post by the NLC, Mr. Dumoga has shown he will take no nonsense from any Government, and his judgments on African Governments and elites are not very complimentary; but he does not overstate his case against them, except — understandably, but regrettably — in the case of Kwame Nkrumah's regime. That, he says, was "more rapacious than all the predatory exploits of the notorious robber barons of the nineteenth century United States", and "scientific socialism" was just a "system of plunder by gaping sycophants" (a cliché now overworked in Ghana). Nkrumah's regime was nothing so simple as a gang of robbers and a few pages concentrating



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almost solely on the fraudulent and criminal, and dictatorial aspects (real enough) of the regime are not sufficient to give a true picture of it.

There are interesting chapters on aid and on Nyerere's socialism, while that on the OAU gives a reasonable defence of the "gradualist" approach to unity. There are a few mistakes of fact, and some odd judgments—Mr. Dumoga praises uncritically one of the Drevici projects in Ghana, and he quotes Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh in condemnation of socialism without mentioning that politician's vast wealth, which made him a poor critic of the profiteers of the CPP. But the chapter on the press is good; it includes an allusion to Government relations with the press which clearly reflects the author's experience under both Ghana regimes, though he does not actually refer to these. J.D.

"The Sultanate of Bornu" by Dr. A. Schultze; translated from the German with Additions and Appendices by P. A. Benton (Cass: 84s.).

As a member of the Anglo-German "Yola-Chad" Boundary Commission Dr. Schultze made the acquaintance of the district whose geography and history he describes in this work. He does not claim any degree of originality except for his own observations, for example, of flora and fauna, but he does claim this to be the first monograph conveniently summarising the literature available at the time. The English translation, first published in 1913 and now reprinted, was made by P. A. Benton, an administrative officer who was posted to Northern Nigeria in 1906 and saw most of his service in Bornu. He himself wrote a number of books about the Kanuri and his *Notes on Some Languages of the Western Sudan* is included in a two-volume collection of his works. *The Languages and People of Bornu*, also just republished.

Benton added a number of titles to Dr. Schultze's bibliography, and drew on some fresh material for the book, particularly from the "Documents Scientifiques de la Mission Tilho."

In his preface Benton emphasises the antiquity and importance of the old Bornu Empire compared with the Hausa States, which at the time that he was writing were generally regarded in Europe as being the only ones that mattered in the area. As a student of the Kanuri language, he also emphasises its importance and the small impression so far made in Bornu by Hausa.

The maps in the translation are those used in the original German edition and are, therefore, to some extent of historical interest only. N.D.

Dying in the Sun by Peter K. Palangyo (Heinemann, 18s.)

No nostalgia for traditional village life is to be found in this quietly sad story, by a young Tanzanian, of a family struck by death in a village of the arid interior. On the contrary, life in the village is shown as hard, precarious, plodding and above all short. The story, a brief one, is of the last days of the life of a villager and the complex effects on his family, who have little cause to regret his going. The dying man's unhappy son, full of confused feelings about his father and life, is the centre of the story; the son's friendship for a Government official (villagers are shown as having a low opinion of officials) who gets into trouble, and his rescuing a girl from a local bar, are extra themes. Life is seen half-dreamily through this introspective and pensive mind, making the story a strange but readable one. P.N.

Commercial Publications

The UNCTAD-GATT International Trade Centre in Geneva has produced three notable new publications as trade guides:

A *Manual on the Compilation of Basic Information on Export Markets* (US \$5 or 21 Swiss francs) is produced especially for developing countries. Following a companion booklet (*Manual—Export Marketing Research for Developing Countries*) published in 1967, it sets out a "simplified methodology" for selection of products and markets and collating knowledge necessary for producers and exporters in developing countries. It seems designed for research

and statistics offices at a fairly advanced level.

A booklet on *The Markets for Manioc as a Raw Material for Compound Animal Feeding Stuffs* (US \$5 or SF 21) deals with West Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, and deals with a major "subsistence" crop of West African countries among other. —it was drawn up at the request of Togo, though the main African exporters of manioc are Angola, Tanzania, Malawi and Madagascar. Detailed surveys of demand in the three countries covered for animal feeding stuffs derived from manioc, and of current raw manioc production and trade, are given (imports of manioc roots into Western Europe have clearly been rising fast in recent years). The effect on this commodity of the EEC's common agricultural policy is described.

Another booklet, on *Cashew Marketing (same price)*, was produced in response to a demand from West African countries, and aims to spread knowledge of the "excellent" possibilities available through production and local processing of this nut. African production is still mainly in the East (Dahomey exports a very small amount, and there was a plantation in Eastern Nigeria); but the survey says establishment of one processing plant in West Africa could help production all over the region.

The Trade Centre was established to help developing countries through publications, a market information and a trade promotion advisory service, and a training programme. M.P.

Africa in Maps from the 12th to the 18th Century (Edition Leipzig), reviewed in the issue of January 25, is available in Britain at £60 (plus postage) from: Sweet & Maxwell Spon (Booksellers) Ltd., 11 New Fetter Lane, London, E.C.4.

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MATCHET'S DIARY

QUEBEC is now entering the French-speaking community—but not without hitches. At the Niamey meeting last week which discussed establishment of the French-speaking community there was a delegation from Quebec; but there was also a Canadian Government delegation and delegations from neighbouring Canadian provinces, Ontario and New Brunswick. The flags flying outside the conference hall were national flags but a Quebec delegate insisted that his province's flag should fly there too, so the other two Canadian provincial delegations demanded flag poles as well. When the flags were hoisted the Quebec flag appeared to be higher than the rest, so all four Canadian flag poles had to be adjusted. The Quebec flag, however, was much the biggest on show while the Canadian federal flag was rather bedraggled as it became entangled in a tree. Inside the hall the Quebec delegation produced another problem for their hosts, the Niger government. Unlike the other delegations they had forgotten to bring a table flag, so the Niger government had to find a seamstress to run up the blue Quebec flag with its three Fleurs de Lis. Irritated, presumably, by the excessive devotion to the French community ideas of the Quebec delegation, the Ontario delegation flew the

Union Jack as well as their own flag at the house where they were staying.

Dakar Matin speaks of all this as the "ballet of the flags." But the newspaper reports that in spite of these little difficulties, Canada is now firmly behind the "Francophone" idea. M. Pelletier, the Federal Minister for Cultural Affairs, told the conference that because of the presence of six million French-speaking Canadians, Canada considers herself to be a participant in the French-speaking community (the Commonwealth, he said, had no economic and almost no political significance, but Canada considered it valuable because it enabled 28 Heads of State of the most diverse backgrounds to have regular discussions). M. Pelletier reminded delegates that it was Canada who had originated the first multinational body concerned with the French language—the association of universities using French partly or wholly as the language of education. Quebec, it is reported, is also ready to provide up to a fifth of the budget for the proposed *Agence de Co-operation* among the French-speaking states.

Did President Bokassa of the Central African Republic, on a state visit to France as a guest of the General who he once called his "adoptive father," really answer *Oui, Papa* or *Non, Papa* when de Gaulle spoke to him? I find it almost incredible, though it is reported

that he did, and his admiration and affection for de Gaulle are certainly enormous. Last May he is reported to have offered to fight for him on the Paris barricades, and he certainly issued a stirring appeal to de Gaulle ("Man of 1940, man of 1958, liberator of France, liberator of Africa . . .") to stay in power, and had the call repeated at frequent intervals over Bangui radio. So his state visit, brief though it was, must have been a most happy experience for the Centrafrican president. It started when the bearded Free French war veteran, his jacket smothered with his innumerable medals, went with his attractive wife by train from Marseilles to Bry-sur-Marne, a station near Paris where guests of a French Head of State are traditionally met (in Britain, too, state visitors must arrive by train—they go from Gatwick to Victoria Station). There followed several days of dinner and receptions, including a reception given by M. Jacques Foccart, secretary-general in charge of African affairs at de Gaulle's Elysee, and one of the most powerful but most mysterious figures in de Gaulle's relations with Africa—a familiar figure in Bangui, where he went (for example) about the time that Bokassa took his country out of the new Union of Central African States.

With President Bokassa came his ministers of foreign affairs (Maurice Chrysanthé N'Gouandjia), development (Nestor Kombot-Naguemon) and finance (Antoine Guimail), and four other

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people. Agreements were signed on technical assistance, defence and cultural matters—General Bokassa (he is actually a brigadier, a *général de brigade*) is thought to have been keen to discuss agricultural development, in which he has shown commendable interest (though I noticed a recent official statement in Bangui that "Operation Bokassa" must not limit itself to agriculture, forestry, mining and industrial production, but must also concern itself with-trade). The visit aroused some interest in the French press, and in *Le Monde* Bokassa's career was recalled. It seems he was brought up in mission schools in Bangui and Brazzaville, and at one time thought of the priesthood, but joined the army in 1939, at the age of 18. He served in the Free French forces for several years,

than to the new, commercial, town of Cotonou. The Ambassador's real interest, however, is literature, which he taught before entering politics. He was Minister of Education under President Apithy, and he is an excellent example of the very numerous Dahomeyan intelligentsia, whose talents cannot find full outlet because of their country's small size and meagre resources. In spite of his protestations, he does, in fact, speak a lot of English and understands more and, thoroughly at home in Western Nigeria where he has relations, is anxious that communication between the two countries should be improved by teaching more English and French. If he should ever want any help in his English, he has it at his right hand; for his counsellor, M. Jacques Adande, spent some time



At the Elysée: left to right, Madame de Gaulle, President Bokassa, President de Gaulle, Madame Bokassa, and France's Prime Minister, M. Maurice Couve de Murville.

as did many from former French Equatorial Africa (then, under Eboué, the Free French base, and now a region of great reverence for de Gaulle), won the Légion d'Honneur (I do not know what the other medals are), and later fought in Indo-China. Then came the independence of his country (formerly, it will be recalled, named Ubangi-Shari), various promotions there and, finally, the coup of the last day of 1965, when Bokassa, by now chief of staff of the armed forces overthrew President David Dacko, his cousin. It was a rather blood-stained coup, but it gave francophone Africa an unusual head of state.

What is the capital of Dakomey? Many people at once reply "Cotonou"—and not only because of its present prominence as a base for relief flights to Biafra. I was myself caught out last week by M. Michel Ahouannou, Dahomeyan Ambassador in Paris since 1967, who is also accredited to London, and had come over for the first time in order to make the acquaintance of the Foreign Office, before presenting his credentials in a few weeks time. The capital is, in fact, Porto-Novo to which, as a good Dahomeyan traditionalist, M. Ahouannou is far more attached

working for the BBC in London and teaching at a grammar school in Northampton. His English is entirely perfect.

Some obituaries of Kingsley Martin, the unforgettable editor of the *New Statesman*, have spoken of his friendship with leading Asians and Africans. He certainly had an extraordinary range of friends in Asia, particularly in India, where he was on close terms with Mr. Nehru, and in Burma. But although Dr. Azikiwe invited him to Nigeria as a personal guest when he was installed as Governor-General, he was not, so far as I know, on close terms with many Africans, although he followed with keen sympathy the advent of independence. So deeply did he feel about its success that he went to Ghana, where the National Liberation Movement's clash with Nkrumah seemed likely to delay independence, in the hope of doing something to reconcile the two sides. In this he had little success, and I remember him saying of one high-minded, but politically innocent, NLM leader: "We might just as well have sent a member of the *New Statesman* staff to lead them." This was not his only visit to West Africa by any means, and he wrote one of the few really sympathetic pieces about Liberia to appear in Britain.



"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 curl!) I suppose, in the way that banks return old cheques to their customers, the cow eventually found its way back to home pastures—having been stamped with the Teller's number of all

But, joking apart, there was a time when, if they had banks or 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 use more conventional cheques—like in the National Bank cheque book you get when you open your current account at any of 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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Letters to the editor

LEARNING FRENCH

Sir,—In an article in your issue of Feb. 8—"Francophones and Anglo-Saxons"—you quote President Senghor as "rightly" saying that English-speaking Africans are indifferent to learning French. I do not know the context of President Senghor's original remark, but taken at its face value it implies that little is being done in English-speaking Africa to teach French, and that there is little interest in the language.

In Ghana, French teaching—which had existed in the country from 1876 with only one break of seven years—began to expand around 1950; French became a compulsory subject in secondary schools about 10 years ago (subject to availability of teachers), and is now taught in all the 105 secondary schools supported by Government funds, as well as in some of the private schools. In the school at which I taught French for 10 years, the subject was by 1957 one of the four most important subjects offered, the others being English, Science and Mathematics. Only those boys did not take it in the Ordinary Level examination (about 15 per cent. of the total O Level entry) who showed after three years that they had no hope of reaching the necessary standard, and such boys often needed considerable persuasion to give up the subject, so keen was everyone to take French. This attitude is typical of the country as a whole, where there is strong Government support for French teaching, where there is a strong professional Association of French Teachers now 10 years old and with over 100 members, and where French is also being taught more and more widely in primary schools—though not always with well-qualified staff.

In Nigeria the expansion of French teaching took place some years later than in Ghana, and the subject is now very much sought after, the limiting factor again being not demand from pupils but the availability of teachers. Nigeria too has a flourishing Association of French Teachers. The situation is essentially the same in Sierra Leone.

Three particular problems are being solved at the present moment. First, while large numbers of expatriate teachers continue to be recruited, through bodies such as the British Overseas Appointments Bureau, to meet the teacher shortage, a rapidly growing number of African nationals are being trained as French teachers. The French Government is the principal external body providing funds for such teachers-in-training to spend some time in a French-speaking country, but such funds are far from being adequate. Then the need for retraining of existing language teachers in modern oral methods is worldwide, and is urgent in countries which have inherited a traditional type of language teaching emphasising the skills of reading and translation. The Paris-based organisation "Bureau pour l'Enseignement de la Langue et de la Civilisation Françaises à l'Étranger" (B.E.L.C.), in conjunction with local French Teachers' Associations, has taken the lead in providing such retraining, at the invitation of national Governments and with the financial support of the French Government. Lastly, the adaptation of the

O and A Level examinations so that may test the types of skills most urgently needed is being energetically undertaken by French Teachers' Associations, with active support of the West African Examinations Council.

B. M. HAO

chargé de cours à la Sorbonne
chargé de recherche au B.E.L.C.
Paris.

ENDING THE SUFFERING

Sir,—There is an imminent shadow of wholesale death in the war zones, due to the shortage of protein. This part death hunts, not only the Ibo country also many parts of Federally held territory.

Proposals which may follow a cease have been put forward. Confederate one of these. This runs counter to overwhelming view in Nigeria and is stoutly resisted by the Rivers and South Eastern States where Federal Administrations are now operating, sovereignty granted to the East Central State as an enclave within Nigeria is silly, as the state would be unviable.

The holding of a plebiscite as a request to the amendment of the Constitution only allowed for the creation of regions or the alteration in the bound between Regions. The section 4 procedure for this, which must be within the context of one Nigeria, is quite rigid.

The morale of the Ibos is still high has become apparent that even after capitulation of Umuahia (if this is real or likely) no successful administration can be set up in the East Central State. These assets on the side of Ojukwu perhaps useless to urge him to rethink.

Britain has already taken some initiatives. Her self-imposed peace role is a tall order. But the mandate could be made a realistic in the light of the position already reached in the war. This dictates surrender.

Great Britain should meet France, Ethiopia and the two Commonwealth countries which have recognised Biafra. This spells lobbying, but the essence of the overture is to draw a team which will walk and not crawl into Umuahia.

This team should "educate" Colonel on the merit and sportsmanship of surrender. Col. Ojukwu should not perpetually convert any part of Nigeria a zone where innocent youth are slaughtered on the altar of determination.

VACMUDU I

Sir,—We appreciate the efforts of the States Senators to increase American aid to Biafra. I would urge them, too, to all that is in their power to pressure France, and the Soviet Union to stop supplying arms to both Biafra and Nigeria. herein lies the only hope of ending crisis and the sufferings of innocent children.

D. AZUO

OB-LA-DI

Sir,—To answer the question (by Feb. 8) whether Ob-la-di is deep Urhoh not, the answer is no, Ob-la-di is a "bloody" pronounced in our Ibo ways—just like Alf Garnet in the Till & Us Do Part B.B.C. T.V. series; he pronounced Ob-la-di exactly the same as Jimmy Scott.

I Ob-la-di well thank you.

M. W. I. OKUPI

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commercial news

Lonrho Bid for John Holt

LONRHO has made an £8m. bid for John Holt, five months after its successful bid for Ashanti Goldfields. The bid, accepted by directors of John Holt and Co., would make Lonrho one of the largest companies operating in West Africa.

The John Holt group, important in West Africa for over 80 years, consists of the parent trading company based in Liverpool and a number of subsidiaries, many in Nigeria. Produce and merchandise subsidiaries are John Holt Ltd. (incorporated in Nigeria) and West African Drug Co. (England); manufacturing and processing members of the group are Haco Ltd., Holt's Nigeria Tanneries (operating in Kano) and John Holt Agricultural Engineers, all in Nigeria. Holt's Transport and Holt Maritime Enterprises, incorporated in Nigeria and the UK respectively, both operate in Nigeria (the important river fleet remains virtually idle because of the war, but the firm's port of Warri is doing record business because of the oil boom). J. Allen, a company in the Motors group, also operates in Nigeria; also in this group are Stavley and Co. in Ghana. John Holt Industries (Ghana), and John Holt Bartholomew, also in Ghana. Several wine trading firms in the UK, and two in France, as well as a vineyard, also belong to the group.

Group turnover in the year ending August 31 1968 was £36,287,000, about £4m. less than in the previous year. But, whereas in that year there was a pre-tax loss of £356,000 in 1967-68 there was a pre-tax profit of £853,000—a rise of over £1.2m. The chairman of John Holt is Mr. P. B. Hunier.

Lonrho has already expanded into Nigeria by acquiring, in 1968, a 100 per cent holding in David Whitehead, the British textiles firm producing cotton textile goods in Kaduna. This acquisition, and that of Ashanti Goldfields, were not counted in Lonrho's 1968 results, if they had been it is estimated that group profits would have been £8.7m. instead of £4.2m. Originally called the London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Co., Lonrho has big interests in South Africa, including Tweefontein United Collieries and Witbank Consolidated Gold Mines, and, through a subsidiary, runs the pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia. Outside South Africa its subsidiaries include the Central Africa Co., Northern Minerals (Zambia) and the Sugar Corporation of Malawi.

The chairman is Mr. A. H. Ball, and the joint managing director Mr. R. W. Rowland.

Ghana Surcharge and Remittance Quotas

The Ghana Government in a decree has imposed a 5 per cent surcharge on goods imported into Ghana under the open general licence. The decree takes effect from Feb. 13. The surtax is calculated on the c.i.f. value of goods only. It will be paid at the time of collection of the goods at ports, in addition to duty and sales tax already levied.

The decree exempts from new tax certain medicinal and pharmaceutical products, school textbooks, single copies of books, magazines and periodicals, and personal goods of crews and passengers arriving in Ghana.

New personal remittance quotas are also imposed. They will be issued up to a maximum of 40 per cent. of the applicant's annual basic income, net of income tax, or 3,000 new cedis (£1,224 9s. 9d.), whichever is less. All remittances under current quotas have been suspended until further notice, and the Bank of Ghana advises that these quotas will have to be adjusted. Basic travel allowances for personal remittance holders are reduced to 500 new cedis (£204 1s. 8d.). These controls take effect from Feb. 20.

● Nigerian Airways has threatened to sever its links with BOAC and sign a new agreement with Pan American if BOAC does not sell one of its VC10s on hire purchase terms. Pan American is reported to have offered two DC8s on easy terms, but BOAC is reported to be asking for cash for the £1.2m. VC10. The chairman of Nigerian Airways says the airline has already given notice to terminate two of its four agreements with BOAC, those covering operation of the Lagos service and lease of aircraft to provide it, on March 31.

● Nigerian Airways and BOAC have a "pool" agreement on VC10 flights between London and Lagos, some of the aircraft having Nigerian Airways markings and some BOAC markings.

Farmers and Goldfields

Farmers in the Adansi Traditional Area, where Ashanti Goldfields' Obuasi mine is situated, are to claim a million cedis from the new management of Ashanti as compensation for damage done by mining activity to streams and farms. After considering the offer of 100,000 cedis made by Lonrho (which has taken over Ashanti Goldfields) a meeting for farmers decided that this sum was not enough, in view of the extensive damage done to cocoa farms and food crops. They said about 20 square miles of land had been made unproductive by "poisonous smoke" from the mines.

● The Spanish Atlantic Trade Fair has been held for the fourth year running at Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, from Feb. 1 to 15. There was a Senegalese stand, and visitors of ministerial rank came from Ghana, Liberia and Mauritania.

● The second phase, costing 400,000 cedis, of the Sekondi sea wall is to be completed next August. It is being built by Pomgrad of Yugoslavia.

● McCorquodale & Co., printers and envelope makers, whose group profits fell in 1967-68, reports that its company in Nigeria has been "severely affected by the civil war."

Advertisers Announcement

DAILY TIMES INTERIM DIVIDEND

The Daily Times is to pay an interim dividend of 7½% less income tax out of the profits for the half year ended 31st August, 1968.

The interim dividend is payable on the 25th February, 1969 to ordinary shareholders registered at the close of business on the 22nd February, 1969.

In announcing the interim dividend the Directors expressed their confidence that the total dividend for the year would not be less than last year's total of 15%.

THE DAILY TIMES OF NIGERIA LIMITED

Notice is hereby given that the transfer books and register of the Ordinary Stock holders of the Company will be closed 23rd and 24th February, 1969; both dates inclusive.

By Order of the Board
W. H. Batterberry
Company Secretary.

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER DEMPSTER LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—OTI sls. Liverpool Feb. 27; DIXCOVE due Warri 1 Mar.; DUMURRA due Apapa Feb. 26; KADUNA due Victoria Mar. 3; OBUASI due Monrovia Mar. 2
From London:—KUMBA sls. London Feb. 28; BHAMO sls. London Mar. 11; EGORI sls. London Mar. 18; EBOE due Apapa Feb. 28; ONISHA due Sio Tomé Mar. 4; PERANG due Sapele Mar. 3.

From Hull:—OVERRI sls. Hull Mar. 13; KOHIMA due Apapa Feb. 27
From South Wales:—DONGA sls. Swansea Mar. 7

From Continent:—FORCADOS sls. London (Chapmans Anchorage) Mar. 1

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—AUREOL due Las Palmas Mar. 5; DARU due Abidjan due Feb. 28; DUNKWA due Abidjan Mar. 3
To London:—EBANI due Abidjan Feb. 28; FALABA due Takoradi Feb. 28; PATANI due Takoradi Mar. 5

To Avonmouth:—IRISBANK due Avonmouth Mar. 5; NAINBANK due Lagos Mar. 1
To Continent:—FIAN due Takoradi Mar. 3; FULANI due Amsterdam Mar. 9
EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada:—DUMBAIA due Tema Mar. 2; DEIDO sls. New York Mar. 21

WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada:—DALLA due Savannah, Mar. 1; FREETOWN due Norfolk Feb. 28
From India/Pakistan/Burma:—TWEEDBANK due Matadi Mar. 2; GOWANBANK sls. Calcutta Mar. 10

BARBER WEST AFRICA LINE

OUTWARDS—TEMA sls. New York/Halifax (NS) early Mar. for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi; CORNEVILLE due sls. New York/Halifax (NS) mid Mar. for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi
HOMEWARDS—Nil

JAPAN "K" LINE

WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong and Cape) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.:—NORWAY MARU sls. Japan Feb. 4, due Lagos Mar. 13
EASTBOUND—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc. to Japan (via Cape and Singapore):—NORWAY MARU sls. Lagos Mar. 18, Tema Mar. 21, Freetown Mar. 24, due Japan May 5

PALM LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool:—ENUGU PALM due Dakar Mar. 1
From Dublin/Glasgow:—KATSINA PALM due Dakar Mar. 1
From Continent:—BAMENDA PALM due Tendebe Mar. 1
NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—IKEJA PALM sls. Lagos Mar. 6
To Liverpool:—LOBITO PALM sls. Douala Mar. 1

WORMANN LINE

ATLANTIC sls. Hamburg Feb. 28 due Bremen Mar. 3, Rotterdam Mar. 5, Antwerp Mar. 7, Lisbon Mar. 12, Dakar Mar. 15, and other WA ports, NATAL sls. Antwerp Feb. 28, Dunkirk Mar. 4, Rouen Mar. 7, Bordeaux Mar. 11, Dakar Mar. 18, Abidjan Mar. 22, Douala Mar. 26, and other W.A. ports.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND—NOPAL TELLUS sls. New Orleans Mar. 11, Takoradi Mar. 31, Lagos Apr. 3, due Warri Apr. 7; NOPAL LUNA sls. New Orleans Apr. 9, Takoradi Apr. 29, Lagos May 2, due Warri May 6
WESTBOUND—NOPAL SUN sls. Luanda Apr. 2, Takoradi Apr. 10, New Orleans Apr. 28, due Houston May 2; NOPAL TELLUS sls. Luanda Apr. 20, Takoradi Apr. 27, New Orleans May 15, due Houston Mar. 19

HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LINES

SOUTHBOUND—From Continent:—BOVENKERK due Lagos Mar. 6; TOGOKUSY due P. Noire Mar. 6; OLDEKERK due Freetown Mar. 10
Northbound to Continent:—DAHOMYEKUST due Hamburg Mar. 5; KATSEYD due Hamburg Mar. 6; NIJKERK due Rotterdam Mar. 12, due Amsterdam Mar. 15, due Hamburg Mar. 17; LIBERIAKUST due Rotterdam Mar. 16, due Amsterdam Mar. 13, due Rotterdam Mar. 14, due Hamburg Mar. 19

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

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NORTHBOUND—INNAREB ldg. West Africa second half Mar.; HOEGH BISCAV ldg. West Africa (S. range) mid/second half Mar.; HJELMAREN ldg. West Africa during late Mar.; BULLERAN ldg. West Africa during late Apr. (early May).

EDWARD NASSAR LINE

EMIR BECHIR sls. Famaqusta Feb. 13, due Beirut Feb. 14, Gibraltar Mar. 2, Tema Mar. 13, Lagos Mar. 16, Monrovia Mar. 22, Freetown Mar. 23, Famaqusta Apr. 11

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HOEISAN MARU sls. Kobe Feb. 6 due Lagos Mar. 14, KASUGASAN MARU sls. Feb. 20, due Lagos Mar. 22; HONOLULU MARU sls. Mar. 4 due Lagos Apr. 6

MAERSK LINE

TORDEEN MAERSK sls. Lagos/Apapa Mar. 6, arr. Tema Mar. 7; JESPER MAERSK sls. Luanda Mar. 14, arr. Matadi Mar. 15

HOEGH LINE

HOEGH WILRI sls. Rouen Feb. 25, due Dakar Mar. 4, Freetown Mar. 7, Monrovia Mar. 8, Abidjan Mar. 11; HOEGH BELLE sls. Antwerp Feb. 24, due Freetown Mar. 5, Abidjan Mar. 8, Tema Mar. 11, Lagos/Apapa Mar. 13, Douala Mar. 18

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SCHIFFFAHRT
SOUTHBOUND—ILRI slg. Hamburg Mar. 7, arr. Dakar Mar. 24; ANNIE HUGO STINNES slg. Hamburg Mar. 10, arr. Dakar Mar. 28, ABIDJAN slg. Houston Mar. 15, arr. Dakar Apr. 1

NORTHBOUND—JULIUS HUGO STINNES slg. Gabon Mar. 1, due Rotterdam Mar. 18; ABIDJAN slg. Abidjan Feb. 27 due Rotterdam Mar. 13

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

BUENE FORTUNA sls. New Orleans Apr. 27, Houston May 1, for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Luanda

GOLD STAR LINE

NOGAH slg. Durban Mar. 6/7, Loureco Marques Mar. 8/9, Cape Town Mar. 12, Lobito Mar. 16, Luanda Mar. 17, Matadi Mar. 18/19

BLACK STAR LINE/CONTINENT/WA

SOUTHBOUND—NASIA RIVER slg. Bremen Mar. 11, due Takoradi Mar. 24; OTI RIVER slg. Bremen Apr. 7, Hamburg Apr. 11, Antwerp Apr. 14, Rotterdam Apr. 16, Dunkirk Apr. 17, for Dakar, Freetown, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Lagos/Apapa

NORTHBOUND

—SAKUMA LAGOON arr. London Feb. 21, BENUE RIVER for Avonmouth Feb. 24; NASIA RIVER due London Feb. 28

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

SOUTHBOUND—RIVER OGUN sls. Liverpool Mar. 13, RIVER ETHIOPE sls. Amsterdam Mar. 13

NORTHBOUND—RIVER BENUE due Hull Mar. 8; AHMADU BELLO due Liverpool Mar. 12

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINE

INWARDS—STRAAT FRANKLIN from Japan (Kobe Jan. 21) not calling Lagos/Apapa. Tema Feb. 25, Monrovia Feb. 27, Freetown Feb. 28, Abidjan Mar. 3, Takoradi Mar. 7; STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from China and Hong Kong sls. Feb. 15, due Lagos/Apapa Mar. 20, Colonou Mar. 26, Lome Mar. 29, Tema Mar. 30, Abidjan Mar. 31, Monrovia Conakry Apr. 1, Freetown Apr. 4, Dakar Apr. 7, **OUTWARDS**—STRAAT FRANKLIN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan second half Feb./first half Mar.; STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hoag Kong and China second half Mar.

commercial news

Cocoa Buying—

GHANA'S Cocoa Marketing Board issue no more figures for weekly chases of the current main crop, harvest of which is due to end on March 6, but it appears that crop purchases so far have been overdeclared by large amounts (announcement caused a slight rise in London terminal values)

There is still no official confirmation of the reported buying back of already sold cocoa by the Nigerian Produce Marketing Co., but there are strong rumours some will be bought back, probably to a recent commitment to the USSR. At 7,000 tons of cocoa was promised to Russia in part payment for various goods (delivered last year.) One report says Nigeria is having difficulty with delivery of July-August sales and the NMPC had entered into an closed negotiations with some overseas purchasers on the contract for those months. It is also reported, however, that Nigerian crop may be higher than originally anticipated—perhaps about 150,000 tons.

The rate of purchase in Nigeria in past few weeks has been "rather better than expected," with the total reported to date 175,000 tons, says Gill & Duffus monthly report. This figure—33,000 t less than the corresponding one last year—is said to include the Mid-West as well as the Western State, but not Kwara of South-East.

The harvesting of the main crop in the Coast is now nearly finished. Purchases Feb. 8 are reported to have total 111,515 tons, compared with 120,924 the previous main crop season, says Gill & Duffus, which expects a mid crop 10,000.

Latest estimates of Ghana and Nigeria sales, according to Gill & Duffus, 310,000 tons and slightly over 180,000.

—and Grinding

Cocoa bean grindings in the UK total about 91,500 tons during 1968, and imports of beans about 72,000. Beans in the year apparently fell by nearly 20 tons, says Gill & Duffus, and at the end of December were reported to be at its lowest level for some 30 years.

US grindings were about 641,300 lb. 286,300 long tons, in 1968, according to final figures. This was a one per cent. fall from the 1967 figure. But imports of processed products, including cocoa beans unsweetened liquor, cocoa cake and powder, rose. Gill & Duffus estimates there was a slight overall decline in German grindings in 1968.

"Provided world production is well maintained," says Gill & Duffus, "cocoa is likely to be in short supply before arrival in consuming countries of this season's crops."

The Abodom Ferry in Ghana's Western Region is to be replaced with a 11 Bailey bridge, one of several recently delivered by the UK. Bailey bridges also be reconstructed at mile 30 on Kumasi-Sunyani road across the Ofin in the Bekwai-Betsesse road in the As Region, and on the Salaga-Bimbila Bulinga-Yalu roads in the Northern Re-

Trade Surplus for Ghana

GHANA had a trade surplus of 29.1m. new cedis last year, according to provisional figures from the Central Bureau of Statistics. Total imports from January to December 1968 were 312.3m. new cedis, and exports 341.4m. Comparative figures for 1967 were 261.5m. for imports and 244.9m. for exports.



Chief Awolowo, Federal Commissioner for Finance (second from left) with Chief S. L. Edu (right), President of the Association at a meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce. He spoke of continued strict financial measures, and said commitments for reconstruction might be over £200m. On the left is Mr. Donald Macdonald, executive director for Nigeria of the Standard Bank of West Africa.

Two of Ghana's 15 state-owned rural industries offered for sale have been sold to private Ghanaian businessmen—the Saltpond Corr Factory and the Suhum Garment Factory. They are among ten such industries—not to be confused with the major state-owned industries, formerly state-owned Corporations and now divisions of the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation—for which offers for purchase have been received by the Ministry of Industries. The others are corr factories at Half Assini, Denu and Axim; rattan factories at Asamankese and Nkawkaw and Bobikuma, and palm fibre factories at Dabala and Sogakope. All are idle except the Saltpond Corr Factory.

Italian aid to developing countries in 1967 amounted to \$577.6m., according to the economic review "Quattrosoldi". The public sector gave \$278m. (equivalent to 0.32 per cent. of national revenue) in loans at rates of 7 and 3.5 per cent., and in donations, in the form of bilateral aid. Private industry contributed a total of \$258.2m. in the form of investments. Italy gave \$41.3m. aid through international organisations.

Sweden plans to increase its overseas aid by 25 per cent., to 634m. kroner (about £33m.) in 1969-70. 265m. kroner will go to international bodies such as UNICEF and the IDA.

Mr. D. W. Hall, head of the Tropical Stored Products Centre (for research and training in storage methods), will give a lecture entitled "Food Storage in the Developing Countries" at the Royal Society of Arts in London, on March 25.

The FAO has awarded a \$1m contract to the French firm Centre Technique Forestier Tropicale, to help develop virgin rain forest in Essuérien Gabon. Total cost of the project is over \$2m., shared by the UNDP and the Gabon government.

—and Nigeria

NIGERIA recorded an external trade surplus of £17.9m. in 1968; this is £0.02m. less than surplus in 1967. Exports and imports in 1968 amounted to £211.1m. and £193.2m. respectively. In 1967 exports were £241.8m. and imports £223.6m.; the 1968 figures show a fall of about 12.7 per cent. in exports and 13.6 per cent. in imports.

There were significant drops in the exports figure of crude petroleum (by £35.1m.), cocoa (by £3m.) and cotton (by £3.2m.). But there were increases in export values of groundnut products by £5.6m., tin metal by £0.7m. and palm kernels by £2.4m. Increases in the values of the first two were due to increase in the quantities exported despite lower prices, but the rise in the value of palm kernel exports was due to increased unit prices (£64 per ton as compared with £48 per ton), which more than offset the fall in volume.

The fall in the value of total imports (by £30.4m.) was caused by drops in the import value of machinery and transport equipment.

France and the Franc

The regular conference of finance ministers of the Franc zone was held last week at Yaounde, with France's Finance Minister (M. Ortoli) and Secretary of State for Co-operation (M. Bourges) among the participants. M. Ortoli said there was no prospect for the present of lifting exchange controls (imposed last November by France and then by all other members of the franc zone).

The meeting agreed on the need for "a harmonious position" on exchange control, and discussed the work of the World Bank group and IMF and the Yaounde Convention renewal talks, before delegates had short private talks on matters which were not disclosed.

M. Bourges said the recent French monetary crisis would have no effect on the volume of aid and cooperation.

Aid and Business

Prominent Western businessmen and financiers, and politicians and planners from developing countries, have held a conference in Amsterdam—organised by the UN and sponsored by the Netherlands Government—on the role of private enterprise in development. Mr. E. N. Omaboe, Ghana's Economic Affairs Commissioner, was among those present.

The Panel on Foreign Investment in Developing Countries, which ran the meeting, laid particular stress in its conclusions on the desirability of joint ventures. (A report of the papers given to the meeting will appear next week.)

The Chairman of the British National Export Council's Asia Committee, Mr. Michael Montague, has said the British Government should give industry more advance warning of its proposed foreign aid schemes, to help exporters take advantage of opportunities offered by loans.

A mineralogist from the University of Aberdeen, Dr. Ian R. Besham, has been recruited by the Overseas Development Ministry for loan to the government of Sierra Leone, under whom he will serve as head of the Mineralogical Section of the Geological Survey Laboratory. He will train geological personnel and undertake mineral investigations.

Decree for Banks

UNDER a new decree foreign banks operating in Nigeria are now to be incorporated as Nigerian-registered companies. The Banking Decree 1969, also stipulates that banks which have hitherto operated as branches of banks with head offices outside Nigeria must operate as Nigerian companies. Banks directly or indirectly controlled from abroad should provide a minimum paid up capital of £750,000.

The decree, which became operative from Feb. 7, prescribes for the first time penalties and corrective measures against offending commercial banks.

After 16 years association with West Africa Mr. R. C. Read, Group Manager in London of the Standard Bank, is retiring next week. He joined the Bank of West Africa as assistant General Manager in 1952 after 27 years with the Midland Bank. In 1955 he became General Manager of BWA and was largely responsible for the bank's notable growth in the next ten years.

In 1965 BWA merged with the Standard Bank and in 1957 Mr. Read became a Group General Manager. He was succeeded as General Manager of the new Standard Bank of West Africa by Mr. L. C. Hawkins. Mr. Read is a former president of the British Overseas Bankers' Association.

During the last 16 years Mr. Read has travelled widely in West Africa, and among operations associated with him was the loan of some £2m. to the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board in 1967.

Mr. Les Coates, Managing Director of Times Press, Lagos, who has been with the company for nine years, is leaving Nigeria on March 6 to join International Printers, the Printing Division of International Publishing Corporation in London. Mr. Robin Fleck, seconded from International Printers, joins Times press as Chief Executive. He will be especially concerned with the planned redevelopment of both production and management resources. Mr. Don Gill remains General Manager of Times Press, but will himself be returning on re-assignment within IPC in the course of next year. Mr. Pius Ayan, Deputy General Manager, is specifically in charge of production.

Our Manchester Correspondent writes—The African countries consumed 1.7m. bales of cotton in their textile industries in the last cotton season and are expected to use appreciably larger weights during the current season. They are largely self-supporting as far as supplies of raw cotton are concerned with approaching 5m. bales annually, but there is believed to be tremendous scope for developing cotton spinning, manufacturing and printing and finishing of cotton cloths, following the success achieved in various African countries in recent years.

British American Tobacco's group turnover increased from £1,030.72m. in 1966-67 to £1,304.8m. the following year. BAT has three subsidiaries in West Africa—the Aurcol Tobacco Co. (Sierra Leone), the Pioneer Tobacco Co. (Ghana) and the Nigerian Tobacco Co.

Captain F. R. G. Milton, who joined the newly formed Gliksten (West Africa) company (in the then Gold Coast) for survey work in its timber concessions in 1946 and worked there for several years, has died at the age of 72 in British Honduras, where he worked for Gliksten and other timber companies for many years.

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1. Asante Kotoko v. Stoke City—26th July, 1969.
2. Asante Kotoko v. Crystal Palace—30th July, 1969.
3. Asante Kotoko v. Birmingham City—2nd August, 1969.
4. Asante Kotoko v. Oxford United—4th August, 1969.

For more information about the tour contact:-

George Oduro, Esq., Transport Officer,
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OBITUARY

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Alhaji Abudul Rahim Onike
Who departed this earthly world for eternity on Sunday, 9th February, 1969 in Lagos at the age of eighty years. May his soul rest in peace.

Muyideen Ola Onike,
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Continued on pages 252 & 253

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(Continued on Page 253)

SITUATIONS VACANT—Continued

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Research Appointments (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research) Ghana continued from Page 252

RESEARCH OFFICER (HYDRAULIC ENGINEER)

Qualification An M.Sc. degree in Civil Engineering with specialisation in coastal and tidal hydraulics at the post-graduate level, or, good honours first degree in Civil Engineering with at least 3 years post-qualification experience in coastal and tidal work.

Duties Ability to carry out model studies in connection with coastal and tidal phenomena will be required. Work in the Coastal and Tidal Studies relating to lower courses of rivers and streams river deltas and coastal problems such as sea erosion, lagoon outfalls and coastal structures.

ANIMAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE:
**SENIOR RESEARCH OFFICER OR RESEARCH OFFICER (ANIMAL BREEDER & GENETICIST)
RESEARCH OFFICER (ANIMAL PHYSIOLOGIST)**

Qualification At least an M.Sc. degree or equivalent qualification and not less than 5 years for Senior Research Officer and 3 years for Research Officer post-graduate research experience. Aptitude for research in the field of Animal Breeding and Genetics with particular reference to Sheep and Goats. Adequate number of research publications and other scientific contributions.

Duties Research and any other duties that may from time to time be assigned by the Acting Director of the Animal Research Institute.

***SALARIES (Under Review)—SUPERANNUATED**

A. CHIEF RESEARCH OFFICER	— Ghanaian	NC4600 (Consolidated)
	— Non-Ghanaian	NC5500
B. PRINCIPAL RESEARCH OFFICER	— Ghanaian	NC3800x150-NC4400
	— Non-Ghanaian	NC4560x180-NC5280
C. SENIOR RESEARCH OFFICER	— Ghanaian	NC3500x150-NC4100
	— Non-Ghanaian	NC4200x180-NC4920
D. RESEARCH OFFICER	— Ghanaian	NC2100x100-NC2600x150-NC3300 (Bar)
	— Non-Ghanaian	NC3500x150-NC3800
		NC2520x120-NC4200x180-NC4560

(Official Rate of Exchange — One pound Sterling = NC2.45
One U.S. Dollar = NC1.02)

Point of entry depends on qualification and experience.

* The salaries of successful candidates who are resident citizens of Britain and Colonies or the Republic of Ireland will be supplemented under the British Expatriate Staff Supplementation Scheme.

Application Forms are obtainable from the Acting Secretary, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, P.O. Box M.32, Accra, Ghana, or the Director of Recruitment, Ghana High Commission, 38, Queen's Gate, London, S.W.7, England.

Closing Date: 15th March, 1969.

dateline Africa

GHANA

152 BARRED FROM PUBLIC OFFICE

A DECREE signed by all members of the NLC has given the names of 152 people banned for ten years from holding public office—ranging from head of state to member of a municipal or city council, and also including posts in the Armed Forces, the Police and the Civil Service. The new decree, published on Feb. 18 and entitled Elections and Public Offices Disqualification Decree 1969, repeals the decree of the same name issued a year ago and two amending decrees published later last year. The original decree had banned large numbers of people formerly prominent in the CPP from holding office for any of a wide category of public offices for ten years, but provided for an Exemptions Commission to hear appeals against the ban, and laid down also that anyone could be exempted by NLC Decree. The Exemptions Commission met under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Fred Apaloo, but was able to exempt only a few people; among these was Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, former Finance Minister. After his exemption in November Brig. Afrifa, of the NLC, called for repeal of the Decree setting up the Apaloo Commission. This has now been done by the new Decree, which effectively annuls decisions of the Exemptions Commission, repeals the ban placed on about several thousand people by the original Disqualification Decree, and re-imposes it on 152.

The new list includes ex-President Nkrumah and members of his Governments; some journalists such as Eric Heymann (former editor of the *Evening News*); Mr. Ekow Eshun, former head of the Overseas Branch of the CPP (kidnapped and now in detention in Ghana), and other members of the CPP's London branch; security officers and ex-members of the Presidential Detail Department, including Mr. Ambrose Yankey and several dozen others; and Boye Moses and another person apparently detained, Sidi Ali (see below). It does not include three prominent people whose applications for exemption were rejected by the Apaloo Commission: Mr. Patrick K. K. Quaidoo, a former M.P. who was detained for some time and after the coup became chairman of the Black Star Line (resigning after his failure to gain exemption); Alhaji Yakubu Tali, Tolon Na, High-Commissioner in Nigeria; and Mr. Archie Casely-Hayford, a former Minister who became an opponent of the CPP.

Assembly's Committees

● The Constituent Assembly has split into five committees to consider proposals and amendments relating to articles of the draft Constitution. All amendments and proposals desired by members were to have been submitted to the relevant committees by the end of February, and the committees will start work on March 4. After sorting out and deciding on all the sugges-

tions made, the committees are to submit their reports on March 15 to the whole Assembly, which remains resolved into a Committee of the whole House. The Assembly itself continues to discuss certain points such as the Presidency, the Council of State and the Ombudsman.

Three of the new committees will deal with particular subjects such as the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature; the other two, with liberties of the individual and miscellaneous subjects.



Mr. Justice Apaloo—head of the Exemptions Commission; now dissolved

The proposal for these committees was adopted after appointment of a committee to work out an agreed amendment to Article 3, which deals with organisations to be banned as inimical to democracy, and has aroused strong arguments. Four members who sought amendments were allowed to meet in private to seek agreement, but they produced two amendments. No final agreement had been announced when the decision to create five committees was made after criticisms of the Assembly's slow progress; the Speaker said it would take a year to agree on the Constitution unless steps were taken to speed the work up. Plans were then discussed and the proposal for five committees emerged. Agreement had by then been reached on an amended Art. 4 of Chapter 2, on holding of commissions of enquiry into suggested alterations to Regions. Mr. S. K. Williams (Sekondi-Takoradi) said the arrangement would encourage tribal factions and perhaps lead to another Biafra. But an amendment proposed by Dr. Jones Ofori Atta (University of Ghana), making a referendum obligatory instead of optional when a commission supported a move for creation of a new region, was incorporated in the clause as adopted.

The assembly has agreed on a ceremonial

President with a Council of State to advise him. But it overwhelmingly rejected a motion to make the Attorney-General separate from the Government.

Some Assembly members objected Ghana News Agency and press coverage of the Assembly, and Mr. Paul Sogbohvor, representative of the Ghana Journalists Association, said he regretted certain mistakes. A suggestion that journalists should be excluded from the Chamber was rejected.

Russians at Otu Commission

● The head of the Special Branch, Charles K. Mawuenyega, has said in evidence to the Amisash Commission that he knew nothing of the alleged plot called "Operation Double Resurrection," to restore Dr. Nkrumah through the aid of Marshal Otu. Examined at length by a member of the Commission, Mr. Chu Coussey, he agreed that forged documents were often found in intelligence work; there were many Nkrumah supporters in Ghana, and that evidence apparently implicating NLC members might have been "calculated to lead to confusion." He said a former journalist, named Dauda, had been allowed to leave Ghana for Liberia in August 1967 for "security reasons" but had not (as he had been expected to) met certain officers in Ghana to discuss a plot. He also said Dr. Nkrumah, in 1966, was said to have paid 1,000 cedis a ground engineer of the Ghana Navy, assassinate General Ankrah in Talo but that this alleged engineer could not be found; that some grenades being taken from Ghana were intercepted; and that Nigerians, recruited with the help of the Nkrumah regime for training in subversion against the Balewa Government, had gone to Guinea for plots against the British.

Bail has been refused by the Commission's Chairman for two captains of Soviet trawlers detained at Takoradi, who have been brought before the Commission in Accra, and were due to give evidence this week. Counsel said they had been interrogated by police three times and attempts by the Soviet Embassy to free them had failed.

During the evidence mentioning the NLC members, it was alleged that Air Marshal Otu drew up a handbill calling Northern Ghanaians to rise up against the NLC, and that this was sent for printing to a British Nkrumah supporter, who gave them to "Charlotte" for despatch addresses in Ghana. Evidence was also given claiming that Air Marshal Otu had gone to London again in the latter part of 1966; he had stayed in a different hotel from one where he had been booked, and was in sight of for 24 hours; that he met Mr. Armah by arrangement; and that Mr. Eshun had—so it was said—claimed to be in contact with Otu. It was said that Otu wanted to have Generals A. A. and Kotoka removed, but was not interested in the restoration of Dr. Nkrumah and that he talked of a plot with Mr. Armah demanding the inclusion of certain ex-President's restoration. Many meetings between Otu and a number of other people were described in evidence.

Mr. J. H. Cobbina, Deputy Commissioner of Police, who went with Air Marshal Otu to London in December 1966, testified they both went for talks with several factoring companies, and he saw Otu

hotel with a man who (he claimed) turned out to be Mr. Hubert Appiah; he added that Otu had introduced Appiah to him as a schoolmate, and that he and Otu had later gone to visit Appiah at the latter's invitation. Mr. Cobbina said he had known Air Marshal Otu since 1944, but Otu had never told him of subversive plans.

Lt-Col. J. R. K. Acquah, head of Military Intelligence, testified that Otu told him of a meeting with Eshun in London, and that Gen. Kotoka had confirmed to him (Acquah) Otu's claim to have reported the meeting to the general (then GOC). Otu, according to the witness, said he and Kotoka had agreed on a plan to lure London plotters into a trap. Col. Acquah said he thought this was not the overthrow of the NLC, had been Otu's intention; and he said two letters allegedly sent by Otu about a plot were not in the Air Marshal's handwriting. Information he had received about plots had referred to unnamed army officers but never to Otu, he said. He admitted Kotoka had not told him of a letter sent to him about Otu and Eshun.

● General Ankrh stopped in Lagos on his way back to Ghana from Kenya, after his six-day state visit to that country. Starting with a welcome by President Kenyatta at Nairobi, the visit took in a sightseeing tour of the Rift Valley Province, a journey to Nakuru and the Lake Nakuru National Park, and the opening ceremony for a rice factory at Mwca Tebere (attended by both heads of state).

Ghana and Kenya have decided to exchange experts and increase other bilateral exchanges. Kenya is to establish a diplomatic mission in Ghana as soon as possible, and President Kenyatta is to visit Ghana, probably before September.

● In an article denouncing the NLC in *Lagos Daily Times*, Sidi H. Ali, who says he is from a family of Kano origin who lived in Ghana for many years, claims that he and his brother have been detained by the NLC, and his brother is still held without charge in Ghana.

Mr. Amadu Owadbe, in a circular letter sent to General Ankrh, all members of the Ghana Constituent Assembly, Mr. Hartley, the Ghana Solicitor-General, and others, has also spoken about the imprisonment of Sidi Siraju Ali and his (now free) brother Sidi Hamid Ali; he says the former was arrested in January 1967 with others (headed by S. S. Balfour-Awuah) accused of a plot, but later turned state evidence against them, and was still detained. He alleges that he was detained in Ghana himself, and that Tunde Harrison (allegedly kidnapped in Ibadan), Isaac Abraham (another Nigerian kidnapped, he says, in West Berlin) and Boye Moses still are.

SIERRA LEONE

Back to Normal?

THE remaining 31 civilians detained under the State of Emergency declared last November have been released. A government statement informs those released that the State of Emergency is still in force and that the government will arrest anyone who tries to disrupt peace and tranquility. The total number of civilians now released is 242.

The State of Emergency was declared during by-election campaigns in Mende

areas. The by-elections were suspended but are now to take place next month.

Five more army officers have also been released from Pademba Road prison, Freetown, where the mutineers who overthrew the military régime last year detained almost all army and police officers.

A correspondent writes:

The only army officers now left in jail must be those on charges in connection with the military takeover in 1967, and with the conduct of the military régime. All police officers, except the former Commissioner, Mr. William Leigh, who is on treason charges, were released last year and the civilian régime can now be said to be completely restored. Continued detention of a number of army officers, who had been charged with no crime and who appeared to be innocent of any, was an embarrassment to the régime although, in view of the attitude of the "other tanks" who overthrew the military régime and restored civilian rule, the Prime Minister could not force the releases any more quickly.

Similarly, no civilian is now detained without having been charged, although a large number, including several leading SLPP men, like Mr. Jusu-Shefi and Mr. Doyle Sumner, who were originally detained, are now facing specific criminal charges. The State of Emergency, however, continues. The question is whether it is to be lifted before the by-elections take place. If it is not, the opposition will complain that they are seriously handicapped in campaigning. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, may claim that since it was the nature of the campaigning in which the opposition indulged which caused the disturbances which made the State of Emergency necessary, he cannot be expected to allow such campaigning now. In any case, government candidates may be more heavily handicapped, since the elections are in areas regarded as SLPP strongholds.

It is interesting to note that in the Government statement announcing the releases Paramount Chiefs are reminded of their "special responsibility in the running of the machinery of government." Chiefs formerly caught up in party politics will, no doubt, pay particular attention.

● At the treason trial of former Brigadier Lansana and fifteen others, Mr. Joseph Findlay, who at the time was acting assistant Director of the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service, described the broadcast in which Lansana declared martial law while the results of the 1967 general election were being announced. Mr. Findlay alleged that arrangements for broadcasting the results in 1967 were different from those in 1962. In 1967 SLBS was not permitted itself to gather information about the results, but had to take results only from the Electoral Commission. Among charges against the accused are that they delayed and suppressed publication of the election results and falsified them in order unlawfully to alter the law "as to the appointment of a prime minister and the formation of a government."

● A town council has been established for Koidu, headquarters of Kono district, where Sierra Leone Selection Trust has its main diamond leases. Koidu is a town which has expanded very rapidly and in an uncontrolled manner largely, it is believed, because it is the headquarters of those who

organise and participate in illicit digging on the SLST leases. Previously, local government was the responsibility of chiefdom authorities.

● Dr. A. M. Kamanda, formerly acting High Commissioner for Sierra Leone in London, this month took his second doctorate, a D.Phil. at Oxford, for his thesis on "the juridical status of Eritrea in the federal relation with Ethiopia." Dr. Kamanda's first doctorate, also in public international law, was taken at Geneva, for a thesis completed in 1961. He comes from Taiaima, and secured much of his education when working as a pupil teacher. Later he went to Njala training college and after a period as a teacher, became a government clerk. He went to Washington State University to read for his bachelor's degree, and later took his M.A. at Columbia.



Near the Connaught Hospital, buildings for the new training centre for nurses are now well advanced. The cost is being met partly by the government and partly by the US AHEAD Foundation.

● Following last December's talks on arrangements for marketing the output of alluvial diamond miners, an agreement has been signed by the government and Diamond Corporation of West Africa, together with the Diamond Corporation of Sierra Leone. DICORWAF will pay in the next two years Le3,300,000 a year in return for an exclusive right to export diamonds. The company will continue to purchase diamonds under the Alluvial Diamond Scheme and will continue to manage the Government Diamond Office. For a further year it will also continue to purchase 50 per cent. of the output of Sierra Leone Selection Trust, the big diamond mining company. Modifications have also been made to the "tender" system for diamonds.

● Dr. Arthur Porter, Principal of the University College of Nairobi and former Vice-Principal of Fourah Bay, was due this week to give the memorial lecture at Boston for the late Bill Brown, Head of the African Studies Centre of Boston University. Dr. Porter took his doctorate at Boston University, for the thesis which was later developed into his book *Creoleland*.

● An interest-free loan of £1.8m. has been offered by Britain for the cost of the Taiaima-Ba Road, the last section of the main road between the capital and the most important provincial centre. The loan, the fourth of this kind to Sierra Leone, will be payable over 25 years.

● Until the Nigerian war is finished the Sierra Leone oil refiners will use Gabon

SIERRA LEONE—continued

crude, the General Manager announced when the first petrol was pumped into the Tevaco Depot for distribution last week. When the refinery is in full production there will be a virtual ban on imports of petroleum products.

● Shares in the private firm Brewo Motors have been taken by the National Development Bank. The Bank, which has taken 25 per cent of the firm's capital is expected later to invite public subscriptions for it, as part of its plan to facilitate participation by Sierra Leoneans in big firms.

OAU

At the OAU ministerial meeting in Addis Ababa M. Diallo Telli is reported to have said that sanctions against Rhodesia were affecting Africans more than Europeans, and warned the Africans against the danger of a racist republic based on apartheid being founded in their midst. He accused West Germany and other NATO powers of aiding South Africa and Portugal. The OAU, he said, should give more aid to nationalists in these territories, and should call on the UN to "accomplish its mission" in Namibia (South-West Africa). He also expressed regret that the Comoro Islands (a French overseas territory) were not covered by the UN Colonialism Committee. (The meeting, held last week, was secret, as is normal for OAU ministerial meetings.)

It is also reported unofficially that the financial management and running of the Liberation Committee were strongly criticised at the meeting. The Committee's budget was reportedly agreed, however. Resistance movements in southern Africa were discussed, and the political committee of the council of ministers attacked the new constitutional plan announced by Mr. Ian Smith.

IVORY COAST Houphouët in Paris

President Houphouët-Boigny has gone to Europe for a private visit officially said to be for a rest. The visit is said to have been unexpected, though the President had been expected to go to France for an "Ivory Coast week" due shortly at Lyon.

At a lunch in honour of the Ivory Coast President in Paris, General de Gaulle said, "You are the champion of a just, great and noble cause, that of Biafra, in which we support you without qualification." Dr. Houphouët-Boigny replied that President de Gaulle was "the uncontested champion of decolonisation... of international cooperation, of the self-determination of peoples, and of peace in the world... The untiring apostle of self-determination that you are could not avoid proposing self-determination for Biafra and helping to end this conflict. Let the others listen to you!"

● Industry will figure larger than agriculture in Ivory Coast's national economy by 1980. A study of the country's industrial development by the Ministry of Planning said that in 12 years gross national product would total 636,000m. CFA francs (about \$1,270m.) compared with 214,000m. francs (about \$430m.) in 1965. By 1980, the industrial sector would be producing 205,000m. CFA francs, while the agricultural sector would be worth only 168,000m. In 1965 agriculture accounted for 84,000m. francs, while industry was worth 40,000m.

FRANCOPHONIE

At the conference on Francophonie in Niamey, lasting from Feb. 17 to 20, Governments of the countries represented were called upon to set up a new cultural and technical cooperation agency. It was agreed—against objections from Congo-Kinshasa and Togo—that the provisional head offices of the agency should be in France. The provisional organisation set up to prepare statutes for the agency consists of a delegate-general (President Hamani Diori of Niger) and the bureau of the Niamey conference.

Disputes between Canada and Quebec were avoided, apart from what was called a *bailei des drapeaux* (see Matchet's Diary) and Philippe Deçreene, writing in *Le Monde*, recorded general satisfaction at the meeting. African states, he said, hoped the agency would allow technical assistance cuts made by France as a result of last May's crisis to be restored.

Thirty-one states were represented; Guinea, Mauritania, Algeria and Switzerland were absent. M. André Malraux headed the French delegation.

SENEGAL

President Senghor has denounced an "anti-Senegalese pressure group" in France, mentioning an article on Senegal's financial problems in *Le Monde* of Jan 11, and accusing the group of a "methodical, tenacious and hate-filled campaign, whose determination and persistence makes one think." The group consisted, he said, of the extreme right and a "certain left" which "readily calls itself revolutionary, humanistic and even libertarian. It puts on a stylish show of being Christian on the fringes. It calls itself socialist, certainly; but by its actions it shows its difference from the SFIO." He said the group had failed to establish an ideal socialist state in North Africa and was now trying to spread it in French-speaking black Africa, while it did not deal with the pressing problem of the division of the world into rich and poor.

● M. Ousmane Goundiam, procurator general at the Supreme Court of Senegal, has been appointed head of the Legal Division of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. His previous posts have included that of legal adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

THE GAMBIA

Twenty youths appeared in court last week following the anti-Senegalese riots in Bathurst, which took place at the time of the ministerial meeting between ministers of the two Governments. An authorised demonstration was held on Feb 15, one of its slogans saying, "The Gambia must not be sold to Senegal."

MALI

Ghana and Mali have revised the trade and re-payment agreements between their countries for the second time, at the end of a visit to Ghana by a five-man economic delegation from Mali, headed by Mr. Tieoule Konate, Director-General of the Development Bank of Mali. The first revision of trade and re-payment agreements was made in 1961.

● An epidemic of meningitis has broken out in Mali. It is said to be worse than the usual outbreaks at the start of the dry season, because of the exceptional

drought last year. Schools have been closed in Bamako, and all dances and sports events cancelled.

● Work has begun on the final phase of the construction, with Soviet assistance, of a cement factory, Mali's largest industrial enterprise. Construction began in 1964. The factory will have an annual production of 50,000 tons, fully supplying Mali's needs.

CHAD

President Lübke of West Germany visited Chad, where he was the first non-African head of state to make a visit since independence. Shortly beforehand it was announced that there would be a new West German loan, of about 60m. CFA francs, for the German-aided textile factory at Faya-Arechbaull.

● Chad has revised its five-year (1966-70) plan, reducing estimated investment by 14 per cent. This is said to be due to falling off of public investment within Chad and difficulties in obtaining foreign aid. The cost of programmes now remaining in the plan is 26,188m. CFA francs. Investment in the first two years of the plan were cut just over half the planned total for the two years (16,690m.).

Revision of the plan affects spending on stockbreeding (cut by about half), and the road development programme (almost completely abandoned), among other projects. It is now estimated that external aid can provide about 19,000m. francs of the necessary investment, about 8,000m. of this coming from the EEC.

GABON

The Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG) won almost all votes in the (national) local elections in mid-February, and three deputies were elected as well as 15 municipal councillors and rural district councillors. The Party's election programme included intensified economic development and increased participation by women in public life.

● France has agreed to lend 200m. CFA francs from the Central Economic Cooperation Fund as a contribution towards Gabon's 500m. CFA franc plan to develop electrical distribution. This includes an increase in generating capacity and an extension of rural networks.

CONGO-B

The text of the decree creating a revolutionary court has been published. The court will consist of nine (full-time) and nine deputies chosen from a list of 50 drawn up by the National Revolutionary Council (CNR). It will try offences against the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) since August 15, 1963—date of revolution which led to the régime of President Masmaba Debat (deposed September) and the MNR.

VISITS

During the four-day visit to Niger, President Lübke of West Germany, in his visits to Zinder and Tahoua and laying of the first stone of a "Heinrich Barth pavilion," agreements on economic and cultural cooperation were discussed including development of agriculture, health services and the Tahoua-Arlit.

(See also "Chad," above.)
President Bokassa's visit to Paris described by Matchet, not by Griot as last week; see p. 245.

dateline Africa

NIGERIA

Two-Day Truce

THE Federal Government declared a two-day truce this week to mark the Muslim festival of Id-el-Kebir. An official announcement said Federal forces would remain in their positions and would act only in self-defence.

A similar truce declared last December to mark Christmas and the end of Ramadan was interrupted by heavy fighting, for which each side blamed the other.

After the truce was declared a report from Umuhia said it had been violated by the bombing of a market, killing 60 people, at Azu Aban. A detailed account of the raid by a Catholic missionary was quoted in the report.

● An air raid on the most densely populated part of Umuhia last week, by a single Ilyushin bomber, demolished a clinic and killed a number of civilians, later said to be 45 by Biafran sources. Winston Churchill, who was on the scene soon afterwards and reported for *The Times*, said there was no military target nearby. He also said reports of a much larger air raid on an open market at Umuhagu had been confirmed to him by a Red Cross team which went there, while Mr. K. H. Jaggi, in charge of Red Cross work in Biafra, named five hospitals hit by air raids recently. He quoted an Egyptian pilot in Nigeria as saying the pilots thought Red Crosses on hospitals were fakes. General Gowon, he said, had said there were strict orders that only military targets should be bombed.

Later Winston Churchill described another air raid on civilian areas, on a market at Ariama Mbano, 12 miles east of Orulu, and said the Egyptian pilots clearly regarded the secessionist areas as a "free bomb zone".

● Addis Ababa radio reported, according to the Monitoring Service, that the OAU Ministerial meeting had appealed to both sides in Biafra to implement an immediate cease-fire and then negotiate.

Emperor Haile Selassie, at the opening of the OAU meeting, appealed to Nigeria and Biafra to "end their fratricidal war".

● Dr. Arikpo, in a press conference, has ruled out intervention by the UN. He also said General Gowon was willing to attend any meeting of the OAU Consultative Committee.

Nixon's Relief Man

● Expressing the United States' "deep anguish" at the conflict in Nigeria, President Nixon has appointed Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Junior, a Rutgers University law professor, to seek ways to get more food to civilian victims. Mr. Ferguson will work with the International Committee of the Red Cross, the OAU and other international agencies and governments, as well as with officials of both parties in the conflict. Mr. Nixon noted there was "widely conflicting information" on future food requirements within Biafra. Mr. Ferguson will also ensure that US contributions respond to local needs, and are used effectively.

Mr. Nixon noted that in the areas of the war zone controlled by the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, the Red Cross and

voluntary agencies were now feeding nearly a million people. "This, therefore, will require additional support for the international relief from donor countries, and of course the continued co-operation of Federal authorities," the White House statement said. Recognising that political and military issues have greatly complicated relief efforts, Mr. Nixon said it should be "within the conscience and ability of man to give effect to his humanitarianism without involving himself in the politics of the dispute."

Senator Charles E. Goodell had earlier said the administration would provide aircraft, ships and ammunition to help relief supplies. He was speaking on his return from his own tour of both sides, in which he was accompanied by a team of experts—who said "an absolute minimum of one million Biafrans" had died of starvation in the past six months. Sen. Goodell called for an immediate cease-fire and said the UN, the US and the OAU should use their good offices. (He was called a "rebel United States senator" in a Lagos *Morning Post* report when he went to Lagos).

● Both Federal and Biafran leaders have shown a strong desire for peace. Representative Charles Diggs, head of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, said after the US Congressmen's tour of both sides, headed by him. On his return to the USA he said the time was now ripe for new diplomatic efforts.

Mr. Diggs and other Congressmen spent a short time in Umuhia, where a report was issued that they had addressed a huge rally and promised they would ensure a "strong voice", allegedly meaning a voice for Biafra; later, in Federal Territory, they denied this, saying they had promised a strong voice in favour of peace, and had spoken to only a small gathering. Col. Ojukwu repeated to the mission his agreement to daylight relief flights.

In Calabar the Military Governor of the South-East, Col. Esuene, told Mr. Diggs that nothing would be acceptable to the state apart from autonomy within federal Nigeria. A memorandum was presented to Mr. Diggs and the other Congressmen on the South-Eastern case.

Mr. Diggs and another of the delegation later visited the north.

Overland Relief Offer

● The Federal Government has offered the use of Obilago airstrip built by the Biafrans on the main road from Afikpo to Okigwi, but captured by Federal forces in September, for landing of food for the "land corridor" into territory under secessionist control. The offer, which slightly adds to earlier offers made since last June of facilities for other land relief supplies to Biafran territory, has been communicated to the Emperor of Ethiopia. Dr. Arikpo, External Affairs Minister, said it resulted from moves started by an American congressman, Mr. Lowenstein, who had visited Lagos and Addis Ababa.

● The Biafran commander in the Okigwi sector has claimed that his forces attacked the Obilago (or Uтуру) airstrip last week.

Biafran forces claimed this week to be making progress along the Okigwi-Afikpo road and the Onitsha-Abagana road, and in the Owerri-Onoacha sector in the south. These claims are unconfirmed.

● The Nigerian *Observer* of Benin reports a successful operation by Federal forces against Biafran infiltrators in the Mid-West, a few miles from Ishagu. The newspaper

has produced copies of documents said to have been captured at a Biafran camp.

About a hundred forces "of the rebel suicide squad" recently tried to open a new supply route through the delta area of Warri division in the Mid-West, the the Ibadan *Daily Sketch* reports. Nigerian forces are combing the creeks in search of them, it says, adding that some people in the Mid-West have been arrested for illegal trading with the secessionist areas.

● The Administrator of reconquered areas of the East Central State, Mr. Ukpabi Asika, has said that there are under his administration about 3m. Ibos, a figure which, he said, reflected the increasing flow of people from the rebel-held area. A great number had been fully resettled.

Asked about the reaction of these people, Mr. Asika described it as one of "pleasant surprise." They found the cost of living low, they were not molested, and regretted they had not come out earlier.

● Dr. August Lindt, ICRC commissioner for relief in Nigeria, has spoken of plans to expand relief for both sides, though he said the "almost complete lack of confidence" between the two sides made relief organisation often very difficult. The cost of programme to the Red Cross would rise from £900,000 a month to £1.4m, if the numbers fed were raised, according to the plan, to over 2m.

Dr. Lindt said there had been a marked improvement in the health of Biafran children, but there would be a new crisis unless sufficient carbohydrates could be brought in. Distribution was now effective on both sides, he said. If use of the Biafran airstrip stopped, parachutes could be used.

● Eight American pilots hired for relief flights to Biafra have returned home after rejection of demands for danger money. This has further reduced flights from Sao Tomé, where relief supplies are piling up in warehouses. Joint Church Aid, which recruited the pilots, said it could not afford the extra \$50 a trip demanded by each one, and this would involve discrimination against other pilots.

● Thousands of tons of food and medicine are on their way to Biafra from Canada, but the External Affairs Minister said in Toronto that Biafra's leaders were responsible for delays in getting supplies to the starving population; they preferred to receive arms shipments.

● Lord Brockway has asked the British Government what it is doing to bring the two sides in the Nigerian war together to bring about a cease-fire, a peace-keeping force, political negotiations, and massive relief, and spoken of "greater flexibility" shown on both sides. He suggested the UN had a right to intervene as the war was now "becoming a war between the great powers." Lord Willes, speaking after him in the House of Lords, denounced British Government policy, but Lord Ferrers defended it. Lord Shepherd, for the Government, said he thought parliamentary debates on Nigeria might not improve prospects for peace, and the "pro-Biafra lobby" had weakened the Government's position, as it suggested to Nigerians to be reacting only to internal pressure.

Following up Zik

In the House of Commons, questions about efforts to end the war, Mr. Maurice Foley, Under-Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, said the Biafrans

NIGERIA—continued

failed to use the opportunity provided by the Commonwealth prime ministers' meeting for new talks. He said he was sure Dr. Azikiwe's views (see "West Africa," February 22) would receive the "widest possible attention" and it was for those to whom the proposals were addressed to consider them. Questioned about Col Ojukwu's reported readiness to negotiate without preconditions, he said the secessionist leader had shown no public sign of willingness to negotiate on the basis of one Nigeria. He also said the Federal Government had declared everything was negotiable once Nigerian unity was accepted.

Mr. Frank Allaun said Dr. Azikiwe's proposals should be followed up. These proposals have been denounced by Nigerian newspapers and Kaduna radio.

The War and the World

- President Sekou Toure of Guinea has said that certain Africans were supporting foreign capitalists in the division of Nigeria, with a view to exploiting Biafra's oil. At the same time in France, the autonomy movement which has emerged in "the West of the country" (Brittany) is the object of threats.
- An Action Committee for Biafra has been established in France. Its formation was announced by the Gaullist deputy Raymond Offroy, former French ambassador to Nigeria. It includes two Nobel Prize winners, four ambassadors, politicians, scientists, journalists and others.
- One of two Dutch parliamentarians touring Nigeria was briefly arrested at Benin airport, reportedly for taking photo-

graphs. The Benin *Nigerian Observer* criticised him.

The Dutch visitors have expressed hope that Col. Ojukwu will allow a "relief corridor".

- Senator Edward Kennedy has called for a UN emergency relief force for purely humanitarian work in any part of the world. He also said that until the war stopped relief would be only a "trickle"; the USA "has got to exert its influence."

Biafra's Food

A report from inside Biafra "Land Army Agricultural Programme" has started, and it is hoped to produce sufficient basic food from imported seeds. It also mentions a huge pile of American canned foods, contributed in New York at Christmas time in São Tomé; a large amount is believed to be useless. Inside secessionist territory, where markets close at 9 a.m. for fear of bombing, typical food prices are £26 for a fowl and £4 for a yam, says this report—which adds, however, that there is determination among the educated people to fight to the end.

- A report from the Biafran-held Oguta area suggests that the predicted shortage of local food has now become serious there, and food for refugees has had to be reduced.
- The Biafran Government has accepted an offer by Canair, a Canadian concern, to build a second airstrip for relief flights. It is reported that engineering work will start soon on an aluminium-strip runway, big enough to take DC7s and costing £500,000 or more.
- Col. Ojukwu has declared all British property in Biafra forfeit because of UK

arms supplies to Nigeria and what he called British plans for "genocide".

- Mr. Nils-Göran Gussing, personal representative of the UN Secretary-General in Nigeria for six months, left this week on completion of his assignment. Mr. Ed. Jensen, UN assistant in Lagos, has taken charge of his mission.
- By 1975 Nigeria's petroleum exports could meet 25 per cent of total UK needs. Chief Awolowo told the First Association of Chambers of Commerce in Lagos.
- But current Shell-BP shipments to Bonny are some 350,000 barrels a day compared with the pre-war peak of 500,000 B. At the end of the year during which the new Mid-West offshore terminal will be serving grant tankers, Shell-BP is expected to be producing 575,000 barrels a day; current



The Catholic Archbishop of Lagos, Mr. John Aggrey (left), and the Auxiliary Bishop of Calabar, Bishop Usanga, inspect relief materials in Calabar with Mr. Michael Ogo, South-East Commissioner for Rehabilitation.

reports put the expected figure higher. Current Gulf production is at 175,000 barrels and Mobil production is expected to be some 50,000 barrels. Total production therefore of 1m. barrels a day or almost twice pre-war production is considered likely within a year. The net contribution to Nigeria's balance of payments could be £60-£80m.

Chief Awolowo also said that Nigeria might reach a population of well over 100m within the next two decades, but with a programme of industrialisation which was possible, together with the development of other resources and the agricultural wealth, should ensure that this population was well catered for.

- Mr. J. A. Johnson-Agiri is to be Commissioner for Health in Lagos State, succeeding to Chief L. S. Edu, the leading businessman who resigned the post at calls on him to do so in the *Daily Times*. The State Governor, Col. Johnson, defended Mr. F. C. Coker, permanent secretary to the state ministry of finance, whose resignation was also called for, said not "campaign of calumny and denigration" would be heeded.

- Mr. Justice Nigel Reed has been appointed Chief Justice of the North States, with retrospective effect from December. New Senior Puisne Judge of the High Court of these states are Justice David Lindsay Bate and Mr. Justice Mohammed Bello.

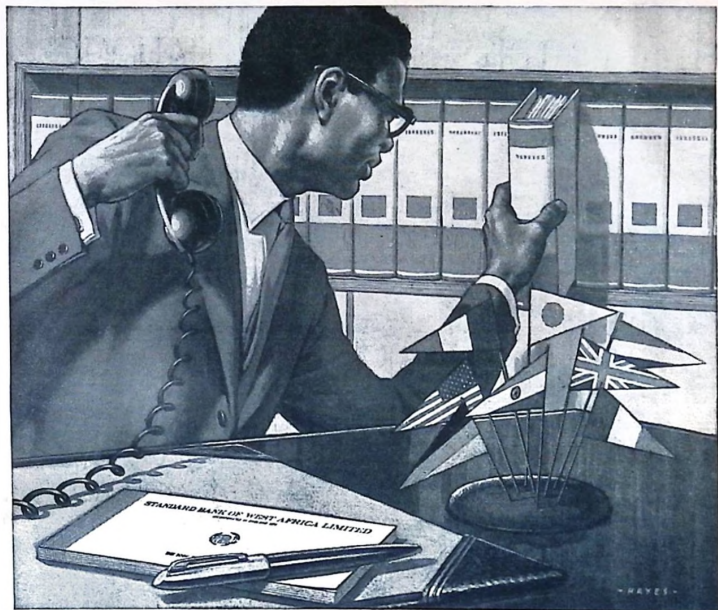
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