

West Africa

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Inside Africa

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Intra-African trade forms only seven per cent of the total trade of the independent states of Africa. That is the statistic on which this month's first All-Africa Trade Fair is built and which the sponsors, the Organisation of African Unity, hope to change. The historical reasons for this anomalous situation - particularly the enforced channelling of exports towards the countries of various metropolitan powers - have been fully analysed and 10 years, the post-colonial life-span of most of independent Africa, is too short a period in which to expect dramatic structural alterations to have been effected. North African countries still buy large quantities of special timber from France, which meets the order by itself purchasing the timber from Indonesia. The timber could, in fact, be obtained from Kenya.

If the barriers remain, however, the responsibility of the Western powers for their continuation does not. In addition, the incentives to increase trade and economic co-operation among African states is growing. Two levels of approach are needed: efforts by individual governments, trade associations and businessmen to buy and sell from and to other African countries, and the overall co-ordination of activities by an organisation standing above the battlefield.

Since the OAU has neither the resources nor the political will to extend its activities on the scale required and the African Development Bank is also lacking in funds and authority, the latter role falls on the Economic Commission for Africa. This was recognised at its very first session when the Executive Secretary was asked to "prepare a summary of ways and means of co-ordinating international and inter-governmental programmes".

The considerable difficulties experienced by the ECA in its relationship with both the rest of the United Nations and with the OAU, the result of institutional rivalry and political jealousy respectively, have been overcome and results are now being achieved.

ECA's efforts to harmonise development plans, for instance, are un spectacular but, in the long term, vital. Technically, these plans are formulated in ways which do not make them easily

comparable and unless they are prepared on an agreed basis regional co-operation will be rendered impossible.

A body like this is also needed to draw conclusions from comparisons of the plans. In its East and Central African sub-regions, for example, ECA found that most countries were either unaware of the forest industry activities and plans of other countries, or were simply ignoring them. "As a result, not only are many of them pursuing a policy of self-sufficiency in forest products, but they also plan to create, or have already created, surpluses which they intend to export, mainly to each other. It is possible, therefore, that a few countries may find that the extent of their forest plantations and the capacity of the mills they plan to establish might exceed the requirements of both internal and external markets."

Africa cannot afford such haphazard development. Even in East Africa, the most economically comprehensive grouping on the continent, unchecked growth of the textile industry resulted in surplus capacity and loss of profit for a number of factories because individual decisions were made without adequate consultation. A similar "over-view" is needed for export crop expansion and even for development assistance: a recent estimate suggested that the estimated requirement of developing Africa in 1971 was about \$3,300m of external aid, which would be almost met. A mechanism is needed to enable individual countries to make realistic assessments of the share of world investment resources they are likely to obtain, and also to ensure, for the sake of the countries less attractive to donors, that the available resources are distributed on a reasonably equitable basis.

Even at the project level, ECA has an important role, as its sponsorship of the Trans African Highway shows. Transport, in fact, is considered by the ECA as the most critical restraint on intra-African trade. Others include the deep division created by the adherence of African states to different non-African currency zones, and preferences given by some African states to manufactured products from the European Common Market countries. This is a disincentive to inter-African trade. Because of tariff barriers, Dahomey buys matches, for example, from France instead of from



● Slow Road to Unity

● Ghana's Debts Disowned

● Sierra Leone's "Stagflation"

● Whither Nigerian Sociology?



● Acheampong: now Lord Protector

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Nigeria, which manufactures them.

On the positive side, even the seven per cent figure of their total trade done by independent African states with each other, represents a sizeable increase in absolute terms. And the official statistics do not indicate, and would probably be dwarfed by, Africa's hidden trade: smuggling. The misapplied ingenuity of the smugglers, the losses in revenue they cause and the risk to life they occasionally provoke, naturally give concern. But their success - 19,000 tons of cocoa are believed to have been illegally transferred from Nigeria to Dahomey last season - shows that Africa can trade with itself, if the incentives are right.

For the moment, the incentives are weak. The economies of African countries are geared, as the Nigerian Development Plan points out, "towards the raising of revenue from duty protecting domestic industries that offer employment to indigenes and ensure import substitution, safeguarding balance of payments because of persistent exchange pressures and discharging obligations that arise from semi-colonial economic ties with other countries either because of the colonial past or by virtue of belonging to particular monetary ties."

But events such as the OAU Trade Fair can contribute to small shifts in trading patterns merely by exposing importers to the variety of high-standard goods and livestock which Africa now produces, while the ECA helps by taking a broader view. So many African countries have such small internal markets and face barriers against their manufactured products by the industrialised world that their development will be held back unless inter-African trade can be increased.

This will become particularly pressing if there were to be a slow-down in the very rapid increase in total world trade which has been taking place. African development was badly hit by the world recession of the 1930s; a similar recession now could destroy much of the considerable progress which has since been made. In such circumstances, salvation could lie in inter-African trade.

As Prof. Paul Streeten commented in a survey commissioned by ECA, "If developed countries reduce their demand for imports because of technical progress or protectionist policies, underdeveloped countries can get together and create demand for one another's products, while exploiting the economies of scale of larger markets. Regional integration makes it possible to combine the advantages of protection of infant industries with those of a wider division of labour. Industrial plants can be erected which, though not fully competitive internationally, can exploit a degree of specialisation among themselves. Developing countries have the land, the raw materials, the fuel and the ability to acquire the skills and raise the savings and finance to dispense very largely with dependence on the industrial countries."

NKRUMAH DEBTS DISOWNED

Ghana's new government has announced its repudiation of some of the debts to Britain inherited from the Nkrumah regime and its intention of spreading over 50 years the repayment of the Nkrumah debts which it might acknowledge after further examination. A correspondent attempts to answer the question; why has the Government taken this step, and what will be its consequences?

Ever since Dr. Nkrumah's downfall, the debts he left behind have been the subject of controversy. Ridiculous estimates of their size have been accepted by journalists abroad and for a long time the figure of £500m was freely used Ghana Government spokesmen, notably Mr. J. H. Mensah, Financial Minister in the Busia Government, sometimes attributed Ghana's failure to recover from the economic stagnation of the end of the Nkrumah regime to the crippling debt burden. In fact, the total of Nkrumah debts owed to Western creditors was given by Dr. Busia himself last September as £112m, and as a result of a series of "rescheduling" conferences, Ghana has been paying on these only a tenth of the amounts which have been falling due. A new rescheduling conference was due to take place, probably next month, and it was expected that, particularly as the Busia Government had shown its determination to play its part in righting the balance of payments by its heavy devaluation, the Western creditors would offer Ghana very easy terms, as well as financial assistance of other kinds.

Nkrumah debts owed to communist countries, covering contracts worth some £40 at the end of 1965 (over half owed to the Soviet Union), have also been rescheduled, but they were on easier terms than the Western debts.

It was often argued in this journal that it was not the amount of the Nkrumah debts or the effect that rescheduled repayment had on Ghana's economy, but the way in which they were incurred which was justly resented by Ghanaians. What the first military regime and the Busia regime failed to do was to take the contracts one-by-one and examine the conditions under which they were made to see if there were any irregularities, and also to have them re-costed since most resulted from "suppliers credits" - which meant that there were no competitive tenders. In some cases, too, the entire credit was repayable in foreign currency, although much of the expenditure was in cedis. In many cases, the projects were of doubtful value to Ghana, and some were obviously ill-conceived. This was also true of the Communist debts.

Previous governments strongly contested any demand to make repayments as they fell due, and particularly disputed the "moratorium interest" which the creditors added to the principle. But why did they not repudiate the debts outright, or even attempt to alter the terms in individual cases? The Busia Government, for practical purposes, did renounce the huge debts owed to Mr. Drevic, but he had no government behind him. The British Government also agreed to accept

full responsibility for the cost of the frigate for which Britain made a loan. But previous governments, it seemed, were persuaded that outright repudiation would not harm the companies, since they would be paid through some insurance arrangement and, apart from hinging Ghana into conflict with governments or banks from which she needed assistance, would affect her general credit-worthiness.

Politically, the new regime can expect domestic popularity from the strong line it is taking, it remains to be seen whether the judgement of the previous regimes was correct, or whether it would not have been wiser to co-operate in the coming debts conference, while examining individual contracts in the manner often suggested in this journal. In any case, in view of the "rescheduling" already in force, there will be little immediate relief for Ghana from the repudiation. There may be, on the other hand, considerable complications in Ghana's financial relations not only with creditor countries, but also with the World Bank and the I.M.F.

The repudiated debts, some £35m, account for over half those owed to



Enthusiastic demonstrators for the new regime, will the debt deal help them?

Britain under Nkrumah contracts. Ghana has said that in case of the rest, provided firms can show that the contracts were properly arrived at and were for productive purposes, they will be paid. But they will only be paid on "IDA terms" - which means a 10 years moratorium with 10 per cent of the money being paid in the following 10 years and the balance over 30 years, with no interest because of the delay in payment. This, presumably, also applies to the medium term Nkrumah debts owed to countries other than Britain, amounting perhaps to £50m, and to some £5m of medium term debt incurred since

the downfall of Dr. Nkrumah.

In Ghana the short-term commercial debts accumulated in recent years are more serious than the Nkrumah debts. Some are covered by insurance arrangements like those of Britain's ECCE. A high proportion have been incurred in import of consumer goods, and no Ghana government could repudiate them without wishing Ghana to remain a trading nation. On the other hand, the Government simply cannot meet them and will have to seek some arrangement with the creditors. Colonel Acheampong has said that Ghana cannot pay them on the original terms" and that the Bank of Ghana is to make "a steady, if even slight reduction in our short-term indebtedness". The outstanding amount, including unremitted profits, dividends, and of overdue overseas payments, is so £100m.

The Government has already ended the 180 day credit system under which many short-term debts were accumulated so that, presumably, it is intended that future imports are to be paid for in cedis. This is a welcome development but whether, in view of the revaluation of the cedi, the Government can restrict imports to the point where Ghana can pay for them as they arrive is another matter. Repudiation of the Nkrumah debts will also make it more difficult for Ghana to secure a compromise on short-term debts.

The long-term debts, including those for the Volta project and the "so-called" long-term loans made to Ghana since t

downfall of Dr. Nkrumah are unaffected by Colonel Acheampong's announcement.

Although Britain is responsible for much the biggest share of the Nkrumah debts, other creditors - France, West Germany, Japan, Norway, Italy, Israel, the U.S. and the Netherlands - have acted with her in the numerous discussions with Ghana. Australia, Canada, the U.A.R., Yugoslavia and Spain also creditor countries, did not attend the July 1970 conference where the arrangements under which payments are now being made were worked out. Belgium and Switzerland sent observers, and did the World Bank and I.M.F.

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THE SLOW ROAD TO UNITY

A correspondent takes a look at some of the organisations through which African states have chosen to approach the task of "African unity through regional groupings". The subsequent article looks at one particular grouping, the Chad Basin Commission, in action.

The sponsoring of the First All-African Trade Fair in Nairobi by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) marks a major departure for that organisation. Since its inception in 1963 the OAU has always been very weak on the economic side, although it did initially have an economic commission, involving meetings of finance ministers of member countries. This did meet in 1963 to give its approval to the setting up of the African Development Bank, but rapidly succumbed to the overall need on the part of the OAU to limit the number of its commissions for financial reasons. There is also the Scientific Technical and Research Commission of the OAU, which has its headquarters in Lagos, but this is a unique oddity, which owes its survival to the fact that it superseded the old CCTA, a cooperation organism which had been set up by the colonial powers in African south of the Sahara before their departure.

In general there has been a tendency in the OAU to leave economic affairs to the powerful and more financially secure Economic Commission for Africa, a specialised agency of the United Nations. Especially as it was located in the same capital, Addis Ababa, it seemed that for the OAU to pursue an active programme on the economic front would be to cause unnecessary duplication. Relations between the two organisations have not been altogether easy, especially given the contrasting personalities of their respective secretaries-general, Robert Gardiner (ECA) and Diallo Telli (OAU). But a *modus vivendi* has been arrived at in which the two bodies cooperate on economic matters, with the ECA on occasion assuming the function of an economic commission of the OAU. It would be unfair therefore, to stigmatise the OAU's apparent disregard of economic affairs, and concentration on the repetition of political themes. Any study of OAU resolutions will see a number of economic ones among the more political subjects.

Although a trade fair might seem to be something the ECA could equally well organise, the "African unity" message which the fair carries makes it a suitable OAU activity, just as was the Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers in 1969. Inter-African trade, in any case, is very much affected by political structures. The ideal of continental unity was effectively vetoed by the OAU even before its main protagonist, Kwame Nkrumah, fell in 1966. The only alternative seemed to be that of unity through regional groupings, which has been propagated effectively through the ECA, so much so

that it is now axiomatic. International aid-giving organisations have fallen in with this, viewing inter-state projects, it is said, more sympathetically.

But how much success has there been so far? The ECA itself divided the continent into four main sub-groups — East, West, North and Centre, but none has really got off the ground except on the level of paper studies. The Central African grouping has occasionally held meetings of experts, but the fourteen-member West African group, originally an ECA affair which was taken up by the politicians, has been in a state of suspension since the first summit meeting in Monrovia in 1968. Some blame the reluctance of President Houphouët-Boigny who boycotted the meeting with three other francophone states because, he said, it had been inadequately prepared. Others say it was simply a case of politicising the grouping too soon.

The same question seems to have afflicted the Organisation of Senegal River States, which had originally been an *ad hoc* grouping to develop jointly the Senegal River basin with hydro-electric projects and irrigation schemes, but was taken up on a political level, so that political disagreement between Senegal and Guinea also destroyed it. From the wreck, however, a small, more limited, scheme between three of the four members may emerge, simply to improve the river basin.

The "low profile" organisations, not surprisingly, are the most satisfactory. These are the groupings for a limited purpose, such as the Chad Basin Commission (which is dealt with in the following article). One can include in these the Niger River Commission, the Liptako-Gourma grouping, and commodity associations such as the African Groundnut Council and the newly formed West African Rice Development Association.

But there are more politically inspired groups, such as the Council of the Entente, which nonetheless likes to concentrate on non-political subjects, like the Entente Meat Market and various development projects. The projected West African Community of French-speaking states, based on the old French West African Federation (minus Guinea and plus Togo) which held its first meeting in Bamako in 1970, is also semi-political, although initially economic in objective.

It is based on the ineffectual West African Customs Union (UDEAO). The Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC) was more effective, at least until Chad walked out in 1968 to go into a still more political tie-up with what is

now the Zaïre Republic.

At the top of this particular pyramid the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation, which groups most of France's former colonies, as well as looking after some of their common organisms. Separate, connected, is the multi-state airline Afrique, which has also experienced difficulties of a political order at Cameroon's withdrawal. The case of France's former colonies, balkanised and bound by a plethora of organisations sometimes held to show the way to OAU as an example in African operation. Yet are they not sometimes also an obstruction? The temptation set up institutions to find employment for a host of civilian servants should not be overlooked. Yet, given the multitude of mini-sovereignties in Africa, often jealously guarded, what other course than the trial and error of the "regional groupings" road?

THE CHAD BASIN COMMISSION

A Grouping on the move?

By a correspondent

The Lake Chad Basin Commission is one regional grouping which is strictly non-political, with a well-defined geographical area, around the basin of Lake Chad, which takes in parts of four countries — Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon and Chad. Originally launched by a meeting of political leaders of the four states in the early sixties, it meets at regular intervals. The latest meeting, in December in Fort Lamy, which is the site of the secretariat, was the fourteenth.

The Chairman of the meeting was Dr Bukar Shaib, of Nigeria, who recalled the aim of the commission to coordinate development projects, and had a special word for diplomats attending the opening. They had, he said, an international role in relation to the Commission, and were the channel between it and their respective authorities. The Commission was proud, he said, "to win the confidence and goodwill of so many bilateral and multilateral agencies". He mentioned in particular the US, the UK, France and the UN and specialised agencies. The Commission was aware of the growing scarcity of funds for aid to developing countries, but he pointed out that this was a grouping particularly entrusted with the development of rural areas which are remote and backward.

Before any development could take place, Dr Bukar said, it was necessary to appraise all the potential of the natural resources of the Lake Chad Basin. Such surveys take time, "but we have been particularly worried by this long period of apparent inactivity during which little actual development work has been done". He was thus glad to announce that the

→ project for these preliminary studies
 → would be winding up early in 1972, thus
 → defining the way for new and practical
 → development activities. The basic project
 → would be financed by the UNDP and
 → coordinated by FAO.

→ Three main development areas -
 → Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, Agriculture
 → have been identified by the study.
 → Agreement has been reached between the
 → Commission and UNDP, USAID and
 → French aid to finance jointly an Animal
 → husbandry project, to the tune of about
 → £1m. Dr. Bukar put in a reminder to the
 → UNDP, to whom two other projects had
 → been submitted for finance, that the
 → Commission attached high priority to the
 → immediate beginning of these projects.
 → Considerable progress had already been
 → made, especially in agriculture, to the
 → extent that "we either have to integrate
 → the new projects right away or they will
 → be out of step with the national
 → programmes of some of the member
 → countries".

→ One other practical project of the
 → Commission which is now coming to
 → finalisation is the locust eradication
 → project being financed by French aid to
 → the tune of 200m. CFA francs. The
 → experts for the implementation of the
 → project have already arrived.

→ The future programme and some of
 → the projects which are under discussion
 → include development of road and
 → telecommunication links between
 → member countries, and the preparation of
 → an accurate and up-to-date and up-to-date
 → map of Lake Chad and its environs to

→ facilitate proper lake and river navigation.
 → The Commission is counting on further
 → generous support from the US, the
 → French and Canada for these projects. Dr.
 → Bukar claimed that from this summary,
 → the grouping was moving more rapidly
 → than some similar sub-regional groupings
 → in Africa. Here he paid a tribute to the
 → Executive Secretary, Muhammadu
 → Carpenter (also of Nigeria), who is
 → returning to the Nigerian Foreign Service
 → as an ambassador after three and a half
 → years, during which he devoted himself
 → singlemindedly to the Commission. "his
 → enthusiasm has spread not only to the
 → regular staff of the secretariat but also to
 → the international experts working on the
 → commission".

→ The Secretary's last report to the
 → Commission, which was submitted to the
 → meeting, carries a resume of all the
 → Commission's activities to date. These
 → include the various projects mentioned
 → above. For example, the animal
 → husbandry pilot project covers half a
 → million hectares in the area of Assale in
 → Chad and Serbewel in Cameroon, and will
 → aim at providing for livestock through
 → water points and grazing areas. A
 → candidate for project manager has already
 → been named. The \$400,000 aid which the
 → French are giving as counterpart to the
 → Cameroon and Chad contributions seals
 → up the financing. The project for setting
 → up four agricultural development centres,
 → using as a basis the present experimental
 → stations, is still being considered by the
 → UNDP. The same applies to the projects
 → for fisheries development centres in

→ Nigeria and Chad. In hydrogeology a deep
 → drilling programme is still in progress.
 → Two boreholes have been drilled in
 → Cameroon, two in Niger, one in Nigeria
 → and four remain to be drilled in Chad.
 → Member states had not submitted their
 → comments on the draft convention for
 → the apportionment of waters of the basin
 → said the report.

→ After examining the delay in the
 → report of the (UNDP/Unesco) project on
 → water resources in the basin, the report
 → noted developments in transport and
 → telecommunications. The Commission
 → had applied to USAID for finance for
 → three roads (Fort Lamy-Maiduguri,
 → Kaele-Bongor, and Bama-Maroua) but the
 → latter road was found by USAID to be
 → unfeasible. There was also a difficulty in
 → constructing these roads as a single
 → operation because of "the different
 → priorities attached by the member
 → countries to the various sections in their
 → respective territories". The Secretary
 → advised that the Commission should allow
 → each government to construct its own
 → section according to its priority. Canada
 → is "disposed to give a favourable
 → consideration" to the request by the
 → Commission for the survey and eventual
 → construction of three roads linking the
 → "Niger unity road" with the Nigerian
 → railheads of Maiduguri and Ngura, on
 → condition that Niger and Nigeria allow
 → the necessary funds to be drawn from aid
 → funds allotted to them by Canada.

→ On telecommunications, a successful
 → meeting was held in Yaounde in
 → November 1971 at which Cameroon,
 → Chad, Nigeria and USAID technicians
 → were present. The purpose was to
 → consider certain specifications requested
 → by Cameroon in view of the recent
 → modernisation of its telecommunications,
 → but a new request from Chad was also
 → put. Originally there had been a plan for
 → a Chad-Cameroon-Nigeria system, with two
 → terminals - Maiduguri in Nigeria and Fort
 → Fourreau in Cameroon. Chad had said this
 → would enable it to channel all its
 → communications through the Fort
 → Fourreau terminal instead of com-
 → municating direct with other countries.
 → Now, however, Chad has said it requires
 → its own terminal in Fort Lamy. "This is a
 → new development outside what was
 → envisaged for the AID grant. The
 → Commission is therefore faced with either
 → convincing Chad to delay this request
 → which is entirely political rather than
 → technical, for inclusion in the second
 → programme, or carry it out with the
 → current project at possible extra cost
 → itself".

→ The report also mentioned the new
 → 128m CFA secretariat, which should be
 → ready in mid-1972. The UNDP project
 → give "instructional support" to strengthen
 → the Commission's staff; the project
 → survey of the mineral wealth of the basin;
 → the aerial survey of the Lake, for which
 → the British have been asked for assistance
 → (with a "very encouraging" response);
 → the survey of papyrus reeds in the lake, as
 → part of the joint campaign against
 → pleuro-pneumonia.

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MATCHET'S DIARY

Answering questions after giving a talk on "Sierra Leone, Africa and the United Nations", the High Commissioner in London, Dr. Davidson Nicol, said that if Africans sometimes seemed to be pressing only African questions at the UN, it was because they felt that they could easily get overlooked in the massive agenda of the Assembly and the Security Council if the pressure was not kept up. In the talk itself, to the Royal African and the Royal Commonwealth Societies, Dr. Nicol had cited the important role African delegates at the UN played in other questions. Mr. Simon Adedio, for example, when he was chief Nigerian delegate, had played a prominent part in the drafting of the 1967 resolution of the Security Council on the Middle East. Sierra Leone's Foreign Minister, Mr. Solomon Pratt, and the permanent UN delegate, Mr. Taylor-Kamara had, when Sierra Leone occupied the Security Council chair last December, played a prominent part in the search for a solution to the India-Pakistan crisis. Dr. Nicol recalled that he himself, as President of the Security Council at an earlier session, had become a great expert on the affair of the hi-jacked Boeings which were taken to Jordan by the Palestine guerrillas. He read a fascinating extract from his journal on how the Security Council arrived at a "consensus", showing how small non-aligned nations are sometimes ideally placed to play a mediating role.

It was African questions at the UN, however, that formed the main theme of the talk, particularly in the Committee on Decolonisation and in the Security Council. Dr. Nicol himself for a time had chaired the first (known as the Committee of 24, although its membership is 22).

He regretted that Britain and the United States had found it necessary to withdraw, although they were "understandably weary" of constant criticisms. On the Security Council, he noted that the distribution of the non-permanent African seats were now on a regional basis (they change every two years), and not as previously on a francophone-anglophone basis. He outlined Sierra Leone's view on "dialogue" with South Africa - that the release of political detainees in South Africa and an internal dialogue between blacks and whites there should precede any external one. Sierra Leone had confidence in the integrity and thoroughness of the Pearce Commission in Rhodesia, and unlike other countries, did not view it with suspicion. It would be better to wait for results. This was because they in Sierra Leone knew Sir Maurice Dorman (former Governor and Governor-General) to be a man who had confidence in the ability of the African to govern himself. Some of the Commissioners, too, had served in Sierra Leone. In the Security Council, however, and in

the Decolonisation Committee Sierra Leone had made her position clear. She believed that if force had been used to restore order quickly, the unilateral Rhodesian declaration of independence could have been swiftly halted. The High Commissioner noted, too, that Rhodesia had more educated Africans than did many countries with majority rule, and you could not expect them to wait for the right to choose their leaders. The failure of democracy elsewhere in Africa was not an excuse for denying it in Rhodesia.

Tourists for the Ivory Coast

Club Méditerranée is, I suppose, one of the great French institutions - more than just a chain of high class holiday camps, it's a way of life. The nearest comparison in Britain is Butlins, but the analogy is misleading, for the Club's villages are for much richer people. In any case the French manage to make such things sound altogether more attractive. It is therefore worthy of some note that the Club has decided to venture south of the Sahara. Their first project, a village lying between lagoon and beach at Assinie in Ivory Coast (not far from Half-Assinie in Ghana), was inaugurated by President Houphouët-Boigny last December. It is the Club's 60th village, and to mark the occasion, the Club, in conjunction with UTA, the French airline, held a reception and film show at the London Ivory Coast Embassy, with the Ambassador, M. Polneau, as host. Guests were shown a colour film made by the Ivorian Tourism Ministry called *Deman les Vacances? En Côte D'Ivoire*. This was a very workmanlike attempt to sell the Ivory Coast to the European tourist, using what the Club Méditerranée representative called the "colourful Africa" approach. The film was made before that Assinie village was opened, but the vast expanse of beach there was shown, along with Senoufo dancing, the markets of Treichville, and the motel built like a tribal village near Man, which, being high up, is climatically probably the best part of Ivory Coast. Abidjan is presented as a "city of light", and the film ends with the white girl and the black girl whose travels vaguely form the basis of the film, walking hand in hand and topless (although strictly backs to the camera) on an Ivorian beach. Club Méditerranée seem enthusiastic about Assinie, which they feel could be as successful as Agadir, one of the six booming "villages" they have in Morocco, which now have a large European and American clientele. They are already talking about their second Black African village, which seems likely to be in Senegal.



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GHANA AND THE RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE: 3

by Dennis Austin

For a brief period after 1969 it began to look as if the military and politicians in Ghana had succeeded where so many others had failed. The soldiers had filled the stage in 1966, but were then escorted off three-and-a-half years later, almost without protest, by the party leaders. A new Horatian Ode seems needed — to Progress, and to Busia's return from England? Now, however, and how sad it is — the truth of Marvell's closing stanzas has been reassessed.

And for the last effect

Still keep the sword erect

The same arts that did gain

A power, must it maintain

How did such a grievous situation come about? The danger of a further coup seem never to have worried the 1966 military junta, nor the Constituent Assembly, nor the lawyers, nor the politicians, despite the 1967 attempt and the bitter experience of neighbouring and more distant states. The main concern was to prevent the return of a single party dictatorship, not a renewed militarism. The break in "constitutionality" occasioned by the first coup was thought to have been healed by a new constitution under a popular seal of approval. Yet what is to prevent the man with the guns from having his way a third time?

There is a sense of course in which the makers of the 1969 constitution were often conscious of the danger. They hustled the soldiers off the stage in order to "demilitarise" fully and finally. A major issue which worried members of the Constituent Assembly in its closing sessions was the relationship between the future politicians and the retiring members of what was then the National Liberation Council. Should the soldiers and police continue to hold high office, or should there be a civilian president? It was on a motion introduced by Nana Agyemang Badu, a very shrewd man indeed, that debate sprang up over the NLC's suggestion of a troika presidency of two soldiers and a policeman. And for a time the NLC had its way. A triumvirate was established consisting of Lt-General Afrifa, Inspector-General John Harlley and Major-General Ocran (who was then Acting Chief of Defence Staff) as an interim Presidential Commission. The original intention was that it should act for three years. And perhaps, Busia would be there still today had the proposal been fully accepted? But so keen were the future politicians, grouped around Busia, to be free of the soldiers, and of any taint of puppetry, that the proposal was amended in order that the soon-to-be elected parliament could replace the military Presidential Commission with a civilian President. Within eighteen months the change was made.

The Constituent Assembly went still further. It insisted on complete civilian control over the army and police under

the new constitution, removing the General Officer Commanding the Armed Forces from the proposed Council of State and reducing the representation of the army and police on the Armed Forces Council. Indeed, the army and police were removed so thoroughly from the political scene that the politicians ceased to be aware of what the soldiers might get up to off stage — until their re-entry.

Precisely why Colonel Acheampong has intervened is still not fully clear. Yet likely it was through a combination of particular grievances because of reduced expenditures on the army, and general sense of exasperation and humiliation because of the sorry state of the economy — leading to a personal resolve to "step in and clear up the mess" in January 1977 as earlier heroes had done in February 1966. Moreover, the colonel judged correctly, as those earlier colonels had, that the public should stand aside with a worst indifference and, at best, enthusiastic approval. But what happens now?

In 1937 the British transferred power to the CPP because it was there to receive it. In 1969 the NLC was able to believe that Busia and the Progress Party were rightful inheritors of the period of military rule. In both instances there was a willing disposition on the part of withdrawing power to transfer control. The British were in no mood to run colonial empire. General Afrifa, too, may guess, had had enough. Few soldiers believe at first that politics are real. There is the comfortable assumption that they can be put into cold storage, under arms guard, along with the party slogans and the platform rhetoric. But inevitable under such circumstances, as the NLC found under its non-party rule, political demands and pressures take on new form and seek new channels of influence.

So, no doubt, it will be for Colonel Acheampong until eventually the party is reached when fresh elections and a new constitution and new leaders are contemplated. The actual time-table of change may now be very uncertain since there is no easily identifiable leader or group with whom the new military government will begin to negotiate. But one day change in that direction will take place, or anything be done to smooth the way?

Understandably, the best gift that could be bestowed on the country, on military and civilians alike, would be strong upward movement of cocoa prices for the next decade, a generous attitude overseas towards the regime's external debts, and an unprecedented reduction in the price of Ghanaian imports. This, indeed, we might reach. Andrew Marvell happy world, when Ghanaians might

that sweet militia restore

When gardens only had their towers

And all the garrisons were fallen
Vain hopes! Colonel Acheampong will need to bear arms for a while longer. B

is there no advice that a hesitant political scientist can offer? In the first of these three articles, it was said that Ghana, having tried everything — parliamentary government, single party rule, military administration — nothing now remained on offer. Perhaps that was not quite accurate. Twenty years ago, it was possible to comb through the multitude of blue prints which the Colonial Office obligingly prepared for an almost infinite variety of would-be independent states — mixed assemblies, a qualified franchise, unitary constitutions, federal constitutions, executive presidents, republics, monarchies, city states, associated states. Other advisers must be found today — but there is no shortage of remedies for the ills of the post-colonial states. The literature of such inquiries into "military rule" is already vast. But in recent months a comprehensive guide to the "typologies of civil-military relations" has been on offer.¹

Dr. Luckham would place Ghana in the category of a "guardian state", one out of nine possible situations (he says) in which the civil and military authorities of a country may find themselves — excluding an ominous tenth category of "political vacuum".² In such a guardian state, it is said, the distinction between the military and the civil power is clear, but no clearly established pattern of control by one over the other exists. The army (and Dr. Luckham may certainly say that again) has "a degree of self-steering capacity" leaving it "free to define its own relations with its environment in the absence of constraints from strong civil institutions".

The whole passage is worth reproducing in which Dr. Luckham argues that the political role of (for example) the Ghanaian army is:

To uphold and extend support to 'The State' internally as well as externally. Ideologically, therefore, it is disposed to regard itself as the Platonic custodian of a vaguely defined 'national interest'. On those occasions that it does put coercion to political use, this occurs because of a dispute with other elites as to the definition or methods of pursuit of the national will, rather than because it acts as the agent of particular interests or power groups. In so far as any special interests are invoked they derive from the professional impera-

tives of the military establishment." Having intervened, however, the army is faced with the problem, how long should it rule, and how can it withdraw? It may, says Luckham, exercise a "direct guardianship" for a time, governing through the military or the civil service; or it may move in and out of office — "an alternating guardianship", moving in when its concern for the national interest is aroused, moving out under civilian pressure or because of the officers' desire to protect the cohesion of their army. In certain circumstances the army may simply act as a guardian catalyst, bringing about changes in the civilian order; or it may exert a "covert guardianship", when its control is very indirect but is there still as a factor to be reckoned with. Should it remain in power too long, however, then it may itself be infected. A "Praetorian state" comes into existence, in which "military organisations lose their unity of purpose and action, and fragments of the armed forces split off each with their particular alliances with outside groups". Once this occurs, the army will "find it very hard to extricate itself from the political miasma".

These are of course analytical categories, not actual situations, in which one or more of the types-situations may be blurred. But the relevance for the Ghanaian army is clear. If it stays in power too long, it may lapse into factionalism. If it withdraws too far it may be able to exercise its guardianship role only by intervening disruptively in force once

again. Is there then no half-way house which the army can remain close to, whatever view of the national interest officers are determined to preserve, sufficiently detached to keep "boundaries" intact and to enable — preserve a unity of command free from interference from civilian politics? The Progress Party Government may have been wise to retain the guardianship of the NLC, and to have accepted qualified return to civilian rule. Army too, are pressure groups — with gun-tatal constituency to ignore.

Perhaps the way ahead lies along similar road of compromise? It will be so easy as in 1969. The new milit may wish to weight the scales of a future mixed government of soldiers a civilians heavily in their own favour, it may risk the dangers of politics to ret. control. The balance would have to be matter of delicate negotiation and compromise, as in Upper Volta. Or t soldiers may look to Kinshasha, and I to find their own civilian base authority through a new political movement, not in order to remove the bulk the army from politics but to keep it reserve, hooded perhaps, but ready still act. It will not be easy, but to es where we began, with Marvel — we nes to ask: who will be the falconer to lu the falcon to its perch? Can Colon Acheampong really play the dual role: Civilian Lord Protector and Arm Commander?

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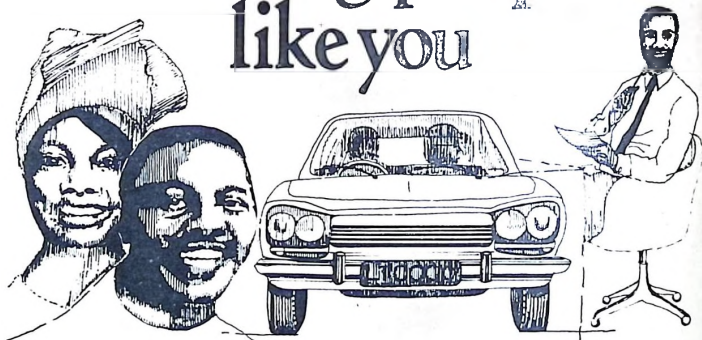
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1 By Dr Robin Luckham in the quarterly journal *Government and Opposition* Vol 6, No.1, Winter 1971. Dr Luckham taught for a time in Nigeria and Ghana, wrote an excellent book on the Nigerian army, and is now at Harvard.

2 The nine categories (with examples) are: Objective control (Western Europe, US, etc), Constabulary Control (Sweden), Apparatus Control (USSR), The Nation in Arms (Israel), Revolutionary Nation in Arms (N. Vietnam), Subjective Control (possibly the Vietcong), Garrison State (Greece, Jordan), Guardian State, Praetorian State (Dahomey, Sierra Leone after 1967 etc).

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People

Gilbert Nonyelu, who died in Nigeria last month after a brief illness, was one of the country's ablest advocates. A lawyer of immense stature, his style and experience were admired by both younger lawyers and the bench. Few lawyers inspired so much confidence in their clients, to such a degree that they would go to any length to have him represent them in court. "G.C." Nonyelu established a practice in Port Harcourt after gaining a law degree in London (Lincoln's Inn), and by the late 1950s he had already become one of the country's most sought after lawyers. Land cases were his speciality, and he handled many, particularly for the Rivers people, who have a long history of land disputes.

Mr. Nonyelu will also be remembered as a politician, not because he attained high office but because he was an incorruptible man with a mind of his own. He made several attempts to enter parliament, first as an independent candidate and later as a member of the Action Group. But as the years wore on, he gradually turned away from politics and gave more time to his legal practice. He turned down so many tempting offers of high government posts, both at regional and federal level that when he agreed to become Director of Public Prosecutions in Lagos many people were surprised. But he resisted attempts to bring political pressures to bear on his office, and resigned. He returned to Port Harcourt to continue his legal practice, working closely with his younger brother, who was also a lawyer. He lived in Biafra throughout the civil war, mostly in his home town Amawbia, near Awka. Immediately after the war he returned to Lagos, quickly re-establishing himself, he was the only lawyer who could match the dominating personality of Chief Rotimi Williams, with whom he clashed many times. Mr. Nonyelu was one of the first Ibo's to have property in Port Harcourt released by the Rivers State government, probably as a gesture of goodwill for his long-established friendship with the Rivers people. He was 56 when he died.

A minor Cabinet reshuffle in West Cameroon government has been announced by Presidential decree. A correspondent in Buea writes: In the reshuffle, a veteran West Cameroon politician, Mr. N. N. Mbile has been dropped, and Mr. Lobe Ekwelle Nwalipenja has been included in the Cabinet. As a result of the reshuffle, Mr. Martin Luma, formerly Secretary of State for Urban Development, Lands and Surveys, becomes the Secretary of State for Primary Education, Mr. B. T. B. Foretia, formerly Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's office, Economic Division, becomes Secretary of State for



Mbile

Urban Development, Lands and Surveys with office in Victoria.



Nwalipenja

The new Secretary of State, Mr. L. E. Nwalipenja hails from Lobe in the Batanga area of N'dian Division, the same constituency as Mr. N. N. Mbile. He was born on November 26, 1930 and spent a slice of his time teaching. He resigned from the teaching profession later and joined the civil service in February 1968. He later on had a Canadian scholarship and studied at the University of Waterloo in the Province of Ontario in Canada and returned with a BA degree. Before his present appointment he was Education Officer for Bamenda. He is married with seven children.

Observers here believe Mr. Mbile's departure from the Cabinet is because as a Secretary of State, he had scarcely toured his constituency. Mr. Mbile is an elected representative of his people, unlike Mr. Nwalipenja, who has been hand-picked. Mr. Mbile is a veteran politician, well known in politics prior to independence when West Cameroon was part of Nigeria.

• Mr. Anthony Steel, the London solicitor who has been refused permission to enter Rhodesia to help organise the presentation of evidence to the Pearce Commission on behalf of the African National Congress, believes that his black African connections are responsible for the ban. "The only thing I can think of", he commented, "is that I was a chief magistrate in the Cameroons — it might be that the fact that I was appointed by an independent African Government which has taken a firm line on South Africa and Rhodesia has offended them". He worked in West Cameroon for two years. In addition, he is a director of War on Want a capacity in which he has had dealings with several other African countries. The most likely cause, however, is his long-standing friendship with Mr. Robert Mugabe, former Secretary General of ZANU, who is currently reading for the bar while in detention. Mr. Steel has been corresponding with him and sending law books. The Smith regime said that Steel was banned "because of his connections with movements supporting terrorism, including ZAPU". He dismisses the accusation "but take it as a compliment".



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One would have concluded that this episode would immediately and permanently put this daughter of eve off cheques in payment for services rendered. But really and truly who, in this day and age would be so naive as to think that a small thing like an "inda rubber cheque" would put off one of the moderns, groups, hippie or any other type from one of the most practical institutions of modern times? There are cheques and cheques but the fact remains that Banks still enjoy even with the way-out flower generation a fair amount of respect. After all there may not be much room for more than the odd piece of silver in a pair of hot pants, but you could always find room to tuck in a slim cheque. And of course! of course! So may be all is not lost yet - for what Americans, for ever coming new words and phrases call "checking accounts".

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Books and Publications

EMPIRE AND AFTER

The Imperial Dream by Edward Grierson
(1969, £2.50)

Perhaps Mr. Grierson would have done better to call his book "The Imperial Dreams". For through this account of the growth of the British Empire and then the Commonwealth from 1775 to 1969 the thread is not a single ideal, but a vast variety of hopes, ideals, ambitions, and resentments harboured by both governors and governed during these years. Mr. Grierson, at the beginning, describes the Empire as "pieces of a jigsaw never properly assembled", and sets out to answer the question whether Dean Acheson was right to say that Britain had lost an empire but had failed to find a new role, and, if this is true, how had it all come about.

Mr. Grierson is not a professional historian, but he handles with great lucidity his vast mass of material and is always readable. He may be too fond of quoting from *Punch*, but his quotations help his narrative and are always relevant.

In fact, there was not a single British "empire", but a succession. The Empire of North America gave way to the Empire of which India was the centre. The Empire represented by Ireland and the settler colonies in Africa was very different from the purely commercial one in West Africa, and the Empire which became the Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand was different yet again. All efforts to "federalise" or otherwise unify this jigsaw failed in face of its diversity and the independence, actual or potential, of its units. As Mr. Grierson observes, at the time of the great Diamond Jubilee Conference of colonial premiers in 1897, the zenith of Empire, the colonies were unwilling to follow the British notion of political organisation while Britain herself was unwilling to accommodate the commercial ideas of the premiers.

There was always in Britain, too, powerful opposition to the idea of Empire, Disraeli, who later became the arch-imperialist, once dubbed the colonies "millstones" around Britain's neck. Adam Smith decided that "Great Britain derives nothing but loss from the dominion which she exercises over her colonies". Mr. Grierson does not quote

the House of Commons Committee Report in 1865 which recommended against any further extension of British territory in West Africa and an ultimate withdrawal from the area except (and that only "probably") from Sierra Leone. But this was typical of the lack of enthusiasm for colonies among those who felt that if they could not pay for themselves the British taxpayer should not be saddled with them.

Yet it was not long before Empire was considered essential for prosperity and even a man like Ruskin saw in it's development the finest field for the exercise of idealism. Mr. Grierson may not fully explain the change but he vividly illustrates all the different stages in attitudes to Empire, claiming that even

the jingoism at the end of the nineteenth century was only a "defensive reaction" among those who realised that British commercial hegemony and imperial greatness were already waning.

"Too little, too late", is the objection on British withdrawal from imperial territories. Ireland was, remains, the best example. "Empire had been granted to the Catholics twenty years after any gratitude could be collected. The land problem had not been solved, the land hunger of the peasantry appeared, but by that time the Irish found themselves other grievance. Similarly, Home Rule had been delayed first by prevarications inside government and then by the appalling mischance of world war. When it was conceded, no one in southern Ireland wanted it. So the offer was upgraded to one of dominion status, and by then people in Ireland wanted that." The Indian story was the same. As early as 1833 Macaulay told Parliament that while the time came for Indians to demand British institutions for themselves this would be "the proudest day in British history. When the time came it did not look like that."

There is so much meat in the book that it is surprising that there are more mistakes. But one must point out that it was not the British government that introduced the cocoa bean in Ghana and that Mr. Grierson altogether underestimates the commercial initiative shown by West Africans themselves.

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The book concludes with an interesting discussion of the legacies Britain has left to her Empire. Mr. Grierson mentions the obvious institutions and customs. But he concludes that in the end it may be not for these things but for the "froth and frolic", the sports and fashions, that Britain will be remembered. "But then the Roman Empire is popularly remembered today not for Augustus, Hadrian, Horace, Seneca, Livy, Scipio Africanus, Virgil and Marcus Aurelius, but for Mark Antony's galliance with Cleopatra, for the chariot races between the Blues and the Greens, and the lions in the Colosseum."

D.W.

Marketing Research in the Developing Countries by John Z. Kracmar (Praeger, £7.25).

Interviewing in Market and Social Research by Joan Macfarlane Smith (Routledge & Kegan Paul, £2.50)

Joan Smith's book is mainly concerned with the face-to-face interview, the type most frequently used in survey research. Although she has trained interviewers in Nigeria, the work has no special relevance for the developing countries, which many practitioners consider, wrongly, to be unsuitable for market research. It is intended, however, as a practical guide, and many of the suggestions and warnings are applicable to interviews conducted in Africa as well as in Europe. It is worth mentioning that the techniques discussed are also relevant to interviewers in other fields, such as policemen and journalists, where interviewing, though vitally important, is rarely studied.

Kracmar's expensive book is more ambitious. Part of a Praeger series "Special Studies in International Economics and Development", it sets out to be a handbook on the subject.

The contents include brief descriptions of marketing techniques which have proved successful in developing countries, statistical tables and a glossary of specialist terms.

The book covers such a lot of ground that some points are tantalisingly brief. But as an all-round introduction it is very useful and is presented with simplicity and directness. Kracmar, too, has sections on interviewing techniques and gives the example: "The question 'How often do you use your sewing machine?' will probably be answered in a way suggesting that the housewife is a diligent and rational person rather than a lazy one. The real frequency of use will be obtained more reliably when two questions are asked: 'When did you last use your sewing machine?' and 'When before that?'"

When these two authors revise the books, they should consider including the comments made by Mr. I. Rauts in his survey *Aid and Overseas Development* (West Africa, page 119). He notes the subtle differences in the wording of certain questions produced very different answers, and that, even more strikingly

"overall, the tendency was for people to give more favourable answers at the end of the interview than at the beginning. This suggests, though rather inconclusively, that the interview itself did have some effect on the way people rated their attitudes."

D.N.

The Southern Sudan and Eritrea: aspects of wider African Problems. by *Godfrey Morrison (Minority Rights Group, Report No. 5, 30p)*

This pamphlet on the minority question in two crucial East African states, Sudan and Ethiopia, was written before the coup and counter-coup of last July in Sudan, which may have had an important effect on the Southern Sudan question. Essentially the two subjects are worth considering together because they straddle the geo-political religious African divide which seems to coincide with the southern fringes of the Sahara. The same study might apply to Sudan's western neighbour, which in many respects is a Sudan in reverse. The divide is hard to pinpoint, because it is hard to call it entirely racial or religious: it would appear to be related to some extent to the Arabic cultural and linguistic zone, although the edges of this are amorphous. One of the main lessons from this pamphlet is that each country has to be taken by itself, and few generalisations can be drawn.

Eritrea, as Morrison points out, has the added complication of having been separated from Ethiopia as an Italian colony from 1890. Even before then, it can be argued, it was not properly part of Ethiopia, and is, in any case a "territory divided within itself", between Arab-oriented and Ethiopian oriented peoples. The union of 1952 brought it into Ethiopia, so strictly speaking the Eritrean Liberation Front is a "secessionist" movement, as indeed is the Anya Nya in Sudan, although the supporters of one are hostile to the other.

Mr. Morrison has provided a clear and balanced account of both these problems — concluding with a section on the wider implications of both. This involves the Soviet, American, Israeli attitudes, and those of a number of intimately involved African states.

K.W.

(Obtainable from 36 Craven St., London, W.C.2)

Histoire de l'Afrique Contemporaine by *Marianne Cornevin, Payot Paris (paperback, but not priced)*

This well-packed and intelligent paperback survey of African history from the second world war to the present — in fact, to about the middle of 1971 — is Mme. Cornevin's sequel to the history of Africa "from its origins to the second world war" in which she collaborated with her husband, the distinguished French historian of Africa, M. Robert Cornevin. Like her husband, Mme. Cornevin is no newcomer to the African scene, for she has lived there for many years and has practised as a doctor in Dahomey, Algeria and Togo. Her book is

therefore well nourished with insights and understandings which come from long observation and personal experience. English readers will welcome it for its review of French African affairs, while French readers should be particularly grateful for a book which, for once, gives them, in French, a far-ranging look at Anglophone Africa, a vast region where French scholars have rather seldom cared to tread. In 426 pages Mme. Cornevin has managed to assemble a formidable array of factual information, and has done it, in so far as a mere English reader may be allowed to judge of the French language, with a fluency and readability which are rare.

B.D.

Population Explosion — A Christian Concern by *Arthur McCormack (Commission for International Justice and Peace, 15p)*

This pamphlet is a worthy attempt to tackle a complex problem from a Christian, particularly Catholic, viewpoint. Most of the chapters are clear if unexceptionable expositions of the factual and statistical position, and for a subject in which debate is so frequently conducted on an emotional level, even this is useful.

The chapter dealing with the Church's approach are sincere but rather less satisfactory. The author faces up honestly to the difficulties of the rhythm method of birth control, but suggests that women "who have to recourse to birth control methods not sanctioned by the Church" should be judged on the principle that "particular circumstances surrounding an objectively evil human act... can make it inculpable, diminished in guilt or subjectively defensible." But surely when pleasure, duty and expediency are so inextricably entwined such an approach will inevitably create enormous guilt and self-doubt in the mind of the individual the Church is trying to help.

T.P.

Environment and Land Use in Africa, Edited by *M. F. Thomas and G. W. Whittington (Methuen £2)*

This is a "University paperback" edition of a book first published in 1969. Its range is very wide, and among the "case studies" with which it concludes is one on the ecological approach to the study of soils and land use in the forest zone of Nigeria. A number of other contributions specifically cover West Africa. The editors describe the aim of the work as "to bring together the results of original geographical research in the fields of environmental and land-use study in Africa, and as a result, further the understanding of some of the basic special patterns of the continent and of the functional relationships which exist between them." The book is "addressed to all serious students of Africa and it is hoped that it will be appreciated by a wide range of specialists, not only geographers."

A.M.

IN MEMORY



MRS. ARUBI AGHOGHOVBI

Died suddenly on

15th February, 1971

You opened your mouth with wisdom, in your tongue was the law of kindness. You looked well to the ways of your household, many Mothers have done virtuously but you excelled them all. You, the beauty of our home is vanished. How are the mighty fallen!

Sweet Mommy rest on, while we uphold your name in this lonely world you left behind.

Proudly remembered by your children:
Flory, Humphrey, Helena, Rita
and Chief J. O. Aghoghovbia (Husband).

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Whither Nigerian Sociology?

The First Annual General Meeting of the Nigerian Anthropological and Sociological Association, held at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in mid-December, was a unique event in Nigerian academic life. Hitherto most Nigerian academic institutions, associations and their activities have tended to fit into a solidly-respectable British tradition. The Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research and the History and Society of Nigeria provide two examples in the social sciences. The objectives of the new Association, announced in March 1971, already suggested something of a break with this tradition. Amongst the aims of the Association was a final one: *To mobilise and orientate sociologists and anthropologists towards the liberation of Africa and other third world peoples.*

The commitment was reiterated in a press statement, which declared that colonial anthropology had been an instrument for the establishment of colonial control, and that the new aim should be to 'decolonise the minds of our people, minds poisoned by the early colonial establishment scholars and to inculcate patriotism among our people'. At this point it might have been thought that the Conference was to express a synthesis between the current re-thinking amongst Western (mostly American) anthropologists and a resurgent national assertiveness in post-war Nigeria. The opening session, however, went further than that.

Under the benign chairmanship of Charles Frantz, the American Professor of Sociology at Ahmadu Bello University (and himself involved with the re-orientation in U.S. anthropology), there was launched a three-pronged attack on orthodox sociology and sociologists in Nigeria. First in the field was Dr Ikenna Nzimiro, a veteran of the trade union-radical tendency within the nationalist movement twenty or more years ago. He sharply criticised the 'class' and 'capitalist' society introduced by colonialism and today dominated by neo-colonialism, which he described as responsible for the multifarious contradictions that had led eventually to the civil war. He called for Nigeria's sociologists to commit themselves to 'national unity and stability'. But he interpreted this commitment in a particular way - as requiring explanation of the causes of economic inequality in Nigeria, and of the connection of this with social stratification and the pattern of political power.

Less polemical than Dr Nzimiro's paper, the second was equally direct in its criticism and demands. It was perhaps the more effective for the quiet demeanour of its author, Dr Onigwe Otite of Ibadan. He condemned a colonialism for giving anthropology a 'slanted impetus of an exploitative nature'. He went on to assert that concentration on micro-social units had prevented anthropology from

providing answers to the problems of ethnicity arising from increased individual and group contact in Nigeria. 'In order,' said Dr Otite, 'not to kill itself in Nigeria, social anthropology has to be macro-sociological, refraining... from concern with some exotic micro-system or some zoo custom or joking relationship unless the relevance of this can be shown in the solutions to the problems of the Nigerian national political and economic development and integration'.

The third paper was by Caroline Dennis, a young British lecturer at Ife. This was largely concerned with the teaching of sociology in Nigeria - with the nature of the sociology teachers, of the sociology they taught, and of its effects on their students. Unlike their predecessors in pre-revolutionary Russia, colonial Algeria or contemporary Guinea Bissau, she said, Nigerian intellectuals were part of the ruling group. The sociologists were institutionalised in universities and therefore tended to see Nigeria's problems as primarily administrative. They therefore accepted and taught conventional Western sociological theory and methods. Yet, 'to try to understand post-colonial societies through the perspective of nineteenth century European or twentieth century American social theory is to look at them down the wrong end of a telescope.'

The same theme dominated the second day of the conference. Speaking on 'Sociological' Explanation and Neo-Colonialism', Gavin Williams, a South African exile who has been researching in Ibadan, stated that sociologists should not describe the world 'as it is'. They 'should seek an analytical interpretation' of it, showing historically how present social structures have come into existence, how they relate to one another, and how people understand these relationships. He demanded that sociologists cease to hide their values behind the 'allegedly impersonal forces of the market or routinised research techniques' and state their assumptions clearly.

Whilst Williams's paper referred directly to Marx, that of Dr Onigwe of Ibadan drew more on the work of Fanon, and on that of black and white radical social theorists in the United States. 'Although,' he said, 'black is now beautiful in contemporary Africanist literature, the contemporary social science has not moved beyond the expressive phrase to provide the strategies that will assure black beauty with a black power base in the foreseeable future.' Quoting the proud and defiant answer of a 19th century African leader to an imperialist demand for unconditional surrender, he demanded a sociology that would seek 'structural disengagement' from the system that imperialism had forced on Africa.

Not all the papers read were inspired by this radical orientation. More conven-

tional sociological and anthropological papers were presented by Nigerian foreign researchers alike. Thus, a pathetic hearing was given and considerable time devoted to discussion of Frantz's 'Shades of Fulani', in which considered the problems of identity thus extremely varied and widely dispersed people. Where such papers were closer to current issues, however, discussion tended to take a sharper turn. This was the fate of two papers by Chukwumah Ijomah of Nsukka, dead respectively with socio-political inability and the prospects of Nigerian nationalism. Drawing largely on methods and concepts of established Western sociology, Dr Ijomah was bent to attract the ire of the militants. His radical proposal that - since nationalism was defined in opposition - Nigerian nationalism should be cemented declaring South Africa and Rhodesia chief enemies and 'rallying everybody this policy' was coldly received. Whilst final conference resolution specifically attacked these countries and British support of them, it was suggested by a speaker that the creation of an external enemy as a means to internal unity exemplified precisely that manipulative attitude to the masses that Nigerian sociologists should be overcoming.

The discussion, however, did not go one way. Thus, Dr Nzimiro's call for sociology committed to the national interest led to a considerable debate during which Father Schuyler, an American Associate Professor of Sociology at Lagos University, made an impassioned plea for precisely the value-free social science of which macro-speakers were busy denying the existence.

Where will Nigerian sociology go from here? On the official side there has been the decision to publish a journal. And the commitment to macro-social problems seems assured in the proposal (made to an agricultural administrator and generally acclaimed) that the next conference should concentrate on rural problems. On the unofficial side, there are at least two developments afoot. These are the large, parallel projects of Dr Onigwe in Ibadan and Dr Nzimiro in Nsukka to start with like-minded colleagues the 'Nigeria Academy of Arts and Sciences' and the 'Frantz Fanon Research Centre' respectively. Having led somewhat shadowy lives in the past, both bodies are promising to produce journals in the near future. The new orientation in sociology should eventually percolate through to the other social sciences. And the radical intellectual pressure groups may develop within Nigeria to the point at which an indigenous social science can challenge the imported one. But an effective radical intelligentsia requires a relationship with the masses that does not yet exist in Nigeria. Perhaps this question will be dealt with in Dr Onigwe's journal. It is to be entitled 'Theory and Practice'.

Peter Waterman

Institute of Basic Studies Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

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Letters to the Editor

Tribute to Dr. Akpata

SIR — Dr. Samuel Bankole (Banky) Akpata passed away on Thursday, January 13, 1972. I think the shock was too much for me hence I could not before now collect myself to pay my last tributes to one who must be one of the few really selfless African nationalists these shores have known. The last in a string of reputable posts he held was as secretary to the Rivers' State Fishing Company.

The announcement from Port Harcourt of Dr Akpata's death was incredible. Only the day before, his telegram that he was living well was received in Benin. There was nothing suggestive of the imminence of the end but they die young whom the gods love. For Dr. Akpata had more than his fair share of God's gifts. One of the first Africans ever to bag a Ph.D in Economics and Political Science in Prague University, Dr Akpata returned to Nigeria in the early 50s, worked for trade unions and was for some time Secretary to "Nigeria Labour No 1 Man" Mr M. A. O. Imoudu.

After that he was invited to Ibadan to the University by Professor Dike as Librarian Banky was nevertheless cheerful and popular with students. This indeed was his trademark: a certain ability to be at ease with everyone irrespective of status.

At the instance of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, ex-Ghanaian President, "Banky" went to lecture at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in Winneba where he had for company other nationalists like S. G. Ikoku and E. A. Cowan. As Banky used to explain with that chubby smile dancing across his mouth "Kwame is a friend, we were room mates in London during the war." Indeed the zenith of Dr. Akpata's career was his days in Nkrumah's Ghana. There he was Nkrumah's all-purpose man, a kind of President Nixon's Henry Kissinger. It was while in Ghana too Dr Akpata had ample opportunity to develop his world view. He hobnobbed with the mighty in Africa.

He was variously with Nasser, Tito, Selassie, Sekou Toure — as Nkrumah's emissary in those days when Africa was awakened to a new kind of monster — neo-imperialism by its arch-antagonist, the "Osagyefo" from Accra. After the coup on February 24, 1966 which ousted Nkrumah, Dr Akpata returned home and took up the headship of Anglican Grammar School at Okpara Waterside in Nigeria's Midwest state. In addition to teaching at school, Dr Akpata wrote

proflically on our problems offering mature judgement and proffering realistic solutions.

He was a socialist — a true socialist. There were no asides to the man. He was generous of nature, compassionate and even though could be off-guard at times, he was a researcher of singular devotion.

Now he is gone. But his works must surely survive.

Someday, somebody shall unearth the manuscripts of his work on the contribution of the West African Students Union to Africa's emancipation.

Adieu, Banky.

OSAIHINI UZAMERE

Benin City

Unemployment and violent crimes

SIR — I have examined your leading article "Lessons of Africa's Year" (*West Africa* January 7) and am unable to agree with the gloomy picture you painted. You asserted that West African countries shared urban unemployment in common and many of them shared its corollary, violent crimes.

In the first place, unemployment is not an evil common to West African countries alone. With the exception of Japan and a very few other countries, the figures of the unemployed is soaring in all countries whose economies are capitalistic by design. The question of unemployment in the case of West Africa is a peculiar one. Peculiar in the sense that the once self-employed man (probably cannot read and write) has now abandoned the occupation of his forefathers and migrated to the overcrowded cities to seek employment. It may be possible to solve such unemployment by assuring the farmer that there is a place for him in the economy whilst he remains to farm the land. But the downward trend of prices of farm produce, e.g. cocoa, does not encourage such reassurance.

In the second place, I am yet to find a sociologist who will agree that unemployment breeds violent crimes. It may be true that the unoccupied mind ponders more evil than the occupied. But this does not mean that all layabouts are violent criminals. For instance, if you examine the list of those who were convicted of violent crimes in Nigeria recently, you will find that some of them had, by Nigerian standards, good jobs.

I am quite sure that the feeling that all the rulers are the same is wrong. The ties common to all rulers are the problems, the diagnosis are the same. It is the frustration from the insoluble problems that causes them to sign the common bond of incompetence. However, what is common to all rulers in West African countries (be it civilian or military government) is the desire to rule for ever. This in itself is a greater evil.

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Commercial News

ANOTHER WORLD SURPLUS FORECAST

Cocoa smuggling intensified

Cocoa smuggling from Ghana to Togo has been intensified. Two leading commodity firms reported last week. Gill and Duffus, forecasting a 1971/72 main crop figure of 435,000 tons compared with an estimated 380,000 tons last season, say that the crop is coming in well in Ashanti and Brong Ahafo, that Western Region purchases are up 80 per cent on last year, and that the position in the Eastern and Central Regions is satisfactory in spite of the late planting. "Only in the Volta Region have purchases been disappointing — they are running well behind for year — but this could well be explained by an increased rate of smuggling into Togo."

Paterson, Simons & Foxon argue that smuggling to Togo, and to a lesser extent to Ivory Coast, has been intensified by the maintenance of the producer price at N8. per head load and the delays in getting cash to the farmers. "By the middle of January less than 5,000 tons compared with almost 14,000 tons last season were reported as having been purchased in the Volta Region, which lies adjacent to the frontier with Togo."

The company forecasts a main crop of 430,000 tons, allowing for the retention of about 10,000 tons by farmers to take advantage of the higher producer price promised for next season (Gill and Duffus do not expect any substantial tonnage to be held back for this reason). Devaluation, point out the company, will provide a further incentive to smuggling.

On labour, Paterson Simons say that the supply has been barely adequate to cope with the big harvest. "In order to reduce the number of separate pickings, some pods were picked before they were really ripe and some ripe pods were left until the point of germination before being cut from the trees. Farmers can get away with this during a dry season, but the lowering standards of farming could place future crops in jeopardy when weather conditions are not so favourable."

In spite of the severity of the recent Harmattan, the canopy has remained in fair condition but farm clearing had been poor "and the economic pressure on the cocoa farmer has become more and more evident in his inability to employ enough labourers to maintain farms at a reasonable standard. In fact, it is doubtful whether farms can support a large

mid-stop unless above average rainfall is received in the January-March period."

In Nigeria weather conditions have not been as favourable as in Ghana for most of the growing season. The drier than normal weather has continued even through January and it seems probable that unless there is adequate rainfall between now and the middle of March, prospects of sizeable summer pickings were remote. The rate of purchases started to improve from the middle of January because of greater availability of finance, of which there had previously been a shortage in the Western State, facilitating the buying of outstanding supplies already harvested and because of an increased rate of access from the newer plantings, many of which are located in the less accessible areas. Paterson-Nigerian production forecast is 260,000 tons, about 40,000 tons lower than the level of purchases finally achieved last season. Gill and Duffus suggest a similar figure, and add: "At the same time, the illegal movement of cocoa over the border into Dahomey (which is not included in the Nigerian forecasts) is expected to reach possibly 10,000 tons this season compared with an estimated 19,000 tons shipped from Cotonou last season."

Good weather and the effect of new plantings and the efficient operation of the Field Extension Programme which runs in parallel suggest a good Ivory Coast harvest. A crop of 205,000 tons is considered likely, which would be about 45,000 tons higher than in 1970/72. Prospects in Cameroon are also good, with a main crop of 110,000 in sight. Paterson, Simons conclude: "With origins such as Ghana and Nigeria still having a fair proportion of their crops to sell, it is difficult to justify the view that prices can maintain the existing level, let alone improve upon it."

Gill and Duffus put 1971/72 world output at 1,618,000 long tons — an all-time record, and an increase of 9.4 per cent on the 1970/71 production estimate of 1,479,000 tons. Overall production in Africa is forecast at 1,167,000 tons which compares with last season's African production of 1,078,000 tons and the previous record level of production in 1964/65 of 1,162,000 tons.

The estimate for world grindings for the calendar year 1972 is given as

1,402,200 tons
5.4 per cent
all-time record
significant increase
Brazil following
existing factory
grindings are new
long tons. The figure
usage is increasing
incentive of lower
and Duffus

Comparing world
production and allowing
forecast surplus for 1972 is
surplus of 40,000 tons in
68,000 tons in 1970. Part
anticipate an even larger surplus
tons. However large the surplus
the third year in successful
world stocks have increased
certainly depress the market

A concerted position
international negotiations for
agreements on cocoa, sugar
should be adopted by the
Common Market Commission
recommended. The Commission
recommendations have to be approved
the Council of Ministers, also
that the Community spend one
of its total gross national product

Gas company 'soor'

A national gas company is established in Nigeria according to Mr E. Essien of the Federal Office of Mines and Power. The company will have the responsibility of carrying out "purified natural gas and petroleum gas projects" expected to mature between 1973 and 1975. *Petroleum Press Service* comments: "One obvious candidate is the Shell/BP proposal (to date assented to) for a natural gas liquefaction plant to ship Nigerian gas to the USA, while the other may refer to the recent LPG agreement with Guadeloupe" (*West Africa*, 17/1/72, p. 28). "Mr Essien also said that the government is planning to set up a research and development organisation whose tasks would include studying a possibility of renegeting gas current being flared in Nigeria's oilfields."

The magazine also reported that "Lagos appears to have decided to build Nigeria's second oil refinery itself despite a number of earlier proposals from oil companies... A technical, economic study of the project has been commissioned from France's Petroleum Institute.

• Shell has been granted an exploration block covering 31,800 sq kilometres off the Mauritanian coast. The agreement is for five years and is renewable twice and calls for minimum expenditure of CFA5,000m, and the drilling of at least two wells.

TUKUR TACKLES CONGESTION

Measures to combat growing congestion at Lagos Port were announced by the Port Manager, Alhaji B. M. Tukur, because of the "general laxity of importers, clearing and forwarding agents and deliberate defiance of port working instructions" he announced that storage rates for cargo left at the Port would be tripled, a "heavy penalty" would be imposed on importers who abandoned their goods in the transit sheds after the customs documents had been processed, and all government agencies - NPA, customs, National Produce Marketing Company, NRC and police - were required to work round the clock. He added: "Any member of the public who is unable to get satisfactory service from any of the aforementioned agencies should lodge an immediate report at the Port Manager's office for redress."

At the end of last month, 25 ships were waiting to berth. Alhaji Tukur said that port workers were doing their best but "the wharf has become just too small for the ever-growing number of ships coming here nowadays". He warned that goods cleared but not discharged within a fixed time would be publicly auctioned.

Because of the congestion and the resultant losses and damage to goods, insurance premia have been raised. At the invitation of the National Insurance Corporation, five British insurance specialists have been studying the insurance problems raised by the port congestion. The team was led by Mr. W. Claydon, chairman of the London Institute of Underwriters.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Nigeria's Finance Commissioner, has warned that the Federal Government would, from now on, regard unwarranted retrenchment of workers by industrial establishments as attempts to sabotage development efforts. Asked to comment on the dismissal of workers in the textile industry, he said that the industries had gained immense benefits from the protection given them during the civil war and they should use the profits made at the time to sustain their factories now. He criticised textile firms for not consulting the "appropriate quarters" on the "adverse situation" before laying off thousands of workers.

Work has started on a £895,000 timber port, to be financed by the Trans-Congolese Communications Agency, the French Aid and Co-operation Fund and the French Caisse Centrale de Co-operation Economique. Brazzaville's timber trade was practically non-existent in 1960, but reached 60,000 tons in 1968, 143,000 tons in 1970, and is expected to pass 600,000 tons in 1975. Cameroon and Central African Republic sent delegations to the opening, performed by President Nguouabi. Part of these countries' timber exports are to pass through the port.



Miriam Makeba

Top Guinean entertainers will be among the attractions at the All Africa Trade Fair, which opens in Nairobi this month. Miriam Makeba and Kouyate Sory Kandia are scheduled to perform there, as are Bembeza Jazz National Orchestra and the national dance troupe. This was announced in Nairobi by M. Roger Millimono, leader of the Guinean delegation to the Fair and the symposium on Intra-African Trade which will run concurrently with it. In his statement, Mr. Millimono said: "The people, the party, the Government and particularly the Supreme Authority of the Revolution, Chief-Commandant of the Popular and Revolutionary Armed Forces, President Ahmed Sekou Touré, have entrusted me to declare here, once again, that the Republic of Guinea, faithful to her African and international policies, is totally committed to this show of the organisation of African Unity."

"This is why she is once again offering to Africa the chance of appreciating the great socialist cultural revolution which continues in Guinea, for the liberation of Africa."

The 1971 pledges to the UN Fund for Population Activities reached a record figure of \$28m, surpassing the target set for the year by \$3m. The Executive Director of the Fund, Mr. Rafael Salas, has said that the increased contributions are a measure of the growing concern of governments about the effect that population factors can have on national development.

Britain has promised the Food Programme a total of £2.5m. in commodities and cash for the two-year period 1973/74. One third of this will be in cash and two-thirds in available UK commodities. It compares with pledges totalling £1.53m. made for the 1971/72 period.

UK CONSORTIUM ADVISES SOUTH-EAST

Nigeria's South-Eastern State Government has called in Antaprise (International), to advise on a series of projects in a major programme of industrialisation. The cost of the work is expected to exceed £5m. A spokesman for Antaprise, a London-based consortium of civil engineers, architects and planners, said yesterday that British export finance would provide a substantial contribution. Following the recent visit of Chief Ambassador (the consortium's representative in Nigeria) and the President of the Whitehouse group of companies) to London to discuss the results of a fact-finding mission carried out by Antaprise last November, Antaprise representatives will return to Nigeria in March for further talks.

The industrialisation projects will include the development of ceramics, brewing, food production, abattoirs, industrial estates and glass industries.

Nigerian Government policy is to train Nigerians at home as much as possible. The Commissioner for Economic Development and Reconstruction, Dr. Adebayo Adedeji, told the Czech ambassador that Nigerian universities were being encouraged to develop post-graduate studies to bring about this goal. He said that the economic agreement signed with Czechoslovakia in 1965 had not really "taken off" and he called for a review to make it more effective.

Lord Shawcross has rejected the chairmanship of Lonrho, which he said he had been approached about informally through a third party. The current chairman, Mr. Alan Bull, is also joint managing director with Mr. "Tiny" Rowland. The appointment of a respected "outsider" has been suggested by several observers as a necessary step to improve the confidence of the City of London establishment in the company. *The Times* reported last week that the report on the company being prepared by Peat Marwick Mitchell, chartered accountants, "gives Lonrho a 'clean bill of health', but that it recommends "a less personalised management structure".

A helicopter is to be built on the Federal Palace Hotel "to ensure quick transport services from the hotel to Ikeja airport. The manager, Mr. G. McCarter, has announced a £1.25m extension to be planned for the hotel involving the erection of a multi-storey block containing 200 bedrooms.

The World Bank has expressed the hope that a stockbreeding project it is financing in Zaire will be put into effect as soon as possible. A World Bank expert, M. Dubois, following a week's consultations with Zaire authorities, said the amount of money to be put into the project - to boost production on public and semi-public stockbreeding farms - would be determined at a later stage.

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

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From London: FROE s/g Feb. 17, OBUASI s/g Feb. 2

From Dublin: PERANG due Takoradi Jan. 14. From Poole: CLEARWAY due Apapa Feb. 12. From N. Continent: KABALA due Victoria Feb. 12

NORTHBOUND - To Liverpool: DEIDO due Feb. 12

To London: KABALA s/g Apapa Feb. 13, FLEVAI due Feb. 13; EGORI due Abidjan Feb. 13

To N. Continent: BHAMO due Antwerp Feb. 18, DONSLOVE due Bilbao Feb. 13, KADUNA s/g Antw. Feb. 17; PLGU due Rotterdam Feb. 17

To 4-month: DUMBAIA s/g Apapa Feb. 13

To Glasgow: FIAN s/g Sapele Feb. 17

EASTBOUND - From USA/Canada: CALIBAS due Lome Feb. 11; DONGA due Port Genl Feb. 13, ONTISHIA s/g Philadelphia Feb. 11

WESTBOUND - India/Bangla Desh/Burma: LAURELBANK s/g Douala Feb. 11

BARBER Lines

OUTWARDS - FERNGATE due Monrovia Feb. 22, thence Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala; FURNBROOK s/g New York Mar. 3 for Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa and Douala; FERNLAND s/g New York Mar. 17 for Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala

HOMEWARDS - FERNGATE ldg Lagos S Bound about Feb. 28, Ghana 1st half Mar. Abidjan/Monrovia mid Mar for US North Atlantic; FURNBROOK ldg Lagos S Bound about Mar. 20, Ghana Mar. 29 for US North Atlantic

"K" Line

WESTBOUND - From Japan via Hong Kong to Port Harcourt, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc: JAMAICA MARU s/g Kobe Feb. 4 due Lagos Mar. 18

EASTBOUND - From Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc. to Japan via Hong Kong: IINAX MARU s/g Lagos Feb. 15, Tema Feb. 18, Freetown Feb. 24 due Japan Apr. 7.

WOERMANN Line

MALAGA s/g Bordeaux Feb. 25, due Lome Mar. 7, Cotonou Mar. 3; CALANDA due Pointe Noire Feb. 26, Matadi Feb. 28, Luanda Mar. 1.

DAFRA Line

EASTBOUND - FRANKRI s/g Monrovia Feb. 29 due Warri Mar. 4, Port Harcourt Mar. 8

WESTBOUND - AFRIKA s/g Sinec Mar. 2 due Houston Mar. 18, New Orleans Mar. 24.

GOLD STAR Line

WESTBOUND - NOGAH Lobito Mar. 8, Luanda Mar. 9, Matadi Mar. 15

EASTBOUND - ISEDEK Singapore Mar. 7, Mui Mar. 19, Kobe Mar. 20

BLACK STAR LINE/US/NW/WEST AFRICA - WESTBOUND - KLORTE LAGOON Takoradi Jan. 24, Abidjan Jan. 27, New York Feb. 10, Philadelphia Feb. 14.

BLACK STAR LINE/UK/CONTINENT/WEST AFRICA - SOUTHBOUND - NAKWA RIVER Middlesex Feb. 18. OFFIN RIVER London Feb. 11.

NORTHBOUND - PRA RIVER Bremen Feb. 15, Hamburg Feb. 20, BIRIM RIVER Middlesex Feb. 9, Avonmouth Feb. 14.

DELTA Line

DEL RIO s/g Dakar Mar. 12 due Conakry Mar. 13, Freetown Mar. 15. DEL SOL s/g New Orleans Mar. 11, Houston Mar. 7, Pascagoula Mar. 3

PALM Line

SOUTHBOUND - From London: LOBITO PALM due Dakar Mar. 15

From Continent: IKEJA PALM due Tema Mar. 5

NORTHBOUND - To Liverpool: KANO PALM s/g Abidjan Feb. 23

To London: LAGOS PALM s/g Takoradi Mar. 1

N.Y.K. Line

WESTBOUND - From Japan via Hong Kong to Lobito, Matadi, Lagos, Abidjan, etc: SHIMANE MARU s/d Kobe Dec. 30 due Abidjan Feb. 16, Takoradi Feb. 18

EASTBOUND - From Lagos, Tema, Takoradi, Abidjan, Lome etc. to Japan: SHIMANE MARU due Abidjan Feb. 16, Japan Mar. 26

CHARGEURS Reunis

BOURGAINVILLE due Monrovia Feb. 16; HOUZELEN s/g Kobe Feb. 28

MITSUI Osk Line

HOKONESAN MARU s/g Kobe Feb. 4 due Lagos Mar. 8. BUENOS AIRES MARU s/g Kobe Feb. 20 due Lagos Mar. 22, HONOLULU MARU s/g Kobe Mar. 4 due Lagos Apr. 9.

MAERSK Line

INWARDS - From Japan via Hong Kong to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan: JESPER MAERSK s/g Kobe Mar. 5 due Luanda Apr. 1.

OUTWARDS - From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi: JOHANNES MAERSK s/g Lagos/Apapa Feb. 20 due Tema Feb. 21.

FARRELL Lines

HOMEWARDS - AFRICAN MOON s/g Lagos/Apapa Mar. 1 for Matadi, Luanda Mar. 12, Lobito, Abidjan, Monrovia, US Ports; AFRICAN LIGHTNING s/g Lagos/Apapa Mar. 1 for Douala, Abidjan, Monrovia, US Ports

OUTWARDS - AFRICAN LIGHTNING due Dakar Feb. 21 for Freetown, Monrovia Feb. 25, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Mar. 4, Lagos/Apapa Mar. 6, Douala, AFRICAN CRESCENT due Monrovia Mar. 10 for Abidjan, Tema Mar. 16.

KONINLIKE NELDLOY NV EUROPE/WEST AFRICAN SERVICES - BALONG s/g Antwerp Feb. 28, Rotterdam Mar. 1, Rouen Mar. 3, HOGH SVOLDER Antwerp Mar. 13, Rotterdam Mar. 15

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE - SOUTHBOUND - ODUDWA s/g Bremen Mar. 3 due Monrovia Mar. 16

NORTHBOUND - RIVER NIGER due Dublin Feb. 19.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA Line

SOUTHBOUND - HOEGH SVOLDER s/g Scan. early Mar. for discharge WA end Mar./Apr. BATU s/g Scan. mid Mar. for discharge.

NORTHBOUND - HOEGH HERON s/g WA first half Mar. for discharge Scan. Late Mar./early Apr. VIKAREN s/g WA late Mar./Apr. for discharge Scan. early May.

HOEGH Lines

HOEGH GUNVOR due Takoradi Mar. 2, Lome Mar. 4, Warri Mar. 7, HOEGH BISCAV due Abidjan Mar. 5, Port Harcourt Mar. 9

ROYAL INTER-OCEAN Line

INWARDS - STRAAT FRANKLIN from Japan s/d Jan. 17 due Tema Feb. 23, Port Harcourt Feb. 26, Lagos/Apapa Feb. 28, Cotonou Mar. 3, Takoradi Mar. 5, Abidjan Mar. 8.

STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from Hong Kong s/d Jan. 2 due Lagos/Apapa Feb. 10, Cotonou Feb. 16, Lome Feb. 17, Tema Feb. 18, Freetown Feb. 19, Monrovia Feb. 23, Freetown Feb. 25, Dakar Feb. 29, Conakry Mar. 3, Takoradi Mar. 13.

OUTWARDS - STRAAT FRANKLIN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt. Hong Kong and Japan early Mar.; STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt. Hong Kong and Japan second half Feb.

EAL EUROPE - AFRIKA LINE GMBH - BLOCKLAND due Abidjan Mar. 4, Tema Mar. 6, Lome Mar. 7, GERDA SCHNELL s/g Bordeaux Mar. 1 due Las Palmas Mar. 6.

NOPAL Lines

WESTBOUND - NOPAL VEGA s/g Luanda Feb. 14 due New Orleans Mar. 16.

EASTBOUND - NOPAL SUN s/g New Orleans. Feb. 14 for WA ports.

WESTIND AFRICA Line

WESTWIND s/g New Orleans Feb. 4, Houston Jan. 31 due Tema Feb. 15, Lagos Feb. 20.

SOUTHWIND s/g New Orleans Feb. 10, Houston Feb. 14 due Lagos Mar. 8.

EDWARD Nassar Lines

SARAH ELISABETH s/g Takoradi Feb. 20 due Lagos Mar. 1, Famagusta Mar. 11.

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CHANGE OF NAME

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I formerly known and addressed as Mrs. Alice Bidun Adetunji wish to be known as Mrs. Florence Oluwalunmilay Adetunji henceforth. All former documents remain valid.

I formerly known and addressed as Mrs. Eunice Omopelola Odele, wish to be known as addressed as Miss Eunice Omopelola Akinyeye. All former documents remain valid.

SITUATIONS VACANT

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
 Lecombe Laboratory, Wantage, Berkshire. Applications are invited from graduates with qualifications in plant physiology or agricultural science to undertake field investigations on root development in crop plants in relation to soil physical conditions. The post has been created in consequence of an agreement between the Agricultural Research Council, the Overseas Development Administration and the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, Ibadan, Nigeria. After spending approximately one year on the staff of the Lecombe Laboratory, where he will gain experience of modern methods for studying root growth and development, the successful candidate will be required to apply these methods in the field and the laboratory, in collaboration with a Soil Physicist, in the expanding programme of the International Institute in Nigeria, at which time he will be appointed to the staff of the International Institute at Ibadan. Minimum qualifications: A good honours degree with preferably three years post-graduate experience in a relevant field of research. Some familiarity with radioactive tracer procedures will be an advantage. The initial appointment will be on the Scientific Officer (£1,200-2,000) or Higher Scientific Officer (£1,810-2,550) scale, depending on age and experience. Salaries in Nigeria to be determined. It will be at rate of allowances, those allowances appropriate to the qualifications and circumstances of the scientist appointed, in the light of the salary levels generally applicable internationally. Candidates should, in the first instance, submit brief details of their academic careers and the names of three referees to the Secretary, Agricultural Research Council, Lecombe Laboratory, Wantage, Berkshire, by 28th February, 1972. Fuller details of the post and the programme of the International Institute will be provided to candidates possessing appropriate qualifications.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN. Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for posts of (a) Lecturer in Tree-Crop Husbandry, (b) Lecturer in Agricultural Engineering (Machinery and Machines) in the Department of Agronomy. Candidate for (a) must possess a doctorate degree in agriculture or related fields, a working knowledge of fruit-bearing trees and should be able to plan and execute research programmes on them. He should also be conversant with tropical fruit-bearing crops. The successful candidate will be required to supervise postgraduate students and to teach postgraduate courses. Candidate for (b) must possess at least a Masters' degree in Agricultural Engineering and 3 years post-graduation field experience and should be able to plan a research programme involving the building of small farm implements and improvement of traditional farm tools. The successful candidate will be expected to look after the various agricultural equipments in the Department and to teach undergraduate courses. Appointments, which are to commence as soon as possible, are for three years initially and subject to review thereafter. Salary scale: Lecturer - £1,380 x 75 - £1,830/£1,905 x 75 - £2,415 a year. Fees are paid for appointees who are under 18 children under 11 years on appointment, approved overseas leave and termination where applicable. F.S.S.A. or N.C.T.S.S. Children's and car allowances are also paid. Part-formatted accommodation is provided. Detailed applications (6 copies), stating age, full qualifications and experience and naming three referees by 29 February, 1972 to Registrar, University of Ibadan, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

STATUTORY CORPORATIONS SERVICE COMMISSION. Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates to undergo training as Management Cadets in the Nigerian Ports Authority. 1. Qualifications: Candidates must possess University degree in Economics or Arts or Business Administration from a recognised institution; or Equivalent Professional qualifications e.g. Membership of the Chartered Institute of Transport (M.C.I.T.), A.C.I.S. 2. Period of Training: 1 to 2 years. Candidates will train in local and/or overseas institutions, have both practical and theoretical training in equipment administration and port operating techniques. 3. Salary: Scale Adebajo SAP.1 to EN1,020 x 42 - EN1,104/EN1,200 x 55 - EN1,565/EN1,640 x 80 - EN2,060. On successful completion of the training, candidates will be offered appropriate appointments on the professional and administrative scale of SAP.1 as above and will enter the service on a Commencing salary of EN1,250 p.a. 4. Age: Candidates should be below 21 years of age. Method of Application: Application forms are obtainable from the Secretary and Chief Administrative Officer, Statutory Corporations Service Commission, P.M.B. 12033, 30 Marina, Lagos, State Statutory Corporations Service Commissions, States Public Service Commissions and Overseas at the Office of the Nigerian High Commission, 9 Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2. Completed application forms should be returned to the Secretary and Chief Administrative Officer, (at the above address) not later than 28th February, 1972.

Vacancy for Chief Accountant

The Federal Statutory Corporations Service Commission invites applications from suitably qualified candidates for the post of Chief Accountant in the Nigeria Airways Limited.

QUALIFICATIONS:

Candidates must be between 35 and 45 years of age and must be Chartered, Certified or Cost and Works Accountants with at least 5 years post qualification experience or a good honours degree in Accountancy with 7 years post qualification experience in a business Organisation. Experience in the Airline Industry will be an advantage.

SALARY:

SAP. 6 EN3,080 per annum (Consolidated)

METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Application forms are obtainable from:—
 (a) The Secretary and Chief Administrative Officer, Statutory Corporations Service Commission, 30 Marina, Lagos, Nigeria
 (b) States Public Service Commissions.
 (c) The Nigeria High Commission, 9 Northumberland Avenue, London W.C.2.

CLOSING DATE:

Completed application forms with photostat copies of certificates must be returned to the Secretary at the above address not later than 25th February, 1972.

SITUATIONS VACANT - cont.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

VACANCY

PROFESSOR IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF LIBRARY STUDIES

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the post of Professor in the Department of Library Studies, Faculty of Education.

Candidates must possess a good University degree and a higher academic qualification in Librarianship and must also have considerable post-qualification experience, a good part of which should be in full-time teaching and/or research. It will be an advantage if the research experience includes the areas of African Bibliography or Library Administration. Candidates are also required to have experience in supervision of postgraduate research students.

The appointment, which is to retiring age, is to commence as soon as possible. Salary is £N3,300 a year. Salary supplementation at the rate of £925 per annum (Sterling) in appropriate cases under British Expatriates Supplementation Scheme. Family passages are paid on appointment, approved overseas leave and termination, where applicable. F.S.S.U. or N.U.J.S.S. Children's and car allowances are also paid. Part-furnished accommodation is provided. Detailed applications (6 copies) stating age, full qualifications and experience, and naming three referees by 29th February, 1972, to Ag. Registrar, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

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SITUATIONS VACANT - cont.

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NIGERIAN STEEL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY VACANCIES

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the following posts in the Nigerian Steel Development Authority:

- (a) Senior Accountant (b) Senior Internal Auditor

The Nigerian Steel Development Authority is a new organisation established by Decree No. 19 of 1971 and charged with the responsibility for the planning, construction, operation and maintenance of the proposed national iron and steel industry.

Salary

The starting salary in each case will not be less than EN2,000 per annum.

Minimum Qualifications and Experience

(a) Candidates for the post of Senior Accountant should possess A.C.A., A.C.C.A. or A.C.W.A with at least three years' experience in a responsible position, preferably in an industry.

(b) Candidates for the post of Senior Internal Auditor should possess A.C.A. or A.C.C.A with considerable accounting and auditing experience in an industry or a reputable professional firm.

Duties

(a) The Senior Accountant will take charge of the Accounts Section and assist and be responsible to the Chief Accountant. He will scrutinize vouchers and other accounting documents before signing them, or passing them for signature. He will be required to introduce and maintain cost accounting and budgetary control and reconcile with the general accounts. He will be responsible for the stores accounting and supervise the payments of salaries and wages.

(b) The Senior Internal Auditor will be responsible for initiating and carrying out the internal audit system for the Authority's accounts. He will also be responsible for the control of the internal audit activities including station audit and the verification of the Authority's stores.

Other Conditions of Service

Successful candidates will be entitled to car, housing and travelling allowances, annual leave and leave allowance. Free medical services will be provided. Other conditions of service will be laid down from time to time.

Method of Application

Applications (3 copies) giving particulars of age, marital status, institutions attended, educational qualifications and experience, with dates, names and addresses of three referees competent to attest to qualifications and experience, and accompanied by two copies of latest passport photographs, should be addressed to:

The Secretary,
Nigerian Steel Development Authority,
P.M.B. 12015,
Lagos.

to reach him not later than 29th February, 1972.

Envelopes should be endorsed "SENIOR ACCOUNTANT" or "SENIOR INTERNAL AUDITOR" on the upper left hand corner.

Applications from candidates in Government Service should be submitted through their Heads of Departments and the appropriate Public Service Commissions and advance copies sent directly.

The successful candidates should be available to assume duties as soon as possible.

A. A. NEGEDU
Secretary to the Authority.

SITUATIONS VACANT - cont.

FEDERAL STATUTORY CORPORATIONS SERVICE COMMISSION

Applications are invited from qualified candidates for the post of

Deputy Chief Accountant

in the Nigerian National Shipping Line Limited.

QUALIFICATIONS:

Candidates must possess one of the following qualifications with at least 5 years' post-qualification experience, 3 years of which must be in the Senior Management level: C.A., A.C.A., A.A.C.C.A., A.I.C.W.A. or A.I.M.T.A.

SALARY:

SAP.5 - £N2,860 (Consolidated)

Method of Application:

Application forms are obtainable from either the Secretary and Chief Administrative Officer, 30 Marina, Lagos OR States Public Service Commission. The Nigeria High Commission, 9 Northumberland Avenue, London W.C.2.

Closing Date:

Completed application forms with photostat copies of certificates must be returned to the Secretary at the above address not later than 25th February 1972.

NOTICES - cont.

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SITUATIONS VACANT—cont.

**NIGERIAN STEEL DEVELOPMENT
AUTHORITY
VACANCIES**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for appointment to the following posts in the Nigerian Steel Development Authority:

- (a) Project Engineers
- (b) Training Engineers

The Nigerian Steel Development Authority is a new organisation established by Decree No. 19 of 1971 and charged with the responsibility for the planning, construction, operation and maintenance of the proposed national iron and steel industry.

Salary

The starting salary in both cases will be within the range of EN1,500 - EN2,700 per annum depending on qualification and experience, and the grading to which the successful candidates will fall.

Minimum Qualifications and Experience

(a) Applicants for the posts of Project Engineers should possess at least a B.Sc. Degree or equivalent in mechanical or production or industrial or metallurgical or chemical engineering. A post graduate training and/or experience on the principles and practice of economics will be an advantage. Industrial experience in a responsible post for at least two years will be desirable.

(b) Applicants for the posts of Training Engineers should possess at least a B.Sc. degree or equivalent in any of the engineering disciplines. Post graduate training will be an advantage. Some experience in training institutions as a Lecturer or an Instructor for at least two years would be desirable and applicants should be conversant with the required facilities for the practical training of engineers in various fields.

Duties

(a) Successful candidates for the posts of Project Engineers are to assist in Planning, Project Evaluation and studies related to the iron and steel industry, research and development, preliminary designs, etc. on the Authority's iron and steel project.

(b) Successful candidates for the posts of Training Engineers are to assist with the preparation and implementation of training programmes for the various categories of specialists and skilled men to be engaged for the iron and steel industry. They will assist with the general manpower development and arrange for the formal and practical training of the professionals, technologists, technicians and skilled workers with various institutions and factories. They will assist in drawing up the type of training required for each category of trainees and in specifying the equipment and training aids for the Authority's training centres.

Other Conditions of Service

Successful candidates will be entitled to car, housing, travelling allowances, annual leave and leave allowance. Free medical service will be provided. Other conditions of service will be laid down from time to time.

Method of Application

Applications (3 copies) giving particulars of age, marital status, institutions attended, educational qualifications and experience, with dates, names and addresses of three referees competent to attest to the qualifications and experience, and accompanied by two copies of latest passport photographs, should be addressed to

The Secretary,
Nigerian Steel Development Authority,
P.M.B. 12015,
Lagos.

to reach him not later than 29th February, 1972.

Envelopes should be endorsed "PROJECT ENGINEER" or "TRAINING ENGINEER" on the upper left hand corner.

Applications from candidates in Government Service should be submitted through their Heads of Departments and the appropriate Public Service Commissions and advance copies sent directly.

Successful candidates should be available to assume duties as soon as possible.

A. A. NEGEDU,
Secretary to the Authority.

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LOGANBERRY SATIN HEADTIES

THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE'S UNION CALLING

The Nigerian People's Union proposes to hold an historic Congress lasting
three days, beginning on the 31st of March 1972. The full programme will
be published soon.

The Union intends to expand its meet the People Activities, and to use the
venue to re-examine the way ahead, to re-appraise Nigerian Patriots of
their sacrifice and endeavours to bring about a Unified and Progressive
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Dateline Africa

GHANA:

Cedi revalued: debts repudiated

Ghana has nullified last December's 44 per cent devaluation of the cedi, revalued it by 44 per cent and repudiated over £35m of debts incurred to British companies by the Nkrumah regime (see page 175). The cedi will now be worth 78 U.S. cents instead of the 55 cents set by the Busia government.

A correspondent writes:

It is generally believed that the International Monetary Fund advised the Busia government that the cedi should be devalued, but that the degree of devaluation, about 44 per cent, was the Ghana government's own decision. Devaluation was considered necessary because of Ghana's continuing balance of payments crisis, resulting from the failure of export earnings to match imports. Devaluation would make imports more expensive, even if they were smuggled, and vast quantities of consumer goods were being smuggled into Ghana. On the other hand, devaluation is a very blunt instrument, affecting, for example, spares for vehicles and industrial machinery, and raw materials for industry, as well as wigs and champagne. In Ghana, too, perhaps to a greater extent than in any other African country, some imports can be regarded as staple food: tinned milk, corned beef, and sardines, for example.

It was the immediate rise in the price of such items, although they had been imported before devaluation, which made devaluation so unpopular that the new regime naturally made it one of its main grounds for criticising the Busia government. The market women who so recently had appeared to be enthusiastic supporters of Dr. Busia, also moved into opposition because, presumably, although immediately they were making a killing, they feared that their trade would soon suffer because customers would not be able to afford post-devaluation prices for the imported goods which they sell.

Although imported goods will still be more expensive than before, the NRC has announced establishment of a government organisation to import essential commodities such as food and soap in order to control prices; but insofar as Ghana's main economic problem is the failure of exports to match imports, the revaluation will make the solution more difficult. Nor can the new government go back on the decision of the Busia government to put up the daily minimum wage from 75 pesewa to one cedi from

January 1, to offset the original devaluation, or the increase from eight cedis to 10 cedis in the price per 60lb. load of cocoa, beginning with the coming mid-crop season.

An IMF delegation was in Ghana when the devaluation was announced, but it is not known whether it was consulted.

● Col Acheampong has announced the abolition of the National Development Levy. He told Regional Commissioners that the NRC had decided to restore vehicle maintenance allowances paid to civil servants and reduce rents for bungalows provided by the government for its senior employees. Civil servants will now pay rents equivalent to 10 per cent of their annual salaries — a reduction of 5 per cent. (The rents had been increased from 7½ to 15 per cent and the vehicle allowance abolished in August).

● The NRC has banned the import of over 100 commodities under a revised import licensing system for this year. Banned items include wigs, false beards, human hair, bacon, uncanned ham, fresh fruit such as apples and grapes, margarine, cigarettes, fireworks, polyester foam and paper bags. Also banned are imitation jewellery, candles, matches, combs, cotton sewing thread, aluminum utensils, furniture, travel goods, handbags and artificial flowers. Over 100 other commodities, including medical and pharmaceutical products have been placed on the restricted list.

Austerity promised

The NRC has decided to discourage the "display of symbols of prosperity and ostentatious living such as the use of sirens and motorcades and flashy cars". Col. Acheampong told a meeting of Regional Commissioners. It would also discourage lavish and frequent official entertainments, the acceptance of gifts and the staging of durbars. He said that the Council had decided to appoint six teams from the armed forces to visit government departments and ministries to ensure that discipline was maintained and advised the Commissioners to do the same. Although no civilian organisation, like the civil service, could be expected to attain the same standard of discipline as the military "it is evident that the standards in our civil service in this regard

could be much higher". The Colonel said that the Commissioners should not be distracted or confused by greed or sectionalism or tribalism, or ostentatious living: "If we acknowledge that our country is near economic collapse we should not be doing things which do not reflect the present circumstances in our country".

- The Soviet Ambassador in Ghana presented a message of goodwill from government to the NRC. It welcomed NRC's desire to strengthen contacts with the USSR and pledged maintenance and development of operation. It hoped that the NRC would show interest in reactivating uncompleted Soviet projects in Ghana and expressed readiness to hold discussions as soon as possible.
- Regional Commissioner for Ashanti, Lt. Col. Baidoo, told a meeting of some members of the Kumasi City Council that he intended reviewing the allocation of market stalls in Kumasi, the Small Loans scheme and contracts awarded by the PP government. He had received complaints that allocations and contracts were not fair.
- The Special Branch of the Ghana Police has reverted to its former post as a unit of the service. Inspector-General of Police J. H. Cobbina, announced, after the coup which ousted Dr. Busia, the Special Branch was an autonomous organisation headed by a civilian responsible only to the Prime Minister.
- A special committee has been set up by the NRC to reactivate state farms and the Workers Brigade. Under the chairmanship of the Commissioner for Agriculture Maj. Gen. Dan Addo, the committee has been given a week to submit its report.
- Mr. Gibson Ampaw, once a Minister of Health in the Progress Party government, has been handed over to Ghanaian border authorities at Aflao by the Togolese police.
- The Chairman and members of the NRC were sworn in at a ceremony in Burma Camp on February 1. They were administered by the Chief Justice Mr. E. A. Bannerman.
- Col. W. C. O. Acquaye-Nortey has been appointed Regional Commissioner for Greater Accra, succeeding Col. J. Adjetey, who has become a member of the NRC.
- A four-man delegation led by Br. Ashley-Larsen has visited Upper Volta and Liberia to explain the recent takeover.
- A decree has been passed making armed robbery punishable by death or life imprisonment.
- Dr. Busia's wife and daughter have flown to England to join the departing Prime Minister.

SIERRA LEONE

"Stagflation" again

During 1971 Sierra Leone continued to suffer from "stagflation". At the annual banquet of the Bank of Sierra Leone, the Governor, Mr. S. L. Bangura, who used the term, explained that it meant economic stagnation coexisting with inflation. During the period January to October, 1971, total exports dropped by almost Le10m to Le62.9m, compared with the same period in 1970. The decline in imports was far smaller, by Le30 to Le77.8m, so the visible trade deficit rose from Le8.1m to Le14.9m. (Provisional final figures show a deficit of some Le10m.) This was not the result solely of the fall in the value of mineral exports. Falling world prices and a decline in palm kernel production accounted for a 26 per cent decline in the value of agriculture exports. There had, however, been a significant fall in the value of diamond exports in 1971; they fell by Le7.7m to Le36.8m. Dollar devaluation, however, had allowed the local price to go up by an average rise of 3 per cent.

The Governor said that the recently formed Dimnico, the partnership between the former Sierra Leone Selection Trust and the government, had been remarkably successful, to judge by the profit made in its first year. Iron ore exports were maintained at the previous year's level, but although early in the year rutile exports appeared to be going well, the producing company ceased to operate in May.

Prices of most imported goods, said Mr. Bangura, rose sharply during the year, but it was hoped that the new national trading company, with its monopoly of the import of certain commodities, might ultimately reduce prices.

During 1971, partly because of the allocation of Special Drawing Rights by the International Monetary Fund, partly because of the new arrangements for financing marketing board operations, and partly because of a rundown of their liabilities by commercial banks, there was an apparent increase in net external assets of the banking system. In fact, there had been a fall. The Governor added that the world's currency instability had had some effect on Sierra Leone. The Leone value of the Bank's external reserves had been depleted slightly.

The Governor expressed "grave concern" about the government's supplementary budgets which over the past two years had amounted to some Le13m. In the coming year, the supplementaries would probably exceed Le3m. There should be more realistic budgeting and stricter financial discipline. Public debt was rising and was causing concern and the country's financial resources were stretched to the full. The Government also was warned against the danger of "aggressive salesmanship", which might



The Minister of Mines and Lands signing the agreement between the government and Sierra Leone Rutile, successors of Sherbro Minerals, for resumption of rutile mining. Mr. Edgar F. Cruft, Managing Director of Sierra Leone Rutile, who is also President of Nord Resources Corporation, Mr. Richard L. Stenberger, Vice-President of N.R., and Mr. David Fraser, Vice-President and Director of Sierra Leone Rutile, signed on behalf of the company. Mr. Pratt J. Malloy, Project Officer of the U.S. Export-Import Bank, which has a substantial holding in the venture, was also present at the ceremony.

induce them, together with pressure of popular demand, to accept "contractor-inance" projects which they could not afford. There was, however, great need to encourage foreign investment, and there should be a "code of ethics" for this.

- During a "meet the people" tour, the President inaugurated a water supply project in the Kambia District. This cost Le400,000 and was carried out by a French company, with assistance from the French Government. Fourteen similar schemes have been completed and five are under construction. Twenty-six provincial towns have now piped water supplies, and negotiations are in progress to cover 137 more with the assistance of a new French loan.

- Heads of Sierra Leone Missions abroad have attended a conference in Freetown, the first of its kind. The President described the country's economic situation to them and urged them to ensure economy in their offices. He warned the envoys against making "categorical statements": "you must leave a little leeway so that if you are cornered you can know where to turn".

- Aureol Tobacco Company, the Sierra Leone subsidiary of British/American Tobacco, contributed nearly Le4m to the revenue last year. Mr. Harry Paul, the General Manager, has told the President. Mr. Paul expected the contribution to increase this year, although cigarette smuggling might deprive the country of considerable revenue. Mr. Paul also said that tobacco growing in the Northern Province was expanding and there would soon be over 400 growers.

- The first of three ferries which are to replace the present ones operating between Freetown and Lungi Airport has been handed over in West Germany to the Minister of Transport. The ferry is expected in Sierra Leone in March. It contains air-conditioned passenger accommodation and a bar, as well as more accommodation for vehicles than the present ferries.

- At the second meeting of the Joint Liberia-Sierra Leone Ministerial Committee in Freetown, it was agreed that the permanent "working sub-committee" should be established to cover trade, industry and agriculture, transport and communications, education and training. Reports of these would be considered at a meeting in Monrovia in May.

- Dr. Edward Blyden, Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., has presented his credentials to the Presidents of Poland and Rumania. He will later present credentials to the Presidents of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, to all of which he is accredited.

- During a meeting with the U.S. Chargé d'Affaires, the President expressed grave concern at the unauthorized visit of the Deputy Director of "Care", Mr. Robert Lunenburg, to Wilberforce barracks.

- The report on taxation drawn up by I.M.F. experts has been presented to the Government.

GROUPINGS

A meeting in Lome of the Africa and Malagasy Council for Higher Education (CAMES) has begun a project to examine the rights and needs of students. The rector of the new University of Benin, Gabriel Johnson, said that the adoption of the project showed that students should be considered as results and that the rights available to the community as a whole should also be open to them. The meeting also discussed the comparative value of degrees given by different universities and an increase in exchanges of students between different members of the council.

- The 17-member governing body of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) has held an executive meeting in Burundi. Members of the bureau are from trade union centrals in Tanzania, Algeria, Burundi, Congo-B., Dahomey, Guinea, Nigeria, UAR, Morocco, Mali, Upper Volta and Zambia.

IVORY COAST Austerity for "Top people"

Finance Minister Konan Bedié has announced a series of austerity measures. These were first hinted at last November, and were mentioned by President Houphouët-Boigny in his New Year message. One decree will regulate expenses of "top people", depriving senior civil servants and government members of car allowances when they have an official car at their disposal. Senior officials and ministers will keep their accommodation rights but furniture in official residences will be provided according to a strictly limited list and items would have to last at least five years. Maintenance, including water and gas charges, will now have to be paid by officials. Other decrees will affect certain service and qualification allowances.

Financial studies, the Minister said, had shown an excessive growth in the cost of public sector personnel. In 1967 they numbered 22,097, but by 1971 they were 37,913. The measures, already approved by the government, have now received the go-ahead from the National Council of the ruling PDCI. President Houphouët-Boigny, who presides over the Council, told them that the measures would not apply to the junior civil servants but only to the "big ones" - directors and heads of departments - the "privileged".

M. Bedié also said that purchasing missions to foreign countries would be more closely controlled at all levels and would be subjected to new limits. Government members and senior civil servants would be entitled to a month's holiday a year in the Ivory Coast, but if they wanted to go abroad they would have to pay their own travel costs. The service allowances for French technical assistance staff is to be cut by 50 per cent.

Earlier the President of the National Assembly, M. Yacé, had told the party Political Bureau that only the President, his personal staff, ministers, members of the Economic and Social Council and the Supreme Court, and the Grand Chancellor of the National Order will be entitled to first class air travel. There are to be no more loans or advances for buying cars or for weddings and funerals. Scholarships will not be awarded to children in low paid jobs. If any official is caught giving cheques without funds to meet them, action will be taken against him within a week. M. Yacé noted that free housing had been costing the government nearly £1.5m. a year.

● The 1972 budget balances receipts and expenditure at 68,200m. CFA (about £82m.). Education will absorb 22 per cent of expenditure and public health 10 per cent. The investment budget is 34,900m. CFA (about £52m.).

● The three year investment programme for 1972-4 is estimated at 215,000m. CFA (about £308m.).

● European Investment Bank is to lend \$4.68m. for port improvements at Abidjan under an agreement to which Mali and Upper Volta are also parties. The cash will help to finance a project of nearly \$10m. for the deepening of the Vridi Canal linking the port of Abidjan with the Atlantic.

● President Houphouët-Boigny is on a private visit to Switzerland, where it is understood he will be resting.

UPPER VOLTA

The budget has been passed by the National Assembly (the first since the return of quasi-civilian rule last year). The budget balances at 10,833,500,000 CFA francs (just over £16m.), an increase of 3.2 per cent over the estimated budget for 1971. State services account for 73.24 per cent of expenditure, equipment and investment for 8.54, with 6.74 for public debt and 11.48 for various subsidies. The equipment budget has declined slightly (in 1971 it was 8.96 per cent). This was described by the Finance Minister, Marc Tiemoko Garango, as abnormal. So was the share of the budget - 56.28 per cent - which would go to pay state personnel. Nevertheless the five-year old austerity was beginning to bear fruit, he said.

The President of the National Assembly, M. Joseph Ouédraogo, said that as there appeared to be agreement between government and assembly on receipts, the debate would be confined to expenditure. These were the occasion of lengthy and animated discussions. Among statements from members were notably one from Moussa Kargogo (Independent) who said that "in spite of the fine affirmations of the Prime Minister ministerial solidarity no longer exists in the present government between civilians and the military". For the opposition National Liberation Movement (MLN), its leader, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, said that "discord is perceptible between the government and the assembly although they have the same leadership, that of the RDA." M. Christophe Kam said that his party, the PRA, supported the government and the army as long as discussions were frank and commitments are kept. In the name of the UDV-RDA, two deputies, M. Nounou Barry and François Yaro, retorted the charges made against the party. The budget was adopted by 50 votes to 5 (the MLN voted against), with two independents abstaining.

● Upper Volta Foreign Minister Joseph Conombo told parliament in Ouagadougou that black African dialogue with South Africa in present conditions would be equivalent to a dialogue between a horse and its rider. He was answering questions in which MPs claimed that Upper Volta's stance on dialogue was ambiguous. Independent deputy Kargougo Moussa, with Aly Lankoandé, (MLN) said that ambiguity had caused some foreign newspapers to list Upper Volta as one of the countries favourable to dialogue.

SENEGAL

The correspondent of *Le Monde* Dakar writes that the strike at the oil refinery at Mbao, which has been going on since towards the end of November, is slowly collapsing. Although he calls it, because of its length, the most important since the history of Senegalese trade unions, he notes that work is in fact continuing in the refinery because some of the workers had abandoned the strike, and authorities had also decided to take new workers. The strikers, he reports, now simply demanding their re-employment, and their initial demands forgotten.

● Senegal has recognised Bangladesh the first African country so to do. Its statement of recognition points out that the new state meets all the requirements for recognition, and with 70m. a second largest Islamic state in the world. The Pakistan Ambassador in Dakar, A. Haq, declared for Bangladesh the day of the recognition.

TOGO-DAHOMEY

Following a joint meeting of President Maga and President Eyadema at Ketao, Northern Dahomey, it was announced that customs controls at the Togo-Dahomey frontier are to be reduced to an "absolute minimum" especially the case of foodstuffs. The two Presidents also decided to improve telephone links especially between Lama-Kara in Togo and Djougou in Dahomey, to suppress unofficial exchange markets flourishing in the area, to hold a meeting as soon as possible of the joint Togo-Dahomey commission to put these decisions in effect, and to meet twice yearly to discuss future cooperation. (Ketao was one of the largest market towns in the area attracting traders from Nigeria, Ghana and Upper Volta, as well as Togo and Dahomey. It has diminished importance recently as a result of strict border checks.)

NIGER

Four secondary schools have been closed following disturbances. They are the National Lycee in Niamey, Minna College, the Ecole Normale in Zinder and the 'Tillabery Girls' College. The closure came soon after 41 school children were suspended, and 31 were expelled, in connection with strikes during the visit of President Pompidou.

● Niger has declared itself free of cholera by established international sanitary criteria. No cases have been reported since mid-October.

● West Germany has given Niger armoured forces a Nord-Atlas aircraft and 10 military vehicles.

● Niger has taken full control of its own treasury department, which has been staffed and run by France for more than 10 years.

NIGERIA

Mecca Pilgrims and drug trafficking

Military Governor of the North Western State, Alhaji Usman Faruk, has described as "disgraceful" the treatment meted out to Nigerian pilgrims by the Saudi authorities, who stripped them naked in their search for drugs. About 40 Nigerians have been caught drug trafficking. He told a news conference in Kano that unless the Saudi Government respected international laws, other governments might be inclined to treat Saudi nationals in the same manner, and pointed out that several Saudi nationals had been caught smuggling contraband into Nigeria but had not been subjected to such disgraceful treatment.

• A total of 44,061 Nigerians made the pilgrimage to Mecca this year, the second largest contingent after Yemen.

• The transit camp for pilgrims on Old Airport Road, Kano, is to be converted into a £100,000 motel by the State Government.

• At the UN Security Council session in Addis Ababa Nigeria called for the withdrawal of the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement proposals and the recall of the Peace Commission The Commissioner for External Affairs, Dr. Okoi Arnpko, called on Britain to give maximum support to the UN to promote a just and durable path to self-determination and freedom in Rhodesia. Britain's co-operation was imperative because she had refused to carry out her obligation as administering power in Rhodesia. Dr. Arnpko urged the immediate introduction of a constitution with clear provision for majority rule and the arranging of massive international aid for economic reconstruction and educational development.

• Federal Commissioner for Trade, Mr. Wenike Briggs, has appealed for an end to the smuggling of produce across Nigeria's borders. Smuggling of cocoa from the Western State to Dahomey had lessened, he said, but groundnuts from the northern states were still being smuggled into Niger. During a tour of the Federal Produce Inspection Offices in Lagos the Commissioner claimed that only 5,000 tons of groundnuts had been processed for shipment by the inspectors since the beginning of the current season. Some unscrupulous Nigerian businessmen were selling groundnuts to Niger representatives in Kano and obtaining higher prices per ton in Niamey, he explained.

• Businessmen have been reminded to observe strictly the regulations regarding the import and clearance of industrial machinery and equipment. Clearance certificates from the Industrial Inspectorate must be produced before the materials can be released.

• A decree should be promulgated banning people holding public office from having business interests, the Nigerian Chamber of Indigenous Contractors has recommended.

• Exports in 1971 increased to £592.4m., due mainly to an increase in the volume and value of crude petroleum. Imports rose 42 per cent to £538.2m. While petroleum exports rose earnings in the traditional sector show falls from between 13.3 per cent for rubber to 51.7 per cent for groundnut oil.

• The Kano State Military Governor, Police Commissioner Audo Bako, has called for a review of the present policy on agricultural exports, including the abolition of export duty and the imposition of a heavy duty on imported agricultural products. At present, he said, wheat and other allied products were allowed into Nigeria free of import duty while Nigerian produce suffered from stagnation because of the heavy export duty imposed on it.

• The Nigerian Petroleum Refinery Company now produces over 50,000 barrels of refined oil daily, the General Manager told the Federal Commissioner for Information, who was visiting the refinery near Port Harcourt. The company has started a practical training scheme for science graduates. The General Manager added that £2.5m. had been spent on rehabilitating the company in 1968.

• A new formula for the establishment of the proposed Nigeria News Agency is being worked out according to the Federal Information Commissioner, Chief Anthony Enahoro. The new proposals, which were made necessary by the rejection of the original plan for an independent agency, would soon be submitted to the government.

• Information Commissioners have toured war-affected areas to evaluate the extent of reconstruction.

Hassan for London

Current changes in the siting of a divisional headquarters were to conflict with national security and to make easier command and had nothing to do with politics, the Chief of Staff, Major Gen. Hassan Katsina, said in Port Harcourt. Gen. Hassan is due to leave soon for a year's course at the War College of Defence Studies in London. He said that the Federal Government was spending £8.9m a month on soldiers' salaries and maintenance.

• A decree to turn the Ministry of Communications into a commercial concern would be issued in April, the Federal Commissioner for Communications, Mr. Joseph Tarka, said in Calabar during his tour of communications installations throughout the country.

• A net profit of £878,353 was made by the Nigerian External Telecommunications in the 1970/71 financial year, an increase of £28,543 over the previous year.

• £45,000 has been provided by the Federal Government for the reactivation of the Oron Museum in the South Eastern State. Announcing this in Calabar the State representative on the National Antiquities Commission said that reconstruction work would begin this month. The Federal Government had also provided money to enable the Commission to buy back, when found, any relics looted from the Museum. The Commission plans to try to recover all antiquities stolen from the museum.

• A cultural centre — "the best in Africa" — is to be built in Jos, the Federal Trade Commissioner, Mr. Wenike Briggs, announced.

• Sixteen people were killed and twelve others injured when a mini-bus and a lorry collided on the Zaria-Kaduna road.



Three Nigerians passed out from the Mons Officer Cadet School, Aldershot, on February 4. They are photographed with the Inspecting Officer, Lt. General Sir Ian Freeland, at a reception following the parade. Left to right: Officer Cadet Isikkuheme Orukpe, from Enahlele-Ewu, Ishan Division; Officer Cadet Dennis Bassey, from Ekori PA via Obudura; Officer Cadet Joseph Adesina, from Ake-Abeokuta. They returned to Lagos on February 8 to receive their postings.

The African Development Bank has agreed to lend Nigeria 3.4m. dollars to reconstruct Enugu Airport. The loan, payable over 12 years at 6 per cent per annum with a grace period of three years, will provide for the entire labour costs of rebuilding.

The Central Water Transportation Company has been launched in Onitsha by the East Central State Administrator, Mr. Oluwole Osofisan. The governments of East Central, Midwest, Benue-Plateau, Kwara and the North West States are partners in the company, which will operate a fleet of about 80 dry cargo barges and 15 oil tanker barges.

Opening the six-day Mid-West Trade Fair organised by the State government, the Military Governor Col. Ogbemudia announced the setting up of a company, Nigerian Economic Welfare Services, to be in charge of all state-owned industry.

Mid-West State Government has announced that it is too soon to resume the firing of cannon shots on a large scale as part of burial ceremonies, particularly in war-affected areas of the State.

The Midwest television service should begin service by June, it was announced in Benin.

Thirty people have died of cerebro-spinal meningitis in the Oturkpo division of Benue Plateau, and the disease is reported to be spreading to other parts of the State.

A special court has been set up by the Benue Plateau State to recover more than £500,000 given in loans to co-operative bodies. Because of the failure to repay loans, the state government is no longer guaranteeing loans to co-op societies.

Benue Plateau Health Ministry has warned proprietors of non-government hospitals against keeping corpses until the deceased's bill has been settled.

A £200,000 school of agriculture is to be built in Vom, Benue Plateau State, by the Federal Government.

Benue Plateau State is establishing its own produce marketing board.

The University of Ibadan Students Union building has been renamed after Adekunle Adepeju, who was killed when students clashed with police on the campus on 1 February 1970.

Seventy-five farmers have been arrested by police in Abeokuta, following an attack on a police post at Egba Odeda in which two policemen were injured.



The retiring Chief Justice, Adetokunbo Ademola, receiving a letter from Lt. Comm. Diete-Spiff in Harcourt during his farewell tour of the Federation.

Judges salaries should be paid for the Nigerian Bar Association suggested in an address read by Richard Akinjide, the Association chairman, at a special sitting of Supreme Court in honour of the retiring chief justice.

The establishment of State Broadcasting Services is not aimed at rivaling or contradicting the Federal Broadcasting Service, but at complementing it. State Governor Lt. Comm. Diete-Spiff said on his return from Europe. Details about the proposed State Radio Television services would soon be announced.

Two thousand low cost houses have been constructed in the River State for use by people most hit by the drought. The State's Commissioner for Economic Development and Rehabilitation, Dr. Wali, announced.

Following a "Keep Lagos Clean" campaign by the *Daily Times*, the Lt. State Governor, Col. Johnson, has set up a committee "to investigate and resolve with the utmost speed the problem of refuse disposal and sanitation for the city of Lagos".

Sir Ian Lewis, the only expatriate judge of the Supreme Court, is retiring in May after 20 years service.

A draft agreement for economic, scientific and technological cooperation with Nigeria is being studied in China by the Chinese ambassador, Mr. Chang Li, announced.

The economic agreement concluded between Nigeria and Czechoslovakia in 1965 is to be reviewed.

Nigeria Airways is extending its services to Douala, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels and Frankfurt.

Over £1.5m. was advanced in late 1971 by the Nigerian Building Society, which now has assets of over £6m.

Three Royal Navy minesweepers are expected to pay a goodwill visit to Lagos.

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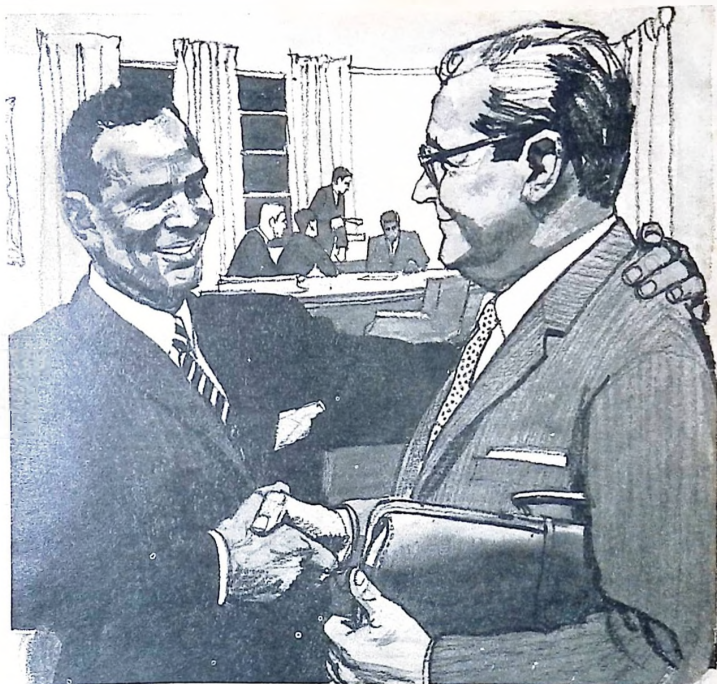
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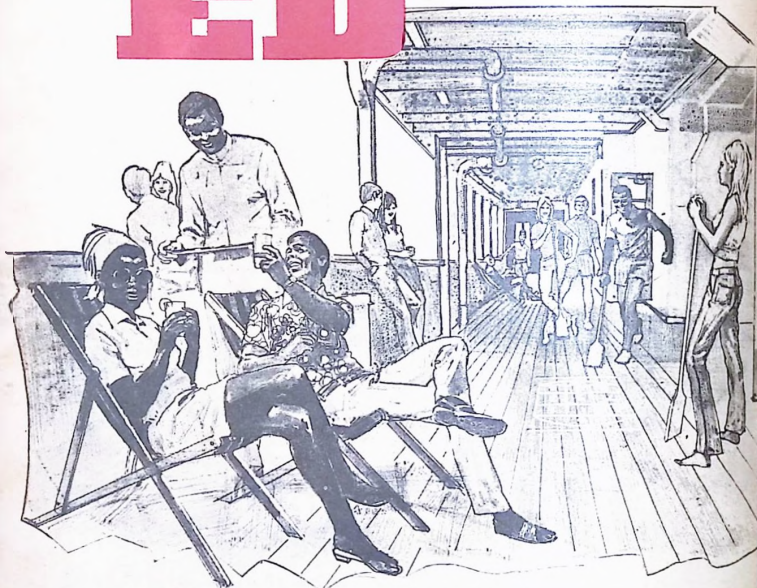
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