

West Africa

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Surviving the Sixties

TEN years ago there were only four independent states in black Africa. 1960 began the rush to independence which has left only the Portuguese territories and a couple of insignificant enclaves under foreign rule (South Africa and Rhodesia are under European, not foreign, rule). Even Spain, for dubious reasons, has accepted the inevitable. Even the "High Commission" territories, whose self-government it was thought South Africa might oppose, enjoy an uneasy independence.

For all the new countries independence was an uncharted sea. Their difficulties were obvious: the question was how they would deal with them. So limited were the resources of most, so few they were the trained people, that for many it might be argued that to have survived the decade is an achievement. That is particularly true of the Congo which has not merely survived but now again has some prospect of economic development. But more was expected than just survival; what has it achieved?

So far, very little. Politically many West African countries have come through what may now be regarded as inevitable stages on the road to national maturity. Ghana, the first Black African colony to become independent, is the most remarkable example. It proceeded from "the Westminster model" to dictatorship, then to military rule, and to confuse those who were beginning to argue that the Westminster model is unsuitable for Africa, has returned to it, omitted the stage of open dictatorship, but experienced military rule, and has also returned to the Westminster model, even if it is still not in proper working order there.

In Nigeria the excesses of politicians produced first a distaste for politics and then a violent reaction. How many years away democratic civilian rule may now be nobody can say. But here again the Westminster model may return and, one hopes, purged of the abuses it suffered before 1966. None of the French speaking countries ever enjoyed real parliamentary democracy. But that has prevented them from having military rule—in the case of Dahomey, soldiers have taken over four times.

The most senior French-speaking politicians, however, enjoy, like President Tubman, remarkable longevity. It is worth remembering that Presidents Houphouët-Boigny, Senghor and Sekou Touré were leading their countries ten years ago, that President Hamani Diori has led Niger's governing party for 11 years and President Daddah Mauritania's for 12. But none of these has been free from plots to oust them, or from subversion which, whether driven to it by government repression or not, opposition politicians in Africa so readily attempt. With the probable exception of The Gambia—and that is not only because of the absence of an army—no West African country can be said with certainty to be free of the danger of a military coup, nor can any country which has restored civilian rule be certain that it is permanent. But if, as seems to be the case in Ghana and Sierra Leone, the result of military rule is to make the Westminster model once more seem attractive, then there is some prospect of West Africa following a different road from that of Latin American or the Arab states of the Middle East.

In one respect the performance of most of the politicians has fallen short even of the most modest expectations. Corruption on a gigantic scale has dissipated scarce resources and distorted development. The soldiers have often fallen prey to the same vice, but on the whole the civil servants have stood up to temptation remarkably well.

Indeed the survival of all the new countries of West Africa through this decade has owed much to the civil servants, particularly under the military regimes; they have kept administration going, and have often done their best to offset the follies of politicians. The stability which has allowed the states to survive has also owed much to the persistence in rural areas of traditional authority which, even when it is not so highly organised as in parts of Northern Nigeria, is looked to in emergency.

Economically the performance of the new states has been seriously affected by their politics. Even the limited prospects for development have not been exploited to the full. But they have suffered more



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from external factors—their difficulty in co-operating economically in any but theoretical ways and their dependence on a narrow range of exports, nearly all raw materials, for their foreign earnings. Even their own waste and incompetence have not lost them as much as has the deterioration in their terms of trade; this is the factor which unites them with similar countries in other continents. Yet even the deterioration in the terms of trade can be exaggerated. Cocoa prices, taking the decade as a whole, have not been unsatisfactory and the world market has been able to absorb the much bigger crops which are now normal. Mineral prices, particularly those for diamonds have been steady, and even those for oils and oil seeds have stood up remarkably well to the pressure on them from alternatives.

For Nigeria the bonanza so confidently expected from oil has had to be postponed because of the war, but it will be on a scale undreamt of ten years ago. In Nigeria, too, industrialisation has brought self-sufficiency in a wide range of products, but elsewhere in West Africa the smallness of the domestic market has limited, and will continue to limit, the possibilities. For industry the success of the Economic Commission for Africa, the growth in whose importance is a feature of the decade, and the further development of regional groupings under its auspices are essential.

The failure of the talks in Addis Ababa last week even to begin, though this was easy to predict, must call in question the value of OAU. But an organisation so recently established cannot be expected to find a solution in a conflict where the two sides have no basis for negotiation. By establishing and maintaining OAU, however limited its achievements, African leaders have started a process which may do much to offset their political weaknesses as separate states. Their differences over Nigeria have not been allowed to disrupt the organisation; they have shown a will for unity which may be their most important legacy for the 70s.

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Analysing Nigeria's housing problem

By a correspondent

NO West African country has successfully tackled its housing problem, partly because the very immensity of the task is so daunting. This failure is part of a larger mistake, the low priority given to the social sector or, as Nigeria's first Development Plan so revealingly put it, "Social Overheads." This, in turn, was based on what is increasingly coming to be seen as the misconception of the "growth economists"—develop the economy rapidly, and everything else will fall into place. The trouble is that although in the long term this may be true, in the short term it leads to extreme dissatisfaction in the population and thus instability, which seriously effects economic growth.

Nigeria, as Dr. Otto Koenigsberger, Director of the Department of Tropical Architecture at the Architectural Association School in London pointed out in a recent lecture, provides a vivid illustration of this. The substantial economic growth in the first three years of the 1962-68 Plan led to a rapid expansion of the cities and to increased demand for housing, which was not met. The public sector produced less than 500 dwelling units a year, of which only about 38 per cent were for low income groups (taking 47,000 units as the minimum needed to prevent actual deterioration in housing standards and the probably more realistic figure of 61,000 units to allow, possibly, for a small improvement, direct building by governments and government agencies met only 1.06 per cent of the country's needs). The private sector did better: investment totalling about £23m. produced 35,000 units a year (counting two rooms as a unit), yet the efforts of both sectors combined fell short of what was required. Land prices and rents soared, resulting in urban sprawl and long journeys to work. In 1964, Koenigsberger recalls, rent, lighting and journeys to work took more than 41 per cent of the household budget of working class families, even more than food. The ultimate result was a general strike—the Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate workers' incomes recorded that it was shocked by the living conditions of industrial workers in Lagos. The workers won and the national plan had to be revised in the light of the changed conditions.

A direct contribution

After the war, the importance of taking a wider view than straightforward "growth economics" will become even more acute. The current clamp on pay increases will be tolerated as long as prices and rents do not race too far ahead because people realise that in a national crisis sacrifices have to be made—and recent strikes and pay claims showed that people's patience is not endless. When peace breaks out

Nigerians are going to want more than promises of accelerated economic growth and high among their main demands will surely be better housing, particularly in towns such as Warri and Calabar, in which recent development has been so rapid and concentrated that it has created a more acute housing problem than exists in the long-established urban centres such as Ibadan.

Fortunately, it is slowly being realised that the demand for more and better housing is not simply a "social overhead", a rather regrettable expense when there are so many more productive channels for scarce capital. First, adequate housing is a concomitant of good health, which is a vital factor in increasing productivity. In the March conference at Ibadan on National Reconstruction and Development, Mr. P. Ahimie, deputy permanent secretary in the Federal Ministry of Economic Development, stated: "The process of development will in fact not advance unless we improve our health and environment. There will have to be substantial investment in the social services in those areas after the war."



Housing in Lagos: the Morgan Commission was shocked by the living conditions of industrial workers.

Even more significantly—from the point of view of getting the support of the planners—is that housing can make a direct and quantifiable economic contribution. It is a major incentive for saving and domestic capital formulation, a consideration made all the more important by the likely demand in Nigeria at the end of the war for imported goods which are at present restricted, such as cars; it is the kingpin of the construction and building material industries and those which service them and unlike many industries, housebuild-

ing can be labour intensive and involves little foreign exchange: it is probably the prime training ground for the conversion of unskilled villagers new to the towns into semi-skilled and skilled labour: the type of shelter available affects urban and rural development and is part of the essential economic substructure for all industrial development. Such factors lead to Dr. Koenigsberger's conclusion that housing, "far from being a social overhead, is an essential objective as well as a powerful tool of development planning." Indeed, he recommends that housing should appear twice in a national development plan, firstly as a target of the planning operation and secondly as a means of achieving other social and economic objectives.

This is important because, in looking at Nigeria's experience, Dr. Koenigsberger finds that failure in the housing programme was not due to lack of finance: the limit of public sector investments was set at just under £5m. a year which would have been sufficient for governments and their agencies to draw up town extension plans, acquire and prepare every year about 48,000 serviced building sites or plots for distribution to people wanting to build their own homes. After allowing for this, there would have been enough money left for public agencies to construct perhaps 5,000 houses a year for the lowest income groups which would have gone a long way to preventing the crisis which did occur. Nor does he think lack of skilled manpower was to blame: "Crash courses for supervisors or the standardisation of fittings and components are examples of the measures that one could have used to increase the productivity of the available manpower."

Houses for the wealthy

He believes that failure was the result of dismissing housing as a "Social Overhead", which was interpreted to mean "A necessary evil . . . This led to inaction on the part of the public sector and the wrong kind of action in the private sector. Nigerian investors were not told how, where and when to invest in housing. They were left to their own devices, and lacking guidance through the national plan decided on what appeared the most profitable course. Houses were built for foreign firms, embassies and other wealthy clients. The middle and lower income groups were left to help themselves as well as they could by building illegally on the outskirts of cities or by squatting on public land. This kind of self-help solution is common among fast growing cities, particularly in countries without national development plans. Nigeria had a plan which accepted the production of food as an important economic target, but treated the production of shelter . . . as something to be tolerated rather than desired. As far as housing is concerned, Nigeria might be therefore classed as one of the countries without a plan."

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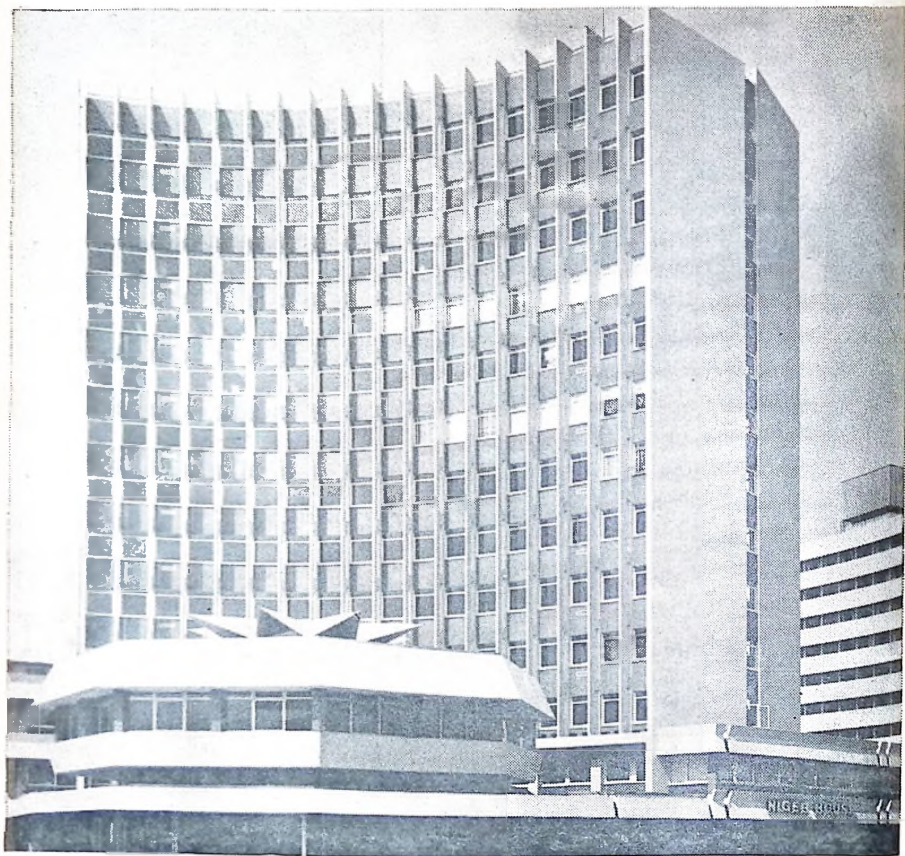
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leaved teak planted by them have been allowed to stand. These have certain memories attached to them of the alien Administration. The 1914-18 war ended German rule and brought in the British, by whose amalgamation in the 1930s the status of a number of Fiagawo (head-chiefs), including that of Kpando, was raised, and they earned the English title Paramount Chiefs, so that the smaller states become subdivisions.

The installation was preceded by an eight-day period of seclusion to give the chief the strength of a non-material type that was regarded as essential for a successful rule. Selected elders acted as tutors and advisers, giving the chief-lect in his seclusion many pieces of advice, teaching him manners and the traditional customs, and admonishing him to rule justly. Finally at dawn upon the day of his installation as chief he was subjected to important rites intended to cleanse him from all evil and to give him a renewed life and, by protecting his own person, to preserve the community as a whole.

The Kpando chief, like many others being installed since the early 1960s, is educated and a Christian and must therefore come forward as a champion of Christian principles. But the ancestors are also believed to be watching and asking whether the rites have been passed on as they should be. They are not something that can be given up, altered, or devised anew.

Although the Kpando stool had been lying vacant for some time the political structure did not collapse, and at his succession the new chief found himself surrounded by traditional and hereditary leaders to whom an existing power had been distributed to head the various lineages and sections of the community. Everyone knew that once a new head-chief had been installed he would carry on the government. There would be no periodic absence on leave or "reshuffles" which might make it too difficult to forward the best interest of the people. The new chief would organise the festivals, lead the people in clearing the roads, and particularly, as an educated chief, he would bring the electricity from the new Volta dam. He had power to ensure fertility and prosperity. It was the headchief who provided the priests to make the sacrifices and give a blessing to the new village built on the Kpando land by the Volta River Authority.

Even today, when all formal justice is in the hands of central Government courts, chiefs and their people think that people should not take their cases to the courts without first trying to settle them by the traditional practice of reconciliation and arbitration. The regulation of marriage and family life and the suppression of supernatural forces used for evil ends are just as much a part of traditional law of which the chiefs are the custodians. This is why

it is thought proper to treat chiefs as an integral part of the administration.

In conclusion, it must be observed that strict secrecy is exercised in respect of some of the stool customs and the traditional authorities would permit their recording only in the knowledge that they would be preserved for all time before they became distorted or even disappeared.

ROUNDBOUT Without the General

Paris

We are now eight months away from the departure of General de Gaulle; but so great was his mark on political life, that one of the major questions of the day is still "how much difference has his going brought?" In African policy this question is particularly pertinent, because of the personal control de Gaulle maintained in this sphere. The feeling last summer was that it was bound to be sweeping, in spite of the insistence that nothing would be changed, and the return of M. Foccart to the job he had held under de Gaulle, after only six weeks on the shelf. In truth M. Pompidou has been so preoccupied with other more pressing matters, domestic, if not European, that



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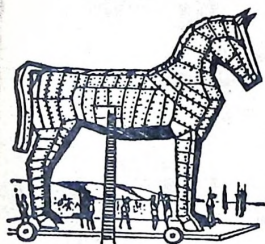
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Africa has not figured very much in his actions. The major speech which he made last week on television impressed one commentator as "glossing over" France's foreign policy, by saying it was "impossible" for him to explain it in detail. There was a pious reference to the fact that France was for "detente and peace", whether for European security, or the wars in the Middle East, Vietnam and Biafra. Otherwise he was concerned more to stress the improvement in relations with North Africa, and the imminent resumption of relations with Morocco (broken since the Ben Barka affair). Officially in Paris the continuity of African policy is stressed, and it must be said that the broad lines are much as they were. I have been assured here that contrary to reports there has been no change in policy towards Nigeria (some commentators have noted the publication at this time of two pro Biafran articles in *Le Monde* by Francois Debré, son of the arch-Gaullist Defence Minister Michel Debré). The intervention in Chad is very much in the mainstream of de Gaulle's African policy continued under Gaullism, although even here it is admitted and accepted that military support of the kind currently being given cannot continue: it should essentially be seen as a propping up operation while the Chad administration and army were being reorganised. I was told. The aid budget has been reduced but this was continuation of a process which began under de Gaulle.

Purs et Durs

The problem of the *purs et durs* Gaullists who watch M. Pompidou with an eagle eye in case of the minutest deflection from Gaullist principles (one of them wrote a book called *L'Anti-de Gaulle*), is that the General was in fact a great pragmatist, so it could be argued that to react empirically to circumstances (always bearing in mind what is in France's interest) is the best way of maintaining Gaullist principles. Thus, as was noted by M. Pépy in his recent talk in London (see this page two weeks ago), what we have at the moment is the *Pompidolien* text of "continuity and change" in action. Several people I have talked to here have stressed that at the moment the difference is much more one of style. Psychologically it is impossible for M. Pompidou to replace the General, and one can tell that there is less nervousness in French-speaking Africa about criticising France. There were extremely plain words, for example about the August devaluation of the franc (mainly over lack of consultation) from Upper Volta and Niger. The devaluation itself might be counted an un-Gaullist act (had not de Gaulle once said it would be "an absurdity"?). Again, one asks, would President Bokassa have expelled French technicians in quite such a precipitate and unseemly fashion if the General had been



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here? And would not the General have followed up the strong note sent by President Pompidou with further action?

Pompidou at the Hague

Leaving aside such academic questions, the really important developments in M. Pompidou's period, which could ultimately have far-reaching effects on Africa, have been in connection with Europe. His speech at the Hague at the European summit seemed to leave the door open for Britain, for talks to begin once the Community had found some settlement over its tormented agricultural policy, and British entry to the EEC would help considerably in breaking down the frontiers which exist in Africa. Now that hostility to association with the



Pompidou: aware of the currents

EEC has largely evaporated in Commonwealth Africa (East Africa has its agreement in operation, and Nigeria's is there on paper, ready to be resumed when possible) the possibilities of a new lease of life to both the Yaoundé Convention itself (which has in some respects disappointed the associates) and to regional co-operation in Africa could perhaps be envisaged. For Africa there was an important section of M. Pompidou's speech at The Hague in which he said that Europe must demonstrate its "openness towards developing countries". Joint EEC action in this field, such as an arrangement to encourage private investment in all developing countries by a system of EEC guarantees, would have even more value if the community is widened". France has supported the World Bank's International Centre for Investment Disputes, but like Britain has no system of guaranteeing its own investors as opposed to less satisfactory guarantees for supplier credits (investment guarantees have been pioneered in countries which would have a relatively small amount to guarantee, such as the Scandinavian countries). What some people in Europe are envisaging (and M.

Pompidou's reference to the subject in his Hague speech shows that he is aware of these currents) is an overall Treaty of Co-operation between the EEC and the Associated States, of the same status but separate from the Yaoundé Convention in which investments would be guaranteed by European governments on the one hand and African states would commit themselves against impulse nationalisation on the other. This treaty would also provide for a fund to be subscribed to by both European and African states which would tackle another major problem facing African states, the deterioration in the terms of trade, by providing a worthwhile system of support for prices of primary produce on the world market. Both these points, lack of investment especially for industrialisation, and the eclipse of any gains in development by the deterioration of terms of trade, were made very strongly by the associates during the renegotiation of the Yaoundé Convention in Brussels earlier this year, and have been the main reason for a certain disenchantment with the association. There is every sign that the message has struck home.

Senghor in Adenauer's Seat

One curious aspect of the entry of President Senghor to the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences as an associate overseas member (the first African to do so) is that, according to custom he had to make a "eulogy" of the man whose seat he had taken, the late German Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer. First of all there was a tribute to the Senegalese President, from the President of the Academy, Edmond Giscard d'Estaing (father of the present Finance Minister). M. Giscard recalled that Senghor had been "elbow to elbow" with Georges Pompidou as students (a relationship which gives the present ceremony a particular sentimental value). Senghor had also been a prisoner of war in Front-Stalag 230, where he had "learnt the language of Goethe". Senghor in his eulogy of Adenauer, made special play in typical Senghorean fashion of the fact that he was a "bourgeois Rhinlander", with the special qualities of that region, which had kept for a thousand years or more the "fruits of that inter-breeding between Celts and Latins, Latins and Germans, Germans and Celts, indo-European Christians and Pagans, with whom the Jews were also intermingled".

Incidentally the Senegalese Theatre company of which I wrote last week is playing at the Theatre de France until January 3. Apart from *Macbeth*, two Senegalese plays, *Cheik N'Dao's L'E il d'Alboury*, which won the first prize at the Algiers Festival in July, and *L'Os de Mor Lam* of Birago Diop, are being shown.



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letters to the editor

GHANA'S ALIENS

Sir.—I have been deeply interested in things going on in West Africa and in Africa as a whole. I think the recent decisions by the Ghana Government, whereby some immigrants would be escorted to the Ghana borders, is a great shock.

In the first place these people have committed no crimes. Some of them have lived in Ghana for well over a quarter of a century, playing their little roles in the progress of Ghana. Are they responsible for the 300 m. debt incurred by Ghana?

We all know that Ghana is a mono-cultural country, depending solely on her cocoa produce. She has, therefore, been able to ask for anything in this world, relying on the income from cocoa. Some years ago, Ghana had 80 embassies, all over the world. She bought about a dozen Ilyushin planes from Soviet Russia. The Volta Dam was in process, while "Job 600" was floated. The Tema Development Co-operation started to build houses with nobody to buy them. The national debt soared up astronomically—for these reasons, not because of aliens.

My plea is this, that before the unwanted people are dumped on the Ghana borders, let them have all their monies transferred from Ghanaian banks to wherever they

like. Allow them to take away their moveable property, like vehicles, clothes, plants, machineries, food and let them dispose of their houses, shops and land properly.

As Ghanaians feel that it is only when the aliens leave that the economic problems can be solved, this is ~~at~~ right. But: *Pride goes on horseback grand and gay. But soon comes back only to beg its way.*
AYO AWORÉJU

Dr. AZIKIWE'S STAND

Sir.—Mr. R. I. Onwuka in his letter "Azikiwe's Stand" (Nov. 15) tried to blame ex-President Azikiwe. This is another attempt by people, educated but untutored in Social Sciences, to promote the policy of power which Mr. Ojukwu is pursuing. While I sympathise with these people whom Ojukwu is using as pawns, wise people regard Azikiwe's recent stand as meaning what is right, and not who is right, in restoring peace. Thank goodness that we have a General like Gowon pursuing the policy of security, although I wish he was a politician.

The point is not what someone said in the past, but what is useful and necessary for Nigeria and safety of all the people in the 12 states, which have come to stay. It is only Federalism, based on a minimum of 12 states, that will remove the idea that somebody is to prevail over somebody else and the politics of "we are in, you are out," and thereby make security sustain. Therefore, if Ojukwu and his clique really want peace and security, let them know that Federalism is the best known vehicle of democracy in a pluralistic society like

Nigeria. The best General is the one who calculates his risks and knows when to retreat.

SUNDAY NABULELE OLAWE
University of 17th November.
Prague.

MISS WORLD

Sir.—The recent call by a Nigerian lady journalist, in the Lagos *Daily Express*, for Afro-Asian countries to boycott future Miss World contests seems puerile. No doubt it is based on the failure of Miss Nigeria 1969 and other West African beauty queens.

But Miss India won the 1967 contest. Miss Guyana was fifth in 1968, and third in 1969. And there has been a series of successful achievements by black beauties from South America, the West Indies, Asia and Africa.

With regard to the contest itself, what is required from a contestant is mainly personality, charm and intelligence. Being relaxed and fashionable also counts. Nobody doubts the intelligence and/or otherwise of black contestants from Africa; only, they need some finishing touch to qualify for the title.

It is hardly likely for an African beauty from Tanzania to win the title. Not because she lacks the natural qualities, but because she has been denied, by law, the use of some of the world accepted ingredients of feminine attraction: make-up, cosmetics, maybe swimsuits. So, if anything is wrong at all, it must be with the local organisation and methods of selection.

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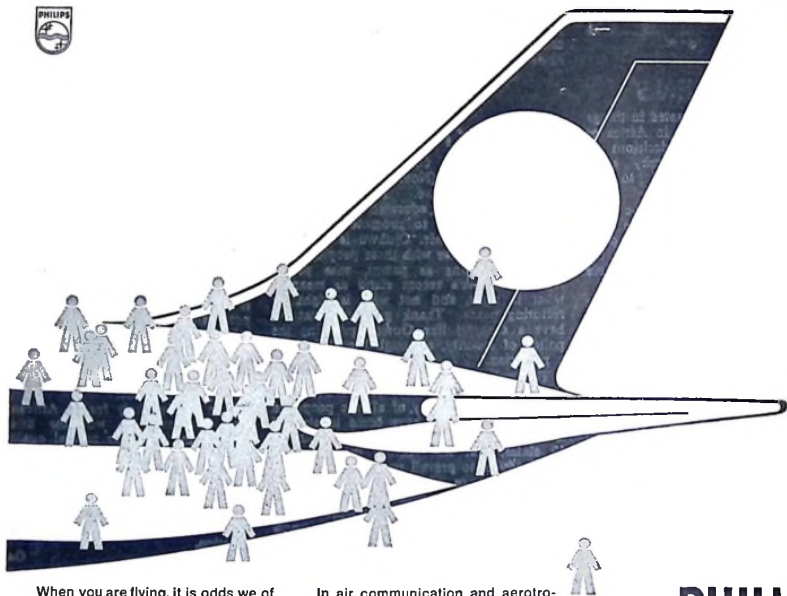
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books and publications

HOW THE OAU WAS BORN

The Organisation of African Unity and Its Charter, by Zdenek Cervenka (Hurst, 48s.)

AS the 1960s rapidly fade out, one development for which they will be remembered in Africa is that this was the decade in which the Organisation of African Unity was created, the decade in which the ideal of Pan-Africanism found its most concrete realisation. It is, in a way, symbolic, that it should be at this time that the OAU should be the main bone of contention between Nigeria and Biafra; that whether or not the talks should meet should depend on the acceptability of the OAU umbrella.

The OAU is now more than six years old, and although it is constantly being referred to (not least in the British House of Commons), it is useful to have a book such as that of Dr. Cervenka, which reminds us not only of the circumstances of its founding, and the crisis through which it has passed, but also provides a detailed analysis with an expert legal eye (a lawyer by training, he worked for several years in the Ghana Civil Service) of the OAU's charter.

It is easy to forget now, for example, the whole business of "the Addis spirit", that phenomenon which descended like a guardian angel on the assembled heads of state, and pushed them into bringing the organisation into existence, even though the foreign ministers meeting earlier had recommended a delay of a year. One had forgotten, too, the extraordinarily un-charitable reports just before Addis in *Time* and *Newsweek*, which concentrated on the difficulties Nkrumah might have with some African states.

Dr. Cervenka places the historic moment of the conference at Ben Bella's famous speech in which he said: "A Charter will be of no value to us, and speeches will be used against us, if there is not first created a blood bank for those fighting for independence. We must all agree to die a little . . . so that African Unity may not be an empty word." This, he says, brought the whole conference to its feet and the African states, who had hitherto been exploring their divisions on what sort of unity they could have, "to their senses." After this, he says "the conference had become seized by a genuine urge for immediate action". This was the spirit which gave

birth to the charter, a charter which, as Dr. Cervenka says was a defeat for the Casablanca group, although the price they exacted was the setting up of the liberation committee.

It is still remarkable that, although the dominant impression of the OAU is of a conservative-inclined alliance (Cervenka refers often to the moderate majority), a grouping called a "Holy Alliance" or a "heads of state trade union", these states are all committed to the use of force to liberate the rest of the African continent, which is basically a radical approach. This for example is what makes the present Portuguese pressure on the Senegalese so fascinating and so important, for the light it casts on how a moderate centrist regime such as that of Senghor's handles its relations with a militant, mobilised armed political party such as Cabral's PAIGC. The Liberation Committee may

not have had much success in its six years' life, but the fact that it is there, with its special status, is a token of the intentions of the African states, who in theory all contribute to it.

In all other aspects, however, the example was taken from the states which had met at Lagos the previous year (the Organisation of African and Malagasy States). From them was taken the insistence that there should be no sort of political union as Nkrumah's Ghana specially hoped for, or even collective security, such as was favoured by the specialised Commissions (most of which, as Dr. Cervenka admits, have for financial reasons barely got off the ground) that which never seemed to stand much of a chance was the Defence Commission, which met once *in camera* in Accra in 1963 and was never heard of again.

The book is particularly useful on the birth of the OAU, and in analysis of the charter; it also contains a wealth of detail never, as far as I know, published before on Ghana's attempt to inject more political substance into the organisation, at the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Lagos in March 1964. He also touches on the question of the Administrative Secretary-General as a title to please the moderates, and has warm praise for Diello Telli's handling of a difficult job (Telli has written an appreciative introduction to the book). He includes useful details such as the resolution on the sanctity of

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xxii + 290 pp maps plates bibliog. index (To be published January 1970) 65s. 0d. net

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borders (1964) and on refugees (1965), and has chapters on South-West Africa, Rhodesia and on the Nigeria crisis. The latter is a useful conducted tour of the peace conferences, usefully impartial, coming down, not surprisingly in favour of negotiation as the only alternative to millions of unnecessary deaths.

He touches on difficulties between OCAM and the OAU in his section on regional groupings, and finds that since OCAM concentrated more and more on "co-operation" its continued existence became more and more compatible with the OAU. I would put the beginning of this process very much at the 1966 Tananarive conference (after the falls of Tshombe and Nkrumah had defused two of the major reasons for a political role for OCAM) rather than at the 1968 conference in Niamey, where the new relationship was merely consecrated by Telli's presence. There are other places where the emphasis is perhaps wrong, or something has been left out—he alludes to the crisis over breaking relations with Britain only in his conclusion, and not in his chapter on Rhodesia. Also, Dr. Azikiwe did not to my knowledge go to Kinshasa for Ojukwu just before the 1967 OAU summit there; even those reports that Dr. Okpara was there were subsequently demonstrated to have been mistaken. On the whole, however, Dr. Cervenka has made a useful and painstaking study, which has the virtue of being on the side of the OAU, and urging us not to dismiss it as a failure because it has difficulty resolving a particular problem. Its survival of the

Congo, Rhodesia, and the fall of Nkrumah showed it to be bigger than that, and there is every sign that, important and frustrating though the Nigerian experience has been, the OAU will survive its setbacks. **K.W.**

Colour and Immigration in the United Kingdom 1969 (*Institute of Race Relations, London, 4s.*)

The numbers of people in Indian, Pakistani, West Indian and African birth in the UK, as counted in the 1966 sample census, are given here in great detail. One can learn here, for example, that there are ten people of West Indies birth in Falkirk; a thousand doctors from Commonwealth countries entered Great Britain on "B" vouchers in 1968; the proportion of immigrant pupils in the larger London boroughs varied from 2.2 per cent. in Hillingdon to 21.4 per cent. in Brent; and 21.8 per cent. of the economically active immigrants from ex-British West Africa (8,480) were clerical workers in 1966.

It emerges that West Africans living in the UK are far fewer in number than West Indians or Indians and Pakistanis; no figures for the total is given, however (a figure of 88,510 residents is given for all people born in the whole of Africa); but it is estimated that there are about 7,600 children born in the UK of West African (compared with 136,200 of West Indian) parents. **D.J.**

Shaw—"The Chucker-Out", by Allan Chappelow (*Allen and Unwin, 75s.*)

George Bernard Shaw was such an out-

size and provocative figure that anyone remotely interested in ideas and intellectual stimulation will relish this book. Large, and copiously indexed, it could almost be used as a one-man dictionary of quotations, but, of course, it is much more than that; the author describes it as a "biographical exposition and critique", drawing on much hitherto unpublished Shavian, on all manner of subjects, such as stage morals and censorship, sexual reform, socialism. There are also the details of his numerous wills. **H.C.**

Leadership in Eastern Africa; Edited by Norman R. Bennett (*Boston University Press, 57-75.*)

Biographies of six leaders appear in this useful book: Menelik II who created modern Ethiopia; Muhammad Abdulla Hassan, the great religious and political leader, who was mis-named "Mad Mullah" by the world but for over 20 years harassed the imperial powers in the Somali peninsula; Shiek Mbaruk bin Rashid bin Salim el Mazri, the great Kenya coast chief of the last century; Mwingi Kheri, leader of the Ugiyi Arabs in Tanganyika; Gungunhara, the major figure at the end of the last century in Mozambique; and Lobengula, the great Mdebele king.

Six authors have contributed, Harold G. Marcus; Robert L. Hess, T. H. R. Cashmore; Norman R. Bennett; Douglas L. Wheeler; Per Hassing.

In his introduction Daniel F. McCall suggests a companion volume for West Africa, dealing with men like Samory, Prempeh and Dan Fodio. **P.D.**

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WATCHET'S DIARY

MY photograph shows Gen. Gowon greeting Mr. John im Thurn, leader of a team sent by the Confederation of British Industry to prepare the ground for a mission of "industrial tastesmen" which is planning to visit Nigeria next February. Before leaving Lagos last week, Mr. Thurn (whose unusual name "im" is German for "in he"—puzzled many Nigerians) commented: "we have confirmed our view that the Nigerian economy is inherently sound and, once the existing difficult conditions have come to an end, we expect that development will be rapid." The team found themselves in the centre of a political controversy, because the Federal Government naturally hoped the visit would show that all was well with the economy, while Radio Biafra dismissed it as "a political manoeuvre." In fact the four members of the team were refreshingly honest about their purpose: on one occasion during their trip it was



said that they had come to help Nigeria. Mr. Thurn immediately pointed out that, although Nigeria would benefit too, their aim was to find openings for British companies who wished to make profits. The other members of the team were Mr. James Jack, a senior executive of the British Steel Corporation, Mr. P. Martin, representing the British Consultants Bureau, Mr. L. Piper of the Commonwealth Development Corporation and Mr. A. Rimmer, the marketing planning manager of Pilkington Brothers.

Their report will be used to brief the full mission. My impression is that it will say in effect: "The outlook for the economy is extremely promising, but nothing can be done until after the war." (Mr. Piper pointed out to me, however, that the CDC was proceeding with "a considerable number of investigations," particularly in agriculture, in spite of the war). The report will also probably

identify the areas in which British investment and assistance could most usefully be channelled, for the team had a number of discussions with civil servants about the priorities of the new Development Plan, which is expected to be published in February or March. It is not yet known who will form the full-scale mission, but it is likely to consist of a dozen businessmen, chosen for their ability to influence other businessmen, since the CBI's aim is to interest as many people as possible in the potential of the Nigerian market. As Mr. Thurn told me, if the British don't seize the openings, others will. And the breadth of interest which there is in the Nigerian economy can be gauged by the number of foreign firms which have presented the Federal Government with proposals for establishing a car assembly plant—I understand the total has already reached 20.

Everybody knows about the seriousness of diamond smuggling in Sierra Leone. But in some ways Ghana's problem is even more serious. Less attention is given to it, I suppose, because the stones are mostly industrials and not gems, and because diamonds matter far less in Ghana's economy. But the Ministerial Secretary of the Ministry of Mineral Resources has just told a meeting of the Diamond Winners Association that about 95 per cent of the winners' output was

smuggled abroad. More recently his Minister, Mr. Reggie Amponsah, has said that Ghana lost some £4m. worth of diamonds last year. Although this is nothing like the £16-20m. worth that was going out of Sierra Leone in the mid-fifties, it is probably more than is going out from Sierra Leone now. Mr. Amponsah was speaking at the CAST mine, which accounts for far more production than do the small diggers, and only stones stolen there are smuggled. Mr. Amponsah appealed to the management and employees to assist in stamping out smuggling. But the Chairman of the Diamond Winners Association told Mr. Amponsah's Ministerial Secretary that perhaps competitive marketing, in place of the monopoly of the Government Marketing Board, might be the answer, together with reduction of fees and taxes for the winners.

There are 123 people at Nigeria's High Commission in London who enjoy diplomatic immunity. That seems to me an awful lot of diplomats, but Ghana, with 105, has nearly as many, and Israel has the same number. India seems to lead with 805 at its London High Commission. The other West African missions in London are: Cameroon (16), Congo (23), The Gambia (5), Ivory Coast (16), Liberia (16), Senegal (8), and Sierra Leone (43).

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Senate backs US Aid Bill

AN amendment to the foreign aid bill, to ban development loan funds for Nigeria unless the President specifically declared the assistance to be in the national interest of the United States and reported such a finding to Congress, was proposed by Senator Charles Goodell. He also proposed that aid for the Calabar-Ikom road should be withheld because it would aid the Federal army. But he dropped the amendments, explaining that he and those who supported him were content to let aid officials, the State Department and the President know of their concern over policies in Nigeria. The Bill contains an allocation of about £1m. for development loans to Nigeria.

Since the cuts (reported in last week's issue) which reduced the foreign aid appropriation to the lowest-ever level, the Senate has approved the \$1,968m. Bill, and a special committee is now attempting to find a compromise between the different sums approved by the two Chambers.

- Three Soviet experts currently touring Nigeria at the invitation of the Federal Government said that the Soviet Union would continue to ensure bilateral assistance in cultural, scientific and industrial fields.

- Unless urgent measures are taken in the next decade, the 300m. unemployed in developing countries will increase by 50 per cent. Mr. David Morse, Director General of the ILO, said when receiving the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the organisation.

- Belgium has reduced the interest on Ghana's debt from 6 to 4.75 per cent p.a.

commercial news



Father Christmas at the children's toy fair in Kingway Stores Lagos.

GEM DIAMOND SALES DECLINE

De Beers, Central Selling Organisation, according to the London Times, is having to stockpile diamonds, and worldwide sales of gem diamonds are declining in the current quarter. The CSO sells the production bought by the GDO in Sierra Leone—this, in the first 11 months of this year, was £31,399,000, compared with £23,289,000 in the same period of 1968.

The report adds that De Beers see a levelling of global demand for gems in recent months, though sales of industrial diamonds are still buoyant, and the overall rise in gem sales for the whole of 1968 may only be about 10 per cent, after a rise of 28 per cent in the first half. "Allowing for the rise of 4 per cent in gem prices in July, carat volume may actually have fallen from the level a year ago."

Reasons suggested for the fall include less money for luxury items, with the big US market possibly affected by Vietnam and the heavy fall on Wall Street, while a London opinion was that diamonds, like gold, appear to be losing their appeal as a hedge against currency uncertainties. "Another factor could be the sales of Soviet diamonds through King Mines. These are said to be high quality, with total Russian production put at about 1.5m. carats a year."

No accounts from Nigerian subsidiaries

Turner and Newall's accounts for the year ended 30 September 1969 do not include figures for its Nigerian subsidiaries. No accounts were received for the building products factory in Enugu which was, for a time, under rebel control. The development of the company's other Nigerian interest, an asbestos and cement factory in Kaduna, has apparently been deferred until the end of the civil war. A spokesman in London said that the factory was "in mothballs." The group's net profit for 1968/69 was £7,362,000 compared with £7,045,000 the previous year.

Personalities

Miss Barbara Ward—Lady Jackson, the economist—has been awarded the 1969 Victor Gollancz award for the most distinguished contribution to the campaign against world poverty.

- Mr. Nicol-Cole, Governor of the Bank of Sierra Leone, has been elected vice-chairman of the new Association of African Central Banks

- Insurance broker Mrs. T. F. Adeyemi and three others have established the Nigerian Exchange Insurance Company in Ibadan with a share capital of £25,000.

- Chief A. O. Lawson is chairman of the new Nigerian company established by an American advertising agency, Grant Advertising International.



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African fish catch increases

World fishing reached a new high of 64,000,000 metric tons in 1968, compared with 60,700,000 tons the previous year, the Food and Agriculture Organisation reported. Peru again topped the list with a record catch of 10,520,300 tons, almost all of it anchoveta, which was converted into fishmeal for export. Japan was second (8,669,800 tons), followed by the Soviet Union (6,082,100 tons). Mainland China (5,800,000 tons—a figure based on a 1960 estimate, since no recent figures are available), Norway (2,800,100 tons), the United States (2,442,000 tons) and South Africa (2,000,000 tons).

All continents showed significant increases in catches except Europe, excluding the USSR. The African catch, 4,230,000 tons compared with 3,730,000 tons in 1967, was the lowest continental total, apart from Oceania's 210,000 tons.

The catch in the Eastern Central Atlantic area, which covers the West African coastline, rose to 1,500,000 tons from 1,000,000 tons in 1965.

Tuna migrations through the seas and the growing mobility of fishing fleets necessitate prompt action to conserve heavily-fished tuna stocks in the Atlantic Ocean. Mr. Roy Jackson FAO, assistant Director-General of Fisheries, said at the first meeting of the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas, whose members include Ghana. He said that in the last eight years the Atlantic tuna catch had increased from 292,000 metric tons in 1961 to 382,000 tons and is still increasing. Ivory Coast sent an observer to the meeting.

Over 300 delegates from 34 coastal towns and villages decided at a meeting in Accra to replace the Ghana Fishermen's Association with the National Co-operative Fishermen's Association. Aim of the new body is to promote fish production and look after the interests of fishermen.

Postal delay warning

British exporters have been asked not to address unnecessary parcels or packets to the British embassy in Dakar, which also looks after commercial matters in Mauritania and Mali, because local clearance is often a lengthy and expensive process.

Consolidated net profit of Barclays Bank DCO and its subsidiaries for the year ended 30 September 1969 amounted to £5,468,032. The Bank announced that in order to raise additional capital an issue of ordinary stock in the new year to produce about £25m., by way of "Rights," is proposed.

A groundnut mill and refinery is to be built at Magaria, central Niger, with West German capital. The mill is expected to produce about 18,000 tons of oil and 21,000 tons of oil cake cattle feed annually, to be sold abroad.

ILO criticised

Insufficient consultation between those responsible for implementing the technical activities of the International Labour Organisation and occupational groups, especially workers, was alleged by Mr. Beyene, leader of the Ethiopian Workers' delegation to the ILO's African Regional conference in Accra.

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

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NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool:—DONGA slg. Takoradi Dec. 28; AUREOL due Liverpool Dec. 29. To Glasgow/Liverpool:—KADUNA due Las Palmas Dec. 30.

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EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada:—DUNKWA slg. Halifax Dec. 30. **To India/Pakistan/Burma:—SHIRABANK** slg. Dakar Dec. 25.

WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada:—DEIDO due London Dec. 28; DUMURRA due Takoradi Dec. 30. **From India/Pakistan/Burma:—TAYBANK** slg. Calcutta Dec. 24.

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HOMEWARDS—TITANIA due Norfolk; TEMA due Carteret thence New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk; CORNEVILLE ldg. Buchanan/Monrovia; FERNWAYVE ldg. Lagos, 8. bound about Jan. 20. Douala Jan. 23, Lagos/Ghana N. bound early Feb., Abidjan/Buchanan/Monrovia first half Feb.

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From Continent:—KATSINA PALM due Tenerife Dec. 27. **NORTHBOUND**—To Continent:—BADAGRY PALM slg. Bathurst Dec. 27; BAMBENDA PALM slg. Sherbro Dec. 28; SAGA STATE slg. Cotonou Dec. 27.

To Hull/Middlesbrough:—IKEJA PALM slg. Freetown Dec. 27. **To Hull/London:—LOBITO PALM** slg. Lagos Dec. 31.

WOERMANN LINE

HERMANN RUSS slg. Rouen Jan. 8 due Dakar Jan. 16, Conakry Jan. 19, Sinec Jan. 23; WINDHUK slg. Antwerp Jan. 5 due Pointe Noire Jan. 22, Matadi Jan. 24.

HOEGH LINES

HOEGH BENIN due Douala Dec. 30; HOEGH BISCAY due Dakar Jan. 1, Monrovia Jan. 4, Abidjan Jan. 9.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND—NOPAL SUN slg. Takoradi Dec. 31, Lagos Jan. 3 due Warri Jan. 4; NOPAL TELLUS slg. Takoradi Jan. 16, Lagos Jan. 19 due Warri Jan. 20.

WESTBOUND—NOPAL LUNA slg. New Orleans Jan. 15, Houston Jan. 17; NOPAL SUN slg. Luanda Jan. 19, Takoradi Jan. 26, New Orleans Feb. 15.

GOLD STAR LINE

WESTBOUND—SHAUIT Keelung Jan. 14, Hong Kong 15/17, Singapore Jan. 23. **EASTBOUND**—NOGAW Singapore Jan. 9, Japan phosphates ports Jan. 18/24.

BLACK STAR LINE/USNR/WEST AFRICA WESTBOUND—BENYA RIVER Abidjan Dec. 19, Boston Jan. 1, Philadelphia Jan. 4, thence Gulf.

BLACK STAR LINE/UK/CONTINENT WEST AFRICA

SOUTHBOUND—SUBIN RIVER Hamburg Dec. 23, Bremen Dec. 29, Antwerp Dec. 31, Rotterdam Jan. 2, Dunkirk Jan. 4.

NORTHBOUND—LAKE BOSOMTWE Amsterdam Dec. 29, Rotterdam Dec. 27, Hamburg Dec. 31.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

SOUTHBOUND—MINNESOTA ldg. Scan. and Bordeaux Dec. for discharge WA first half Jan.; YARRAWONGA ldg. Scan. incl. Finland end Dec./early Jan. for discharge WA second half Jan./early Feb.

NORTHBOUND—HJELMAREN ldg. WA late Dec./first half Feb.; HJELMAREN ldg. WA first half Feb.; HOEGH GUNVOR ldg. WA southern route Jan. for discharge Continent early Feb. and Scan second half Feb.

CHARGEURS REUNIS

BOURGAINVILLE due Lagos/Apapa Jan. 8, Tema Jan. 14; KERQUELEN slg. Kobe Jan. 27.

MAERSK LINE

INWARDS—From Japan via Hong Kong to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi:—JOHANNES

MAERSK due Japan Jan. 8. **OUTWARDS**—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi to Japan via US Pacific ports:—JESPER

MAERSK slg. Abidjan Dec. 31, Tema Jan. 3, Takoradi Jan. 6.

MITSUI OSK LINE

LAPLATA MARU slg. Kobe Dec. 4 due Lagos Jan. 10; HAVANA MARU slg. Kobe Dec. 10 due Lagos Jan. 18; HUSTON MARU slg. Kobe Dec. 30 due Lagos Feb. 2.

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE LTD.

WESTWIND slg. New Orleans Dec. 27, Houston Dec. 30 for Lagos, Luanda, Freetown.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

SOUTHBOUND—KING JAJA due Douala Dec. 24. **NORTHBOUND**—HERBERT MACAULAY slg. Rotterdam Dec. 30.

HUGO STINNES TRANSOZEAN

SHIFFARTH GMBH WILRI due Las Palmas Jan. 2, Dakar Jan. 5, Conakry Jan. 7, Abidjan Jan. 11; ELLEN HUGO STINNES due Monrovia Jan. 10, Abidjan Jan. 13, Cotonou Jan. 16.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES

INWARDS—STRAAT FRAZER from Japan slg. Kobe Nov. 19 due Lagos Dec. 21, Tema Dec. 18, Monrovia Dec. 30, Freetown Jan. 2, Abidjan Jan. 6, Takoradi Jan. 9; STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from China and Hong Kong Dec. 2, due Lagos/Apapa Jan. 15, Cotonou Jan. 23, Lome Jan. 25, Tema Jan. 26, Abidjan Jan. 28, Monrovia Jan. 30, Freetown Feb. 1, Dakar Feb. 5, Conakry Feb. 8, Takoradi Feb. 13.

OUTWARDS—STRAAT BALI from Nigeria, Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan first half Jan.; STRAAT FRAZER from Nigeria, Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan first half Jan.

CONSOLIDATED AFRICAN SELECTION TRUST

HIGHLY SATISFACTORY RESULTS DESPITE DIFFICULTIES

Problems besetting group's operations in Sierra Leone

DEVELOPMENTS IN IRANIAN PROJECT

Mr. A. Chester Beatty on "era of great promise"

The 45th Annual General Meeting of Consolidated African Selection Trust Limited was held on December 10 in London.

The following is the statement by the Chairman, Mr. A. Chester Beatty:

Ladies and Gentlemen: The financial results for the year ended 30th June 1969 are fully set out in the Director's Report and Accounts and I do not propose to recapitulate what has already been said on the subject. I think, however, that these results may be regarded as highly satisfactory, particularly in view of the problems with which the operations in Sierra Leone are beset.

SIERRA LEONE

Our main concern in Sierra Leone has been the damage caused by the widespread activities of many thousands of illicit miners, with the resultant deterioration in law and order. In April 1969, the Government mounted an operation to clear 'strangers', that is, those illegally resident, from the lease area and this had some effect. However, it was unfortunately assumed in the mining areas that the Government would take no action to remove Sierra Leone nationals from the Diamond Protection Area since the operation appeared to be directed primarily against non-Sierra Leone Africans. Thousands flocked back into the mining area and the scale of illicit mining increased sharply.

The ravages of illicit mining in the last six to nine months have appreciably shortened the life of the mine and at times these men have even prevented the draglines from working in our mining cuts. It became apparent that urgent action was required to save the mine from premature extinction; the reduction and subsequent containment of illicit mining being clearly necessary in the interest of Sierra Leone.

I am pleased to say that the Government has in the past fortnight started a further operation to clear 'strangers' from the Diamond Protection Area and the intention has been expressed that this operation will be to clear 'strangers' of whatever nationality and will be pressed home strongly. We must hope that this courageous and necessary action will be successful and followed by further effective steps to restore authority and order in the district.

One of the steps that Government is taking to combat the problem of 'strangers' is to establish military border posts along the very long boundaries between Sierra Leone and her neighbours.

You will recall that our agreement with the Government of Sierra Leone was examined in detail and re-negotiated in the closing months of 1966 and in January 1967. We may have now notified that the Government wishes to enter into further negotiations although, as yet, we have no official intimation about what changes the Government has in mind.

GHANA

In Ghana, a new constitution for a return to civilian government was adopted by the constituent assembly and in September 1969 the National Liberation Council formally handed over responsibility for legislation to a

directly elected single-chamber National Assembly and for the exercise of government to a newly appointed Cabinet of Ministers under the leadership of Dr. K. A. Busia. As you will have seen from the Directors' Report, our former Resident Director, Mr. R. A. Quarshie was invited to join the Cabinet as Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism, which office he now holds.

Whilst the National Liberation Council was in power much was done to stabilise the economy of Ghana. Inevitably, however, there remain many problems still to be solved, the most immediate being the heavy burden of external debts which were inherited from the regime of the former President, Nkrumah. The National Liberation Council was able to reach agreements in 1966 and 1968 for the re-scheduling of part of the debts, but even so the annual cost of the external debt service is still around ten per cent of anticipated export earnings, too heavy a burden to be borne by a country which is struggling hard to restore solvency in its external accounts. The Ghana Government is making approaches to this country and its other creditor nations for a further re-financing of the debts and I earnestly hope that these appeals will receive sympathetic consideration so as to allow Ghana a breathing space in which to develop its economy and its exports. If, however, Ghana is successful in obtaining such a breathing space it is vital for the future that conditions in which economic growth can take place should have been created. Indications are that the new Government clearly recognises the importance of the role which overseas private investors can play in fostering such growth and in boosting Ghana's foreign exchange reserves and although little fresh overseas capital has been attracted in recent years Ghana continues to enjoy a favourable reputation in international financial circles.

One of the principal factors influencing a new investor as to whether or not to invest capital in a country is the concrete evidence of the treatment which existing investors in that country are receiving, and in this connection some reference to the problems with which we ourselves are faced could point the way in which potential new investors could be encouraged and a better climate for economic growth created. Firstly, as the structure of the taxation system of the country stands at present, the overall proportion of a company's revenue which has to be paid out in the way of taxes and

duties is too high. Secondly, we should like to see a further liberalisation of the controls upon the remittance of funds outside Ghana for the reimbursement of expenses necessarily incurred abroad and for the repatriation of profits. Thirdly, there is a need to streamline the procedures for the issue of import licences for materials essential for productive purposes which are still subject to restriction. I know that a general relaxation of controls on these lines cannot be easy at this time but I believe that the implementation of such a programme would benefit Ghana in the longer term.

A formidable task lies ahead of Dr. Busia and his Government and I am sure that you will all join in wishing them all success in its accomplishment.

EXPLORATION

Turning now to developments arising from our joint exploration ventures with Selection Trust, you will understand that some repetition of published information in this field is inevitable as a result of the need to keep both sets of shareholders fully informed. I hope therefore you will excuse me if I cover again some ground which is already familiar to you.

I am unable to add anything new about the copper/zinc/silver property near Uchi Lala in Western Ontario, discovered about a year ago by Selco Exploration Company, the Canadian subsidiary of Selection Trust. We have reached a point in our drilling programme where the additional information we can obtain from surface drilling is of such limited use as not to justify the expense on the valuable time involved. We do not expect to learn a great deal more until a shaft has been sunk and some underground development work carried out. This will be done as soon as the access road is sufficiently advanced to allow the heavy shaft sinking equipment to reach the property.

In Australia, the most encouraging results from the extensive programme being carried out there have been achieved at Spargoville, some 40 miles south of Kalgoorlie. Further work on the mineralised ultrabasic contact in this area has delimited a number of interesting zones of mineralisation, one of which shows considerable promise and is currently being examined by detailed drilling.

In a joint announcement with Selection Trust and Hampton Gold Mining Area, we recently announced the exercise of an option

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

	1969	1968
	£	£
Group Operating Profit	8,029,000	7,461,000
Deduct: Taxation	4,376,000	4,514,000
	3,653,000	2,947,000
Add: Overspill relief	561,000	680,000
	£4,214,000	£3,627,000
Allocations to Reserve	£2,301,000	£1,748,000
Rate of Dividend: Interim		1s. 0d.
Final	1s. 0d.	1s. 0d.
Cost of Total Dividend	£1,879,000	£1,871,000

Consolidated African Selection Trust

by Selcast Minerals to acquire a lease over East Location 48 in the Kambalda area of Western Australia. This was done to enable us to continue with our exploration work upon the area. On the grant of the lease, Hampton Gold Mining Areas will receive a one-third interest in Selcast Minerals, which at present is owned as to sixty per cent by Selection Trust and as to forty per cent by ourselves. Owing to the proximity of Block 48 to the large orebodies found by Western Mining Corporation and the indications of the presence of nickel mineralisation, the area remains an important exploration target.

We also hold other extensive areas of ground in Western Australia which are receiving appropriate attention, but there is nothing of significance to report to you.

In the North Sea the second well in the Dutch Sector drilling on Block P.10 proved to be dry. The Noordwinning Group has consequently decided to put the operation on a care and maintenance basis for the time being and await developments in areas adjacent to their licences.

In the United Kingdom Sector Amax has resigned from the position of operator for our Group and has been succeeded by Total Oil Marine Limited. Interest has been received in two blocks in our northern licence to the east of Aberdeen by reports of oil finds in the neighbouring areas and a further small seismic programme is now to be carried out in this area.

So far, it must be admitted, our venture into the oil and gas search has proved very disappointing.

IRAN

Two years have elapsed since we began our examination of the Sar Cheshmeh copper deposit in Iran. In that time we have established the existence, within 150 metres of the surface of an orebody containing 300 million tons of ore of an average grade of one point two per cent. Within this orebody but lying near the surface there are some 75 million tons of ore averaging a little over two per cent copper. It has also been established that there is available sufficient water to support a milling rate of 30 thousand tons of ore per day.

These figures represent in summary the product of two years intensive work. They also mark the end of the first stage of our obligations under the terms of the agreement entered into in 1967 with our Iranian partners. At a joint meeting of the C.A.S.T. and Selection Trust boards held yesterday it was decided to exercise the option on 31st December 1969 and embark upon the second stage of the project. This involves the production within the next twelve months of a programme for the development and equipment of the mine and of a plan to raise the necessary finance to bring the mine into production at a milling rate of 30 thousand tons a day. Detailed estimates are now set complete but the total required is likely to be of the order of U.S.\$230 million or £95 million. Until we have made more progress with the financing plan, it is impossible to evaluate the significance of this venture to the Company. There is no doubt, however, that we are dealing here with what is potentially a major copper mine and I am hopeful that a financing plan can be evolved which will ensure that the mine is developed so as to produce the maximum benefit to the Iranian economy and at the same time provide a worthwhile return on the funds which will be called upon to contribute.

BORROWING POWERS

At this meeting you will be asked to pass a special resolution to amend the Company's articles of association so as to increase the Group's borrowing powers. As explained in

the Directors' Report, the Board feels that the existing limit, which currently amounts to approximately four and a half million pounds, is inappropriate in view of the extent and nature of the Group's activities, especially its joint ventures with Selection Trust Limited. This is particularly so as, with the present policy of the United Kingdom Government, it would be necessary in most cases to resort to raising loans in foreign currency to finance overseas projects which may proceed to an advanced stage of development.

The proposed amendment to the articles will increase the borrowing powers to an amount equivalent to twice the Company's issued capital and consolidated reserves and on the basis of the figures at 30th June 1969 the limit would be some £33 million.

SHARE PARTICIPATION SCHEMES

You will also have seen from the Notice of Meeting that you are to be asked to pass a special resolution to approve a proposed share incentive scheme, restricted to a total of two hundred thousand shares, or just over one per cent of the present issued capital of the Company, which is designed to benefit key members of the London staff. The terms of the scheme are fully explained in the Directors' Report and the draft trust deed which has been made available for inspection, so there is no need for me to dwell further upon them here.

A scheme of the nature envisaged is deemed to be more appropriate in present day circumstances for the London based staff, rather than the issue of options under the share option scheme which was approved by the shareholders in 1960. It is, however, intended to grant further options under that scheme to selected members of the overseas staff.

A resolution is also being submitted to you to ratify the participation of certain directors in the share capitals of two companies formed in Canada and Australia as vehicles for any future mining developments. The participations in each case represent in aggregate an interest of less than one-half of one per cent in the ventures.

I feel that participation arrangements of this nature are most desirable so that key members of the staff, which of course includes salaried directors, may be more closely identified with the progress of the Company and participate in any success which they and participate in a way that could bring financial benefit to them. I believe that any scheme which will improve our chances of retaining which will attract men of high calibre must be in the best interests of the Company and so in the interests of the shareholders. While feeling strongly about the desirability of these arrangements, I have deliberately not involved myself in any of the schemes so that I can feel at liberty to commend them to you for your support without any bias on my part. I earnestly hope therefore that your support will in fact be forthcoming.

CONCLUSION

As you will appreciate, in regard to its operations in Sierra Leone the Company is working under difficulties the seriousness of which cannot be underestimated. On the other hand operations in Ghana are proceeding satisfactorily and in the field of our joint ventures with Selection Trust we are entering an era of great promise. You may rest assured that the management and staff, both at home and abroad, will direct their best endeavours towards overcoming the problems which exist and achieving success in the new ventures which are being undertaken.

The report and accounts were adopted and Resolutions increasing the Group's borrowing powers and sanctioning a share incentive scheme were approved.

commercial news

Japanese aid rise proposed

An increase in foreign aid from last year's figure of 0.7 per cent. of gross national product (GNP) to 1 per cent. by 1975 is one of several measures proposed by the Japanese Foreign Ministry in an effort to avert a yen revaluation. The Ministry said that although Japan had outstripped West Germany in GNP, this was dependent on heavy restrictions on foreign trade and exchange and thus Japan could not be described as having developed into a really "powerful advanced industrial economy", like West Germany. The abolition of quota restrictions on the import of 118 items on the residual restriction list is proposed by the end of 1975.

● A proposal for the establishment of a bank to finance the exploration and development of overseas raw material resources is being studied by Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry. The aim is to build up guaranteed sources of copper, nickel, coking coal, oil and iron ore, and its advocates argue that by extending loans to Japanese companies in foreign currencies the Bank would reduce the country's rising foreign currency reserves, which are contributing to American and European demands for a yen revaluation.

● A Japanese delegation of businessmen and Government officials will visit Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Senegal and Congo-Kinshasa as part of a nine-nation African tour beginning next February.

● The Japanese have sent a turbo-jet aircraft on a tour of several African countries to prove its versatility, especially on difficult landing strips.

Ghana may lose world supremacy

Ghana's cocoa production is about 27 per cent. of total world production, one of the lowest percentage positions it has ever held, and unless the country increases production it is in danger of losing its world supremacy, Mr. Kankam-Boadu, chairman of the Cocoa Marketing Board, warned in a public lecture. In 1964/65, he pointed out, Ghana's output formed 38 per cent. of the world total but Ivory Coast and Cameroon were expanding production relatively faster than Ghana. He called on the Government to increase its help to cocoa farmers.

Previous forecasts of a Ghana cocoa crop of 320,000 tons are being amended to about 340,000 tons. Total purchases after 11 weeks are 270,549 tons, compared with 268,048 tons for the same period last year. But there is still a possibility of a sharp fall off in end of season purchases. Ivory Coast purchases are apparently 11,000 tons more than this time last year, those for Cameroon up 10,000 tons and Nigerian purchases are running at about the same level. Prices fell with this news.

● Dutch cocoa bean grindings in November totalled 10,700 metric tons, compared with 11,300 tons in November 1968. Grindings during the first 11 months of this year were 1,200 tons less than in the January- November period last year.

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Photographer

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NOTICES

Nigerian Students' Action
Committee of Great Britain and
Ireland.

ATTENTION

The Nigerian Students Action Committee invite all General Secretaries and Publicity Secretaries of all Nigerian Students' Organisations in the U.K., whether ethnic, National, Cultural, Religious or Professional to an important discussion concerning:

Nigeria in 1970

Place: Nigeria Centre
20/22 Inverness Terrace,
London, W.2.

Date: 28 December 1969

Time: 11 a.m.—1 p.m.

O. Oyeleye, T.L.J. Koko
for Publicity Committee
Tel: 01-622 0614

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SITUATIONS VACANT

GOVERNMENT OF SIERRA LEONE WORLD BANK EDUCATION PROJECT

Government of Sierra Leone proposes to carry out certain extensions, improvements and modifications to educational buildings in Sierra Leone with funds to be provided by the International Development Association.

Applications are invited for the post of

PROJECT ARCHITECT

He will be responsible to the Project Director, who is in charge of the co-ordination of the whole programme. The duties of the Project Architect shall include advising the Project Director on detailed building briefs. He will be responsible for the preparation of briefing documents, the co-ordination of the briefs and also for ensuring that the construction work is executed in accordance with such briefs. He will be expected to travel within Sierra Leone and to work closely with others in the Project Unit and with the Ministries of Education and Works through the Project Director.

Applicants must be professionally qualified with at least seven years' post-qualification experience. The post will be on contract for a period of three years and the salary will be fixed at Le. 10,000 (equivalent to 5,000 pounds sterling) per annum for the period of the contract which will be of two tours of eighteen months each. On satisfactory completion of the period of contract, the successful candidate will be entitled to a gratuity of 15% of the aggregate salary drawn. Free passages for himself and his wife and two children not exceeding eighteen years of age will be provided from his declared place of residence in his country of domicile to Sierra Leone. Housing will be provided in respect of which the person engaged will be required to pay rent at the rate of Le.360 (180 pounds sterling) per annum.

Apply in writing with full details of experience etc. also stating full particulars not later than the 5th of January, 1970, to the Project Director, P.O. Box 940, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa. Copies of all applications and supporting papers should be sent to the appropriate Sierra Leone Embassies and High Commissions as follows:

- The Head of Chancery, Sierra Leone High Commission, 33 Portland Place, London, W.1.
- The Head of Chancery, Sierra Leone Embassy, 1701 Nineteenth Street, Washington D.C., 20009.
- The Head of Chancery, Sierra Leone Embassy, 532, Bad Godesberg, Ubiertstrasse 88, Bonn Western Germany.

Persons domiciled in countries in West Africa should send copies of their applications to the Sierra Leone High Commissions (where established) in their countries.

NOTICES—Continued

MIDWESTERN NIGERIA EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

On the 6th of December, 1969, at the Nigerian Centre, 22 Inverness Terrace, London, W.2, the above-named organisation held its Annual General Meeting at which officers for 1969/70 were elected. The current officers of the Committee stand as follows:

M. A. N. Igielemai..... Chairman
R. E. U. Eweka..... Vice-Chairman
A. E. Amovbe..... General Secretary
D. A. Etaluku..... Assistant Secretary
Omo-Ehigogie..... Treasurer
J. A. Rerri..... Publicity Secretary
C. G. Aliu..... Social/Welfare Officer
S. E. Lawani..... Financial Secretary
Messrs. C. E. Iyobbe & G. Ekyor
Ex-Officio-members

Please send all communications to the
General Secretary at:
228 South Lambeth Road, London, S.W.8.
Sgd. J. A. Rerri (Publicity Secretary).

SITUATIONS VACANT

Also on pages 1589 and 1590

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Frank Mann, Social Secretary

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SITUATIONS VACANT—Continued

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GHANA

Hackman and Quarshie

MR. RICHARD QUARSHIE, Trade Minister, told the National Assembly that Mr. U. K. Hackman was dismissed as managing director of the Cocoa Marketing Board because the Government realised it could not expect any cooperation from him. Mr. Hackman, he alleged, had taken a stand against the Government and made up his mind to embarrass it; his press conference on Oct. 16 was "to all intents and purposes a direct confrontation with the Government," for which, he added, Mr. Hackman had apologised at a meeting with the Ministerial Secretary at the Trade Ministry. At that meeting, he went on, Mr. Hackman had complained of press misreporting of his talks with management on the withdrawal of licences from five cocoa buying agents; but said Mr. Quarshie, the managing director had not corrected this misreporting and had threatened to resign if licences were restored to the five agents. Then Cabinet ministers had agreed on his removal, and the CMB had restored the licences to the five agents to recover the money they owed.

Mr. Quarshie claimed he had been told of a CMB-appointed committee's decision to revoke the agents' licences.

● After visiting Accra with a message from Gen. Gowon to Dr. Busia, Nigeria's External Affairs Commissioner, Dr. Arko-protsted against the Ghanaian measures against certain aliens. He said some Nigerians expelled from Ghana had been forced to leave property behind, and some had suffered in various ways. Nigeria, he said, recognised Ghana's right to take measures against aliens without residence permits, but criticised the method used.

The Nigerian press has continued to publish stories of hardship suffered by expelled Nigerians. In Ogbomoso some land has been offered to people returning from Ghana. Some of the thousands of Nigerians waiting in Ghana for transport appealed to Gen. Gowon for help at one point. Many of them have been stranded at ports (several ships have been giving free passages to Nigeria.) The Government has been helping stranded aliens.

After a report that Ivory Coast was not allowing some expelled aliens into its territory, because they had no jobs to go to, it was announced that people returning from Ghana to Mali and Niger would not be allowed to travel through Upper Volta, as the Voltaic government thought some might stay there. Thousands of people have returned to Niger; the Government has set up a committee to help them resettle.

About a thousand aliens are in prison for staying in Ghana without residence permits. The Police Inspector-General has announced

● Great Britain and Ghana have signed an agreement for another £1,750,000 loan, raising British aid to Ghana in 1969-70 to £5,750,000. The new loan will be interest-free, for 25 years, and for purchase of British goods and services and contribution to agreed development projects.

This new loan was announced during Dr. Busia's visit to the UK in October.

● All permanent employees of the Corgo Handling Co. at Ferna docks who were dismissed in October 1968 after a one-day strike are to report for work on January 2. They have been paid a month's salary.

● The dismissal of the 2,000 dockworkers led to repeated protests and a TUC complaint to the ILO. After the return to civilian rule one of the officials whose removal had been demanded by the strikers (later an unsuccessful PP candidate in the elections) was declared redundant.

● Casual labourers at the docks have been told to report for work when it is available, as usual.

● The Supreme Court has reserved judgment in the appeal brought by Mr. Kröbe Eusei, former Minister of the Interior, against an 18-month prison sentence imposed for making false answers in an Assets Commission's questionnaire.

(It was incorrectly stated last week that the Court of Appeal was the highest court of Ghana and the "Supreme Court" which heard the case for disqualification of Mr. Gbedemah as an MP was a special sitting of the Court of Appeal. In fact, under the new Constitution, the Supreme Court is the highest court of Ghana.)

● The Government intends to reopen the Electoral Register. Mr. J. H. Mensah, Finance Minister, told Parliament. This would only be after funds had been provided to ensure that "ghosts" were not registered as voters. Since the registration of voters for the 1969 elections ended about a year ago, there have been demands for it to be reopened.

● Parliament has now adjourned for the Christmas recess.

● Mr. K. A. Gbedemah (whose former constituency at Keta, vacated because of the Supreme Court ruling that he was disqualified from being an MP, voted for a new member on Dec. 19) has said he is not out of public life; he could fight outside parliament to ensure that rights were respected and election promises kept.

● Mr. Gbedemah said two deputy leaders of the NAL, Mr. Edward Boohene (not an MP) and Mr. Fred Sebgebefia, have been entrusted with the affairs of the party outside parliament. An NAL "shadow cabinet" has been formed (details next week).

● 700,000 cedis of the 24m. owed to Ghana by Guinea, Mali and Upper Volta had been paid by the end of the 1966-67 financial year: 500,000 by Mali, 200,000 by Upper Volta. The debts arose from loans made by the Nkrumah Government.

● The reclamation of the Keta Lagoon would cost the Government more than 80m new cedis, Mr. A. S. Kpodonu, chairman of the Volta Region Administration, told a durbar of Chiefs and people. The Government was giving due attention to the feasibility study on the project, he said.

● The Government is considering the possibility of identity cards for Ghanaians, to help distinguish Ghanaians from aliens, Mr. T. D. Brodie-McGills, Information Commissioner, said at Cape Coast.

● The Star has defended the deportation of Mr. Nelson Howe, a lecturer at the University of Ghana.

● Dr. Busia has promised a special Minister for ex-detainees' affairs.

GUINEA New Contacts With France?

In a cabinet meeting in Conakry, President Sekou Touré told ministers that there had recently been contact between the Governor of the Bank of France and the Governor of the Bank of Guinea. The President took the occasion of repeating the firm will of his government to normalise its relations of cooperation with France. Reports from Paris suggest that French private enterprise has also received various approaches from Guinea in recent weeks.

(Diplomatic relations with France were broken in 1965, following alleged French involvement in a plot against the regime. There have been several attempts by the Guineans to achieve a détente, notably in October 1967, after the 8th PDG Congress at which it was announced that Guinea would seek good relations with all states. In June this year cordial messages were exchanged with M. Pompidou after the latter's election as French President).

● A conference of officers of the army and gendarmerie is to take place in January. It follows those of ambassadors, and health and highways officials, which took place recently.

● Conakry radio says an agreement has been signed with the USSR for aid worth 538.6m. to help mine bauxite at Kindia, after the visit of a Soviet delegation.

● Future aid from China to Guinea will include the complete repair of the railway from Conakry to Kankan, and improvement to the port of Conakry, according to the port of Conakry, according to the Guinea radio. This follows the visit of a delegation to Peking in October.

● During his recent visit to Spain, Guinea's Transport Minister M. Karim Bangoura signed a contract for a 66m. cement factory to be built in the Cali region. The factory's annual production will be 20,000 tons. The Guinean trade mission led by the Minister also discussed Spanish participation in the development of Guinea's fish-packing industry and the sale of iron ore and bauxite to Spain.

CHAD Libya Mediation Offer

The Libyan Foreign Minister, Mr. Ahmed Boussir, has offered Libyan mediation between the national army and the opponents of the Fort Lamy regime. "Libya has entered into contact with the national army of President Tombalbaye and government of the Fort Lamy regime. She has with the French government of state meets proposed that the Chad head of state meets with the representatives of the revolutionary organisations, with the participation of the French representatives as observers. The French representatives of the agreement to guarantee the application of the agreement which would be made between the two parties." He suggested that the meeting should take place in the frontier region between Libya and Chad. (In Paris it was said the proposals would be studied.)

The Minister denied reports that Libya had given aid to the Chad rebels, although he said that opponents of President Tombalbaye had sought refuge in Libya.

● The single list of 105 candidates for the Chad National Assembly was elected with 99.69 per cent. of the votes cast. It was claimed in Fort Lamy that about 95 per cent. of the electorate had voted.

● Routine ministerial talks between Cameroon and Chad studied the creation of a joint commercial college.

● Belgian Foreign Minister Harmel told parliament that Chad had asked for "military assistance" in building a road from Fort Lamy to the Mediterranean.

● Radio Conakry has described the French intervention in Chad as "a crime in the eyes of history, a crime which is not desired by the French people." The broadcast described the intervention as "a colonial reconquest," and said that Chad was the Vietnam of Africa. President Tombalbaye had been "politically liquidated," the broadcast went on, and had "dishonoured Africa in giving to the world the image of a continent unable to govern itself"; Chad was a dangerous precedent.

DAHOMEY

The ministers of the Zinsou government resigned their posts six days after they had agreed to continue in their posts after the coup of December 10. This decision, it is understood, followed the decision of the officer corps, not to receive ex-President Zinsou to explain to him why he had been overthrown. Senior civil servants have now been put in charge of ministries.

● Former President Apithy has arrived in Dahomey after flying from Paris via Lome, where he had talks with President Eyadema before crossing the border. He was taken in a military jeep immediately to his home town of Porto Novo, without even talking to friends and relatives who had gone to the airport to greet him.

MALI

The trial of thirty-three soldiers of the Mali army, including several officers, charged with attempting a coup in August this year, has concluded in Bamako with sentences of periods varying from one year to life. Captain Dibi Silas Diarra and Allassane Diarra and Sergeant Bovbaean Traore received life sentences. Five men were acquitted. (There was no official announcement of the coup at the time, although Lt. Traore spoke of it at the beginning of November. The aim was said to have been to restore the deposed President Modibo Keita.)

GABON

A day of mourning was held on December 4 to mark the second anniversary of the death of former President Leon Mba. A memorial service also took place in Brazzaville.

● The Schweitzer hospital at Lambaréne is going through "a grave financial crisis" says its French administrator.

● President Bongo told a Japanese economic mission that he did not believe the French aimed to "recolonise" Gabon.

● A senior officer of Cameroon's gendarmerie, Cdt. Feumi Jantou has been sentenced by the military tribunal at Yaoundé to 15 years jail for embezzlement.

● The Moroccan Ministry of Mauritania Affairs has been suppressed.

SIERRA LEONE REACTIONS TO MINES TAKEOVER

LONDON newspaper reaction to the Sierra Leone government's take-over of the mines was subdued. But one has been sharp. "Another blow to British investment in African mining has been struck," said the *Times Business News*.

The *Financial Times* was more reassuring: "If Sierra Leone's terms prove to be fair the state control proposals may be welcomed on two counts. First, the entry of the Sierra Leone Government as a shareholder in SLST would, no doubt, herald even stronger measures in that country to combat the illicit diamond mining operations. . . . Secondly, an increased flow of revenue to the parent CAST is possible in the form of compensation payments and dividends from SLST, operating possibly under more favourable conditions."

Although most comment concerned SLST, because diamonds are already in the news, the *Times Business News* had this to say of Delco, subsidiary of Baird of Glasgow, the iron ore producer; "on whatever basis the Sierra Leone government decides to implement its plan . . . the outlook for William Baird group can be none too bright."

The *Daily Telegraph* called this move a "surprise" and noted that it had "brought sharp falls to the companies affected."

On the following day the City Editor returned to the subject: "The full text of Sierra Leone's policy statement is disturbing in its implications."

"The Government will also formulate with SLST an explicit plan . . ." which

"includes viable alternative employment to those now engaged in illicit mining."

"This is an ironic touch as the illicit miners have already ravaged SLST's lands."

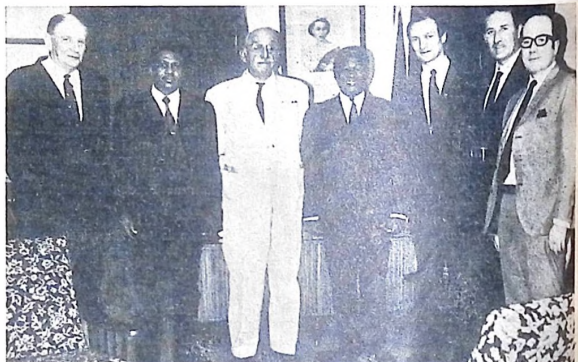
In *The Guardian* Lindsay Vincent says that the government is "effectively" nationalising the mines.

● Mr. Cyril Fouray, the Minister of External Affairs, and another APC MP against whom election petitions have been lodged by their SLPP opponents in by-elections earlier this year, still retain their seats in Parliament. Although the Court of Appeal granted the applications of the

valued at Le.2,897,000, the property of SLST. Mr. Shamel is a well-known diamond dealer.

● A loan of some £625,000 is to be made to Sierra Leone by the African Development Bank for extension of the Guma valley company reservoir at Freetown to a capacity of 6m. gallons a day. This is the second A.D.B. loan to Sierra Leone, the first being some £50,000 for the National Development Bank last year.

● The Cabinet has ordered the assets of the former Prime Minister, Sir Albert



Mr. Tejan-Sie, Acting Governor-General (fourth from left) with British MPs (second from left) Mr. J. Hadson-Taylor, Leader of the House and Minister of State. The MPs are (left to right) Mr. George Currie (left); Lt.-Col. Marcus Lipton, head of the delegation (third from left), and Messrs. Donald Anderson, John Maginnis and John Ryan.

During the six-day visit, now ended, the MPs visited the provinces as well as Freetown. Mr. Hadson-Taylor, in a speech welcoming them, suggested a Commonwealth Parliament.

SLPP men who were complaining against the rejection of their petitions in the lower courts, the Court of Appeal has only ordered that they should be heard again.

● An improved salary structure and better conditions in the civil service are announced. The Prime Minister said a full scale inquiry would be launched into the salary structure. From December 1 this year, the minimum salary at the lower end has been raised to £150 per annum "so that employees do not earn less than a labourer." All government employees earning £612 and less, including army and police, will receive a non-pensionable interim annual allowance of £18.

● Replying to allegations by the Principal of Njala University College, that the College was the victim of "political victimisation" and "financial strangulation," the Government has pointed out that in the last three years grants in aid to the College have been Le.700,000 in 1967-68 and Le.775,000 in 1968-69 and in 1969-70. During the same period grants made to Fourah Bay, the other constituent of the University of Sierra Leone, have been Le.1,629,000 in 1967-68 and Le.1m. in 1968-69 and in 1969-70. On the other hand, there are almost twice as many students at Fourah Bay as at Njala. In addition, no student admitted to Njala who had applied for a Government scholarship had been refused, but the same was not true at Fourah Bay.

● The Trial has begun before the Principal Police Magistrate of Mr. Henneh Shamel and 17 others accused of responsibility for the armed robbery of diamonds

Margai, and some of his Ministers to be forfeited to the state. Total value of the assets, which include those of some civil servants and heads of Government corporations, total some £135,000 sterling.

● Sierra Leone's first National School of Nursing was opened by Mr. Siaka Stevens on December 17. Funds for the school, which accommodates 140 students, have been provided by the government and by the American Health, Educational and Development Foundation (AHEAD). Unicef has provided locally-made furniture.

LIBERIA

The Liberian Episcopal Church, which has been supported by the US Episcopal Church (allied to Britain's Anglican church) for over a century, has been told to produce its next head itself, following the shooting of Bishop Dillard Brown in Monrovia last month. Several Liberian candidates are reported under consideration. The decision was made not because of the murder, says the report, but because of the financial loss incurred in operating the Liberian diocese, which spends annually over £200,000 but brings in about £10,000.

● The Justice Department in Monrovia says that seven Biafrans had been arrested on suspicion of complicity in the bishop's murder. They were members of a Biafran organisation in Liberia, and according to reports were alleged to have threatened violence against officials because of Liberia's refusal to recognise Biafra.

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NIGERIA

Fighting Over Onitsha-Awka Road

MORE reports of the latest military actions have appeared in British newspapers.

Biafran and Nigerian forces are fighting again over the Onitsha-Awka road, disputed for 21 months, while Federal troops have captured Okpuala in an advance on the southern front, according to detailed reports in the London *Sunday Telegraph*. Biafran troops captured a part of the Onitsha-Awka road in July, and unless Federal forces can retake it they must make long detours, and cannot afford to advance south towards Nnewi and Uli airfields, this report—by Simon Dring—adds. Apart from this stretch, Federal forces are "dig in almost shoulder to shoulder along both sides of the road"; they exchange fire frequently with the Biafrans, who seem to match them in fire-power and spirit. After defeating a Federal effort to close the gap, the Biafrans recently attacked Nkpor, a small village 21 miles west of Awka, says Dring's report, but they were beaten back and then concentrated on harassing Federal forces, who hold the ruins of Nkpor.

A report in the same newspaper from Uli says Federal forces, having taken Okpuala, are aiming at a vital road bridge over the Imo at Owerri, halfway along the road from Aba to Owerri. They are advancing in an area retaken by the secessionists earlier this year. Refugees are streaming towards Owerri, while Nigerian jets are increasing their raids, attacking "anything that moves" on the roads (according to this report).

This report says the Nigerian forces in the south are using new 152 mm. Russian guns, with 12-13 miles range.

A later report by Simon Dring, in the *Daily Telegraph*, added that the first Federal objective was control of the Onitsha-Awka road, the next being Uli, reported to be protected by at least two divisions with "a comprehensive network of concrete bunkers and inter-linking communications trenches". Biafran forces have sought to wear down Federal forces in the area, pushing them back to Nkpor but failing to take that village. Federal morale is high, says this report, and Federal troops are better fed and better turned out than the Biafran soldiers, whom they continue to respect.

"All we are waiting for is the word from Lagos to move", one field commander told the *Daily Telegraph* reporter.

John Ellison reported in the London *Daily Express* that he saw Nigerian troops at Enugu training to use 122mm. Russian howitzers "capable of hurling a shell 13 miles with pinpoint accuracy" and intended to put Biafra's airstrips out of action. Other Federal soldiers also boast of having good Russian automatic rifles, he said (adding that Russian contacts with Nigeria were increasing, with WAATECO—a company for importing Soviet goods such as motor vehicles, now established in Lagos).

At least two young British pilots are flying MGRs for the Nigerian air force, one from Enugu and one from Port Harcourt, Ellison reported from Lagos.

Following a meeting between the Nigerian Ambassador in Addis Ababa, Mr. Olu Sanu

and the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ketema Yefru, Mr. Sanu said he was satisfied that Emperor Haile Selassie was "acting in his capacity as Chairman of the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria" in calling peace talks. The ambassador had been asked by his home government to seek clarification on a broadcast made by the Biafran leader saying that the talks, for which a Biafran delegation had already arrived in Addis Ababa, had been arranged on the personal initiative of the Emperor, outside the OAU umbrella. Mr. Sanu said that the talks would be "within the context of the OAU resolution on Nigeria", but added that the federal side did not require prior renunciation of secession by the Biafrans.

The Biafran delegation, led by Dr. Pius Okigbo, and including the Biafran Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Godwin Onyebula, Mr. Austin Okwu, Biafran representative in East and Central Africa, and Mr. Eyo Ntem, Commissioner for Agriculture, left Addis Ababa the next day, after also meeting Mr. Yefru. The Biafran statement made before departure said they had reminded the Ethiopian Minister that negotiations under the auspices of the OAU Committee and its mandate which already predetermined the form of a settlement, violated the principles of "negotiations without preconditions." Mr. Yefru, said the statement, had confirmed that the Emperor could not "act outside the terms of the OAU resolutions or in any other capacity than as Chairman of the OAU Consultative Committee either now or in the future." The Ethiopians subsequently put out a statement saying they still hoped talks would take place as soon as possible.

Chief Enahoro, Nigerian Commissioner of Information, in London for medical reasons, was believed in some quarters to have been ready to move to Addis Ababa at short notice if necessary.

Gowon: "A Speedy Military Solution"

General Gowon, speaking at Kano, is reported as saying there would be no Christian truce or ceasefire in the war. "A ceasefire or truce will come at our time and our conditions," and would not be dictated by foreigners. He also said that if the rebels refused talks within the OAU mantle, Federal forces would have to pursue "a speedy military solution." He said: "We have repeatedly called on the rebels to give up secession and rejoin fellow Nigerians who are anxious to welcome them back to the fold. We have also done everything humanly possible to demonstrate our sincere desire to ensure that essential relief materials reach the needy and innocent civilians within the rebel enclave, but the rebel leadership has remained obdurate, relying on the assistance of the enemies of Africa."

According to Radio Helsinki Count Von Rosen, the Swedish pilot and furnisher of aircraft to Biafra, was reported to have been in Addis Ababa acting as adviser to the Biafran delegation. The Count, who worked for many years in Ethiopia, founded its air force, and has close relations with the Emperor, told Swedish television in an interview that if the talks failed Biafra would expand its operations: in his opinion this would mean Biafran air attacks directed against important oil installations in Port Harcourt, the Midwest and Lagos. Biafra

could no longer refrain from such actions, and in order to save human lives it would have to seek every means to weaken Nigeria's military capability. Militarily Biafra resembled a balloon, he said. "When you squeeze it from one side, it expands in a different direction. Defence is elastic in the sense that no attempts are made to dig in everywhere at any cost: some areas can be given up and other areas captured instead."

In a news conference Mr. Heath, leader of the Conservative Opposition, said Lord Carrington believed there was "a very big gap" between the Nigerian and Biafran positions. While Nigeria still insisted on positions. While Nigeria still insisted on a "one Nigeria" solution to the war, Biafra and Gen. Ojukwu, whom Lord Carrington met, still felt that there ought to be "separate sovereignty for the Eastern Region," which would "extend to external relations."

The Opposition, however, was reported to be planning a reassessment of its attitude to Nigeria, after hearing a report from Lord Carrington, which dealt at length with the relief problem. Mr. Heath said Lord Carrington thought helicopter drops were the best idea, but there were difficulties and the Federal Government might object; the Party wanted to find the best way to bring relief with both sides consent.

In an article in the London *Sunday Times* Lord Carrington said he thought that no government in Lagos "could survive a change of policy which gave sovereignty to the Eastern Region—or indeed any part of it", and that Gen. Gowon meant to treat the Ibos as the equals of other Nigerians, though his assurances required a faith which was now difficult on the Biafrans' side. Summarising the relief arguments, he said anybody who had seen the malnutrition in Biafra, particularly among children, must be horrified and determined to help if possible, and the relief agencies now flying in food could fly in more if they had more money. He concluded by asking for support for the ICRC's efforts to get relief to the starving and expressing hope for a change that would allow a compromise.

Miss Angie Brooks, of Liberia, president of the UN General Assembly, wound up the twenty-fourth session with a moving appeal for a ceasefire in Nigeria. "I cannot close my heart to innocent victims," she said. "It is the women and children who are suffering most. It is our impression that the situation of these children is deteriorating and for many the damage is now irreversible."

After speaking of the immediate need for food and medicine on both sides, she said that for humanitarian purposes there should be a ceasefire, even for a limited period, to allow food and medicine to be delivered.

Five Biafran relief workers were killed when a Canair Relief Super Constellation carrying food and medicine to Biafra was bombed by Nigerian planes at the Uli airfield, the Danish Church Aid organisation said in Copenhagen. The crew escaped but the food was destroyed. Canair says it will continue its flights from Sao Tome.

A Biafran spokesman, quoted by the Markpress agency in Geneva, has rejected the resumption of relief flights by the International Red Cross without a guarantee by a third party. He said it was "absurd" of international relief organisations like the Red Cross to assume that flights could now proceed because Nigeria had guaranteed

NIGERIA—continued

it would not take military advantage of them. Biafra demanded a strong neutral guarantee against the misuse of daylight flights by Nigeria.

The statement is the first official reply to a Nigerian offer not to bomb Biafra's Uli airstrip when it was being used by daylight relief flights. It recalled the 1966 murders of Easterners in Nigeria and reproached M. Naville, ICRC President, for asking Biafra to "lay down its defences" and trust Nigeria.

● The general-secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr. Eugene Carlson Blake, has said it is time to think of handing over the Joint Church Aid food airlift to governments which have indicated they are willing to "become more actively involved." There were "various viable and equally effective" means to bring relief, "such as the use of land corridors and of daylight flights, which can less easily come under the suspicion of being used as a cover for the traffic of military supplies," some Government leaders believed an agreement on daylight flights was impossible so long as flights went "on indefinitely."

The World Council of Churches feels about 1,750,000 people in Biafran territory at 1,958 centres, and has vaccinated over 2m. against smallpox and about 800,000 against measles, says a WCC report. WCC medical teams include some in Port Harcourt and Anang provinces.

On the Federal side an improved food situation is reported in the Nsukka, Abakaliki and Afikpo areas, where hospitals have been dealing with kwashiorkor and other diseases.

The War and the World

● Mr. Leslie Harriman is to be Nigeria's Ambassador to France, in succession to the late Alhaji Abdulmaliki. He is now High Commissioner in Nairobi.

● Eire's Minister for External Affairs, discussed Nigeria among other subjects at a meeting with Mr. Stewart in London.

● Twenty professors and 130 faculty staff at Leyden University in the Netherlands have asked British MPs to urge a halt to arms supplies to Nigeria.

● About 9,000 Dutch schoolchildren marched through The Hague drawing attention to starvation in Biafra.

● Biafra is to open a press and information office in Bonn. It will be headed by Mr. Luke Ohi, formerly Nigeria's representative at the Geneva disarmament conference.

● Church bells were tolled between 11 and 12 o'clock on Dec. 20 at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury as a reminder of the suffering in Nigeria/Biafra. Volunteers' collections during this period for an appeal launched for funds to supply food and medicines for United Action for Nigeria/Biafra.

A charter aircraft has left England for Biafra with medical supplies and Christmas parcels, including agricultural tools, sent by the London-based Biafra Relief and Rehabilitation Organisation (headed by Dr. U. U. Uche of the School of Oriental and African Studies), the first relief flight to leave Biafra from the UK. (A Canair relief aircraft left London to join the normal Biafra airlift last month.)

● Sweden's new Military Observer in

Nigeria is Col. Yngve Berglund, head of the Army's radar and air warning system.

● Tribal unions in colleges and universities should be disbanded from next January 1 as a contribution to the cause of one Nigeria. Prof. Fawunwa, the Dean of the Faculty of Education of Ife University, has suggested

News from the States

● The Gaskiya Corporation, the leading Northern Nigeria publishing enterprise now owned jointly by the six northern states, is to become a limited liability company, also jointly owned by the six states. It is also agreed that the Mechanical and Wood Workshops in Kaduna should be transferred at valuation to the North Central State on April 1, 1970, and other states should be given facilities in them. The AGPSO approved the future development of the High Courts and Sharia (Islamic) Courts of Appeal, and discussed produce evacuation routes and the jointly-owned Cement Company of Northern Nigeria.

● A six-man committee headed by Prof. Ogunshybe, head of the Department of Education at Ibadan University, has been set up by the Western State to examine the state's tax system with particular reference to local government finance.

● The North Central Commissioner for Finance Alhaji Umaro Dikko, has said Nigeria cannot be "run from a single corner by too few brains" and consultations between Federal and State Governments must not be weakened. He also warned that "external meddlers and internal muddlers" were trying to force a stalemate in the war.

● Governor Gomwalk of Benue-Plateau State has said that there is continued consultation between Federal and State Governments.

● Mr. F. C. O. Coker, permanent secretary to the Lagos State Ministry of Finance, has been awarded £8,000 damages against the Daily Times of Nigeria (publishers of several newspapers, including the Daily Times, which had leading articles mentioning Mr. Coker earlier this year).



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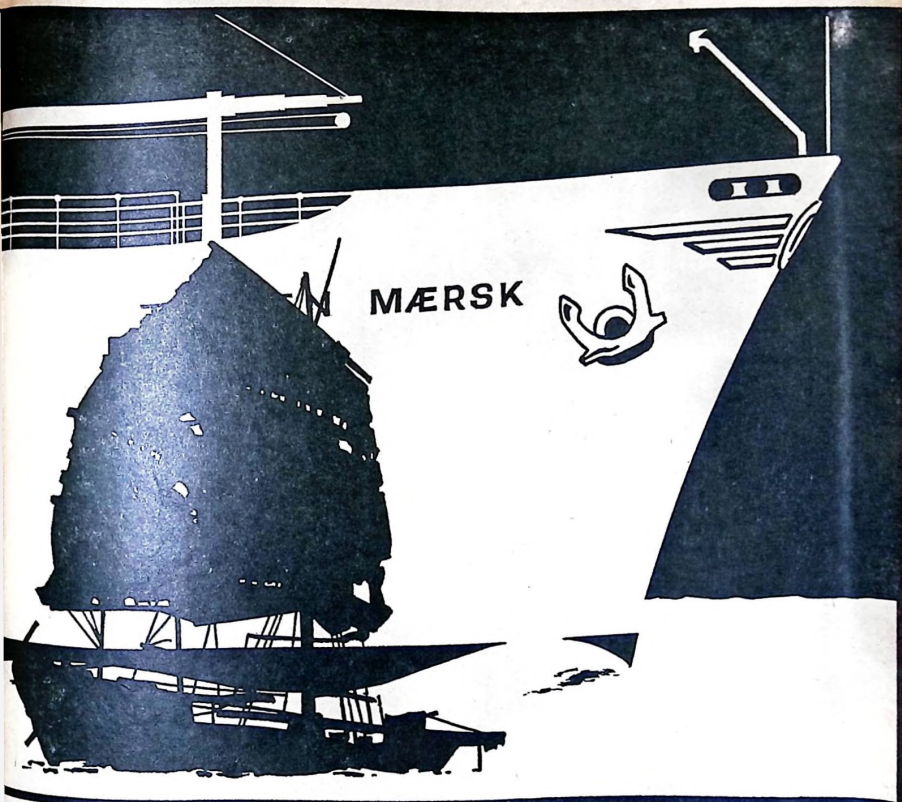
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Inspector Jimo Adebowale Kafidipe of Ibadan, the first Nigerian police officer to win the Baton of Honour at the UK Metropolitan Police Training School, pictured (second from right) after the passing-out parade at the school, with (left to right) Sub-Inspector Christopher Ita (Lagos Police Headquarters), Inspector Stephen Oziegbe Otokhine (Ubiaja Provincial Headquarters), and Inspector Gabriel Edegan (Benin City Police Headquarters).



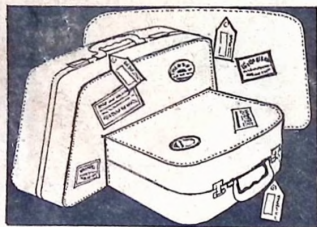
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