

# WEST AFRICA

West Africa No 3276  
5 May 1980



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OAU Economic Summit

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# The Plan of Action

THE IDEAS that were expressed with great eloquence by the African leaders who gathered in Lagos last week were not new. Strategies for alternative development, like the basic theories behind the new international economic order, have been around for years. What is new is that busy African leaders should think it worthwhile gathering to discuss them and that they should then adopt a programme of action. There have been plenty of words: action is what has been missing. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, put it well in his address to the OAU Conference. Referring to the whole new international economic order debate, he said: "The missing element is not technical knowledge or understanding. What has been lacking is the political will to make adjustments, evolve compromises and develop action-oriented strategies."

President Shagari, in his address to the conference, gave a warning that cynics would scoff and say that difficulties were insurmountable. As he remarked, cynics also scoffed when political freedom was first proposed for Africans, and they scoffed even more when the idea of an Organisation for African Unity was first proposed. Now political independence is achieved everywhere except for a shrinking blot on the bottom of the map and the OAU is so well-established that it can demonstrate its vigour and maturity by moving into new fields of activity.

While avoiding negative cynicism, and while admitting that the OAU proposals are undoubtedly action-oriented, it is nevertheless possible to express some reservations and sound a note of caution. The biggest proposal is for an African Common Market to be established by the year 2000. President Nyerere suggested that instead of trying to launch entirely new institutions, the OAU should encourage and build upon regional and sub-regional groupings. This sounds sensible. But there is, of course, no need to remind Dr. Nyerere of what happened to the East African Community.

ECOWAS is much healthier, but it should be remembered that it almost ran on to the rocks because of a

personality clash between the Director of the Fund and the Director of the Secretariat. The African Development Bank has also suffered a serious setback because men at the top seemed unable to work together in harmony.

At this latest OAU conference there was a walkout by some Arab countries when the Egyptian representative rose to speak: would they be happy in the same Common Market? Even the drawing up of the Plan of Action provides a bad advertisement for African co-operation. Two versions turned up on the desks of Foreign Ministers during their preliminary meeting: one was drafted by the ECA and one by a team from the OAU. They had been urged get together and marry the two versions into one: but this proved impossible because of a deterioration in communications between the two secretariats both based in Addis Ababa and basically involved in the same struggle.

The Mano River Union seemed recently to be a thriving example of small-scale regional co-operation, about to be expanded to include Guinea as well as Sierra Leone and Liberia. Now it is gravely at risk. It would need a very optimistic man to think that the infinite complexity of a continent-wide Common Market could be made to work. However, if the political will is present, in Dr. Waldheim's words, then perhaps all things are possible.

This, however, raises another point of some difficulty. The meeting was described as an Economic Summit but inevitably the leaders were diverted into some direct political discussion — over Liberia, Chad and Zimbabwe (the last most happily). The distinction between economic and political concerns is in any case artificial to the point of danger. African leaders now in power include doctrinaire Marxists and Conservatives of the far right. In the 1990s, according to the "Act of Lagos" agreed at the summit, the steps for further sectoral integration will include "harmonisation of our strategies, policies and economic development plans".

A more basic point is that many of the new strategies for development involve, in themselves, political commitments. If they are to work then such things as an ending of privileges, a commitment to welfare, the freedom of women and much else is demanded. A phrase from the Plan of Action says that the right type of development "requires effective programmes of social welfare and community development, social security and the mobilisation of the masses for the development of public works and community services". That is politics, and there are African regimes which jail their citizens when they talk like that.

To suggest that the Plan for Action is unlikely to result in exactly the type of action visualised does not mean that there are not a great number of most valuable proposals in the document. It is also absolutely right that these matters should be debated at the highest level in Africa. The analysis on which the plan is based is incontrovertible. The introduction begins: "The effect of unfulfilled promises of global development strategies has been more sharply felt in Africa than in other continents... successive strategies have made the continent stagnate and become more susceptible than other regions to the economic and social crisis suffered by the industrialised countries..."

The crisis is real. If nothing is done disaster awaits in the year 2000 if not before. The basic formula must also be right: self-reliance and self-sustained development. There are, however, still hurdles to be overcome before the Plan of Action can be sure of resulting in effective action.

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## A very proper pressure

THE DECISION of Master Sgt. Samuel K. Doe not to execute any more of his opponents in Liberia is a most welcome example of the force of international public opinion. There is no doubt that the People's Redemption Council intended more executions. Witnesses spoke of more poles being erected at the Barclay Training Centre, where the first 13 were shot. Rumours in Monrovia spoke of lists of people marked out to die — some said 21, some more. There was no doubt that several of President Tolbert's most senior associates were still to be tried, and that serious allegations of corruption could be made against some of them.

Now, however, Master Sgt. Doe has yielded to appeals for clemency from the clergy, many international bodies, including the OAU Foreign Ministers, many diplomats, and, as Master Sgt. Doe said, "from the Liberian People themselves". The rebuff the Nigerian Government gave to Gabriel Baccus Matthews in refusing to allow his plane to land must have had an effect. The world's press, radio and television can take some credit for conveying the horror of the 13 executions. It is thus particularly inappropriate that the new military rulers should now institute

press censorship and restrict the movements of overseas journalists.

Another source of pressure on Master Sgt. Doe came from the civilian members of his Cabinet. The decision to execute the first 13, in spite of the recommendations of the Special Court that only four be executed, was made entirely by the soldiers of the People's Redemption Council, as are all major decisions. A member of the Cabinet has said that he was little more than an administrator of his department, not unlike a senior civil servant. This would seem a sad waste of the high talents of the people who could advise Master Sgt. Doe.

The country faces huge problems. The economic ones could have been exacerbated by the international ill-will that would have been caused by more executions. At the moment Master Sgt. Doe has the enthusiastic backing of most of the people. He is unlikely to feel threatened by the decision of former Vice-President Warner to set up a government in exile. Things may change, however, if he fails to bring about a significant economic improvement in the lot of the people, or if he fails to restore discipline to the ranks of the army and re-establish law and order to the extent that would allow a citizen to go about his business with some degree of security.

A bigger threat than the government in exile may come from within the ranks of the armed forces. Master Sgt. Doe has set an example other ambitious and disaffected soldiers may be tempted to follow. This would not be precedented in Africa.

## Princely advice to a President

MACCHIAVELLI advised the Prince that keeping the love and support of his people was even better for his security than fortresses. Today, the technology of repression is ever more advanced, and Macchiavelli's advice remains pertinent. Industrialised countries the fortresses appear for the occasional mass demonstration but subsist in refined surveillance of the entire society. In the "Third World", governmental and state security rests much more visibly on the performance of the police and armed forces. The spate of post-independence *coups d'état* up into the 1970s at first appeared to shatter this fortress image, but retrospectively look more like a re-variation of the same old theme. "Low ranks' coup's", do suggest a new theme.

There are differences between the Ghanaian experience of last June 4, and that of Liberia on April 12. The main one far is the absence of senior officers. Liberia playing any major role. The common element is that the non-justification for coups — rampant corruption by those at the top — looks more credible when the coup is carried out by rank-and-file soldier.

After the March 29 arrests of soldiers and one civilian in Ghana, the alleged conspiracy to lead a mutiny, an enduring theme since the handover from the AFRC last September has taken on a voice. President Hilla Limann reportedly uttered this curious sentence. "It is shameful that the institution to which Ghanaians look for peace and protection should, due to the activities of a misguided individuals, seem to give erroneous impression that the Force constitute the biggest threat to internal peace, security and socio-economic stability." The President, addressing officers and cadets, expressed disgust at the constant threat of coups.

What is curious is the "erroneous impression", which begs the question. What, then, is the biggest threat to internal stability? Assuming that the President misquoted, one would understand the reference to the "mutinous legacy" of AFRC which the Limann Government constantly held up as a major brake on performance. If the President was misquoted, then his subtlety would almost impervious. Unless the President has realised that the old fort has crumbled under the assault of a moribund economy resulting in hardship for the majority of Ghanaians; that assault is "the biggest threat to internal peace"; and that the time of winning people's love and support is now, would mean an end to the negative warnings to apparent threats — "do stage coups" — and positive steps to neutralise the real ones.

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# The OAU's Economic Summit

A correspondent reports from Lagos.

THE FIRST Economic Summit of the OAU resolved last week to take steps towards the establishment of an African Common Market by the year 2000. It also confirmed the African leaders' full adherence to the "plan of action for the implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the economic development of Africa". This long document, which will be considered in more detail in subsequent editions of *West Africa*, emphasises "collective self-reliant and self-sustaining development" as well as economic integration. It urges a drive towards self-sufficiency in food production, the better transfer of more appropriate technology, improved transport and communication between African countries to assist "horizontal" trade links, an African monetary fund to supplement or take the place of the IMF, an African energy policy, better collection and collation of statistics, and much else.

Although this was an economic summit, politics did raise its head at times. First there was the question of who was to be Chairman in the absence of President Tolbert. Nigeria scotched Liberatorian ambitions by refusing permission for a plane carrying Gabriel Bacus Matthews to land. A committee of eight — Senegal, Kenya, Nigeria, Burundi, Tunisia, Malagasy, Seychelles and Sierra Leone — then elected President Senghor. It was said that President Shagari asked not to be considered, possibly because he did not wish his motives for excluding Matthews to be misunderstood.

President Sékou Touré later asked everyone to stand in silence for a moment in memory of President Tolbert. President Kaunda also did this. President Senghor, in his closing remarks, condemned "political assassination".

Almost all the speakers welcomed the Zimbabwe delegation, which did not have Mugabe or Nkomo, but surprisingly included two white men. Still on politics, Chad occupied much attention. The conference buzzed with rumours that Hissen Habre had been killed in N'Djamena, which were strongly denied by the Chadians present.

The conference took place in the beautiful National Theatre, bedecked with flags. The huge fleet of black Mercedes used to transport the big men seemed somehow to contradict the theme of the conference. They also brought the Lagos traffic to a complete halt for hours. In spite of that, however, it was a most smoothly organised conference, except that journalists were ill-supplied with documents.

President Shagari in his opening statement said: "We all know that it is quite possible for a country to be politically free and yet economically in chains. This meeting is therefore the signal for the commencement of Africa's struggle for economic independence. It will be a long battle but a battle which we are determined

to win, for we know that without political independence it is impossible to achieve economic independence; and without economic power political independence is meaningless, incomplete and insecure.

The President said one could no longer put the blame on Africa's colonial past. He added that there would be cynics who would say that the obstacles to African economic co-operation were so enormous that it would be a waste of effort even to attempt to surmount them. He believed that the difficulties could be overcome.

They were meeting against the background of a world threatened by economic storm. The rates of inflation all over the world were higher than ever before... the gap between the rich and the poor was constantly widening "The Third World will not accept to continue to live in abject poverty. We have been victims of mass exploitation and we call on the developed world to join us in working out an equitable redistribution of the world's wealth. We have a common stake in a more acceptable and balanced world economic order, since our existence is clearly interdependent."

Another notable speech was made by President Nyerere of Tanzania, who said that it is the people of Africa who must fight the poverty of Africa. National development was not enough; it had to be part of a wider African experience. "Our choice is of priorities: everything needs to be done but not everything can be done at once. It is not a question of concentrating on essentials rather than luxuries, but of choosing which essentials are the more urgent."

## Five points of priority

He said there were five areas to which top priority should be given: 1. Food and agriculture and food storage. "It is absurd that Africa should be importing food"; 2. Development and co-ordination of transport and communication; 3. Co-ordination of industrial strategies, the exchange of technical information and some means of co-ordinating those industries which demanded heavy investment. "We cannot have 50 iron and steel complexes in Africa"; 4. Problems of energy conservation and expansion; 5. Inter-Africa trade. "We should not be buying from Europe or America the things we can provide ourselves."

The President suggested that the temptation to set up new all-Africa institutions should be resisted. Instead ways should be found of co-ordinating and developing regional institutions. However, he said, regional development was not easy and Africa had seriously to commit itself to this objective. "It is becoming a regular thing for African States to dishonour their obligations to African institutions or other African states... We sometimes appoint to

regional organisations senior executives of proven incompetence... We must recognise that in undertaking economic co-operation we are engaged in serious work."

The UN Secretary General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, provided an international context for the discussions. "The fact is all too evident," he said, "that the African countries confront an international economic system which is chronically unbalanced and inherently unstable; faced with this system, their economic options cover only a very narrow range. I do not need to recapitulate here the course that efforts to establish a new international economic order have taken over the last several years. On a number of occasions I have been driven to voice my disappointment... the missing element is not technical knowledge or understanding.

"What has been lacking is the political will to make adjustments, evolve compromises and develop action-oriented strategies... I therefore consider the convening of this summit meeting particularly propitious as it precedes by only a few months the forthcoming Special Session of the General Assembly. If the highest political leadership of Africa can evolve an integrated standpoint on these issues, with due regard to what can realistically be achieved, it will make a very important contribution to the success of the global negotiations."

President Limann spoke from the personal experience of Ghanaians when he said: "We support the establishment of an African monetary fund capable of providing impetus to intra-African Trade and accelerating our economic development. Such a fund should reduce our dependence on foreign financial institutions for balance of payments support and free our financial and economic policies from undue external influences. The restraints imposed by some of these financial institutions as preconditions for lending are not always in the best interests of our countries."

President Senghor proved a gentle and humorous chairman. He tried hard, but usually failed, to persuade speakers to restrict themselves to 10 minutes so that the debate could end in reasonable time. President Kaunda did a notable service to everyone by saying that he would circulate his speech rather than read it — "We are for more action and less words," he said.

After almost two days of public debate — with notable West African speeches from President Houphouët-Boigny, President Sékou Touré and President Stevens — there was a brief restricted session and then the closing ceremonies, in which President Kaunda proposed a witty vote of thanks to Nigeria.

There were reports that there had been tensions between the ECA (Economic Commission for Africa) and the OAU and a

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less than perfect co-operation. This was said to be reflected in some Francophone countries objecting to ECA documents dominating the conference and seeking to rewrite the Plan of Action.

Dr. Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the ECA, in a conversation afterwards denied that this rift had amounted to anything serious. The amendments were minor, he said. He pointed out that although the ECA was originally UN-sponsored, it had the same membership as the OAU and the two bodies had a long history of fruitful co-operation. He said the conference had been a great success. He could claim to have inspired General Obasanjo to propose the conference at the Monrovia Summit last year. The Plan of Action would undoubtedly result in action rather than just

words, he said. Every paragraph was the result of Ministerial meetings of some sort. There were arrangements to monitor progress and the OAU and ECA would submit annual reports.

Dr. Adedeji agreed that difficult political decisions about the abolition of some privileges and the fair distribution of income lay behind some of the proposals. A change of the way of life was needed. There was, however, no alternative. The studies that had been made showed that in many African countries the Gross National Product was increasing more slowly than the population — "they are not stagnating their standards are actually going down." Things were allowed to continue as they were, there would be disastrous social disruptions. Liberia was a warning.

## Matchet's Diary

TAKING advantage of the pressure in Lagos of so many foreign journalists, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, national president of the Unity Party of Nigeria, called a "world press conference" at the Eko Hotel, which was devoted to a strongly-worded attack on the economic policies of President Shehu Shagari. In one significant passage the UPN leader seemed to be shifting away from disputes over the details of the elections. He said: "The main issue now, as affecting Alhaji Shagari, is not how he acceded to power. That is very well known and has been sufficiently discussed. What we must all concern ourselves with now and henceforth, as regards this man, is what he does with that power. It is the duty of Alhaji Shagari to govern Nigeria within the limits allowed for his office by the Constitution. At the same time it is the duty of all of us, whether we are in government or not, to ensure that he governs well."

Chief Awolowo, answering questions after his 57-minute speech soon revealed that although he is moving on from the election controversy, he does not regard it as settled. A reporter asked why he had not once referred in his speech to "President" Shagari. Chief Awolowo replied: "I deliberately do not refer to him as President because I do not accept that he was properly elected. However, he is now head of state, *de facto* and *de jure*, whether anyone likes it or not, and we must accept that. Whether one calls him President is a matter of personal taste."

Chief Awolowo replied to some hostile questioning with spirit and good humour. He advised a critic from the *National Concord*: "Try to make *Concord* concord and not discord." His advice to Chief Abiola was that instead of sponsoring schools and spending money on labelled water tankers, he should "try to immortalise himself in the hearts of the people". He described the OAU as a "very, very weak organisation," which contained "too many despots," and he thought the Special Economic Summit was unlikely to achieve anything.

The main burden of his criticism was

about the way the government was dealing with Nigeria's multifarious problems. "It appears clear to me that Shagari is totally unequal to the challenges of these national problems... he lacks the capability to grasp the implications of Obasanjo's accession heritage, and the courage and competence to disengage himself wholly from it. He is unable to identify and comprehend the scope and extent of our pressing national problems, and to initiate effective steps to their solution. He has a propensity for generating tension."

General Obasanjo was blamed for the failure in agricultural production and the large burden of debts left to the civilian government. Operation Feed the Nation could more correctly be described, Chief Awolowo suggested, as Operation Blame The Nation. The military left a *Domestic Herd* and the Chief said (he is fond of Latin tags). He urged the immediate lifting of import bans and the promotion of massive agricultural development. It was also necessary to eradicate "the widespread corruption on the part of some of our ministers, which goes with the issue of import licences... and the large-scale smuggling."

Chief Awolowo's tough conservative socialist surfaced again in his allegation that the NPN leaders suffered from a "Moribund" which manifests itself in "Moral compulsive and almost uncontrollable desire to breach the Constitution." He concluded by urging Alhaji Shehu Shagari to "defuse the prevailing tension forthwith by revoking the deportation order for Shugaba by withdrawing his legal advisers, Officers, and by directing his legal advisers to adhere strictly to the provisions of the Constitution in all that they do, even in these lawning endeavours to please him."

A BIG talking point here in private, but not in public, is the retirement of six senior military men. They are Major-General Olu Bajowa, Joseph Garba and George Agbazika Innih, Brigadier F. B. Akintola

and Air Commodores Dan Suleiman and A. Falope.

General Garba is, of course, the former Commissioner of External Affairs who left the Obasanjo Government early in order to pursue his career in the army. Brigadier Akinola had just been promoted and was Head of Intelligence. It was officially emphasised that all the retirements were voluntary.

The story was published prominently in *The Sketch* and briefly in *Concord*, but has been virtually ignored by the rest of the press. No one has any publishable and attributable comment, but according to informed sources (as they say) the retirements were not due to any incident. They are simply part of the policy of the President and the new civilian government to reshape the army according to their wishes, as they are also reshaping all the nationalised industries.

AN ENTIRELY public controversy that continues to grow concerns the so-called missing N2,800m. of the NNPC. The House of Representatives special investigation committee has now handed in an interim report. It says it has been unable to prosecute its programme to its logical conclusion, because of the appointment of a Judicial Commission of Inquiry by the President.

How ever, it is now becoming clearer that the N2,800m. is certainly not missing, and that the original story may well fizzle out, but all sorts of secondary scandals are likely to emerge from the detailed studies of the NNPC's affairs that are now being made and cause numerous red faces.

It is worth looking at the wording of the draft report of the American auditors, Coopers and Lybrand, a leak of which originated the uproar. It said: "The Corporation did not maintain adequate records in respect of transactions relating to crude oil and petroleum products sales, and capital assets under construction during the period. Consequently we are unable to confirm that certain sums amounting to N2,800m. in the above-mentioned financial statements are fairly stated."

That is a long way from saying that the money is missing. It is notable that the auditors did not call the police: they signed the report. Also the subsequent story about the money being transferred to a private account in London and earning interest for someone is nonsense, according to a man

who knows about banking. I was told that it was inconceivable for a bank like the Midland to accept thousands of millions of dollars in a private account or to invest it and pay interest to someone.

That the NNPC accounts were in a muddle and were not properly audited for years is a scandal in itself. Other malfeasances may be uncovered. But talk of 'the missing N2,800m.' is fantasy.

ONE INCIDENTAL casualty of the affair is Miss Vera Ifudu, a television reporter who has been suspended from her job as correspondent at the Senate. Her troubles began when she did an interview with Dr. Sola Saraki, the majority Senate leader, in which he said he had information that the money had been transferred to a London account. This information later turned out to be nothing more than an anonymous letter. He was much misquoted as saying that he knew the money had been transferred. Missing millions found' was the sort of headline that appeared. Miss Ifudu did a subsequent report about some Senators criticising Dr Saraki and calling for his resignation. She tried to get a comment from Dr. Saraki, but he would not talk to her, and she mentioned this. Dr. Saraki complained, and the television authorities transferred her from the senate beat to some vaguely-defined administrative duties.

That was the first act of the drama, and slightly disturbing to journalists as it seemed politicians were dictating what sort of cover their affairs should have.

The second act came when the House of Representatives special committee wanted to see the video tape of the Saraki interview. The television authorities did not have one. They were embarrassed to have to confess that they regularly re-used video tape and did not keep interviews in the archives.

Miss Ifudu, however, had made her own copy of the unedited interview, and she produced this for the committee, after some dispute. This led to her being suspended while the whole affair is investigated. An extraordinary letter to her demands that she report every day at 10 am but does not remain on the premises as this would interfere with the inquiry.

The NUJ is protesting and so are some Senators. In the meantime television reporters are being discouraged from interviewing legislators. The affair has raised big issues.

## What hope for Chad?

Alex Rondos suggests that the time has come for wider international action.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of the withdrawal of French troops from Chad last week — some 1,100 based in N'Djamena — has been followed by the news that President Goukhouni has been prevailed upon by leaders at the OAU conference in Lagos to accept a three nation peace keeping force in his country, in spite of his declared intention that the only solution to the fighting in N'Djamena will be the emergence of a clear winner. Meanwhile

reports come in of the appearance of more reinforcements for Goukhouni's Forces Armées Populaires from factions that are backed by Libya.

The facts behind this latest initiative at the OAU verge on the cynical. Presidents Shagari, Eyadema and Sekou Toure, under the chairmanship of President Senghor have been elected to implement the ceasefire. However, the agreement on funding the force to oversee the peace will

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finally be made in July at the OAU summit in Freetown — two months hence and many, many deaths later. M. Edem Kodjo, the OAU Secretary General announced that only if agreement then had not been reached would the UN be called upon. Whatever the goodwill of the diplomats involved, one must only conclude that the fighting will continue while some pacific intention has been displayed to placate all consciences.

Chad is now, *de facto*, split, though no one wants to acknowledge it. Every day of bloodshed that is allowed to go by merely adds to the bitterness that must one day be overcome if this country is to remain united. Meanwhile the fighting continues and the possibility of foreign intervention, most likely through the multitude of domestic proxies, generally referred to as factions or *tendances*, remains a strong possibility, especially with Libya's already acknowledged military support for some of those factions.

The question therefore is: where can a solution to this conflict be found? The "winner take all" attitude, reminiscent of the reaction to the emergence of Mobutu in the Congo, as it then was, is scarcely applicable to Chad today, though Goukhouni's statements and those of other politicians in Africa would suggest that this is the best solution. It was suggested recently in these columns that no real winner will emerge from this conflict — the only loser will be those who populate the area delineated by the frontiers of Chad.

There is another vital issue to be

remembered and which few care to discuss: Chad and its problems are in so many ways a reflection of an Africa that is still, sometimes unconsciously, trying to assert its independence from colonial rule, within the framework inherited from that colonial era. The issues are manifold: there is the much-talked-of conflict between north and south; at closer scrutiny it emerges that this conflict involves social groups of the same religion — Islam — though of different sects, and of slightly different racial and historical composition.

This civil war represents the attempt to overcome the consequences of overseas boundaries imposed on Africa in the period of political decolonisation. Many of the causes of the war, when it comes to be analysed in great depth, will be seen in light of the intransigence of the former colonial power and the conditions it inflicted upon the country to retain some influence following the so-called independence. One should not, by the way, be persuaded by the argument that Goukhouni or Habre feel that the presence of French troops in Chad is a condition for the eventual installation of a peaceful political structure in Chad, as the situation is often seen. In essence, Chad represents a problem — the disintegration of an African country, which in law most other states refuse to acknowledge because of the potential repercussions throughout the continent. There is at least one country (Nigeria) where the cause of the maintenance of the territories inherited from the colonial era has been so sacrosanct as to have caused the deaths of many more

people than have died in Chad. The ambivalence to Chad may be witnessed in the fact that President Goukhouni, who effectively controls only about one-third of his country, is accepted and welcomed in Lagos at the OAU summit as the representative of his country, while the neo-masters of Liberia — whatever the moral implications of the method in which they have achieved power, and perhaps, in their eyes, justice — are turned away.

Africa, therefore, faces a challenge. Chad that most people underestimate as which if tackled could produce consequences and reverberations that could set precedents which could be of explosive political proportions.

Four levels of solution are presented to achieve some kind of peace in Chad. The first level, politicians, who whether one likes it or not appear to hold sway these days, are inclined to believe that Libya and France — despite its troops withdrawal — will settle the issue. The idea that the factions in Chad will sort the argument out amongst themselves being unrealistic, if only because they are so deeply indebted to one or other external influence or another. Libya has successfully created a web of political obligation by assisting various parties militarily, that a victory today by Goukhouni over Habre, would not bring an end to this conflict (see *West Africa*, Apr. 21, 1980).

It is suggested that France announced the withdrawal of troops from Chad so as to coincide with the OAU summit in Lagos. The result would be that such an announcement would avoid the UN Security Council being called upon to judge the issue. The fact is that the allegations against the French protestations of neutrality in the conflict had increased considerably in the last two weeks. To what extent they were true is still difficult to judge because both Goukhouni — who was eventually responsible for demanding a negotiating the withdrawal of the French — and Habre had levelled the same allegations against Paris.

This move by France, it is thought in some quarters, would then open the way to some more effective intervention by either African mediators or the OAU. On the other hand, again, experience suggests that neither of these offer an adequate solution to the problem. Both the Nigerians and the Congolese have tried in the last two years to keep forces in N'Djamena and both ventures were not successful. Some of the countries are too hesitant to deal with Chad because of the inevitable implications of their involvement: the Congolese were left as soon after the latest bout of fighting began because they regarded their presence as useless, or because the conflict might spill over into neighbouring countries which have a history that is essentially similar to Chad's as far as national unity is concerned — this applies not just to Nigeria but also to Sudan. Unfortunately, the authority of the OAU is currently at a low ebb. And one cannot afford to wait in such matters — one should never forget the simple fact that it is estimated that there are about 250 casualties a day on average in the fighting in Chad. The Red Cross reports

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that medical facilities are such in N'Djamena that there is no time to operate on casualties; limbs — where so many injuries occur — are simply amputated. They add that Chad will eventually have to face the problem of dealing socially with a very high proportion of invalids in its society. These are the unpleasant facts of a war about which there has been too much speculation and analysis of the past without sufficient concern for the possible avenues for peace. Neither African nations or the OAU — despite the best will in the world — have proven equal to the challenge of finding a solution to the hostilities in Chad, which have now lasted 15 years.

The final solution, at which too many cynics may raise their hands in horror or treat with polite condescension, is the United Nations. Would it be too much to suggest that the real facts of the case in Chad are — not unlike in Namibia or South Africa — ones of decolonisation. A withdrawal of French troops from Chad will be symbolic in so far that it will represent the end of nearly 20 years of almost uninterrupted post-independence influence. An influence that has laid the foundations of a society that is so dislocated that to imagine that any indigenous control of the state has replaced it would be ludicrous. If the reports of active Libyan presence in N'Djamena are to be believed, then already the French are being replaced — in principle, whether the replacement is African, Cuban or whatever is irrelevant.

## The role of the UN

It has already been suggested that Chad contains many elements of conflicts that are being carefully suppressed in other parts of Africa; it has also been suggested that in Chad we have experienced a classic example of the fallacy of decolonisation. The Secretary General of the United Nations has the openings within the Charter of the UN to draw to the attention of the Security Council the need to deal with a problem which even if it now seems to be entirely localised could so easily spill over in to other African countries. After all, the UN intervention in the Congo was largely the result of the initiative of one man, the Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld, and the principle that the UN must take some responsibility for the political and economic decolonisation of Africa. The parallels with the Congo may not be warranted, but the principle, after careful examination, remains roughly the same.

If any idealism is left with those who concern themselves with the fate of Chad, two very difficult issues have to be attacked if any semblance of decency, is to return to the life of Chadians. First peace must be installed. One suggests that the UN become involved more directly and openly in the name of a theory which the current Secretary General is known to support — that of preventive diplomacy. Though during the Congo crisis this policy was aimed at defusing the possibility of rivalry between the two super-powers where a vacuum in the central state authority

existed. The former danger is a little more distant in the case of Chad, but let us bear in mind the potential of the problem as reflected in a UN minute at the time of the Congo conflict: such preventive diplomacy can best be deployed in conflicts that are "initially only on the margin or outside the bloc conflicts, but which unless solved or localised, might widen the bloc conflicts and aggravate them." So far Chad has been localised. But since the days of the Congo, bloc antagonism has intruded spectacularly into Africa. French African policy is no longer the plaything of de Gaulle's aspirations to French global diplomatic independence. There is a clear harmony between the African policies of France — displayed muscularly in Zaire, Sahara or Chad in the last two years — and those of the US in Africa. While France takes great care not to aggravate its delicate relations with Libya and other Maghreb countries, the actions of Libya are by now notoriously autonomous but often fit with the intentions of the Soviet bloc diplomacy. It is an intricate path which could eventually lead to an internationalisation of the Chadian conflict.

To return to the basic point, if a truce can be installed in Chad, through an operation that is representative of the world's more disinterested parties then an initial step can be taken towards a semblance of a peace in Chad. This could best be done by the UN, and the OAU should in no way feel that such a suggestion would damage the organisation's *amour propre*. The next stage is much more difficult. It is very easy to impose peace, it is less easy to translate this into effective and durable means of peaceful representative power in Chad. It has been maintained for a long time in these columns that the greatest weakness in Chad has been the absence of an effective structure of state authority, whether it be centralised or federated. A breathing space is now needed for the effective installation of such a structure very rapidly. Once again, a UN intervention carrying with it the weight of the Secretary General could have the prestige and influence to start off such a venture. Furthermore, unlike the Congo, the great advantage in Chad today is that there is no party that calls for outright secession or federation. No matter what the ideological stance of any regime, elections tend to be the bedrock of legitimacy. Again some form of overseeing operation is needed to arrange this in Chad. This is also why the UN would be best equipped to intervene, with the support of the OAU states, to bring about an end to a decade and a half of bloodshed.

The UN represents a unique avenue for consultation and international action; it is also a body which should do itself the great favour of making its presence felt in a continent where political uncertainty reigns — with tragic consequences, as in Chad — and where its prestige would be enhanced by an honourable intervention in the name of all the principles for which that body was created, which include assistance — both economic and political — to the creation of the states that succeeded the European colonial power.

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# Log-rolling in Ghana

The second of two articles on the political aspects on Ghana's timber industry.

THE ARGUMENTS for a ban on log exports would seem to be cogent. Why then, are so many producers vehemently opposed to it, and indeed argue it will destroy Ghana's timber trade? It has to be recognised that a number of individuals believe they will suffer as a result of the ban on log exports, and in fact in some senses, they will. This can only be explained by considering practices which have developed in the trade, and the way the industry generally is structured. Log extraction and wood processing are capital-intensive activities, and thus large amounts of capital are required both to enter and to stay in production. This factor, combined with the privileged access to resources given to foreign companies by the colonial state, made it very difficult for Ghanaian contractors to break into the industry and compete with the dominant expatriate companies. The Nkrumah government, which set up the first Timber Marketing Board in 1960, did attempt to change the structure of the industry through reallocation of concessions, provision of loans to Ghanaian contractors, and while laudable in aim a highly ill-conceived attempt to change marketing procedure. But the big firms still dominate.

One result of this has been that Ghanaian producers became extremely dependent on foreign buyers for pre-financing and other schemes to provide essential imported machinery and parts. This was made explicit by the Chairman of the Ghana Timber Association, Mr. Wiafe, in a speech he made criticising the log ban at the end of 1978. Amidst impassioned rhetoric, Wiafe claimed: "Our overseas customers offered assistance by providing equipment on the understanding payment would be spread over a number of years (ie, on assured contracts for logs). Such equipment is not yet paid for and the ban announcement has caused worry to overseas customers..." Many of Ghana's "overseas customers" have never been slow to attack "nationalistic" stands taken by Ghana's timber policy-makers. But the point is, that Mr. Wiafe (perhaps unintentionally), is indicating that foreign capital has had, and continues to have, a stranglehold on Ghana's timber industry. This is the case for both the local processing sector, and for log production. It is interesting to note that many of the producers who oppose the log ban are the same people who in 1973 and 1974 campaigned so strongly against the GTMB's marketing strategy designed to reduce the control foreign buyers had over the trade. It is absolutely true that financial and material aid has been provided to producers by overseas buyers; it is also true that this process sometimes involves considerable under-invoicing. There is no ban on the felling of logs of any species — there is merely a ban on the export of 14 primary species. The GTMB, with the log ban, introduced a minimum price list based

on export log prices which local mills were to observe so that producers should suffer no loss in income by selling locally.

While log producers do not have the same potential to accumulate as those in the processing sector, many of them are extremely wealthy. The timber trade in Ghana has produced incomes unparalleled in other productive sectors of the economy. And Ghana is no exception to this phenomenon that money can mean political clout. Over the past 20 years timber producers have managed to influence government policy — over for example the allocation of concessions, loans, import licences and with regard to marketing practices. By "log producers", we are talking of a couple of hundred individuals, and among those, handfuls of successful merchants. It is precisely because only a few people are involved in a highly lucrative sector that undue political power seems to accrue to them. Cocoa still brings in more than half of Ghana's foreign exchange earnings, but the political influence of the mass of cocoa farmers is incomparable with that of the log producers.

During Acheampong's regime a number of timbermen, especially producers based in the Ashanti Region, had remarkable success in winning listening ears in government. In 1974 producers through the GTA persuaded the Head of State to dictate policy to the GTMB and remove the ban (imposed in 1972) on the export of round logs of utile, mansonia, afrormosa and walnut, and to allow foreign marketing agents direct access to the trade again. In May, 1976, the Chairman of the GTA, Mr. Owiredu, announced that the government-owned companies were no longer permitted to export round log squared logs or houles of the primary species. A quota system was to be introduced for other companies — on certain tonnage would be allowed for particular species, and 40 per cent of companies' exports of logs had to be comprised of secondary species. A general ban on export of logs of 14 specified species would be introduced from July, 1977. The announcement was met by a storm of protest on the part of a number of producers, presumably, by a storm on The Castle. The Commissioner for Trade, Col. Quarles, less than a week later weakly announced the ban had been suspended "due to an error which the Government is currently correcting" (*Graphic*, May 7, 1976). Meanwhile the Commissioner for Lands and Mineral Resources, Lt.-Col. Kutin, reassured log producers at a GTA meeting in Kumasi that no "hasty" decisions would be made by government and that all previous publicity of a log ban was to be ignored (*Pioneer*, 10, 1976). When Mr. Owiredu announced the present ban in November, 1978, timber producers once again immediately organised and presented a strongly-worded

# BOOKS and Publications

## By any other name?

Reappraisals in Overseas History edited by H. L. Wesseling and P. C. Emmer (Leiden University Press)

IT IS NOT so easy, even after reading this volume and its introduction by the editors, to conclude precisely what Overseas History is. The editors argue that it is a specialisation in its own right. What they are getting at, and it is reflected in the contents of this volume — the second in a series entitled Comparative Studies in Overseas History — is in part the study of the history of European expansion, all over the world in its manifold forms. While this volume specialises on the historiography of European Expansion by "scholars from all the relevant national historical traditions" it also claims that the additional features which make Overseas History of particular relevance are the importance attributed to the "precolonial experience" in Asia, Africa and America and the non-western reaction to European expansion.

Their basic argument is that a new discipline is needed for a more comparative

perspective to be brought into the study of the expansion of Europe overseas. They refer to the need of the "inter subjective" in the discipline.

In spite of some excellent chapters that follow, there is some reluctance to accept yet another discipline which comes close to sounding like a euphemism for colonial or imperial history. After all, there are already many first-rate historians who have incorporated into their studies the two aspects which would, according to the editors, make overseas history a special study. The problems surrounding oral sources and the attendant problems they create for the historian accustomed to written history that is rooted in the tradition of chronological explanation of the past — have already been grappled with by a growing number of historians. Similarly, to suggest that the study of the reaction to European expansion provides special

significance to Overseas History is, it will seem, to condemn a distinguished school of historians who for long have preached the importance of resistance to the colonies and prior to that to the European. This is particularly true of African historiography. It is more than a decade since university students have had to discuss the relevance of the theory of proto-nationalism, for example.

The first two volumes in this series are excellent tools for historians and students. It seems unnecessary that one should not have to be cluttered by more disciplines, and their university chairs of history, when one is actually asking for it. It is an acknowledgement that the writing of the history of the contact between Europe and those whom they sought to dominate and colonise is an extremely demanding affair which can no longer afford to be content with the use of the limited source material supplied by the European who went out to Africa, Asia or America, simply because he was the only one who could write.

To the student of African history, all the chapters in this volume will be valuable. However, there are two chapters that deserve particular attention. The first, by G. Hopkins, Professor of Economic History at the University of Birmingham and the author of the acclaimed *Economic History of West Africa*, deals with the historiography of the "European Expansion into West Africa". He identifies trends which have been determined to a large extent by the changes in the academic and intellectual environment towards Africa

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from the liberal school of history to those who now direct their study towards an understanding of the causes of underdevelopment in Africa. There are four "bulges" in this writing, according to Professor Hopkins. These he identifies as the era of slave trade, the period of "legitimate" commerce and informal political relations, the "scramble" for Africa at the close of the nineteenth century; and the era of colonial rule between about 1900 and about 1960. Each of these areas has produced differences between the liberal and radical scholars. The slave trade has been studied according to writers' varying opinions on its negative effect on Africa. The period of informal commercial contact has seen an upsurge in the interest in and dissection of the relation between the different classes in African society who contributed to this trade. The era of the Scramble remains influenced by that controversial lighthouse for researchers, *Africa and the Victorians*, by Robinson and Gallagher which places the scramble for Africa as a consequence of the imperial interest in Egypt and ultimately India. In so doing they rejected the Hobson-Lenin thesis of Imperialism. However, there is the persuasive school, which includes Professor Hopkins, which believes that an economic explanation, not incompatible with Lenin and Hobson, can be found for the European colonisation of West Africa in the late nineteenth century. Finally, the era of colonial rule which had been relatively neglected is now receiving

renewed interest, much of it from the newer theorists who see much of the relevance of that period in the influence it had on the social and economic formation of state structures in the post-independence period.

The second article, which makes for fairly bleak reading, is by Henri Bruschwig, the French historian who has also made his distinguished contribution to the historiography of European expansion in Africa, and in particular that of France. His main concern is that there has been an unfortunate lack of interest in history of Africa among the French, who have been rapidly overtaken by French speaking Africans. M. Bruschwig would maintain that this is truer today than ever, in spite of the significant contributions by historians such as Meillassoux, Coquery-Vidrovitch, Surete-Canal and the author himself.

Let us conclude, however, with some words by Bruschwig which indicate the dilemma that the editors of this volume feel they face.

"On the one hand, Africans have had much greater difficulty than Europeans in avoiding the snares of anachronism because they are not endowed with that abundantly documented history, nor by those numerous vestiges of the past that enable us, with comparative ease, to abstract ourselves from the present.

"On the other hand, the historian who claims to 'reconstruct' pre-colonial history, in reality constructs nothing at all. In plucking a history of a western sort out of diverse oral traditions, he is attempting to

build a national history — which may indeed be needed, but which, with its chronology and its vocabulary, corresponds little to the vision that Africans once had of their past."

The problem is there and identified, all it needs is good, diligent historians to work at it. They are around, whatever the name of their discipline.

R.A.G.

## Rise and fall of empires

*Colonial Rule in Africa* edited with an introduction by Bruce Fetter (University of Wisconsin Press, £9)

USING 79 readings from primary sources Professor Fetter boldly attempts, in a comparatively short book, to give a panorama of "the imposition, implementation and destruction of colonial rule in Africa". He declares his belief that colonialism was a "disease that has largely run its course". But he does not deny a hearing to Lord Lugard, as well as to Dr. Azikwe (but there is nothing from Dr. Nkrumah), to the now forgotten

Fundamental principles of Overseas Portugal" — part of Dr. Salazar's 1951 constitution — as well as to Nasser's 1955 speech at the Armed Forces exhibition in Cairo. And to the complaint that so many of the passages he uses are the work of Europeans he replies that during the period

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he has chosen, 1830 to 1962. "most of the major events in the colonisation of Africa were determined by the colonisers".

Professor Fetter also places unusual emphasis on the importance the colonisers attached to the extension of their laws to their colonies. He chooses as his first extract one from Maitland's *The Constitutional History of England*, although this insists that colonial legislatures had considerable legislative autonomy because so few Acts of the British Parliament extended to the colonies.

The book covers the whole continent. So there is an unexpectedly large contribution concerning South Africa (mostly declarations by white politicians) and Algeria.

Professor Fetter's own introductions and comments are concise and perceptive. But one wonders just what he means by the statement that while Muslims in the North and Afrikaners in the South were "more cosmopolitan", there were also the "animists in the centre who had not known of the outside world until they were conquered". Were there not Muslim communities in West Africa who were in

very close touch with North Africa? Were there not non-Muslim West Africa states who were in active commerce with other African states and with Europe centuries before they came formally under European rule?

D.W.

## Good value on Niger — e&oe

*Historical Dictionary of Niger by Samuel Decalo (Scarborough Press, \$47.50)*

NIGERIA'S northern neighbour, already the fifth largest uranium producer in the world, could soon be the western world's third uranium exporter. Niger also has huge coal reserves, iron ore deposits and traces, at least, of many other minerals. The uranium boom began in the early seventies, just when exports of groundnuts and groundnut products, previously the mainstay of export earnings (which always fell chronically short of import costs) disappeared, as did those of Nigeria, because of the Sahel drought. What oil has

meant to Nigeria, uranium has meant to Niger.

The country's military ruler, who 10 years ago ousted the veteran President Hamani Diori, whose regime was widely regarded not only as corrupt but also responsible for misuse of international aid for drought victims, is one of Africa's least-known leaders. Still not 40, Colonel Kouitiche cannot claim popularity, but his regime is thought to be austere and honest — and capable of using the uranium revenues wisely. There appears to be a move towards the restoration of civil rule.

This is a country about which the outside world knows little. Dr. Decalo's "dictionary", the twentieth in this series about African countries — to which it himself has already contributed five volumes — is welcome. Like other books in the series, this has a short historical introduction, a political "chronology", a list of acronyms and abbreviations, some basic statistics, and a bibliography (in this case running to a surprising 115 pages, testimony to the ethnic diversity and rich history of this vast, sparsely-populated country). But the main part of the book, as usual, is a dictionary, providing information on the country's economy, history, ethnography, political and military leaders, main mining companies, religious groups and administration. It is an essential reference book.

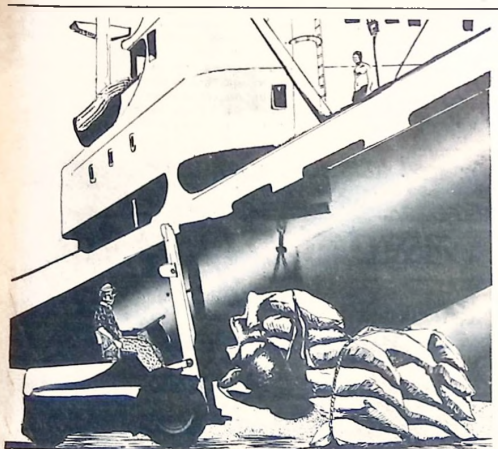
Dr. Decalo is a sound guide, even if his first sentence tells us, wrongly, that Niger is the largest state in West Africa — the book in the series gives that distinction to Niger's western neighbour. He fails to make clear that Hausa is a linguistic, and not strictly an ethnic, term, and his figure of some nine million for West Africa's Hausa speakers is far too low since, as well as set two-and-a-half million, or over half the population, in Niger, in Nigeria itself the figure is at least 12 to 15 million. Dr. Decalo might also have emphasised the close connection which persists between Niger and the adjoining emirates and states of Nigeria, which makes the frontiers insignificant for most people; representatives of these states, for example, were invited to the recent sixth anniversary of overthrow of Hamani Diori. There is entry in the dictionary, for example, for Sokoto or its Sultan.

In listing the seven original Hausa states the dictionary mis-spells Rano as Rao, Zazzau (Zaria) as Zazzao.

The first book in the series, Cameroon, published in 1974, cost \$6. Even the fourteenth, on Upper Volta published in 1978, cost only \$9. Inflation has caught up with the series. But at almost twice the 1978 price, this book still good value.

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largely keep the balance sheets in the black.

In fact, another of the West African airlines in which BCAL has an interest, is in this sector of the marketplace exclusively.

This is Gambia Airways which was formed in 1964 with the specific purpose of providing a complete on-the-ground service for transiting aircraft but not operating any aircraft of its own.

However, The Gambia is an important focal point for international airline services and Gambia Airways earns a lot of revenue by providing ground handling operations which save foreign airlines from posting their own staff and buying expensive ground support equipment. Gambia Airways also operates a full-scale sales and reservations service which is functioning extremely successfully.

Both the government and foreign airline partner in any regional air carrier business can therefore reap the benefit of profits. But there are a number of other less obvious advantages to both sides as well.

As mentioned earlier, the West African countries involved benefit from acquiring airline expertise much faster than they would otherwise. For the airline providing the management service there are inestimable advantages to be gained from the close contacts and friendly relationships which inevitably occur with the key commercial aviation decision makers in the country concerned.

Despite inherent difficulties arising from the physical location there is no doubt that the airline industry in West Africa is a growing concern and has become an integral and vital ingredient in the area's economy.

## Demand for airports

Aeroplanes need airports. In a recent article in the *Financial Times*, Michael Donne considered what this could mean in demands on the construction and supply industries by the Third World.

THE INTEREST in air transport development among the countries of the Third World has been increased in the 1970s, and is likely to accelerate in the 1980s.

This stems from an increasing awareness in many countries, especially in Africa, South America, Central America and South-east Asia, of the value of air transport not only as a means of communication with the outside world, with all that implies for international trade and political development, but also as a means of improving internal transport, with all that implies for sociological development.

In many countries of the Third World, roads and railways barely exist or are poor because of geographical problems, and where in the past communities have been either totally isolated or linked only by many hours' or days' journeying by foot over difficult terrain, air transport has already wrought a social revolution, with those communities now linked by aircraft within minutes.

This use of the aeroplane as a tool for sociological as well as economic advancement is often overlooked by the countries of the West, where air transport has reached such a high state of development that it is becoming taken for

granted as part of the way of life. But in the Third World, air transport development has barely begun, and still has a long way to go before it reaches anything like comparability with the situation in the industrial countries of the West.

Not only is it creating a growing demand for aircraft of all kinds, ranging from small light local-service types up to wide-bodied jets, it is also generating a demand for all the infrastructure facilities those aircraft need — runways, terminal buildings, taxi-ways, access roads, lighting, heating, radars and navigation aids, and all kinds of ancillary equipment, such as public address systems, passenger and baggage equipment, catering equipment and other facilities that simply have never existed before.

One of the most significant aspects of the development of air transport in the Third World is that it is total — i.e. starting from nothing, or at best from the simple, over-basic, facilities that have existed before. As such, therefore, it is likely to consume a substantial amount of money, and require substantial resources in terms of consultancy, civil engineering and management techniques. A very substantial proportion of the £37bn. estimated outlay on airports and services through the 1980s is expected to be spent in the Third World.

There is no lack of willing Western industrial and other companies to provide the expertise for these developments. The UK, US, France, West Germany, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Spain and even Korea are all competing strongly for this business — for one recent airport equipment contract alone in the Far East no fewer than 81 different companies from 10 countries tendered.

Some recent examples of the size of the task can be gauged from the immensity of some individual projects already underway. The new international civil airport at Jeddah, in Saudi Arabia, is due to become operational this year. Covering an area more than 105 sq. km., the new airport is expected to become one of the world's busiest, especially when the spacious new Haj terminal there is completed in 1985, which will be able to cope with 50,000 pilgrims a day. Overall, the new airport is being built at a total cost of SAR 15bn., expected to handle 8.6m. passengers a year by 1985, and 10m. by 1990.

Major port developments are going on in many different parts of the world. But it is also true that there is now hardly an airport anywhere in the world that is not undergoing some modification or modernisation to enable it to cope with the anticipated expansion of the next decade.

This expansion programme is inevitable, calling for a substantial volume of money. As a result, in addition to the consultancy, design, development, constructional and operational resources of the Western world, the airport development programme of

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Third World is also making considerable demands on the cash resources of the West. Most of the governments of the Third World do not possess the money required to pay for the expensive programmes they need, and so there has emerged in the West a substantial funding programme, largely financed by banks and commercial institutions, although some government aid is also included.

The World Bank itself lends substantial sums for airport programmes, while the International Civil Aviation Organisation (the aviation technical agency of the UN) makes direct cash grants to help some of the poorer countries develop their aviation infrastructures. Some examples of recent ICAO projects include cash to help prepare schemes for airport development in Jordan, Uruguay, Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

But for the most part the cash for airport developments comes either from the internal funds of the countries concerned where this is possible, or through loans from Western governments, or banking and other institutions. Increasingly, because of the fierce competition in the airport development business, it is becoming the rule for countries wanting airports to be offered "packages" by Western industrial groups, including not only assistance with finance but also everything else from initial site surveys, through design and construction, and even in some cases, covering the initial operation of the finished airport. In the UK, the Plessey Group has developed this concept of offering complete packages to countries in the Third World, and has already achieved some considerable successes, for example, in Zaire, Egypt, Gabon, Libya and the Ivory Coast.

The British Airports Authority has teamed with International Aeradio to offer package systems to overseas countries. This "package" concept will be found to become increasingly attractive, not only to countries anxious to develop their civil aviation infrastructures swiftly, but also to the industrial groups involved, for it gives the latter a simpler commercial structure within which to work on complex and expensive projects.

Also in the UK, a new group, called the British Airport Equipment Group, has been set up by a number of companies manufacturing between them all kinds of airport equipment. On the Continent, airport authorities such as those at Paris, Frankfurt, and Schiphol (Amsterdam), have all developed specialist teams to meet the growing demand, and all of them have achieved some significant successes — with the Aeroport de Paris involved in recent years in no less than 67 different airport projects world-wide.

Finally, however, one of the most significant aspects of the entire airport development situation is the growing need for swift and accurate market intelligence. It is becoming all too common for some countries in the Third World to settle their aviation infrastructure programmes on the basis of private negotiations, rather than by adopting the open public tender technique, and in some cases the latter course is only adopted as a formality, when the work has

already been allocated to a contractor.

As competition becomes fiercer, the need for swift knowledge of impending developments becomes even greater, together with the ability to respond with equal speed. This is another reason why the existence of large groups, often acting in consort with lending institutions to provide the necessary funds, is becoming so

significant. They can frequently pick through their own commercial source information of impending development long before normal governmental channels get to hear of them, and on more than one occasion in recent years the prize of a major airport development contract overseas has gone to the group with the best early intelligence of what was about to happen.

## Airport under way

THREE important and lucrative West African airport development contracts have been won recently by Plessey Radar. Following the award of the £50m first stage development project for Abidjan International Airport in November 1977, Plessey Radar has also received a new £5m contract for the carrying out of studies which will detail the further work necessary to complete the first phase of the Abidjan project.

It is intended that a new international airport, close to the existing one should be constructed. Plessey have the contract for the first part of phase one and, following the decision to build virtually a new airport — instead of merely expanding the present one, the new studies will determine the shape and size of the additional facilities necessary.

The existing contract covers the provision of a fully equipped new runway with a Central Tower and Tower Block, while the remaining work which will be let on completion of the studies, will be for

passenger and freight terminals, a Presidential pavilion, aircraft parking areas, roadways, lighting and other equipment. The second part of Phase one is expected to cost more than £100m.

Plessey's other work in West Africa includes contracts in Cameroon and Gabon. The Cameroon contract, the overall cost of which is estimated at £30m., is to turn Garoua airport in northern Cameroon into an international airport. Plessey's part in the project is valued at £17m., the other £13m. will be for local civil engineering works — the implementation will be phased over a 30-month programme — to bring the airport to International Civil Aviation Organisation Class A international standard.

Gabon is the third country to award a major contract to Plessey. This is worth £6m. and is to improve the aeronautical facilities of the Republic of Gabon. This is the second Gabon contract for Plessey whose commitments in that country are now worth £13m.

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# The importance of roads

Ad'Obe Obe looks at the significance of some of the bold plans to lay new roads across the face of Africa and the obstacles they must circumvent.

THE EXISTING networks of surfaced roads began when motor vehicles first arrived on the continent — the centuries old trade routes for man and pack animals had not needed special surfaces, just convenience. The new roads were initially developed in the light of the needs and estimates of the colonial powers, mainly penetrating the interiors from the coasts they concentrated on some areas and ignored other areas that were regarded as not economically significant.

But since independence African governments have realised the importance of roads as the foundation on which the life, work and unity of the state, the economy and society are built. Good roads are absolutely essential for rural development schemes and general economic development.

Lack of suitable roads has affected development in several ways. African nations are in particular need of cheap and efficient transport routes, since most of them depend on exports of one or more basic products for the bulk of their foreign exchange earnings. The high costs of air freight have forced the countries to use maritime transport, as a result ports have been stretched beyond their capacities; vessels have had to wait so long that perishable goods often did not reach the land, and equipment and materials arrive very late at their destinations.

The 13 land-locked countries are much affected by inadequate inter-African road networks, as the cost of transport can increase the cost of their imported goods by as much as 25 per cent.

In addition to national development, African countries have embarked on joint schemes which are often hampered by lack of proper roads. Trade relations suffer and it is very expensive to launch mutually profitable enterprises that combine geographically separate raw materials, technical expertise, capital and potential markets.

If each of the independent countries of Africa had just one road link with its immediate neighbours, there would be 84 inter-state links altogether. At the moment there are only 25 such links (asphalted roads and improved dirt, laterite or gravel roads) which are practicable all the year round; 33 more are unimproved roads and tracks that are unusable in the rainy season. Six of the roads have not been built at all.

To improve the integration and development which the OAU and ECA are aiming at they launched the Lagos-Mombassa Trans-African Highway project in July, 1971. As the ECA is a pan-African organisation this was only the beginning, a test case which would reveal the principles and methods whereby the countries of Africa could co-operate effectively on the construction and exploitation of international roads.

Tracing new routes between various points of Africa would have meant building new roads from scratch, and this would certainly have involved long delays, as the Trans-Sahara road from Algeria to Mali/Niger shows. So it was decided to base the new highways on existing international roads in the different countries. Another principle was to provide each section with its own administrative structures. At the outset, a co-ordinating committee was set up but it soon became apparent that this would have to be replaced by a legally and financially autonomous authority.

## Trans-African schemes

The Trans-African Highway was a conclusive experiment in that it resulted in the design and establishment of suitable institutions in which African governments, industrialised countries, African inter-governmental organisations and the UN have been able to work together, in harmony, to define the ways and means of solving the many problems posed by the creation of trans-African roads.

The ECA has since launched five other trans-African road projects:

- The Trans-Sahara, started by the ECA, but now in other hands it mainly concerns Algeria, Mali and Niger, but will be extended as far as Nigeria.

- The Lagos-Mombassa Highway, east across Nigeria, Cameroon, the CAR, Zaire, Uganda and Kenya.

- The Nouakchott-Lagos Highway, across Mauritania, Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Benin and Nigeria.

- The Cairo-Gaberon Highway, across Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana.

The five highways total some 33,000km., 18,000 of them asphalted, some are multi-lane highways but others are still no

more than tracks barely suitable for cross-country vehicles.

However, the ECA is convinced that it takes more than good international roads to increase traffic. For one thing the various countries will have to harmonise their transport laws (driving regulations, axle-loads, etc.), and introduce standardised rulings for customs and frontier formalities.

Also a great deal of money, time and means is required to produce this large network of A roads (like E roads in Europe). There is more to it than modernising an existing road. A road must also be maintained, strengthened if the traffic increases and even rebuilt in parts if, for example, the carriageway deteriorates through lack of upkeep.

The current costs of road works of this kind varies between 100,000 and 180,000 Units of Account per km. The exact price will obviously depend on what technical improvements are planned, on the situation on the individual countries, where the conditions of competition and psychological factors may have different effects on prices.

The cost per kilometre cannot, unfortunately be reduced (except in cases of obvious over-calculation). The main cost components in road construction are energy (fuel and energy-producing machinery), asphalt and, to a lesser extent, labour. These factors cannot generally be influenced by either the financing bodies or the recipient countries which, if their social policy is fair, will have to ensure that the minimum wage for the road labour force is in line with the general conditions in the country.

These vast projects also take time and in many countries the effects of climate make it impossible to work more than ten months of the year.

But any country needs communications if it is to stay united. It is primarily the development of communications, and in Africa roads in particular, which is likely to bring about rapid changes in the basic image of society. Africans, like everyone else, have an increasing desire for mobility. African governments are aware of all these needs. That is why they do not hesitate to devote large percentages of their limited revenues and even incur debts, to give their countries the roads that will satisfy these needs.

## The problems of roads

A correspondent reports some of the conclusions of the recent Fourth Conference of the International Road Federation in Nairobi.

THE FOURTH African Highway Conference of the International Road Federation was held in Nairobi at the end of January. The attendance alone suggests the importance attached to it by African countries. Of the 72 countries represented 37 were African. Twenty of the latter sent ministers. In all there were 1,102 delegates from around the world.

The breadth of discussions was all embracing, links between Europe, Asia and

Africa were discussed, as were problems concerning internal highways within the continent. Upkeep, training and financing were the other major areas to which experts devoted attention. And it concluded with the adoption of five motions. It recommended (1) the creation of an African regional fund for the specific purpose of opening up landlocked countries; (2) the realisation of the link between Western Europe and Africa

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through Gibraltar: (3) that African states should contribute towards the financing of roads linking capitals; (4) a request to the United Nations Economic Commission to assist in the research for sources of finance; and (5) that studies be made in the adaptation of road construction techniques to the conditions prevalent in the African continent.

It has been noted that over two-thirds of Africa's trade is with Europe. It has been estimated that there are 100 regular roll on/roll off, RoRo, services between Africa and Europe. Seventy-seven of these are from North African ports and 33 from other African ports north of the Equator. The link with Europe has become all the more important for some West African states with the construction of the Trans-Saharan Highway which will eventually be 3,700 kms long and linking Kano to Algiers via Tamanrasset.

The conference however laid particular emphasis, as far as the road link with Europe is concerned, on the proposed Lagos - Dakar - Nouackchott - Rabat - Tangier road with a view to linking through Gibraltar with the European highways system.

In addition, the conference placed emphasis on the African highways, five of which are already under construction and four of which are at the project stage. All these plans add up to 33,000 kms worth of highway, the most important consequence of which will be to open up Africa's thirteen landlocked countries. Twelve of these, it should never be forgotten, are over 1,000 kms away from the nearest port. For these countries, it was acknowledged at the conference, the costs of road construction and maintenance — the roads very often act as no more than transits for other countries — are prohibitive. It is for this reason that special emphasis was given in the final resolution that such highways must be a communal responsibility of the entire continent.

A second aspect of the conference which came to less clear conclusions, concerned other roads which are considered important for domestic economies and which have different roles according to the local exigencies. Some are for rural areas, others serve major projects (the road construction programmes in Niger which serve the uranium mines are an obvious example). It was unanimously agreed that it is impossible to impose a typology of roads since one of the major drawbacks in current road construction in many African countries is that often they do not conform to the climatic, geological or demographic conditions in a given area. A more recent problem facing tarred roads is the rise in oil prices which has raised the price not only of construction, but of maintenance, beyond all expectations. An example given is the fact that an estimated 70 per cent of traffic on African roads consists of "heavy" traffic. There is a problem facing the rural roads which can accommodate light traffic — less than 100 vehicles a day — but which will eventually have to take heavier traffic. As a result of such factors one delegate referred to the need to apply the theory of

"evolutive" roads. The need for a deep appreciation of such issues is apparent one is to be more precise in the road planning policies of the financing agencies.

One of the important conclusions reflected in the motions passed at the conference — was that road construction methods in developed countries could be applied to Africa. Social conditions dictate that such programmes should be labour intensive. It was also recommended that more use should be made of local materials. Therefore construction techniques should be adapted, with foresight, to the requirements and possibilities in desert or tropical regions. For example, One delegate felt very strongly that a prerequisite for any committee more than \$100,000 should be a thorough feasibility study.

## The necessity for maintenance

Road maintenance was also identified as a major sector which is too often overlooked. The secret is timing and one delegate pointed out if one is too late dealing with repairs the costs can mount over \$5m per kilometre. Another delegate suggested that any road budget should devote at least 35 per cent of its resources to maintenance. It was observed that enough attention is paid to excess wear that passes over roads. It was estimated that an increase in weight on one road of 20 per cent can reduce by half the life of the road and increase by 40 per cent the costs.

In discussing many of the technical aspects of road policy, it became evident that there was a desperate need to transfer the technology and to increase research and training in Africa. Not only must techniques be adapted but that centres devoted to the study of road construction and maintenance should be created with a view to improving the current dearth of qualified personnel. It was also noted that maintenance should be devoted to the training of heavy lorry drivers.

Inevitably, financing was discussed. There was a less than optimistic note struck by the European Development Fund representative who felt that financing of road construction will be becoming more difficult to come by because of the rise in energy costs. In the last five years, the cost of constructing a kilometre of road in Mali has almost quadrupled.

The main multilateral (World Bank, EDF, UNCTAD) and bilateral (France, West Germany, Italy, Canada, U.S.) representatives advised on some criteria for effective financing: the need for medium and long term planning; priority to be given to helping land-locked countries; policies that have some bearing on local means and resources; an analysis that goes beyond immediate regional needs; profit should not be the sole motive. In addition they all agreed that the proliferation of sources of financing per project should be reduced to one suggesting that, as in many other sectors, aid policy, one of the main problems has been confusion and duplication.

# On the right lines

Ad'Obe Obe looks at the potential for railways in African development

IN AFRICA the railways, like the surfaced road systems, were built to link the interior, particularly the export producing areas, with the coast. The Accra-Kumasi railway in Ghana was built to transport cocoa from the Ashanti region, Nigeria's Lagos-Kano railroad was built to bring out cotton and groundnuts from the north and was extended to Jos to transport tin from there. The first railroads in Central Africa, which provide links between Zambia and Zaïre and the various coastal areas to the east, west and south, were intended to transport minerals, from Zambia and particularly from the old Katanga (now Shaba) region.

The density of Africa's railways system is extremely low. The continent is 29,000 sq km in area, but there are only 78,000 km of track, compared with Europe where there are 300,000 km of track for an area of 750,000 sq km (over 30 times the length of track per 1,000 sq km compared with Africa). Ten countries in Africa have no national networks or international links. At the moment Africa's 78,000 km of track are divided into 31 independent networks.

The main advantages of railways are that they offer means of transporting heavy loads over long distances, this particularly suits African traffic which tends to be bulk transport of agricultural and mineral produce. The growth of inter-African trade

will be enhanced by an integrated system of railways. Nigeria, for example sells food products, palm oil and fish to a number of countries on the continent, the CAR exports cotton, coffee and rubber products through Cameroon and the Congo.

In the early days ideas of integration were precluded to a large degree by the patchwork of colonial partition. Only in the southern areas of the continent did the nature of expansion emphasise the importance of uniformity. But when independence came a realisation grew that a comprehensive and efficient transport system was an essential part of industrialisation and mobilisation of the economy. The contribution of railways to the economic development of the USA, Canada and the USSR is indeed a very attractive model for Africans.

In the wake of the political unity sought under the OAU, leaders of African railway systems attending a seminar in Berlin agreed on a course which culminated in the formation of the Union of African Railways (UAR) in 1972.

The enthusiasm which the various member countries display in the work of the UAR is reason to hope that any decisions it makes will be rapidly implemented and that it could be a fine example of regional co-operation in the transport sector. There

are many plans to join up national networks, a number of projects are already under way.

Such schemes include railways between Abadja (Algeria) and Segou (Mali), Tripoli (Libya) and Gabes (Tunisia), Benghazi (Libya) and As-Sallum (Egypt), Aswan (Egypt) and Wadi Halfa (Sudan), Nyala (Sudan) and N'Djamena (Chad), Maiduguri (Nigeria) and Yaoundé (Cameroon) and Bangui (CAR), a line between Ivory Coast and Guinea and more. It is hoped that all these projects can be implemented in the near future.

One of the problems of linking the different networks is the variety of gauges. Most English-speaking countries use 1.067m gauge, as British interests were involved in financing these lines. Tanzania and Kenya adopted the 1m gauge because Tanganyika, which used to be a German colony, took over the standard German gauge. Most of the ex-French colonies also use the 1m gauge. The adoption of a standard gauge is one of the things advocated by the UAR. The predominance of the 1.067m gauge has led the UAR to suggest that this be brought into general use for interconnections, except in regions where other gauges are more common.

There will also be the non-technical operational, commercial and administrative aspects requiring agreement on methods of charging, apportioning revenues and the creation of documentation for these. Procedures would have to be established for maintaining and servicing foreign rolling stock and raising charges for such services.

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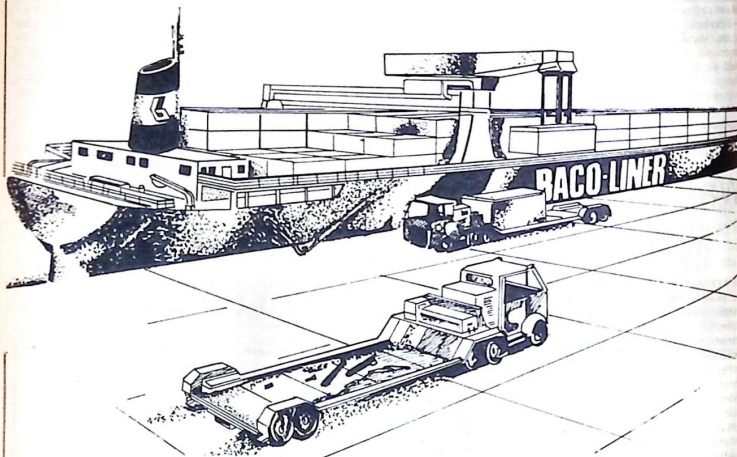
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But the biggest threat to railways, national or international, are the roads. Generally roads have been favoured for investment funds, to the detriment of the railways. Thus in Nigeria while the former Federal Military Government received a lot of praise for its road construction projects the railways have only barely improved beyond the destruction suffered during the civil war.

There are several reasons for the shift of emphasis to road construction. One is that roads are cheaper and quicker to build. Road users are still very aware of the past underdeveloped nature of railways, even today in Nigeria most cross-country trips take at least twice as long by rail as by road — if the trains run. But more important still is the social, political and economic importance of roads. It is usually possible to build some kind of road, regardless of quality to reach remote rural areas, instances where railways would hardly be viable propositions. A politician would be appreciated by his voters if he could get the government to build roads in his constituency, and since the decision-

makers owned cars they were more inclined to build roads to drive on than railways they were unlikely to use.

Railways also face competition from roads on the African international scene. African countries tend to have road links with their immediate neighbours and, even though some are in bad repair and cannot be used all the year round, at least it is possible to go by road from The Ivory Coast to Ghana in the east, to Liberia in the west and to Mali in the north-east. There are no railways between Nigeria and Benin, Cameroon or Chad, but there are roads to them all.

African railways have broken new ground since the creation of the UAR to which most African networks belong, it is responsible for co-ordinated railway development over the whole continent, under the aegis of the OAU and ECA. The success of the UAR will, no doubt, mean economic development in the many fields covered by integrated projects — national, sub-regional and regional — which condition the development of inter-African trade.

operations where demand is fluctuating and where the distinction between passengers and freight is often blurred. Further, in terms of their performance they are undemanding of costly, imported skills, materials and fuels.

Most of the traffic by this informal sector goes un-recorded and there can be no way of even guessing at its total volume. However, there can be no doubt that in the riverine and lagoon areas it accounts for a considerable proportion of the total movements. There are strong grounds for suggesting that this is a transport sector that has been neglected by planners but in which there is great scope for the adoption of relatively low cost "intermediate" technology solutions with an emphasis on local participation. The establishment on the Nile at Juba, of a yard for constructing concrete vessels (an Intermediate Technology Development Group project) shows a way this might develop while use of glass fibre moulding or, and preferably, local timber, provide other alternatives for local boat-building industries.

Until the late 1960s there was extensive commercial use of the lower Niger and Benue rivers and in the early 1950s as much as 13 per cent of Nigeria's freight movements were by water. Companies such as Niger River Transport (UAC), Holt's Transport and Niger-Benue Transport, maintained a large number of river transhipment points and fleets of push-tow barges. Although technically open for longer, navigation to Baro was normally restricted to four months but Garoua in Northern Cameroon

## Water-power

Dr. David Hilling, of Bedford College, University of London, looks at the opportunities and advantages of West Africa's ancient and still modern water-borne transport.

AS ALL STUDENTS of African history are aware rivers such as the Senegal, Gambia and Niger provided invaluable exploration routes into West Africa's interior. As European control gradually spread over the region these, and many smaller rivers, often provided the means whereby export commodities such as timber, cocoa, coffee and palm produce could be brought to the coast. On those parts of the coast endowed with extensive sheltered lagoons (Nigeria, Benin, Ivory Coast) and also those parts with more numerous broad river estuaries (eastern Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Guinea) there was also considerable use of water transport, usually over short distances.

Yet the geography of West Africa provided definite limits to the extent to which water transport could be developed in the modern period. The rivers are characterised by marked seasonality of flow with many water courses too shallow for navigation in the low water season before the rains and swollen and difficult to navigate in the flood season. The rivers bring down vast quantities of sediment so that channel courses are highly variable and the littoral movement of material invariably creates river-mouth bars that vary in depth and configuration and make access difficult.

The Volta bar provides a typical example, while access to the vast waterway system of the Niger delta, originally by way of the Forcados river, had to be changed first to the Benue river entrance and more recently to the Escravos as depths declined with siltation. The presently used Escravos entrance depths are maintained with great difficulty and only after engineering works and with constant dredging. Access to

Lagos and the lagoons to east and west of the city only became possible for larger vessels when in 1922 two long training moles were completed at the river mouth and the entrance had to be dredged. At Abidjan the 1904 attempt to construct a canal link into the lagoon failed as a result of silting and it was not to be until 1950 that a better aligned canal allowed lagoon-side Abidjan to become the great port it has.

Navigation inland was all too frequently impeded by rapids and in some cases (e.g. the Volta at Kpong) the first set was located relatively close to the coast. On the Niger the first real rapids were at Bussa but these have now been submerged under the waters of Lake Kainji but navigation upstream is restricted by further sets of rapids in the Ansongo region and also near Bamako.

Although water transport over any distance by even moderate sized craft was difficult or impossible it would be all too easy to under-estimate the significance of such transport both historically and at the present time for both passenger and freight movement. The greater part of the traffic is best classified as "informal" being by local craft of varying style — the canoes on most of the rivers, the sailing "bullom" boats of Sierra Leone and the sailing "cutters" of The Gambia. Many of the canoes have now been motorised and in the Niger delta sizable launches provide the main means of movement for people and goods between a large number of settlements. As a form of transport these vessels have much to recommend them as they can be constructed and maintained by local materials and skills, can be of a size to suit individual local conditions of geography and demand and provide flexibility of

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Canoes are an ancient African transport system.

was open for only six to seven weeks each year. This meant that capacity was seriously under-utilised and costs increased. The traffic was also markedly imbalanced and largely comprised the southward movement for export of agricultural commodities such as groundnuts, cotton lint and seed, beniseed and palm products.

Mainly as a result of road haulage competition the number of river ports has declined and the total traffic of the (now Government owned) river operations has fallen to negligible quantities. In the delta itself the oil companies make great use of water transport in their exploration, production and servicing operations. Yet with the peak annual movements in the past in excess of 4 million tons the potential of the inland waterways needs no further demonstration.

In relation to tonne-miles per gallon of fuel, water transport is 25 per cent more efficient than railways and over 400 per

cent better than road transport. Even Nigeria may in the future have to recognise the advantages of energy conservation as her non-oil producing neighbours would be well advised to start now. With the Kainji Dam by-pass locks (far larger than any vessels now able to navigate the delta) navigation is possible for seven months (August-April) as far as Gaya and for a shorter period to Niamey.

A Niger company, Niger River and So. Transport, built up a fleet of 12 barges and has estimated that on the Niamey route it has been able to cut costs to 12-14 francs CFA per tonne-kilometre by road to three francs by water. There have been numerous studies of the possible improvement of the Niger (Netherlands Engineering Consultants, ORSTOM), and in March, 1980, it was announced that the Nigerian Government intends developing river transport and is to build new ports at 12 locations including Onitsha.

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Roll-on Roll-off ships can be regarded as a logical development of the ferries that take cars and lorries across rivers but scaled up to oceanic size. O.T. Africa Line, which already has two Ro-Ro ships operating between Europe and West Africa — and plans to add a third later this year — says that the vessels are limited to carrying lorries, trailers and cars, anything with wheels even a pallet with purely temporary wheels can go Ro-Ro.

Idn, Ajaokuta (which could serve the new iron and steel industry), Baro and Jebba.

Certainly known to more intrepid tourists will be the Cie. Malienne de Navigation services operating seasonally (July-April) on the middle Niger between Koulikoro and Ansongo with main calls at Segou, Mopti, Kabara/Timbuctoo and Gao. This company operates a range of passenger vessels and dry cargo and tank barges of small size. Between August and November services are also possible upstream from Bamako as far as Kankan (Guinea). This middle-upper Niger traffic has in peak years accounted for more than 35 million tonne-kilometres.

Although access to the Senegal river is restricted by the river mouth sand bar, Messageries du Senegal provides regular year-round service from Saint Louis to Podor and from August to October penetrates to Matam. From July to September launches provide services to Kayes on the border with Mali. The inter-state OMVS plans to control the Senegal River would certainly as a by-product improve navigation conditions and this could be of immense value to land-locked Mali. At least one European shipping company is known to be interested in greater use of the river.

Since early this century a Government vessel has provided combined passenger, mail and freight services on the Gambia River and the recently replaced *Lady Wright* had for 25 years averaged nearly 40 round trips a year to Basse, 240 miles inland, and on each trip carried as many as

20 cabin and over 200 deck passengers and as much as 150 tons of freight. The *Lady Wright* and her successor *Lady Chilé Lawara* are also unique in being floating, mobile post offices for over 25 river ports. The up-river boat trip has become increasingly popular with tourists and provides an admirable way of seeing the country and especially the bird life for which it is famous. The Gambia River Transport Company self-propelled barges and push-tow units have now largely replaced the sailing cutters for the movement of groundnuts downstream and are also used for upstream movement of grain, fertilizer and oil. In good years these movements total over 100,000 tons. The Gambia Livestock Marketing Board recently acquired a 24.5m. self-propelled vessel for transporting cattle but also able to carry bulk cargoes, oil and vehicles.

## Volta Lake underexploited

In 1969 the Volta Lake Transport Company was created to operate regular passenger and freight services on the new lake. Since 1972 the *Akosombo Queen* has provided a passenger service from Yapei at the lake head to Akosombo, the southern terminal, with stops at Yeji, Kete Krachi and Kpandu. The *Yapei Queen* is a bow ramp roll-on/roll-off vessel with a capacity of 250 tonnes and she can take palletised cargo (e.g. of bagged rice or cotton) and can also be used for heavy mobile equipment.

The *Yeji Queen*, a tug-pontoon combination, has been used principally for the southward movement of yams from Kete Krachi and also for shipping cocoa from the Afram region.

The very considerable potential for this 250 miles artery has never been fully exploited as a result of all too frequent break-down, lack of spare parts, lack of dredging at certain points and an incomprehensible reluctance on the part of the Ghana Government to provide an adequate, and only very short, road link to the port at Akosombo. A recent agreement with West Germany could well mean the re-equipment of these services and perhaps then this potentially low cost, high capacity route will be able to operate closer to early expectations. The informal sector has not been slow to take advantage of the waterway and there are a number of freight and passenger canoes and launches providing valuable services both along and across the lake.

The Niger, Senegal, Gambia and Mano rivers and also Lake Volta have been identified as priorities for navigation improvement during the ECA's Transport and Communication Decade (1978-88) and clearly provide possible valuable routes for bulk movements to and from the interior regions now so poorly served by surface transport. In March the newly-created Niger River Basin Authority suggested plans for the development of the river, including navigation. Greater use of improved waterways could be a possible way of dispersing a variety of heavier

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industries into the interior. Had through transport been possible on the Senegal and Niger many of the problems associated with getting relief to the drought-stricken Sahel zone would have been avoided. The development of the rivers, especially for navigation, could be a vital key to the more effective management of resources in this region. It could well be that river improvements would cost less than the provision of alternative modes of transport and with oil becoming increasingly costly and possibly more scarce it makes sense to use water transport to the fullest possible extent.

An additional factor pointing to the desirability of maximising the use of water transport for freight movement in West Africa was the introduction in August, 1979, of the first vessel carrying specially-built barges internally into the region's maritime trade. The German owners of this ship have long experience of inland waterway operations in Europe and the adoption of a technology (described in *West Africa*, August 27, 1979) in which the barges carried by the mother-ship can utilise inland waterways for onward movement at either end of the oceanic journey was thought particularly suitable in West African conditions.

*Baco-Liner 1* has already been joined by a sister ship and they are apparently operating at maximum capacity south-bound. The vessels are calling at Lagos, where the Kiri Kiri barge terminal is used for cargo handling to and from the barges and thereby avoiding more congested port

areas, and Warri, from where the barges are being towed to a number of other delta parts. Either this or some other barge-carrying system could provide the design standards for the improvement of the Niger River transport in which case the system provides the logical way of servicing the Ajaokuta iron and steel works and a suitably located river port with short rail link could be the most efficient way of moving the vast amount of construction material and equipment that will be required for the development of the Abuja Federal Capital territory.

Over 90 per cent of West Africa's trade is with overseas partners and this is catered for by the established shipping companies, foreign and African.

## Coastal shipping

Much of the intra-African trade crosses the land frontiers but a small part of it does move coastwise by sea and being over shorter distances and being in smaller quantities can suitably be carried by local shipping companies with smaller vessels. The Liberian Denco Company provides an obvious example. Far more of the coastwise movements are best classed as "feeder" services for the purpose of the consolidating cargo at larger ports and reducing the number of ports of call for the main line vessels. The movements of Liberian latex and other commodities to Monrovia would

be an example of this, as would be the coastwise services linking Casamance River ports Saint Louis and Dakar.

During the severe congestion at the port of Lagos in 1975-1977 much cargo was off-loaded at Takoradi, Tema, Lome and Cotonou and then moved onward to convenient by smaller vessels, some of them acquired specially for the purpose of local companies. A number of West African states now have their own national shipping line and in addition there is an increasing number of privately-owned companies. The UNCTAD Liner Convention means that this African shipping capacity will certainly increase in the future. The time therefore may be right for the adoption of technologies and systems which make possible a better articulation of inter-continental, coastal and inland movements of freight and allow ports to make more effective use of their capacity.

The much greater use made of West Africa's rivers in the past only serves to highlight the neglect of this means of transport in recent planning. Now is the time to remedy this. An important conference in New Orleans (May 13-15) will be considering many aspects of barge-carrying technology, integrated tug-barge systems and large barge modules — the technology which in other regions is already contributing to an effective marriage of deep-sea and inland waterway use — which should now be given the full consideration by those concerned with planning the long-term strategy for freight movement in West Africa.

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## LETTERS to the Editor

### The price of inertia

SIR To many people around the world, especially to those who have always seen Liberia as a model of stability in a turbulent continent of violent coups and bloody counter coups, the news of a coup in that country on April 12 was shocking. But to those who have been following political events in Liberia in the last few years, it was the expected climax of smouldering embers of discontent.

For a start, the coup had an all too familiar ring — it had become necessary, according to Master Sergeant Doe, because of the rampant corruption in the country and "the continued failure of the government to handle effectively the affairs of the Liberian people". Convincing though, his pronouncement may be, Liberia watchers believe, and perhaps rightly too, that Sergeant Doe skillfully concealed the real issue at stake — the desire of the native, indigenous Liberians to rule a country in which they are in the majority but have never had one of their own as President.

Declared as a Republic in 1847 by the freed slaves from America, the government of the country had always been in the hands of the descendants of the "settler" group until Master Sgt S. Doe came along. Until recently, practically all the key posts in Government were held by the same group, with a few weightless portfolios doled out to a few vocal and agitated

indigenes partly to give the world the impression that they were also involved in ruling the country and partly to appease the increasingly restless native population. The True Whig Party, the only political party that was freely operating in the country in the last 25 years had a peculiar structure. Through it, it would have been impossible for the indigenous majority to come to power for generations to come.

The dissatisfaction of the vast majority of the rapidly increasing number of educated indigenes with the state of affairs in the country was palpable as they felt demonstrably frustrated by a system that sought to keep them down, and out of power.

Under the late President Tubman, it was impossible to express this dissatisfaction openly or privately, directly or indirectly without incurring the wrath of the man Tubman was a mercurial figure who held sway in Liberia for 27 unbroken years. He was extremely sensitive to criticism and opposition of any kind was ruthlessly crushed. As government-paid spies kept careful watch on everyone thought, or imagined, to be a potential troublemaker, even the most agitated dissenters decided to maintain a low profile.

But in 1971 Tubman died and Tolbert became President. From the beginning he made it clear that he would respect the people's right to express themselves freely. To his eternal credit, he fulfilled this promise until the turbulent last days of his regime. The very existence of the registered opposition party, the Progressive People's Party (PPP) in Liberia is sufficient evidence that he honoured his pledge. Under Tubman forming an opposition party was a treasonable act. The PPP was seen by many people in Liberia as an amalgam of people of various shades of opinion united by a common purpose — the removal from power of the True Whig Party (TWP) government. Certainly to the

indigenous Liberians, it represented a step of overthrowing the system. Perhaps out of impatience in the country growing political awareness in 1979, perhaps out of an unprecedented level in 1979, perhaps out of immaturity (remember Dr. Togba-N'Guessan Tipoteh calling it "infantile"), perhaps out of a desperate attempt to draw attention to itself, a few weeks after its registration, PPP's chairman Mr. Gabriel B. Matthews called for the President's resignation — the President in a claimed had failed to fulfill his promises. In a hysterical move, the officials of the TWP government, the officers of a few days later arrested and accused of treason. A few days later the coup came and Liberia convulsed violently for the first time in its 133 year history.

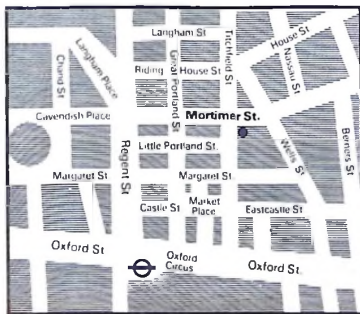
The timing of the coup has a certain historical significance. About a hundred years ago, Liberians were still mourning the death of the first True Whig Party President in the country, E. R. Roye, who was assassinated by political opponents. Then, as now, the official charge was corruption. History has since recorded that there was more to it than that. Little did the world know then that about a century later the last TWP President would meet a violent end in similar circumstances.

Shortly before the coup Tolbert was reported to have been under fire from 2 groups — on one hand, there was a heridgely conservative group of privileged people, mainly descendants of the settler group who felt that he had gone too far with his Liberianisation policy. His political headaches, they claimed were of his own making. Undoubtedly, some of them are now claiming that he had become a victim of his policy. On the other hand was the PPP that charged him with systematically emasculating opposition.

It is now immaterial which side was right, more important is the lesson from the event. Through granting freedom of speech, there is no doubt

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that Tolbert perceived the desire for a general change in his country's political and economic set up. Whether he had the political will to make enough changes to accommodate the aspirations of the indigenous majority and to allay their fears of perpetual domination was another matter. Considering the momentum political agitation has gathered in the last 12 months it is the height of inertia that the defunct regime failed to react positively quickly to meet the aspirations of the majority.

I believe that it is this inertia more than anything else that has done all the harm. Tolbert's government paid the price of inertia. Any minority government that does not react positively to the aspiration of the majority has itself to blame for the explosive consequences. The message of the seven year war to create Zimbabwe out of minority-ruled Rhodesia was not lost on Liberians, especially as President Tolbert was also chairman of the OAU.

Having lived in Liberia for a dozen years, I reflect that when Dr. William R. Tolbert Jr. first came to power he granted freedom of speech and became extremely popular in Liberia, little did I realise that nine years later he would be killed in a bloody coup. But then peoples are changing, perhaps too fast. The Liberian Army that was once completely detached from politics is now deep in the game. For the present Government to survive it must be seen to be making genuine efforts to meet the expectations of the people on behalf of whom it came to power. The contrary could lead to a counter-coup and that could be far more disastrous than the one before it. After all, violence is a vicious cycle which feeds upon itself and breeds violence.

London

(Dr.) JOSEPH NJOH

## Whose say-so?

SIR: Your editorial of 7th April, about the political role of Rawlings stated "... and if the former Chairman would clearly state that the provisions could be changed without undermining the 'gains of 4th June' many of the difficulties would immediately disappear." This statement raises an important fundamental constitutional issue concerning the Transitional Provisions of Ghana's Constitution for the Third Republic.

It is to be observed that it was the AFRC, constituted by members and Chairman Rawlings, which drew up the Transitional Provisions, and not Rawlings alone. Secondly, after September 24 the AFRC, including its Chairman, ceased to have any *de jure* or *de facto* powers to make or unmake the Constitution in part or whole.

Relying on the former AFRC Chairman's declaration, therefore, would suggest a presumption that he or the AFRC had a continuing authority over the Constitution. Since the President and Parliament have derived their present constitutional powers from the people and the AFRC also came into power (rightly or wrongly) to serve the interests of the mass of the people, perhaps the issue of the Transitional Provisions should best be resolved by reference to the people in a referendum.

Birmingham

JIM WEMEGA

## Class struggle

SIR: Letters by A. B. Assensoh and Kofi Owusu (*West Africa*, March 31) to probe the NLC/AFRC regimes must be given serious attention by progressive forces in Ghana, especially the charges of corruption which frustrated the revolutionary path of the June 4th revolt. The Kotoka-Afnia-Ocran coup of February 24 is of particular interest due to its documented connection with western intelligence organisations, namely the US CIA.

This is crucial in the light of the current national debate on Ghana's security system as an

instrument of class oppression and the disabbling factory of reactionary aggression against the state and people of Ghana. Of late President Limann has been pointing accusing finger at those who mismanaged the economy and Ghana's freedom, and it becomes a responsibility to expose and defeat the real enemies of the Ghanaian people and Africa. Also such an exercise will be a historical lesson to Ghana, Africa and world-oppressed national liberation movements as it is often said those who failed to learn from the past were likely to commit a similar mistake. In this case, the mistake is the negation of the class struggle in Ghana.

The recent reported calls by former AFRC members to probe June 4, NLC and the death of Afrifa, pardon for AFRC convicts and charges of those "Who Mismanaged" its economy must be dialectically viewed as intensifying Ghana's ideological and political struggle. In short, a referendum on the PN administration under Dr. Limann for Socialist or Neo-colonialism.

Meanwhile, the great national debate is a victory for the revolution in Ghana. It is a revolutionary force directed at those standing in the way of socialist revolution and naturally part of Ghana's problem. Long live Ghana.

Raleigh, N. Carolina

AKUCI KWAO

## Sinister hints

SIR: Permit me to refer to Mr. Bai Sall Kargbo's letter (*West Africa*, March 24).

Mr. Kargbo, in his quest to convey the feeling that the late Mr. S. L. Bangura's death was not normal, has attempted to theorise on the possible causes attributable to such an untimely death. However, his inference that the tragic affair has been handled in a very casual manner by the authorities is absolutely incorrect. Indeed, since the incident occurred police investigations have not let up, and government has in more than one instance avowed its commitment that no effort will be spared to get to the roots of the case.

In this connection, too, it is most pertinent to draw the attention of all concerned to the Government's statement of January 31, 1980 inviting the public to volunteer any information they may have which will lead to a speedy solution of the mystery of the death of Samuel L. Bangura, Governor of the Bank of Sierra Leone. This is a well tried principle adopted in the solution of crimes, even in the most developed countries of our modern world.

It should also be added that the reference of possible suicide in this case presents an over speculation which in the long run may have far reaching consequences for family members. However, judging from the manner of Mr. Kargbo's letter under reference, it does appear that he might be in possession of certain crucial facts that will help the authorities solve the mystery and "not to let the death of so distinguished a Sierra Leonean go undetected."

Finally, let Mr. Kargbo, and all those who may be thinking like him, be assured that dissent and free speech are guaranteed in Sierra Leone. There is therefore no need for fear that prominent public figures will begin to disappear and never heard of again.

Freetown

J. W. O. FINDLAY, Jr

## A calm refuge

SIR: Professor Kofele-Kale, and others who appear so ready to use their hostility and sarcasm against President Ahidjo, take no account of the most important factor of all. While troubles and wars, death and destruction flare all around the borders of Cameroon, conditions within the country continue to develop and advance peacefully and steadily. Professor Kofele-Kale falls into the usual Marxist phraseology of

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(Tel: 01-672 9884)**

speaking of peace and stability as a "powerful social narcotic" presumably wanting to see an end to a peaceful state of affairs because this holds up his hopes of revolutionary change which normally requires anarchy, destruction and disorder to flourish in. Does he really want to see the conditions now existing in Chad, where no life is safe, to come to Cameroon just so that he can advance hopes of social unrest and ideologicalisation of people who then become desperate for anything that will bring safety and calm to the country again?

It is the same pattern everywhere. Any nation that seems to expand and order its economic development without commitment to left-wing prejudices and sacrosanct beliefs and superstitions becomes a target for ideologically motivated enemies, in some cases hoping to find something for themselves personally in the ruins of the society they seek to destroy. Where there is racial oppression by a minority, such as in South Africa and formerly in Zimbabwe then of course if other avenues are closed revolution to end racial oppression is justified, but that situation does not exist in the vast majority of the countries of the world.

Because of the calm that President Ahidjo's government maintains in Cameroon it has become a refuge for those fleeing for their lives from less happy countries, such as Chad today, Equatorial Guinea yesterday and Biafra a few years back. People do not flee from Cameroon to neighbouring countries, but cross the borders from these countries to safety in Cameroon. That surely is the most important fact of all.

London ANTONY STEEL

## Mistaken idea

SIR The Bill you reported (*West Africa*, February 18) to have been introduced in the Lagos House of Assembly to establish a

"Traditional Medicine Board" makes good political hay. I think that if it passes in the form reported, the Lagos politicians would have indeed succeeded in gaining a cheap popularity shot while feeding horse manure to the Lagos State Public — may be the whole country — in the name of "alternative strategy for health care development".

Intuitively, no one argues that the pharmacologic, psychosomatic, and even therapeutic potentials of the medicines and techniques of the traditional (folk) medicine men are real. The need to collate, catalogue, research and improve this immense blind area in our traditional wealth is a laudable concept. Many well-meaning medical and non-medical Nigerians share this view.

As an open-minded modern medical practitioner I too subscribe to the idea. However, I believe that a more rational approach to improving Nigeria's sordid medical climate would be to pursue a massive master plan to provide better public-health and hospital-oriented care by improving existing facilities, building many more new ones, equipping all of them well, encouraging local manufacture of hospital supplies and medicines, regulating the currently dangerous unbridled drug peddlers all over Nigeria, making working conditions attractive enough (not just financially) for physicians and paramedical personnel to come in and stay in the Health Services, by harnessing the presently poorly-utilised indigenous man-power in and outside Nigeria.

To me, these are the immediate and near-emergency needs of the society. This short-list alone could afford the politicians the chance to ride the work horse already saddled for them, rather than waste their mettle chasing a mythical zebra.

Then, as a secondary corollary (and because we ought to explore our rich heritage) we should

set up closely controlled laboratory and clinical situations to delve into the topic of traditional medicine. The goal should be to evaluate its role in our overall health care. Such a project would require the input of well-versed scientists in the health, pharmacologic, chemical, and social disciplines.

The universities, hospitals, and other centres would form the nuclei for the investigation. Traditional medicine people would be incorporated into the programme but be totally willing to bare their secretly-guarded practices for critical evaluation.

Without prejudice such an approach would then afford the country an opportunity to critically assess, preserve and improve the gems of our traditional medicine while discarding any of its bad aspects.

The short-comings of "modern medicine" in Nigeria are not necessarily intrinsic in the discipline itself, but in the perversions brought into it by several factors. For example, inadequate government support, some unscrupulous or unethical physicians, the public itself and the myriad of pseudo-doctors all over the country. The answer to improvement will not come from an impulsive substitution of "traditional medicine" for "modern medicine" but will lie in taking some of the approaches I outline above.

It is easy to release a can of worms; it is much more difficult to recall them. The Lagos legislators and those lobbying for legalised "traditional medical practice" must take a hard look before putting a legislative stamp on any group that may harm Nigeria's present or future generations with body or mind-damaging chemicals or practices. Nigeria does not need legalised medical quackery or charlatanism. Wise legislative steps should lead to salubrious, honest and non-devastating bene.

New York (Dr) CHUKUMA OKADIGWE



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# ECONOMIC and Business NEWS

## Thoughtful cocoa comment

THE LATEST cocoa market report from Gill & Duffus carries an unusually long commentary on the world cocoa scene. Usually the commentary, after the reports on the various markets, producers and consumers is fairly brief though pithy. Substantial extracts are given below, starting with a quotation from the Gill & Duffus Group's chairman in his recent statement on the company's year.

"The OPEC situation, directly or indirectly, is still the dominant factor, both in currencies and perhaps ultimately in commodities. This funneling away of money from the Western world has set trade on a new course, bringing an inflationary atmosphere hitherto unknown by many trading countries. Brazil, a major trading area for the Gill & Duffus Group, is a typical example of a country of unlimited potential, yet without energy with which to realise its growth. Resulting from this, it struggles to maximise its earnings from exports, a greater part of which, year by year, is required to pay for its ever-increasing cost of energy. Similar conditions prevail in many areas where the Company trades, such as most of the coffee and cocoa producing countries.

"Naturally and understandably, there is increasing pressure from these countries to obtain higher prices for their produce. What seems not often to be understood is that the consumers of these products, located as they are in the so-called developed countries, are also facing balance of payments problems basically caused by the increase in the price of energy. Therefore it is not always possible to meet what otherwise might be considered to be the legitimate demands of the exporters of primary products.

After referring to the currency fluctuations this year and to the volatility of most commodity markets, other than cocoa, and with especial reference to the effects of heavy speculation in silver — which has returned prices as far apart as £21.65 an ounce and £5 75 an ounce — the commentary notes the death of the International Cocoa Agreement and goes on:

"The abandonment of the Agreement runs contrary to the present wish of industrialised countries to support the economies of the developing countries. The Cocoa Agreement had been successful to the extent that it came into being and that its mechanism for collecting buffer Stock Funds

worked satisfactorily. It was not tested and it may well have been that, if the price of Cocoa had declined because of continuing surpluses [The report predicts a surplus of 134,000 tonnes (compared with a forecast of 117,000 tonnes in the February report and 75,000 tonnes in December)] the Fund would have been overwhelmed and that Cocoa would have gone below the agreed minimum. Nevertheless in the prevailing international situation an Agreement between producers and consumers would be thought by many to be politically desirable and it may be that discussions will be resumed and that a new Agreement will eventually be reached.

"In the last ten years, the Cocoa industry has been characterised by relatively static production, although with significant movements in crop levels by individual countries, and a growing world chocolate economy. Throughout the world it is difficult to estimate the growth in chocolate consumption but it is evident from the known performance of Western countries that more chocolate confectionery is being produced and eaten. That this has been achieved without increasing Cocoa crops is most remarkable. As far as chocolate itself is concerned the use of Cocoa has diminished, partly by the use of Cocoa butter equivalents and other substitute fats, but also by revision of recipes and improvement of manufacturing techniques. Much more important, however, has been the increasing move to chocolate confectionery, as opposed to block chocolate. Much of the chocolate confectionery now consumed is chocolate covered material, having a chocolate content of 25 or 30 per cent, the balance being made up of sugar and, particularly in recent years, of cereals and groundnuts.

"Additionally, however, consumption of chocolate in the West shows distinct signs of flattening. Chocolate has been very successfully promoted by the highly efficient companies engaged in its manufacture, but its sale is constantly under assault. There is evidence of a switch to competitive goods.

"On the purely economic basis, chocolate is also suffering from cost pressures. The true level of value of Cocoa is the subject of endless debate but apart from this, sugar prices in world markets are high, as are many other raw

material costs. Most countries are suffering from inflation to a greater or less degree, with the consequent effect upon wage costs. Perhaps most important, the cost of energy is rising rapidly.

"In considering the Cocoa scene, some note should be taken of the dramatic effect of consumption on Cocoa products brought about by high prices. When Cocoa powder prices advanced sharply in the period 1977-78 reaction was rather less quick than expected. However, the ultimate effect was that by virtue of reformulation of recipes, reorganisation of product lines and the use of substitutes, the consumption of Cocoa powder declined dramatically. There is insufficient information to give an exact figure but a world decline in a range of 10-20 per cent seems likely. There has been no subsequent recovery from this period of extremely high prices and, although the damage to Cocoa powder consumption may not be permanent, it will be long lasting. Cocoa butter has currently recovered to high ratios and there must be some concern that the current high price may tend to reduce consumption of Cocoa butter and thus of Cocoa totally.

"In this situation, it is difficult to foresee any significant increase in Cocoa consumption. It would be easy to suggest that this would be stimulated by substantially lower Cocoa prices but, taking into account the many factors involved, some of which are described above, the prospects of a real upsurge in Cocoa usage seem in the short term to be poor.

● At the middle of last week cocoa prices in London ranged upwards from about £1,210 for this month, but it was not until contracts for July next year that the price approached £1,400 a tonne.

## Better than feared

Better than expected profits for 1979 have been reported by Gill & Duffus, the major commodities (mainly cocoa) trading group.

Group turnover was up only £5m to £711m in 1979, profit declined from 1978's record £22.7m to £20.55m, but was still over £500,000 higher than the board's estimate of £20m, given at the half-way mark in 1979.

With a cocoa surplus for the third successive year predicted, and cocoa trading probably accounting for over half of group income, there may be another pause before an enviable growth pattern is resumed.

It has been calculated that cocoa profits may have been down by about £5m last year. The chemical feedstock operation contributed over £1m against little or nothing in the previous year and past losses in sugar have been eliminated.

The coffee market was probably more favourable in 1979 while rubber trading has provided a useful flip to the start of the current year.

## Bogota Group set up company

Eight coffee-producing nations in Latin America have agreed to launch a company with a capital of \$500m, aimed at stabilising prices. The Bogota Latin American coffee producers' organisation meeting in Panama City agreed to set up the International Coffee Company and offer membership to some other nations.

The three-day meeting approved statutes and other details of the new company to be operated by the Bogota Group. The new company, to be based in Panama City, will be launched after a charter has been signed at a further meeting of group members in mid-May, company officers would be elected then.

The company is expected to operate in future on the New York and London markets and also in physicals.

The group, created in 1974 decided to set up the company at a meeting here last January. It previously operated in the market with its coffee stabilisation fund.

Shares in the company would be offered to some countries already members of the group, which includes Colombia, Mexico, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Venezuela and Brazil, who are expected to provide the initial \$500m founding capital.

● Coffee prices were weakening in London at the middle of last week. This month's contracts were just over £1,600, then there was a rise through to £1,700 for November then down again to £1,620 for May next year.

## Oil find off Ivory Coast

Phillips Petroleum Company has announced a major oil and natural gas discovery about 13 miles off the Ivory Coast. Phillips did not say when commercial production might begin. Other exploratory wells in the area are planned.

Phillips holds a 57.5 per cent stake in the drilling project through its Phillips Petroleum Company Ivory Coast subsidiary, which also operates the well. Other participants include AGIP SPA of Italy, an Ivory Coast subsidiary of SEDCO Inc. of the US and Petroci, the Ivory Coast National Oil Company.

## Ministerial visit to Nigeria

Britain's Trade Secretary, Mr John Nott, is to visit Brazil and Nigeria this month for talks with government ministers and businessmen.

He begins his three-day visit to Nigeria on May 12 and will address the Nigerian-British Chamber of Commerce in Lagos.

## Aid promises

West Germany's Economic Co-operation Minister Mr. Rainer Offergeld has promised an "over-proportional" increase in the Ministry's budget for Third World development aid next year. He announced the aid step-up during a parliamentary debate on West German help for the developing countries.

Mr. Offergeld gave no details of the amount which would be involved. But he said the government hoped to achieve the United Nations-recommended aid level of 0.7 per cent of its gross national product by 1990.

● A US Congressional subcommittee has approved a Bill authorising \$3,200m as the US share of a replenishment of the International Development Association (IDA) for the 1981-83.

The Bill, approved 10-2 by a House of Representatives Banking Subcommittee, also provides for US membership in the African Development Bank with a subscription of \$359.7m.

## IDA credits

The World Bank and its affiliate for concessionary lending, the International Development Association (IDA), have approved loans to Cameroon, Ghana and Senegal.

Cameroon will receive financing totalling \$47.5m for two projects: a \$16.5m World Bank loan combined with a \$15m IDA credit for the second phase of a rubber estate development project which will help develop the Kribi region; and a \$16m IDA credit for a second livestock project to increase meat supply and help raise farm incomes.

In Ghana, a \$29.5m IDA credit will go to Farmers' Services Company, a state-owned company for channelling physical inputs as well as advisory and other services to farmers.

In Senegal, a World Bank loan of \$10m, and an IDA credit of \$28m, for a fourth highway project will help to keep the country's road systems in adequate condition and improve road work planning and programming.

## Burmah in Gabon oil search

Burmah Oil, the UK-based independent energy and industrial company, is to head an international group in the search for oil and gas off the coast of Gabon. The group will conduct a major drilling programme over 2,300 square miles.

The Gabon agreement involves six companies. Burmah, as operator, will have a 12 per cent stake in the new group. Acorn Petroleum of Gabon will hold the major stake with a 44 per cent interest.

● A mission from the French oil company Total has visited Luanda for talks about resuming its oil exploration activities in Angola. Total's activities in the former Portuguese West African territory were halted before it became independent in 1975.

## Cheaper solar power?

The Tokyo newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* has claimed that Japanese scientists have cut to one thousandth the cost of high speed production of solar cells — silicon semi-conductors converting sunlight directly into electrical energy. It said that the new manufacturing method had been developed by a team of researchers at the state-run Tohoku University's Telecommunications Research Institute.

## Raleigh expanding

Alhaji Aminu Datata, chairman of Raleigh Industries (Nigeria), has announced that as a result of the abolition of the Price Control Board, the board had approved an expansion of manufacturing facilities in Kano to increase the output of the factory to 300,000 bicycles per annum. In addition a substantial quantity of spare parts would also be produced. The cost of the project would be N700,000 and was expected to be completed by December 1980.

Alhaji Aminu said that he expected to make a further announcement shortly on expansion projects designed to improve the distribution of bicycles and spare parts nationally. He also said that he expected further investments in local manufacturing to be given the go-ahead this year. When complete Raleigh would be able to meet Nigeria's demands for bicycles and spare parts in the future and would also be the largest manufacturer of bicycles on the continent of Africa.

## Queen's award

Amev Roadstone Construction, the civil engineering subsidiary of Amev Roadstone Corporation, has been given a Queen's Award for Export Achievement.

In the three years from July 1976 to June 1979, AR Construction exported goods worth £13m, mainly to Niema. In the same period the company earned £6.5m from overseas sales of services.

Work with an associated company, ARC (Nigeria) Ltd included the construction of runways at Yola airport, the Jimeta by-pass, surfacing roads in Lagos and various villages, and upgrading the 250-mile Bauchi-Gombe-Yola road.

## Lost lands

Mr. Mustafa Tolba, Executive Director of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), told the eighth annual meeting of the UNEP Governing Council in Nairobi, "Despite all our efforts to

protect and improve the environment, we are entering the new decade with a long list of dangerous situations."

He said that the world was losing some six million hectares (15m acres) of arable land which turned into desert each year. Half the world's rain forests had been destroyed and more than 1,000 animal and some 25,000 plant species were threatened with extinction, Mr. Tolba added.

He said new environmental problems were arising out of the energy crisis: over-fishing and the transfer of hazardous technology from industrialised to the developing countries.

The main item on the council's agenda was the financing of UNEP's Environment Fund for the period to 1981. The fund is \$24m, short of its \$150m target.

## Aid and trade

A conference on business opportunities in Third World rural development was the world aid funds is to be held in London on June 12-13. Entitled "World Aid Funds and Rural Needs", the conference will examine how rural development is an increasingly important sector of the '80's world aid budget because it has proved to be the most effective way of raising the economic standards of more than 700 million people living in absolute poverty in the Third World.

The main problem in increasing aid funds' disbursement on rural development is the shortage of fundable projects. Because a rural development scheme can involve livestock, major irrigation works, equipment, training, housing and many social criteria, analysing a reasonable rate of return on aid funds invested is more complex than on basic industrial plants.

Britain's Minister for Trade, Mr. Cecil Parkinson, will be giving a paper on "Business Opportunities from World Aid Projects" stressing that British businessmen must learn more about rural development, in particular if they are to tender successfully for the massive aid contracts for which they are eligible. It is estimated that \$25,000m could be allocated by the major funds in 1980 and it is likely that a major part of this will be spent on rural development.

The British Agricultural Export Council and *World Aid Digest*, are sponsoring the conference.

## Investment Forum

The fourth biannual West Africa Investment Forum will be held in Dakar from December 1-5 coinciding with the Dakar International Trade Fair.

Judging by the 1978 forum it is likely to attract well over three hundred European businessmen, who will spend the week talking to top level government and commercial delegations from fourteen West African countries and studying more than a hundred industrial investment projects.

The Investment Forum is run under the auspices of the European Economic Commission (EEC) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), both of which play an active role in the preparation of the Forum, especially sifting through the numerous potential investment projects. Only those projects considered to have commercial viability are put forward for consideration at the Forum inviting foreign participation under forms of technical, management, marketing agreements, joint ventures, sub-contracting and so forth.

## Health care fair

A West Africa Health-Care Exhibition is to be held at the Congress Centre, in Abidjan, from September 16-19. The exhibition will cover 2,500 square metres and over 100 international companies are expected to participate.

The British Health-Care Export Council have announced their sponsorship of a British group of exhibitors through the British Overseas Trade Board and other participants will include important manufacturers from France, the Netherlands, West Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Poland, Spain, Italy, the USA as well as medical companies based in West Africa.

Products on display will cover the entire aspect of the health-care field including operating theatre, diagnostic and intensive care equipment, surgical and dental instruments and dressings, pharmaceuticals, hospital furniture, mobility aids and rehabilitation equipment, uniforms, domestic supplies, medical vehicles and so forth.

## Irish help

DEVCO Ireland — the State Agencies Development Co-operation Organisation — is an association of 26 Irish state-sponsored bodies together with seven other national organisations supported by State finance and guarantees. The main objective of DEVCO is to co-ordinate the activities and promote the interest of its members in development co-operation and in the supply of their services to developing countries.

The organisation was set up in 1975 in response to a proposal by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Irish Government's Development Assistance programme should include areas of activity wherein Ireland has a special interest or competence. DEVCO's 33 members include principal agencies of Government policy in agriculture, industry, finance, energy, communications, tourism, research and education and training.

During 1979 28 members co-operated in projects with 81 countries. In West Africa these included: The Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Cameroon, Nigeria and Zaïre.

# SHIPPING News

## BARBER LINES

**EASTBOUND** — TEXAS due sail Apapa Apr. 27, Douala, Tema, Abidjan and Monrovia. **TAMPA** due Abidjan Apr. 27, then Tema, Apapa and Douala.

**WESTBOUND** — TEXAS due load West African ports Apr. 23-30, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. **TAMPA** loading West African ports at about May 11-18, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

## E.A.C. LINES

**SOUTHBOUND** — FIONIA Oslo/Moss Apr. 21, Copenhagen Apr. 30, Aarhus May 1, Hamburg May 5, Bremen/Haven May 6, Rotterdam May 7, Antwerp/Zeebrugge May 26, Rouen/Le Havre May 27, for Tenerife May 31, Dakar June 2, Abidjan June 3, Monrovia June 4, Abidjan June 13, Tema June 29 (with transhipment), Lome June 28 (with transhipment), Lagos/Apapa June 7, Douala June 11.

**NORTHBOUND** — FIONIA Port Harcourt Apr. 8, Lagos/Apapa Apr. 11, Cotonou Apr. 9, Lome Apr. 12, Tema Apr. 13, Abidjan Apr. 14, Monrovia Apr. 16, Dakar Apr. 17, Tenerife Apr. 20, Amsterdam Apr. 23, Antwerp Apr. 23, Bremen May 8, Hamburg Apr. 25, Aarhus Apr. 28, Copenhagen May 3, Oslo/Moss May 5, Le Havre May 11.

## ELDER DEMIPSTER LINES

**SOUTHBOUND** — PEGU due Cotonou May 10.

**NORTHBOUND** — DUMBAIA due Abidjan May 8. **SEKONDI** due Dublin May 12. **SOKOTO** due London May 10.

**EASTBOUND** — SEKI ROKAKO due Abidjan May 9.

## FARRELL LINES

**EASTBOUND** — EXPORT BANNER New York May 2 arrives Matadi May 25, Douala Jun 4 (if sufficient inducement).

**WESTBOUND** — IBERIA BUYER arrives Lagos/Apapa May 1, Matadi May 7, Douala May 12 (if sufficient inducement).

## K LINE

**WESTBOUND** — IBERIA MARU due Apapa/Lagos May 10 — CHAI Monrovia May 18. **VALLMO** and Singapore, to Abidjan, Lome, Apapa/Lagos, Port Harcourt, Douala, Matadi, sailed Japan May 3 due Apapa/Lagos June 10.

## MEDAFRICA GOLDEN EAGLE/ NIGERIA LINE

**MEDITERRANEAN** / WA — **SOUTHBOUND** — JESAMINE, Marsailles Apr. 19-21, Barcelona Apr. 22-23, Valencia Apr. 26, Agde May 2-3, Lagos May 8-12.

**NORTH EUROPE** / WA — **CAP BRETON** Dunkerque Apr. 22-23, Rotterdam Apr. 24-26, Lagos May 8, Port Harcourt May 12.

**USA/WA** — HEKTORFF Lagos May 9, Port Harcourt May 13.

**FAR EAST/WA** — ZIRIA Kobe Apr. 18-19, Keelung Apr. 23-24, Hong Kong Apr. 25-26, Singapore May 1-2, Lagos May 22-31, Port Harcourt Jun. 1-4.

## MITSUI O.S.K. LINE

**WESTBOUND** — BRAVE PIONEER Kobe Apr. 10, Hong Kong Apr. 21, Singapore Apr. 21, for Monrovia June 2, Apapa May 22, Port Harcourt June 8, Douala June 15. **AFRICA MARU** last Japanese Port Apr. 5, Singapore Apr. 16, for Abidjan May 9, Apapa/Lagos May 14. **HEROINAE** sg Japan mid April, calling Hong Kong, Keelung, Singapore for West African ports mid May.

## NIGERIA NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

**SOUTHBOUND** — RIVER RIMA Port Harcourt May 2, Warri May 11, Douala May 17. **RIVER HADEJA** — Monrovia Apr. 27, Apapa May 1, River OGLUN Dakar May 5, Banjul May 3, Monrovia May 8, Abidjan May 11, Takoradi May 14, Cotonou May 16, Warri May 21, Matadi May 26.

## OT AFRICA LINE AB

**KAPRIFOL** Dakar May 9, Lagos May 13, Tema May 15, Abidjan May 16, Monrovia May 18. **VALLMO** Grangemouth May 2, Le Havre May 8, Zeebrugge May 9, Wallhamn May 9, Rotterdam May 10, Felixstowe May 11, Dakar May 20, Lagos May 24-25, Tema May 26, Abidjan May 27, Monrovia May 29.

## PALM LINE

**SOUTHBOUND** — APAPA PALM Hamburg Apr. 9, Rotterdam Apr. 16, Dakar Apr. 24, Freetown Apr. 27, Monrovia Apr. 29, Abidjan May 1, Tema May 3, Cotonou May 6, Port Harcourt May 9, Douala May 20.

## S.C.A.D.O.A.

**SOUTHBOUND** — VILLE DE BORDEAUX/Dunkirk Apr. 23, Rouen Apr. 25, Le Havre Apr. 27, Bordeaux Apr. 30, Dakar May 6, Abidjan May 10, Lome May 16, Apapa May 13 (containers onh), Douala May 18.

**NORTHBOUND** — SAINT LUC Libreville Apr. 18, Douala Apr. 20, Abidjan Apr. 24, Nantes May 4, Honfleur May 7, Dunkirk May 8.

## SCANDINAVIA WEST AFRICA LINE

**SOUTHBOUND** — RS 17 Moss Apr. 21-23, Aarhus Apr. 24, Copenhagen Apr. 25, Norkkoping Apr. 28-May 2, Dakar May 13-14, Monrovia May 17-18, Buchanan May 19, Abidjan May 21-22, Abidjan May 21-22, Cotonou May 24, Apapa May 25-31.

## WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

**WESTBOUND** — WESTWIND Houston ETA Apr. 11, ETS Apr. 14, Abidjan ETA Apr. 29, Lagos ETA May 4. **EASTWIND** Houston ETA Apr. 21, ETS Apr. 24, Abidjan ETA May 9, Lagos ETA May 14. **DESSERT WIND** ETA Houston May 2, ETS Houston May 7, ETA Abidjan May 22, ETA Lagos May 26. **BUNNA FORTUNA** ETA Houston May 10, ETS Houston May 15, ETA Abidjan May 30, ETA Lagos Jun. 4.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

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To reach him not later than Monday, 19th May, 1980

REPLIES WILL BE SENT ONLY TO SHORT-LISTED CANDIDATES

## SITUATIONS VACANT Cont.

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Victoria Island,  
P.O. Box 1580,  
LAGOS.

Envelopes enclosing applications for the position should be marked "TD" on the top left hand corner.

Entries will close, three weeks after the date of this publication.

## NIGERIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the following post in the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos.

### a) RESEARCH DEPARTMENT:

#### i) Research Professor (Grade Level 16: N11,500—N12,720)

Applicants should possess a Ph.D degree in International Law, International Economics or International Politics from recognized Universities; several years of teaching and research experience at University level; considerable experience in the supervision of Postgraduate research work, and an impressive list of scholarly publications in their areas of specialisation.

#### ii) Associate Research Professors (Grade Level 15: N10,296—N11,328)

Applicants should possess a Ph.D degree in International Politics, International Economics or International Law from recognized Universities; several years of teaching and research experience at University level, and an impressive list of scholarly publications in their areas of specialisation.

#### iii) Senior Research Fellow (Grade Level 13: N8,064—N9,024)

Applicants should possess a Ph.D degree from recognized Universities with not less than 4 years of teaching and research experience at University level, and a good list of scholarly publications in reputable journals.

#### iv) Research Fellow I & II (Grade Level 12 & 10) (N7,404—N8,952) N5,760—N6,732 respectively

Applicants should normally possess a Ph.D degree in International Politics, International Economics or International Law from recognized Universities. Those with a Masters Degree with relevant teaching experience at University level and some publications will also be considered for appointment.

### METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Applicants should submit 6 copies of their curriculum vitae which should include the following:

- i) Full Names
  - ii) Postal Addresses
  - iii) Place and date of birth
  - iv) Marital Status
  - v) Nationality
  - vi) Institutions attended, degrees and years of graduation
  - vii) Publications
  - viii) Teaching and Research experience
  - ix) Referees (Candidates should ask three referees to write directly to the Director-General)
- } Applicants for  
} Research  
} positions only

ENTRY CLOSES ON 30th MAY, 1980

## SITUATIONS VACANT Cont.

## RIVERS STATE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION RUMUOLUMENI, P.M.B. 5047 PORT HARCOURT VACANCIES

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the following posts in the College

### A. POSTS AND SALARIES

- Principal Lecturer I — Salary GL 15 N10,296 x 516 — N11,328
- Principal Lecturer II — Salary GL 14 N9,168 x 320 — N10,128
- Senior Lecturer — Salary GL 13 N8,064 x 320 — N9,024
- Lecturer I — Salary GL 12 N7,404 x 216 — N8,052
- Lecturer II — Salary GL 10 N5,760 x 162 — N6,732

Applicants for these posts must be able to provide excellent instruction to students at both the Nigerian Certificate of Education (N.C.E.) and Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) Levels.

### B. QUALIFICATIONS

#### 1. Principal Lecturer I

- A Doctorate Degree as well as an approved professional qualification e.g. Diploma in Education.
- Not less than eight years relevant post-graduate teaching experience in a higher institution, four of which should be at post-doctorate level.
- A knowledge of modern skills and techniques in teaching.
- A significant contribution to teaching/knowledge e.g. publications, conferences curriculum development.
- Ability to initiate, develop and supervise research projects within the department.

#### 2. Principal Lecturer II

Same as for Principal Lecturer I but with seven years post-graduate experience, three of which should be at post-doctorate level.

#### 3. Senior Lecturer

- A post-graduate qualification (preferably a doctorate degree) as well as an approved professional qualification and Research experience.
- Not less than five years relevant post-graduate teaching experience in a higher institution.
- A knowledge of modern skills and techniques in teaching.
- A significant contribution to teaching/knowledge.

#### 4 & 5. Lecturer (Grade I and II)

- A higher degree preferably doctorate degree.
- A professional qualification in Education.
- Not less than five years relevant post-graduate experience for Lecturer Grade, and three years for Lecturer Grade II.

### C. DEPARTMENTS

Vacancies for the above posts exist in the following departments:

- Mathematics
- Chemistry
- Biology with emphasis in Ecology, Embryology, Genetics, Biochemistry, or Cytology
- Physics
- Home Economics with emphasis in Foods and Nutrition, or Textiles and Clothing
- History with emphasis in Historiography and Historical Methods
- Religious Studies with emphasis in Biblical Studies and Theology or Islamic Theology and Ethics
- English with emphasis in Phonetics and Linguistics or Drama and Theatre Arts
- Fine and Applied Arts
- Physical and Health Education
- Economics with emphasis on Mathematical and Statistical Economics or Accounting and Business Economics
- Geography
- Political Science
- Education with emphasis on one of the following:
  - Measurement and Evaluation
  - Guidance and Counselling
  - Educational Technology
  - Curriculum and Methods
  - Educational Planning
  - Comparative Education
  - Special Education
  - Nursery Education
  - Social Studies

### D. METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Six copies of application stating detailed Curriculum Vitae such as Educational Qualifications and institutions attended (with dates), experience, age, marital status, present salary, present employer, names and addresses of three referees (not relatives) and photocopies of relevant credentials, should reach THE REGISTRAR, COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, P.M.B. 5047, PORT HARCOURT not later than 30th MAY, 1980. Applicants should please request their referees to write directly to the College.

Ag. Registrar,  
College of Education,  
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## SITUATIONS VACANT Cont.

## UNIVERSITY OF SOKOTO

(Office of the Registrar — Establishments Division)

## VACANCIES IN COLLEGE OF HEALTH SCIENCES

Attractive job opportunities exist in the newly established COLLEGE OF HEALTH SCIENCES of the University of Sokoto and applications are hereby invited from suitably qualified candidates for the following vacancies in the College:

- Professors  
 Readers  
 Senior Lecturers  
 Lecturers in the following disciplines
- 1 Anatomy
  - 2 Chemical Pathology
  - 3 Community Health
  - 4 Microbiology
  - 5 Pathology (Morbid Anatomy)
  - 6 Pharmacology
  - 7 Physiology

Note: There are no vacancies in the post of Professor in the disciplines marked with asterisk.

## QUALIFICATIONS

**PROFESSOR-READER** — A first medical degree registrable in Nigeria plus a higher degree or diploma and evidence of wide academic experience both in teaching and research, are required. Applicants must have considerable administrative experience and must also possess a good record of interest in community service. The readiness to develop innovative and relevant teaching, and the ability to work with other disciplines, are essential.

**SENIOR LECTURER** — The same qualifications as a Professor are required, but experience will be less extensive. Applicants should show academic potential and the readiness to develop innovative and relevant teaching.

**LECTURER** — A first medical degree registrable in Nigeria. A higher qualification will be an advantage. A research interest is desirable but those with little experience will be encouraged to work in faculty based research programmes. The same commitment to teaching and its development, as is required of more senior staff, is essential.

## SCHOOL OF NURSING

The College of Health Sciences also invites applications from suitably qualified candidates for the post of **PRINCIPAL OF THE SCHOOL OF NURSING**. This new school within a new College offers great opportunities to pioneer especially those interested in raising the standards and status of the nursing profession — a major component of the Health Team.

## QUALIFICATIONS

Applicants should be Registered Nurses possessing at least an M.Sc. or equivalent. Registration as a Midwife is an advantage. Five years' experience in bedside nursing is required with a total of approximately ten years' experience in nursing education/administration.

## SALARIES

Professor	GL 16M11 568 x 576 — N12 720 p.a.
Reader	GL 15 M10 796 x 516 — M11 328 p.a.
Senior Lecturer	GL 13 N6 064 x 320 — N9 024 p.a.
Lecturer	GL 12 N7 404 x 216 — N8 052 p.a.
Principal, School of Nursing	GL 10 N5 760 x 162 — N6 732 p.a.

## CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Appointments which are to commence as soon as possible may be permanent or by contract renewable bi-annually. Permanent appointments are obligatory for two years in the first instance, subject to a review thereafter. Forgo benefits include pension schemes (for permanent appointments), partly furnished accommodation at rentals not exceeding N300 per annum or housing allowance in lieu, passages for family (self, wife and up to live children) on appointment, approved leave (overseas leave bi-annually for expatriates) and other conditions as applicable in the University Service generally.

## METHOD OF APPLICATION

Candidates are required to submit 10 typewritten copies of applications and curriculum vitae indicating Full Name, Post, South Department, Date and Place of birth, Nationality, Passport number (where and when issued), Current Postal Address (including telegraphic address where possible), Permanent Home Address, Marital status, Number, sexes and ages of children, Academic/Professional qualifications with dates, Working experience (giving posts held and duration), Present employment status and salary, Details of Publications and Research (candidates for the posts of Lecturer II and above should send reprints of all their publications), Community Service, Names and Addresses of THREE REFEREES, one of whom must be in a position to supply academic and/or professional reference in the case of those already in employment, one of the referees must be the Head of their present employment. Candidates are strongly advised to request their referees to forward reports on their behalf direct and under confidential cover to the Registrar to reach him early enough in order to help expedite the processing of their applications. Envelopes should be marked "POSTS IN HEALTH SCIENCES" at the top left-hand corner.

Note: Expatriates working in any Nigerian University wishing to be considered for appointment must obtain a letter of clearance from their current employers. Applications and Reference Reports should be forwarded to:

The Registrar,  
 University of Sokoto,  
 P.M.B. 2346,

SOKOTO — Nigeria.

To reach him not later than 31st May, 1980.

(Only applications of candidates who are short-listed or may be invited for interview will be acknowledged)

O. O. AYER (Mrs.)

for REGISTRATION

12th April, 1980

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# Dateline AFRICA

## LIBERIA

### Constitution suspended

The Constitution has been suspended, martial law has been imposed, and all legislative and executive powers have been vested in the People's Redemption Council. Another decree from the PRC ordered that all senior officials of public corporations would be placed under house arrest pending investigations into the accounts. Any irregularities discovered would result in trials. The Justice Minister said of foreign managers: "They will be able to stay at home with their air conditioning," according to *Reuters*. A later announcement retracted the house-arrest order for top officials — many of them foreigners (particularly Americans and British) — and they were told there was no need to panic, and to go about their business as usual. The British Embassy was reportedly organising a convoy from Monrovia to Robertsfield for ex-patriates leaving by scheduled flights.

### Halt called to executions

The Head of State, Master Sgt. Samuel Doe, has said that "largely as a result of the executions our Government began receiving pleas for clemency from many parts of the world. These included African heads of state, the United Nations, the Catholic Church, Amnesty International, and many others. While our people are happy with the work of the tribunal, they feel that the executions so far are now enough to set an example for those persons who commit high treason." Master Sgt. Doe said although there would be no more executions, those detained on charges of abduction and treason — officially, 101 people — will continue to be tried. He confirmed a decision to conduct audits of public corporations, but said foreign managerial staff would not be under house arrest. The Head of State was addressing clergymen, ambassadors, members of the cabinet, and local and foreign journalists.

The Head of State expressed gratitude to the many foreign governments, heads of state and international organisations for showing such great concern for the protection of human rights (in Liberia). However, he said it was regrettable that the international community maintained silence about human rights when the poor people of Liberia were suffering and being murdered in cold blood for over 100 years. He declared: "Particularly during the corrupt Tolbert government such silence leaves true fighters for human rights wondering whether these foreign governments, heads of state and international organisations are only interested in protecting human rights when their rich friends are in trouble."

Master Sergeant Doe called on everyone to consider seriously these factors upon which, he said, the fate of our people rests.

The London *Guardian* also reported that five people have appeared before the tribunal since the executions. They are Mr. Bureghill Holder (former Defence Minister, and the late President's son-in-law), Mr. Charles Sherman (former Senator), Mr. Charles Clarke (Minister Without Portfolio), Mr. Joseph Findley (True Whig Party Legal Counsel) and Mr. Jackson Day. They all pleaded not guilty.

### Delegation turned back to Lagos

Mr. Baccus Matthews, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was forced to return to Monrovia after being refused permission to land at Murtala Mohammed Airport in Lagos to attend the OAU Ministers meeting. A Lagos radio broadcast had conveyed the Nigerian Government's feeling that the present situation in Liberia made it hard for Nigeria to facilitate the participation of a Liberian delegation. Mr. Matthews's aircraft returned home after refuelling at Abidjan Airport. The Ivory Coast Government also allowed him to leave the aircraft.

Liberia has lodged a formal complaint to the OAU against the unilateral Nigerian refusal to allow

a Liberian delegation to attend the OAU summit in Lagos.

It was also reported that President Sekou Toure of Guinea had asked him to meet a member of the new Government before proceeding to Lagos for the Economic Summit of OAU Heads of State. Mr. Baccus Matthews accordingly flew to Conakry. Earlier, members of the People's Redemption Council had gone to the airport for the scheduled arrival of President Dawda Jawara, of The Gambia en route to Lagos, but the Gambian leader did not show up.

### Guinean assurances

The Government of Guinea has assured Liberia that it will live up

to its treaty commitments with Liberia as they were not based on personalities but rather on the people of the two countries. The Foreign Minister, M. G. Baccus Matthews, said in a radio and television broadcast that the Guinean President had revealed that he had been aware of the contradictions on the Liberian society and that recent events in the country was not surprising. Mr. Matthews said the President indicated that he and President Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast had called the late President Tolbert's attention to the grave situation that was developing in Liberia.

### People's tribunal

Mr. Chea Cheapoo, Minister of Justice, announced the setting up of a People's Supreme Tribunal of seven judges appointed by the People's Redemption Council, whose continued tenure would depend on "good behaviour". There is no appeal to the decisions of the tribunal.

Mr. Cheapoo also said some detainees would be released, but did not give a figure. "Other official sources" said about 400 people were involved. The Justice Minister [reportedly the adopted son of the former Justice Minister Chesson, who was executed last week] announced a list of about 100 people who face trial on charges of high treason. The list (on which figured the names of the 13 already executed) included former Cabinet Ministers, True Whig Party officials, senators and representatives, local administrators, local administrators, members of the judiciary and some heads of public corporations. There were also senior military officers including the former chief of staff and two generals, police officers and security personnel. They are all either in detention or at large. Meanwhile it was reported that Mrs. Victoria Tolbert (the late President's widow) was still under house arrest.

The Tribunal shall have seven judges appointed by the People's Redemption Council. The Tribunal will have the right of first hearing or regional jurisdiction over matters relating to foreign ambassadors or other foreign public ministers, according to ELWA radio monitored by the BBC. However, it will not have absolute jurisdiction over other cases except where the People's Redemption Council sees fit to decree an exception. All other powers, authority and jurisdiction of the suspended Supreme Court of Liberia shall be exercised by the People's Supreme Tribunal. Powers of the suspended Supreme Court which are in conflict with the provisions of any decree of the People's Redemption Council will not be exercised by the Supreme Tribunal.

Foreign diplomats later sought clarification of the announcement that the Tribunal would have jurisdiction over matters affecting foreign ambassadors and other envoys. Agency reports are yet to indicate further clarification.

### Overspending

At an earlier news conference, Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh, Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs, said that on April 11, one day before the coup, the Tolbert Government had only \$5m. cash on hand. He said it had overspent to the tune of \$15m. and was owing foreigners nearly \$700m. Dr. Tipoteh said contrary to public understanding, there was only one week's supply of imported rice in Liberia whereas people felt there was three months' supply. Petrol supplies could only have lasted two weeks but people thought there was two months' supply. The Minister also revealed that the Tolbert Government had an annual budgetary allocation of \$127,000 for retired Presidents of Liberia when there were none. He said the economy was now running in one piece again and that life returned to normal a few days after the People's Redemption Council came to power. Instead of one week's supply of rice there was now two weeks' supply, and where there was two weeks' supply of petrol, there was now two months. Dr. Tipoteh announced that payroll requirements had been met and that the emergency bank rules recently imposed would be lifted very soon.

The Head of State, Master Sgt. Doe, later assured the Liberian people that the price of rice and the cost of transport would be reduced soon. He said the People's Redemption Council was committed to improving the standard of living and alleviating the suffering of the Liberian people. He was addressing thousands of jubilant citizens, including market women and schoolchildren, who converged on the Executive Mansion grounds singing, dancing and waving palm branches in support of the People's Redemption Council, reported ELWA radio.

### Many positions reconfirmed

Another agency reported that after a brief inquiry, the majority of senior officials and even Deputy Ministers had been reconfirmed in their old positions. Head of State, Master Sergeant Doe himself appointed the Former Minister of Lands and Mines as counsellor to his old ministry. "And sources (in Monrovia) firmly believe the same might happen to former Finance Minister, Mr. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf," the report added.

It said strict banking restrictions were in force with cash withdrawals limited to \$1,000 for individuals and \$20,000 for companies. One European businessman said those

companies which could give documented proof of need for more cash for continued operation could get a dispensation without great difficulty. He added that the authorities had kept in operation "a major business in which the True Whig Party held large shares, in a bid to maintain economic activity before possible nationalisation". This could be a reference to the Mesurado group of companies in which the late President and his family had big interests.

## Only four death sentences . . .

One news agency reported that out of the 13 people executed last week, only Frank Tolbert (President of the Senate), Richard Hennes (Speaker of the House of Representatives), Reginald Townsend (True Whig Party chairman), and James A. A. Pierre (Chief Justice) had been sentenced to death by the military tribunal.

## . . . denied by Justice Minister

Mr. Chea Cheapou, Minister of Justice, has told a news conference that the five-man military tribunal had condemned the 13 former government officials to death and that "any other news contrary to this fact is untrue." News agencies had reported the tribunal chairman, Lt-Col. Frank Senkenpi as saying that only four of the 13 had been sentenced to death. When asked if there would be more executions, Mr. Cheapou said "that is a question for the tribunal." He added that international pleas for clemency must go directly to the Head of State and the People's Redemption Council. "If anybody wants to plead for clemency, go straight to the Executive Mansion, don't waste your time here at the Justice Ministry because that isn't our department."

Meanwhile, Mr. Jackson Doe, first vice-chairman of the True Whig Party, went on trial on April 29 on charges of high treason, rampant corruption and misuse of public office. He pleaded not guilty. Mr. Doe said he had been considered a "country" man — indigenous African — by the government and therefore had little to say in policy. Reuters reported that journalists were now barred from the proceedings. Two British newsmen and a Swedish television team were removed by armed soldiers. The Britons were put in a taxi and one soldier shouted "Don't come back." When asked at the press conference if the expulsions were government policy, Mr. Cheapou said "the tribunal is an independent arm. It is not the Liberian Government which tells it what to do."

The Information Minister told

the local press that it had a duty to the revolution, according to Reuters. The *Guardian* quoted him as saying: "The local press puts flowery words in the newspapers and they can be bought . . . I am now going to be vigilant against the press. I am being ridiculed in all kinds of way because of your news reports. Instead of projecting the image I have effectively put across to you, you are making reports that are not what I've said." Reuters reported that Mr. Cheapou turned to the foreign press and said from now they would get "official reports on what the government is doing, anything else is hearsay and unreliable". When asked why a number of people, freed after his April 25 press conference, were re-arrested, the Minister replied that he did not know anything about it. He had received his written instructions to free certain people, the *Guardian* reported.

● Mr. Johnny McClain, former Information Minister, has been sentenced to life imprisonment. He was tried among the first batch of 14 officials from the Tolbert administration.

## Alien arrests reported

Three Dutch citizens and two British were reportedly under house arrest in Gbarnga. The Dutch people were a poultry expert, his wife, and an agricultural assistant working on a farm belonging to the late President Tolbert. The British Embassy identified the Britons as Mr. Neville Moorhouse, manager of the farm, and Captain Hugh Kidd, manager of a rubber processing plant. The Embassy said Captain Kidd had been released. The Dutch Ambassador, Mr. Vincent Bruyn, told Reuters he had sought clarification from the Foreign Ministers, Mr. Bacous Matthews, that the five people had been held at Gbarnga. The Minister reportedly said it was hearsay.

Reuters added that a Briton who travelled from Gbarnga said the house arrests occurred after a visit to the region by Mr. Oscar Quah, Minister of Local Government. [The Briton] said the Minister asked Europeans in the presence of Liberian workers how much they earned and the Liberians were angry . . . at the amounts.

## Dennis asylum controversy

The US State Department has denied reports that the late Mr. Cecil Dennis and three other officials had enquired about asylum procedures from a US diplomat in Monrovia hours after the coup on April 12. Congressman Stephen Solarz had said: "Tragically, we failed to follow through on this enquiry which

would have protected Mr. Dennis' life". However, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. William Harrop, said the executed Foreign Minister had spoken to American diplomats after the coup but "did not at any point in these conversations ask for asylum or extended refuge". In his prepared statement, Mr. Harrop said none of the executed Liberian officials had requested asylum or extended refuge in the US. Mr. Dennis, his brother and their families had taken shelter at the home of a US Embassy officer immediately after the coup. Mr. Harrop said Mr. Dennis surrendered voluntarily and willingly later that same day. "Neither those former Liberian officials who willingly surrendered to the new government or our embassy could predict the harsh violence which was to follow."

## Charge motto call

A youth delegation has urged the Head of State to abolish the national motto — The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here — because it implied that all Liberians were descendants of slaves returned to Africa from the US. The delegation said the motto did not reflect the fact that they and their ancestors were born in Africa.

● An official biography of the new Head of State said Master Sergeant Doe is from the Krahn ethnic group and was born in Tuzon, Grand Gedeh County on May 6, 1952. The biography reportedly said Sergeant Doe is not a socialist and not particularly a capitalist, "rather he is committed to the establishment of equal opportunities for all without discrimination".

## NIGERIA

### Committee on new state requests

The Senate Committee on the Creation of More States has said that new states cannot be created from among the states whose local government councils have been dissolved and replaced with caretaker committees. The Committee also directed that no member of the caretaker committees could sign the demand for more states on behalf of their people.

As a result, the Committee said only two states — Cross River and Kaduna — out of the 15 states that have so far presented their cases to the National Assembly were qualified to demand creation of more states.

Other requests so far made are for the creation of Osun, Aniom, Ebonyi, Anambra South, Port Harcourt, Kogi, Awka, Ikom, Delta and Oduduwa states. All these are from various states that have had their local government councils replaced with caretaker

committees.

Legal counsel to the President, the Senate, Dr. A. H. Obazawa, said management committees picked by chief executives of the states are not competent to sign requests for creation of new states as they do not have the mandate of the people as required by section 7(1) of the constitution.

## Smouldering PRP rift

The national directorate of the People's Redemption Party (PRP) has spoken of a smouldering rift within the party. The party said its headaches were caused by "subversive roles" of its two state governors, Alhaji Rimi of Katsina and Alhaji Balarebe Musa of Kaduna State.

In a document signed by its Director for Research and Public Education, Dr. Junaidu Muhammed, the PRP said it would soon flush out disident elements. Dr. Junaidu Muhammed said the rift was caused by some party members who wanted to depose the PRP leader, Alhaji Aminu Kano.

A second reason for the rift was the unauthorised participation of the two governors in the proceedings of nine governors. Dr. Muhammed said: "The PRP condemns in the strongest possible terms the meeting of the two governors which has now become a forum for subversion."

Forty PRP Federal legislators have however reacted against the attack on Governors Abubakar Rimi and Balarebe Musa. He described the statement issued by Dr. Junaidu Muhammed as baseless and against party interests. A spokesman for the legislators, Alhaji Iya Aiyu said there was a deliberate move by a few members of the party to create confusion.

Alhaji Aiyu denied any knowledge of a move to unseat Alhaji Aminu Kano as the party leader. He said: "The only things we are aware of is that the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) is using some individuals within the fold of the PRP to subvert the action and the stand of our party."

● The President of the Senate, Dr. Joseph Wayas, has recommended that the number of political parties in the country be pruned down to two.

In a Radio Lagos programme, Dr. Wayas said: "This will make the effective operation of the presidential system of government." He said the registration of as many as five political parties for the operation of the system defied logic.

● Professor Wole Soyinka has called for caution in evolving a two-party system of government.

The playwright said in an Ogun Radio programme at Abeokuta, that there was the possibility of compromising among the parties to such an extent that "the sharp edges of an ideological commitment are blunt".

● The Minister of Defence, Prof Iya Abubakar, has disclosed that the Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA) is to be upgraded to a university standard as a step towards phasing out all overseas training of Nigerian armed forces personnel.

Prof Abubakar also said plans were being made to set up assembly plants to produce armoured vehicles.

## Chief of Defence Staff

The Chief of Army Staff, Lt-Gen Alan Akinnade has been appointed Chief of Defence Staff by President Shehu Shagari.

His deputy, Major-General G. S. Jalo, now moves up to the position of Chief of Army Staff.

Other appointments recently announced by the Executive Office of the president were those of Commodore Akin Aduwo as Chief of Naval Staff and Group Captain A. Bello as Chief of Air Staff.

## New FEDECO chairman

President Shehu Shagari has nominated the Chief Judge of Erenko Ovie-Whiskey, for the chairmanship of the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO).

If approved by the Senate Mr Justice Ovie-Whiskey will succeed Chief Michael Am

## FROM THE STATES

### Gongola

The State Government has budgeted about N129m. for recurrent expenditure and about N156.2m. for capital expenditure.

In presenting what he called "Budget of Hope", Governor Alhaji Abubakar Barbe said he envisaged a deficit of about N43m., but firm control which would not stifle the implementation of projects would be introduced.

The sectoral allocations are: Economic sector 29.2 per cent, social sector 35.5 per cent, regional development 24 per cent, and administrative sector 11.3 per cent.

### Imo

A N6m electronics industry is to be established in Owerri, Imo State, and compressor plants are to be set up in Enugu, Anambra State, Jos, Plateau State, and Makurdi, Benue State. The factories will make air conditioners, refrigerators, TV sets, radios and compressors which are in high demand in Nigerian markets.

Mr. Ernest Azom Onyejalam, Director of Ernest Lion West African Limited, said he will establish the industries in collaboration with EMPI Corporation of America and a group of electronic scientists.

### Kwara

The Kwara State College of Technology has been closed down. All the students have been ordered out of the school campus. The closure followed a demonstration by the students in protest against the termination of senior officials of the institution, including the college registrar and his deputy, as well as the bursar and his deputy. A statement from the Principal's office said that the security of the students could no longer be guaranteed.

● The Kwara State Commissioner for Agriculture, Chief Oturu Ogidi, has said that the future of the poultry industry in Nigeria is being threatened by shortage of protein for poultry ration, disease, scarcity of day-old chicks and the absence of grand parent lines of indigenous stock.

In a speech to the Fourth World Conference of Poultry Associations, Nigeria branch in Ilorin, Chief Ogidi said the disease problem was being partly tackled by the veterinary research institute in Vom, Plateau State.

### Ondo

The State Government has voted N366.5m for its services this financial year.

Out of this, N184.1m is for recurrent expenditure, while N182.4m is for capital projects.

Presenting the budget to the House of Assembly yesterday, the Governor, Chief Michael Ajasin, spoke of deficits of N132.62m. on capital accounts, which he said had been reduced to that size through stringent scrutiny of the programmes of the various ministries.

The Governor told the House that N40.77m had been provided for the Central School Board, N10m. for scholarships and bursary, N5m for Agriculture, N14.5m for drugs and hospital equipment, and N3.3m for equity participation business ventures in the state.

● The Federal administration has paid the Ondo State Government N2,600,000 for petroleum exploration in the area. The Governor, Chief Adekunle Ajasin, said that the exploration of oil led to the creation of a department for petroleum in the State. He added that the department would also ensure the development of other resources in the State.

### Plateau

The Plateau State Government has reached an agreement with the Hungarian Government for the supply of tractors for the state's agricultural mechanisation programme.

The first batch of 150 tractors from the Hungarian Government is expected to be delivered to the state this month at a cost of about N3m.

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## GHANA

## Limann warns Armed Forces

President Hilla Limann has seriously warned the Armed Forces against threatening Ghana's peace and stability. Addressing officer cadets at a graduation parade, President Limann said it was "shameful that the institution to which all Ghanaians look for peace and protection should, due to the activities of a few misguided individuals, seem to give the erroneous impression that the Forces constitute the biggest threat to internal peace, security and socio-economic stability." The President said he was disgusted by constant threats of coups and would treat as an outlaw anyone who had no regard for the Constitution, the welfare and the lives of ordinary Ghanaians.

## Aviation dispute with Britain

The Civil Aviation Department has sent an urgent message to the British Board of Trade to refrain immediately from further interference with Ghana Airways' operation from London. The Board which controls all international airports in Britain has instructed Ghana Airways to cut its weekly flight to London from four to three. A Ghana Airways source said the April 20 flight from Heathrow airport was forced to leave without any passengers following a threat from the Board that the aircraft would not otherwise be allowed to leave. According to the British Board of Trade, since British Caledonian Airlines (BCAL) operates three flights a week to Ghana, Ghana Airways should operate an equal number of flights. Ghana Airways maintains, however, that BCAL uses the DC10 aircraft which can carry 256 people while Ghana's VC10 has a 115 seat capacity.

Describing the Board of Trade's action as "unprecedented [and] unilateral," the acting director of Civil Aviation, Mr. K. A. Kwaw, said in a press release that since BCAL took over BOAC's Ghana operations, its relations with the Civil Aviation Department had been characterised by conflicts. He said BCAL has tried to dislodge Ghana Airways from its Friday flight from London in May 1972, and had complained in November 1974 about Ghana Airways' schedules. In August 1977 BCAL also complained about the backlog of its remittable earnings in Ghana and the operation of the Bank of Ghana's T3 Form. Mr. Kwaw said the Bank of Ghana had conceded that the operation of the T3 Form might not be the best answer to the problems, but that it affected all airlines in Ghana including Ghana Airways. He added that considerable progress had been made in clearing the backlog of remittable earnings.

The *Daily Graphic* reported that an ultimatum had been given to Ghana Airways to submit a new schedule for flights from London by 10 am on April 23 or have its licence withdrawn.

Mr. Kwaw said BCAL had been granted an additional Boeing 707 flight at the start of the current season by the Civil Aviation Department bringing its total

capacity to 936 with Ghana Airways still pegged at 460 seats per week in each direction. "As far as we are concerned no dispute exists between the two aeronautical authorities and even if a dispute exists, the procedure for settlement had not been initiated, let alone exhausted." Mr. Kwaw concluded that it was sad the British should treat the bilateral air services agreement with such contempt and urged them to display better and more sympathetic understanding for Ghana's economic problems.

## Pilots strike

Pilots of Ghana Airways Corporation have gone on strike for improved service conditions and facilities at Kotoka International Airport, reported GNA. Hundreds of passengers were left stranded as scheduled flights were cancelled. The pilots have complained that poor facilities at the airport make take-off and landing dangerous. They have also refused to fly to Tamale because of poor airport facilities there.

## Queen's Hall consequences

Students of the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi have decided to boycott lecturers until their colleagues of Queen's Hall are recalled. The 500 students of that hall were given 24 hours to leave the campus by university authorities "following the kidnapping of the wife of the Director of Academic and Student Affairs, Mr. V. A. Bartels", reported the *Daily Graphic*. Lecturers at the university then withdrew their services in protest against the refusal of some of the students to go home. A spokesman said the lecturers had noted with concern the nine-hour kidnapping of Mrs. Bartels and the detention of her son, a non-resident student of the university. He said the lecturers took a serious view of the fact that although the 59-year-old lady told her captors that she was hypertensive, she was allegedly subjected to mental and physical agony resulting in hospitalisation after her release. The lecturers did not doubt the possibility of their dependants being made to suffer the same fate in the event of any misunderstanding between them and the students. The spokesman said 376 of the affected students had complied with the "go home" order, but the

lecturers would stay at home until the remainder left the campus and the kidnappers had been disciplined. In a recent call by the students for the removal of the Domestic Bursar, the spokesman said a committee had been set up and another bursar had been transferred to take charge of the hall kitchen, but he had been rejected by the students.

Mr. Kwasi Offei, president of the Students Representative Council, told newsmen that there had been neither a kidnapping nor physical assault of Mrs. Bartels. He said no investigation had been carried out to establish "the guilt or otherwise" of the Queen's Hall students before punishment was meted out. Mr. Offei said other students were supporting their Queen's Hall colleagues because there were similar problems in other halls. He said several appeals made to the university authorities for improvement in the quality of their food, and the removal of the senior domestic bursar had fallen on deaf ears.

The National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) later said any attempt to victimise Queen's Hall students would be resisted because they had apologised for "kidnapping" Mrs. Bartels. NUGS said the case was a very simple one and would have ended amicably if the right people had done the right thing at the right time. On the alleged kidnapping and detention, NUGS said Mrs. Bartels was not the target but had willingly offered herself in place of her son, who was himself about to be held hostage in the absence of his father. Mrs. Bartels was treated with courtesy, NUGS said, was given food and even a Bible on request. The whole April 14 incident was attributed by the student organisation to gross negligence on the part of the university administration which drove the 500 Queen's Hall students to desperation.

## Voter register to re-open

The re-opening of the voters' register will start later this year, announced the Electoral Commissioner. Mr. Justice Kingsley Nyirah of the Ashanti Regional House of Chiefs. He said everybody who was registered in the 1977 and 1978 replacement and revision exercises would be re-registered. Activities of the national, regional and district publicity committees which had been formed and suspended, would be revived to direct public education for the exercise. Certain measures had been instituted to combat multiple registration, registration of aliens and "ghosts", and of citizens under 18 years of age, according to the Electoral Commissioner. However, he said issuing voters with identity cards during the registration period was desirable but impracticable due to economic and other constraints.

The meeting of the House of Chiefs elected Nana Osei Kwadwo II, Bekwaiene, as a member by votes against five for Nana Wud Akenteng II, Offinshene. The election became necessary after the vacancy created by the imprisonment of the Bekwaiene. Baffour Owusu Amankwaa IV by the AFPP Special Court.

## Sunyani disaster

Mr. K. Owusu Sekyere, MP for Sunyani, has appealed to the Government to declare Sunyani and surrounding villages a disaster area, after heavy rainstorms made about 1,000 people homeless. He said damage to property had been estimated at £3m. Mr. Owusu Sekyere said Sunyani had long record of acute housing shortage and the situation had been worsened by the rainstorms.

## Costs of land compensation

The Government spends about £22m. annually on compensation payments for land acquired for projects. Professor George Bennch, Minister of Lands, Natural Resources, Fuel and Power, added that the money usually went to the wrong hands owing to the method of payment. He was inaugurating a seven-member commission of inquiry into land compensation in Accra. Professor Bennch said the Government had decided to introduce Land Tax Registration to eliminate the frequent litigation which he said had hampered private development in the past. The committee chaired by Nii Ama Ollennu, retired Appeal Court judge, also has as members Dr. E. A. Gyasi (Geography Department, University of Ghana), Togbe Adu Tekpor VI, Osie of Avatara Traditional Area, Mr. Y. A. Apea (Ghana Commercial Bank), Mr. P. A. Dako (Auditor General's Department), Mr. S. X. Tsegah (lawyer) and Mr. S. Nartey (Ministry of Lands) who also are the commissions secretary.

## Stability for investment

The Minister of Health, Mr. P. Ansah, has emphasised the need for political and economic stability to ensure the rapid development through promotion of essential services for the people. Mr. Ansah said foreign countries and investors not only indicated unwillingness to do business with military regimes but also often demanded to know whether all was well in a country that needed assistance. He said that prominent British and American drug firms had declined to offer Ghana short-term credit facilities "contrary to an agreement" because of the recent Ussher Fort jail break and "continued political instability".

the country", reported the *Daily Graphic*. Mr. Ansah told doctors, nurses and paramedical staff of the Koforidua Central Hospital of his fears that the recent alleged coup plot could also adversely affect the intention of the firm May and Baker to ship £1m. of essential drugs to Ghana.

## SIERRA LEONE

### President visits Algeria

President Siaka Stevens has paid a four-day official visit to Algeria with a 20-man entourage including the Foreign Minister, Dr. Abdulai Conteh, the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. Solomon Pratt, Mr. Salia Jusu Sheriff, the managing director of the National Development Bank, Mr. Eustace Pearce.

The President said on his return that the visit had been most successful. He said he had held discussions with the Algerian head of state on a number of issues, while the experts in his delegation had had talks with their Algerian counterparts on possible areas of co-operation.

He said that the Algerian government had promised substantial assistance to Sierra Leone in its task of hosting the OAU, and had agreed to provide 50 Mercedes Benz cars, 500 tons of oil (petrol), provisions, including food and drinks, and a substantial amount of cash. "These will come in one

shipment before," he said.

At the end of the two-day visit, a communiqué was issued, outlining the conditions between Leone and Algeria for a framework of co-operation in the fields of cultural, technical and economic co-operation between the two countries.

The communiqué also pledged Algerian support to assist Sierra Leone in several fields, including trade between the two countries, economic investment in light industries, technical training and high-level education. He also pledged Algerian assistance in the form of financial aid for the Islamic monetary system.

The Archbishop of the Diocese of Freetown, the Rt. Rev. King is retiring from the Sierra Leone episcopate after 25 years of unbroken service.

### Message to Doe

Two weeks after leaving Liberia, President Tolbert has at last seen the message of concern to President Samuel K. Doe, the People's Redemption Party leader in Liberia, over the actions of former officials. President Tolbert said the message was a

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Autocl Tobacco Company (ATC) paid a total of Le16.2m in duty and excise fee during the period to December 1979. Turnover during the 15 months period just ended was Le34.5m.

The annual report of the Chairman, Mr E. L. Coker, said that a dividend of 23 cents per share is to be paid to shareholders, interim dividends of 15 cents per share were paid in May, August and November last year.

The company's leaf growing activities, in co-operation with the National Development Bank, produced over one million tons of tobacco, an increase of 10 per cent on 1978.

## Visit by Nyerere

The president of Tanzania, Dr Julius Nyerere has paid a four-day visit to Sierra Leone. He was formally welcomed at a special ceremony at Sewa Grounds and later travelled to Pujehun District to open formally the district's agricultural show and trade fair jointly with President Stevens.

## THE GAMBIA

### Groundnut crops down 40 per cent

The 1979-80 groundnut crop will bring The Gambia no more than D40m, a 41 per cent drop from the figure last year indicating a D27m deficit, according to the deputy managing director of the Gambia Produce Marketing Board, Mr Kabba M. Jallow. He said the effects of a poor season were further compounded by the rise in freight rates, and a drop in world market prices.

Mr Jallow said The Gambia should receive aid from the EEC Stabex plan for loss of revenue. But that will have to be determined, he said, since compensation from Stabex in the last two years would probably put The Gambia in non-eligible category for this year according to agreements in Lomé I.

The GPMB Managing Director, Mr Demba Ndow, recently toured the Provinces where he said the problem of transportation had also affected crop traffic. He said the Board was looking into the shortage with a view to distributing essentials like oil, rice, and fertiliser to farming communities.

Both men said they were pleased with the cotton harvest of which the Board purchased 950 tonnes, 150 tonnes more than last year. The cotton development project under the African Development Bank planned on 4,000 hectares when the project's four-year projection period ended in 1978. By 1979, the deputy director said, only 2,400 hectares were under cultivation producing 363kgs per hectare.

He said farmers had found little interest in cotton growing but the Board's provision of incentives was now paying dividends and could raise the hectare potential of the cotton fields to 1,000kgs. of crop per hectare.

The rice harvest this year, Mr Jallow said, will still leave us importing the grain. He added that until the Pachar-Jachali swamps are developed and the barrage construction completed, imports in rice will not be reduced. He called on the Agriculture Department to help farmers with working capital, start a production credit system and open more land for farmers to cultivate.

## Chinese go home

The first agricultural co-operation project between China and The Gambia has been concluded and the Chinese team engaged in the work has returned home. At a farewell party at the Chinese Embassy in Banjul, Mr Li Jie, the charge d'affaires, commended the team for successfully completing its task.

He said in the past five years, the team had reclaimed 2,600 acres of new irrigated rice fields and rendered technical guidance to the original 4,000 acres. "In addition," he said, "the Chinese side has provided a certain amount of machinery and equipment, including 118 power-tillers and 142 pumps, and has trained 131 technicians for the Gambian side."

The total output of irrigated rice in 1979 reached 11,800 tons, which was more than twice that of 1975, Mr Jie said.

## Wharf at Kaur

Kaur town is to get a new wharf. This was disclosed by the Vice President, Mr Assan Musa Camara when he announced details of the D2m plans for the port. Financing will come from the European Investment Bank and African Development Bank.

Funds from the Republic of China will be used to set up health centres and provide electricity for the area.

## GUINEA

### Diamond deal with US firm

The US firm Charles Anthony Diamonds, has signed an agreement giving it a 50,000 square kilometre concession in Guinea to develop diamond mines and other mineral resources.

As part of the agreement, the US firm has agreed to build and operate a diamond cutting school and factory in Conakry, when fully operational this is expected to train and employ over 100 craftsmen.

In addition, the company will sponsor scholarships for Guineans at the Brigham Young University School of Mining and Geology in Salt Lake City, Utah. The first four students are expected to arrive in the US in June 1.

Under the agreement, a geological survey team from the company accompanied by US students from the University will conduct an extensive exploration programme in Guinea. The survey will include satellite photography, computer analysis, and soil and

rock sampling. The survey will be managed by Guinea International Diamond Corporation, a Charles Anthony Diamonds subsidiary.

"When production begins," Mr Anthony Seymour, chairman of Charles Anthony Diamonds, said, "we expect to produce from 10 to 20 thousand carats a month. The Republic of Guinea has estimated its reserves at more than 200 million carats." These reserves, Mr Seymour explained, lie in pre-Cambrian deposits which have produced about 50 million carats of diamonds in Sierra Leone since 1950.

## CAMEROON

### Student demands

Reports of unrest among students at the faculties in Yaounde have been confirmed in a letter presented by the students to the government demanding that each student be granted a scholarship for research. Following the request, the government released an amount — considered as an exceptional case — as aid for more than 1,000 students not on scholarships.

A radio report, sympathetic to the government, has reported that in spite of the measures taken by the government "a faction of students have created an atmosphere of unrest and disorder which renders normal functioning of the faculties impossible." The government has taken the necessary measures to maintain order at the university campus and its surroundings, and asks the students to resume classes immediately. "The last time there were student troubles in Cameroon in 1976, a number were arrested, and the fate of some is still unknown."

## USAID scheme in Mandaras

The US Agency for International Development (USAID), is to begin preliminary studies for a third development project in the Mandara mountains area of Cameroon.

Last August USAID signed an agreement approving construction of 35 surface water catchment dams to help retain water during part of the long dry season in that heavily populated part of the north. In February of this year another agreement was signed with CARE/Cameroon to construct a series of wells in the same area.

The aim of the new project is to improve the standard of living for the farmers who live in the mountains and high plateaus of the Mandara mountains. Surveys will be conducted to study local farm production, consumption and marketing systems. In addition, reports will be prepared on land tenure and land use, farming systems, livestock, marketing, consumption and nutrition. The

information obtained in these surveys and reports will assist the government of Cameroon to strengthen its development strategy in the Mandara area.

A social scientist will head the research team, which will include agricultural economists, anthropologists, and other agricultural specialists. The study area will be limited to the mountain and plateau areas of the Mandara-Mandala department and the district (Diamare department) in the Northern Province.

## UPPER VOLTA

### Food aid plea

M. Joseph Conombo, the Prime Minister, has launched an appeal to the international community for food aid. He asked for at least 36,000 tonnes immediately for the Sahel region around Dori, where he said, had fallen to almost nothing. He claimed that an emergency stock only 25-30,000 tonnes was inadequate. In addition, he called for assistance in transport, distributing and storing.

The Prime Minister, who has been on a tour of the region, said that conditions were reminiscent of those in 1973 at the height of the drought. M. Conombo also emphasised that with the current season due very soon, there was every reason to hurry with the aid.

His appeal was made in the presence of the representatives of the various international organisations based in Ouagadougou. They have visited the region and drawn up relief plans.

## MALI

### Economic statistics

The Central Bank of Mali has put out some of the latest statistics on the economy. At the end of December 1979, the foreign debt, including unsecured commitments, stood at 114.9 billion Malian francs. At the same date, credits to the economy amounted to 129.3 billion Malian francs (as against 133.1 billion in 1978) of which 91.5 billion Malian francs went to the state production enterprises considered a major drain on natural resources because of the lack of productivity.

This year's budget has risen to 71.3 billion Malian francs (last year's balanced at 62.8 billion) 11.8 billion of which will be supplied by external sources of finance.

Imports rose from 105 billion Malian francs in 1978 and 111 billion last year. 23 billion of this was spent on importing petroleum supplies. Exports rose to 47.1 billion Malian francs, as against 42.5 billion in 1978. 27.8 billion of the export revenue came from cotton.

The balance of payments showed a surplus of 10.5 billion Malian francs but 42 billion were

needed from abroad to maintain the equilibrium.

On the whole, production performances showed a slight improvement on 1978/9 season, in the latest harvest. Cotton production rose by 17,800 tonnes to 144,500 tonnes. 52,000 tonnes of groundnuts are estimated for the harvest which is ending now. This is a rise of 14,700 tonnes. Rice production rose by 17,700 tonnes to 80,400 tonnes. All producer prices were raised for this last season with the effect that revenue from cotton rose to 15.9 billion Malian francs (a rise of 4.4 billion) and 3.2 billion for groundnuts (a rise of one billion).

The general index of food prices (using 1963 as the base year) can be deceptive. Nevertheless, the latest figures show that at the end of October 1979, the index stood at 562.7 as opposed to 491.6 at the end of October 1978. These figures are drawn from the official marketing agencies. In Mali however, much of the food is sold on the black market — the parallel market — where the price rises were estimated at about the same time last year to be between 20-25 per cent.

## IVORY COAST

### Incident provokes ethnic violence

An incident, on April 16, between a Maunian and an

Ivorian in the Abidjan suburb of Youpougon provoked a violent confrontation between the respective communities resulting in the death of one person and numerous casualties.

After a ministerial meeting on the following day summoned to discuss the issue, it was announced that a number of people responsible for the unrest had been arrested.

Meanwhile several thousand members of the Maunian community have sought protection from the Ivorian police following the incidents and they were taken to a number of police camps for their protection. It is also reported that several hundred Maunian traders left their shops to seek refuge in the grounds of the Maunian embassy in Abidjan. They were later taken into police camps for their own protection, according to the authorities.

It has since been announced that about 100 people of various nationalities were arrested after the confrontations before the two communities for looting.

The Maunian community in Ivory Coast is estimated at 30,000.

A correspondent writes: Though the incidents were limited to one suburb, such events are treated with great concern by the Ivorian authorities. It is indicative of the ease with which anti-foreign tensions can arise that one incident can escalate into serious rioting with one community as the target. A large proportion of the work

force and of small traders in Abidjan are foreign and therefore become the target of xenophobic tendencies if there are any difficulties in a locality. Such confrontations have occurred before. While the Ivorian economy depends so much on cheap foreign labour, the government is very careful to see that the foreign community is not frightened off by antagonistic Ivorian behaviour.

## WESTERN SAHARA

### PLO denies taking sides

The Palestine Liberation Organisation has denied reports that it recognised the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and has said that it is trying to mediate in the conflict. A PLO representative told a news conference in Fez, Morocco, that the PLO position on the war remained unchanged: "We have not recognised the Saharan Republic, but we are at present undertaking a mediation to avoid the shedding of Moroccan and Algerian blood." Mr. Abou Al-Adib said.

At the end of a three day meeting of five Arab leaders in Tripoli recently an official announcement said that Libya, Syria, South Yemen, Algeria and the PLO had decided to recognise the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic. Mr. Al-Adib said that in fact the leaders had agreed only to

"invite member states (of the 'hardline front') to submit questions of recognition to their respective constitutional institutions."

Libya's decision to recognise the republic makes it the 22nd African state to have done so. The quantum needed for entry into the OAU is 25. Meanwhile the SADR is preparing a dossier to be presented at the OAU summit in Freetown in July for its candidacy.

Morocco has decided to break diplomatic relations with Libya and Cuba over their recognition of the Saharawi. Sierra Leone has also recognised the SADR.

## CAR

### Amnesty request to Dacko

Amnesty International has free seven people either under house arrest or held in prison since November last year, the organisation has announced.

It said the seven included former Premier Ange Patasse, Andre Magale and Joseph Tchendo — members of, or sympathisers with, the Central African People's Liberation Movement which was held responsible for a protest demonstration on October 29, 1979, in Bangui, the capital. None had been tried yet.

Amnesty said it was concerned about the Government sending

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## WEST AFRICA

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### IN BRIFE

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producers European plans to tax products as adjustments of Greece, to the EEC. Minister, Diop, whose oil, said the spirit of Commission, world congress in Dakar as Groundnut like the necessary threat. Agriculture Division Sharratt, told the proposals for taxing oil were, at the two suggestions put to the committee. It is to protect olive which the three countries are producers — but to agricultural policy of EEC. He added that entry to the EEC of Portugal and Spain the

objectives. General Eanes is continuing his contacts to renew the links between Portugal and Portuguese-speaking countries throughout the world.

His trip here was part of this and fishing and trade agreements were signed to add to the co-operation which is developing in education, transport, air traffic control, health, farming and marine services.

Portugal is also going to help rebuild the port of Prasa, work which will cost 350m escudos (nearly \$7m).

### Conference on integration

West Africa should have an integrated economy so that it can deal with the unfavourable international system imposed on developing countries, according to the report of the second conference on West African integration in Conakry.

The conference participants recommended joint actions in agriculture, industry, transportation and telecommunications for the region as well as a common monetary and financial policy.

The report also said that self-sufficiency through water and agricultural policies. These would include the establishment of common facilities for the production of fertiliser and equipment.

Portuguese officials believe the country can act as a bridge between Europe and Portuguese-speaking countries, while Cape Verde views Portuguese co-operation as essentially "human".

Lisbon only has limited financial means but can provide people who, because their culture is close to that of former Portuguese colonies, do not need long periods to adapt.

If other European countries can provide, in tandem, the material and which Portugal cannot, observers here expect to see the birth of a multilateral co-operation which President Eanes believes conforms to Europe's "natural line" in the world.

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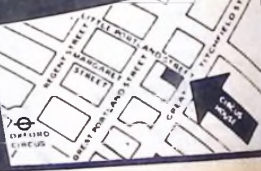
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