

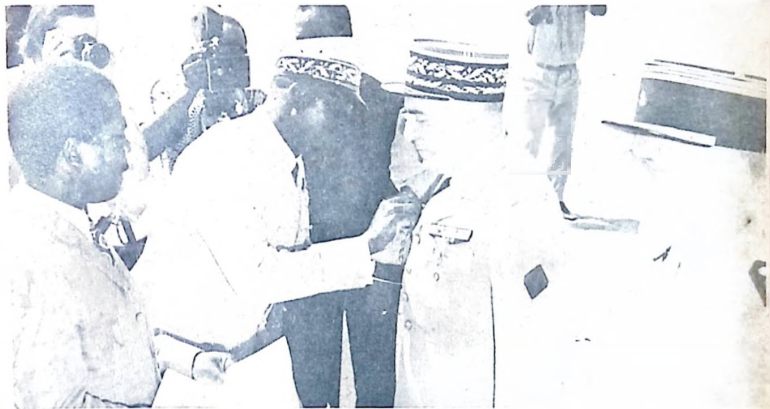
# West Africa

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## The Power in the Palace



French troops would not intervene in the event of a "palace revolution" in Chad, according to General Cortadellas, the outgoing Commander-in-Chief of the Franco-Chadian armed forces. In remarks reported on page 1213 he offered no qualification to the statement.

Although the criterion for French military interventions in black Africa may sometimes seem to be mysterious (the texts of the individual Defence Agreements between France and ten different African countries are secret, but they are said to vary slightly) the French are certainly not obliged to intervene whenever called on. This was demonstrated by the famous precedent of Brazzaville in April 1963 when an appeal by the Abbé Youtou was definitely refused by De Gaulle. This, however, is the only known case of a refusal, although there may have been others.

Although the intervention in Gabon in 1964 to restore President Mba was an example of a "palace revolution", on the whole the French have refrained from intervening in similar cases of *coup d'état*, as in, for example, the Central

African Republic in 1966, Dahomey in 1965, 1967 or 1969; or Togo in 1967. They have been even more reluctant to intervene in cases of popular revolutions. Brazzaville 1963 was a case in point, as was the fall of President Maga of Dahomey in the same year.

An even more significant example was the case of Madagascar in May this year, when, after several days of popular demonstrations in Tananarive, a French government statement in Paris said that French troops stationed on the island at the Diego Suarez base would not intervene to save the government of President Tsiranana. This was an important factor in the semi-coup which put the army in charge of the government, although M. Tsiranana is still nominally Head of State.

Should one see General Cortadellas' remark in the same context? Looked at one way it could be interpreted as an open invitation to a "palace revolution" in Fort Lamy, although he cannot have intended it to be so. The speed with which President Tombalbaye retired his army commander last December, after a student's demonstration in Fort Lamy

had called for the army to take power, suggests that the "palace" is not as secure as all that.

Moreover, the Chad rebellion is by no means over, even though the French intervention has now officially been proclaimed at an end, and General Cortadellas is not to be replaced. The General himself made it clear that there was still a threat from some Libyan-trained Frolinat elements, and other sources make it clear that despite a token reconciliation between the Chad and Libyan governments in April, Colonel Gaddafi is still lending some financial support to the rebellion, which he sees as a Moslem, anti-colonial crusade. Nevertheless, for material reasons, fifty of them French Mirage aircraft, neither the Libyans nor the French wish to be in open conflict.

On two accounts, therefore, President Tombalbaye must have reservations about General Cortadellas' parting shots. Despite the euphoria at the high morale of the Chad army, and the solid work done by the French, the General has gone out planting a couple of seeds of doubt: firstly, that there might be a palace

● Sierra Leone: crunch for democracy?

● West Africa's port crisis

● The US and Nigeria's war

revolution, secondly that there might be a recrudescence of the rebellion. If these statements are tied-in with known facts about the political and economic situation in Chad - the recent strains put on President Tombalbaye's reconciliation policy, and the serious financial situation of the government - it can hardly be said that the apparent French disengagement in Chad has happened because of optimism about the future there. Rather, it has seemed in Paris to be an impossible open-ended commitment, consuming £3m. of French taxpayers money a year, for not very tangible benefits.

At the same time, it would be rash to assume that the French attitude to Chad presages any wider disengagement in black Africa. Chad has sometimes been thought of as a test case for President Pompidou's African policy, and the whole intervention, begun by de Gaulle, has always had strong Gaullist overtones. Moreover it could never be seen in isolation. The French intervened in Chad partly to demonstrate that the Defence Agreements were not mere scraps of paper, and the role they have played in bolstering President Tombalbaye's régime has been significant. Realistically, however, they decided that it could not go on indefinitely. By raising opposition within France to military adventurism in Africa, the Chad intervention, initiated to save the system, began to threaten it.

It is an important fact of power politics in black Africa today that France

is the only European power apart from Portugal which has its own troops (as opposed to military missions or seconded officers) on African soil, and full-scale Defence Agreements with African countries, safeguarding especially internal security (French troops have never been asked to meet any external threat). It is true that the numbers are small - there are only 6,500 French troops in all stationed in Africa, and only three military bases (Dakar, Fort Lamy and Diego Suarez); but given the size and power of most African armies, the French are a decisive force. Who knows which régimes owe their life to the French military presence, simply because it was there? The presence of the "Intervention Force" in France, ready to be called on at short notice, is a further deterrent.

How much longer will this situation last? The general trend has been for European powers to disengage militarily from their former colonies, as in the end maintenance of overseas armies proves to be unpopular and counter-productive in the countries themselves, whether the troops are used or not used, and if they see action, as in Chad, the criticism tends to mount domestically. For a number of reasons, helped by the personality of General de Gaulle, the French have been able to maintain a military presence in Africa with relatively little criticism, either at home or abroad (contrast this with the failure in Nigeria back in 1961 about the innocuous Defence Agreement

with Britain).

Although this has been convenient for the French, the military relationship would not have continued in the way it has if the African states had not wanted themselves, for reasons of stability, which could be another way of saying that governments wanted some guarantee of staying in power. In fact this has not always been possible, but the hope has been more important than the reality. The demand of the radical forces in Madagascar for revision of the Defence Agreement with France suggests that quarters from which pressures may mount to change the situation, although future trends in Madagascar are still difficult to predict. But until these pressures from some more coherent expression, both in France and in Africa, the power in the "palace" is going to try to maintain the guarantee, however illusory it may be.

## Nigeria's States and the Universities

Since higher education is both crucial in Nigeria and so expensive, it is surprising that the Federal Military Government, which provides most of the money in the end, has only now decided to reconstitute the National Universities Commission through which Federal Government funds are distributed to universities. It will become a statutory body responsible to the Government. Previously, says an official statement, the commission could do little more than share out the funds made available to it. Now - no doubt because one new state in the Mid-West has already established a new university and others seem intent on doing so - the commission is to advise the Head of State on the establishment of new universities and degree-grants institutions. It will also advise him on setting up of new faculties and post-graduate studies in existing universities again because, perhaps, it is felt that universities have been expanding without sufficient regard to national needs. The commission will also be the agency for channelling external aid to Nigerian Universities although, as the *Nigeria Daily Times* pointed out, this function might prove a bottleneck.

Hitherto the universities of Ibadan and Lagos have been "Federal" institutions while the other four universities - Benue, Ahmadu Bello, and Nsukka - are under the control of states or groups of states. The Federal Commissioner for Education, Chief Eke, has emphasised that universities will remain autonomous institutions under their councils. He had expressed opposition to the idea of state quotas for admission to universities which has been advocated in some quarters. The Commissioner, however, said that existing universities should play their part in correcting the "educational imbalance" in the country. Chief Eke is a former university administrator, and Mr. Adu, administrator of the East Central State and a former university lecturer, recently emphasised the need for universities to co-operate to use facilities fully.

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## SIERRA LEONE What prospect for democracy?

From a correspondent.

To allow by-elections to take place in three constituencies in Kailahun district in the eastern province near the Liberian border, the Sierra Leone Government has partially suspended the State of Emergency which has existed throughout Sierra Leone since October 1971. The elections in these constituencies were due to take place on September 22, and the State of Emergency was suspended for two months. It continues in the rest of the country, but it is presumed that it would similarly be raised for nine other pending by-elections, which the government has said will take place soon, and eventually would be raised for the general election due, under the pre-republican constitution, early next year. The Vice-President and Prime Minister, Mr. S. I. Koroma, while appealing to everybody to avoid political violence, has given assurances that the general election will take place. The latest date on which it is due is five years after the present Parliament first sat, at the end of April 1968.

Constituencies where by-elections are due include three for chief's representatives, among which is one of the Kailahun constituencies. Some of the vacancies, many of which are of long standing, are partly the result of deaths of sitting M.P.s, notably Mr. Cyril Rogers-Wright (Wilberforce Rural), Mr. Prince Williams (Bo Town), and Mr. M. O. Cole, the former Minister of Housing (Waterloo Rural). Two M.P.s, the former Ministers Dr. Mohammed Forna and Mr. Ibrahim Taqui, have been obliged to vacate their seats as they have been in detention since the State of Emergency began. One seat, in a Freetown constituency, was vacated by Mr. Saka Stevens when he became President last year.

All, then, seemed set both for a "mini-general election", covering a sixth of the seats in the House of Representatives (more are due to be created before a general election), and for next year's general election. Although the Opposition SLPP, for so long the governing party, appears to be weak in Parliament and to have support in the country only in limited areas, it is still, now that the Opposition in The Gambia has become so emboldened, the only convincing opposition party operating in the whole of West Africa. Dr. Forna's short-lived United Democratic Party, a breakaway from the governing APC, is banned so that there is no way of estimating its strength. The UDP probably never made much appeal outside the Tonkolili district from where the two detained ex-ministers came, while others of its leaders, notably Dr. Karefa-Smart are abroad (it is said that there is a lack of enthusiasm among potential candidates in Dr. Forna's own former constituency). But whatever the outcome, there seemed to be at least a possibility of a genuine electoral contest in the only West African country where a

multi-party system can be said to operate.

The government, moreover, has recently adopted the "marble" system of voting, invented in The Gambia, which appears to offer fool-proof protection against some voting irregularities, such as the buying or forging of ballot papers, which have disgraced so many elections in West Africa. The two by-elections due in Freetown constituencies, in particular, have been expected to prove a valuable test of the government's standing since, although the APC appears to dominate the capital city, Freetown voters have traditionally shown themselves to be



Vice-President Koroma elections of one-party.

independent and Freetown election results are generally regarded as trustworthy. It is reported that in the constituency formerly held by the President there is keen competition inside the government party itself for nomination as candidates.

As we go to press, however, (September 7) the hope that Sierra Leone, which in its last general election, in 1967, succeeded in turning a ruling party out, (even if military intervention frustrated this result until the military régime itself was overthrown) will again have a real general election seems uncertain. The two APC candidates in Kailahun territorial constituencies have been returned unopposed, while for the chief's seat the Paramount Chief of Mandu has also been returned unopposed. This means either that the opposition SLPP, which may be presumed to be strong in the area (Mr. Magore Kallon, the former Minister, now living in Liberia, was a Kailahun MP) failed to nominate candidates by September 4, nomination day — which would suggest a literally incredible degree of disorganisation and weakness — or that it has for some reason found it impossible to nominate its candidates.

Worse than that, one man is reported killed and others injured in the village of Moba, near the town of Kailahun, in Kailahun East constituency, and a govern-

ment statement says that it was an SLPP Land Rover which was responsible, when it ran into a crowd of APC supporters. Government supporters will now, presumably, argue either that the Kailahun events prove that it is too dangerous to suspend the State of Emergency, originally declared because of widespread political violence, or that SLPP supporters cannot be trusted to participate in party politics. On the other hand, if the pattern of unopposed results seen in the Kailahun by-elections is repeated in others, those influential members of the government party who have for long maintained that a one-party system is the only suitable one for Sierra Leone, will be able to say that the Opposition appear to be uninterested in contesting elections and have *de facto* made Sierra Leone into a one-party state where only the APC is functioning. They might take the argument further and say that this would make a general election, with all the cost and dangers of violence, unnecessary. Now it is reported that the SLPP's leadership, including Mr. Jusu-Sherif and Mr. M. S. Mustapha have been arrested for questioning in connection with the Kailahun violence.

It is greatly to be hoped that despite the violence in Kailahun (and the political violence in Kono last July of which reports are only now available) and the difficulty of policing campaigns and elections throughout the country, the government will still keep to its programme (Mr. Kamara-Taylor, Minister of Finance, during the celebrations for the President's 67th birthday noted with satisfaction that Sierra Leone had created a record in 1967 when Mr. Stevens, by constitutional means after 10 years in opposition, was able to turn out a party which had been in office for 15 years). The President's own position is not affected by the by-elections or the general election, since his own term of office runs for five years from the time that he was elected — April last year.

This journal has often urged that to avoid the difficulties in nominating candidates which opposition parties so often find in West Africa, nominations should be made publicly in the capital city, even though candidates are selected, as Mr. Kamara-Taylor who is the APC's Secretary-General promised they would be for by-elections, by party members in the constituencies. It is also worth urging again that, whatever form it may take, some form of proportional representation is essential in West Africa where the British "winner-take-all" system drives unsuccessful parties, and minority groups, to desperation.

In the meantime it is learnt that the emoluments of Sierra Leone MPs have been increased and will now include a gratuity for each session of Parliament. This might be expected to make membership of the House more attractive, and for those MPs who might hope to become Ministers there is now an increase in ministerial salaries, taking them above the point from which they were cut when the present government assumed office.

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## CHAD

# The Testament of General Cortadellas

By a correspondent

On September 1 General Edouard Cortadellas formally resigned after three years as French Military Delegate and Commander-in-Chief of the Franco-Chadian forces. His departure had been signalled for some time, as the French intervention was said to have come to an end in June last year, although a strong advisory mission was maintained. Now, as General Cortadellas himself has said in numerous interviews on the occasion of his departure, the French intervention in Chad is officially at an end. In a remarkable interview on French TV he went so far as to say that any further intervention was "not automatic", adding that "the French army, without any doubt, would not intervene in case of elections or palace revolution". As long as Chadian forces had the situation under control, which had been the case since July 1, France would not intervene. "If the Chadian forces were to undergo a severe setback jeopardising our achievement, a request for intervention might be entertained by the French government".

Since July 1 all French advisers have been withdrawn from the ranks of combat troops of the Chad army. The only Frenchmen in the Chad army are 430 "technical assistants" attached to the medical and educational corps. There are also 400 men guarding the French aerial installations at the Fort Lamy base, and 700 men of the 6th RIOM (Overseas Infantry Regiment) attached at the base

## Threat of revival

In an interview with AFP, the General said that the area most troubled by the rebellion, the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti, was now the most calm, and has been so for a year. "You can now drive everywhere". In the centre of Chad there had been about 4,000 rebels, although these statistics only have a relative value as the hands form and separate according to circumstances. Less well armed than those of the north, they only had five or six hundred fire-arms. Alongside the military operation, said the General, a vast action of taking the civilian population in hand had been undertaken with "an undeniable success". Even at the time of President Pompidou's visit last February "all was over", he said. There remained only about 100 fire-arms to the rebels, and no ammunition. Then there came from Libya a thousand military trained and ideologically prepared men, possessing modern arms. Passing by Sudan, most of them were put out of action by the Sudanese armed forces, applying their treaty of friendship with Chad. But a group of 400 men succeeded in remaining in Chad, where they represent now a real threat of revival of the rebellion. They could bring a political

structure to what was, at the beginning only a "jacquerie of malcontents", exploited from outside by the Frolinat leader, Dr. Abba Siddiek. Until now, captured rebels had never been found in possession of political or military directives, other than tracts hostile to the régime, often of a religious character.

As for the Chad army, General Cortadellas said it was "ready to take on the job". By the end of the year it would comprise 13 companies of full complement (180 men), eleven of which were equipped by France. Zaïre has instructed four companies and equipped two. The officers will be from now on entirely Chadian. The Gendarmerie has practically doubled its numbers. The national and nomad guards have grown from 2,000 to 4,500. With sixty intervention sections it represents a fighting force as important as the army. The Chadian Security Companies (CTS) have increased from two to three.

On the positive nature of the French intervention, General Cortadellas said that whereas in 1969 there were only fifteen administrative points in the seven "troubled" departments, by 1972 there were 100. About 5,000 kms. of road had been remade, while the Mission for Administrative Reform has built schools and dug wells in places where the army had re-established the administration before leaving it under the protection of elements of the gendarmerie, or the national and nomad guard and popular militias. He gave another example of the return to normal: the camp at the National Park of Zakouma, sacked by rebels in 1969, has been rebuilt and received 5,000 visitors in the last tourist season.

Summing up the three years of French intervention, he noted that fifty French soldiers (including his own son) had been killed, along with 200 Chadian soldiers and 400 civilians. He claimed that 2,000 rebels had been killed. In the same period around 4,000 rebels had stopped fighting, following the rallying of the Moubis in August 1970, and 500 of them had been incorporated in the national guard.

## French military aid

On French military aid to Chad he said that it amounted to around 2,000m. CFA francs (just over £3m.) a year. But before July 1, 1972, date of the definitive withdrawal of the Chadian forces, it had reached about 3,000m. CFA francs (£4.5m.) a year. Since July, the technical assistants in the Chad Army has been reduced from 600 to 430, and the aid of the French troops is now only occasional where once it was permanent. These forces can still intervene from their bases at Fort Lamy, Mongo and Largeau, when



Armed members of the National Guard ride in a convoy.

asked to by the Chadians under the Defence Agreement.

At a farewell ceremony for General Cortadellas, President Tombalbaye thanked the General for helping to put down the rebellion. "The army in Chad that you found disorganised and undisciplined is now proud of you. The officers are aware of their responsibilities, the NCOs disciplined and the soldiers keen. You have disrupted those outlaws who have been trying to destroy the society which we are in the process of constructing".

The Commander-in-Chief of the Chad armed forces now becomes Colonel Felix Maloum, formerly Chief of Staff of the Chad army. Colonel Maloum took over as army boss from Brigadier Jacques Doumro, who was retired last December following student demonstrations in Fort Lamy in which there were calls for the army to take power. Colonel Maloum is 40, a graduate of French military schools at Brazzaville, Fréjus and Saint-Maixent, who fought in the French army in Indo-China and Algeria.

To mark General Cortadellas departure, Frolinat's publicity office in Algiers put out a statement, as if to say they were still in business, claiming that their guerrillas had shot down four government aircraft and two helicopters since executing four government soldiers taken prisoner last May. The aircraft had been sent to try to recover prisoners, seized in fighting on May 28. According to the Dakar publication, *Le Moniteur Africain*, usually reliable sources say that Colonel Gaddafi's aid to Frolinat is now near a figure of \$20m. a year, or one third of Chad's national budget.

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## "Public and Private" in Development

In the poorer countries "private enterprise" so often means "foreign enterprise" that it is not surprising that the governments regard their intervention in economic development at all levels as essential. In this article Dr. G. O. Nwanko discusses a recent conference held at Yale University which was primarily concerned with shedding light on the role of government policy in economic development in recent years in a number of countries. He concludes that what is needed is both a suitable "mix" of public and private effort, and a change in the social structure rather than simply government intervention without any social change.

"Is the industrialisation of the Gold Coast to be done by the Government, by African businessmen, by foreigners or by these three in combination?" This question was posed by Professor Arthur Lewis in the early fifties for the Gold Coast, now Ghana. This issue has still to be resolved not only for Ghana and Africa, but for all developing countries.

Lewis's own answer was that the government ought not to participate directly in industry but should concentrate on providing the necessary infrastructure and environment for the operation of free private enterprise. This, of course, assumed the existence of an active private sector capable and willing to exploit opportunities. But by definition, under-developed countries are poor, and the resulting low *per capita* incomes limit domestic savings and hence the size of individual accumulations available for investment. Since the local private sector is weak, the main instrument for industrialisation would have to be foreign capital. "The role of the foreigner," Lewis stressed, "is that of the tutor, a sometimes likeable but usually tiresome fellow, from dependence on whom one wishes to escape at the earliest possible moment". The goal of the industrialisation programme is thus not merely growth but the development of local entrepreneurs: "the crucial test of an industrialisation policy" Lewis continues, "is not how rapidly it increases employment or output, but how rapidly it builds up African enterprise". In Turkey, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda a rapid industrialisation programme by outsiders failed to build up indigenous enterprise, showing how weak the tutelage effects of foreign enterprises can be. Turkey and Tanzania have already changed strategy because of this and Uganda is on the threshold. Other developing countries have either done so already or will do so soon.

The main instrument, of course, is the government. The state represents at once a defence against foreign economic domination, and an instrument with capital and enterprise to develop an alternative indigenously owned and managed economy and a watchdog over development to obviate any small local clique cornering the benefits. The state affects the course of economic development in a number of ways: through the specific societal goals it sets or reflects, through its participation in directly productive activity, through the quantity and quality of its controls over the private sector, and through its role as fiscal agent on both the tax and expend-

iture sides. But, what is the experience so far?

Attracted by this question, The Economic Growth Centre at Yale University sponsored a conference on 1968 on the general subject. The papers presented at the conference have now been summarised and published in a book\* edited by Gustav Rams. Most of the contributions emerged as a by-product of the Centre's country analysis programme, through which the Centre attempts to analyse growth and structural change in about 25 of the major developing countries over substantial time periods. A few aim at making comparisons among countries, but all are primarily concerned with shedding some light on the role of government policy in the post-war years.

Organised in five parts, the book deals with the role of government as a goal setter, as a producer, as a regulator and as a fiscal agent, with a concluding section of comparative studies. In the space available I can highlight only a few points in this big and useful book of little under 600 pages.

### Public and private

The first point is an examination of the relative roles of public and private enterprise and the impact of different mixes on efficiency and overall growth. We are told, for instance, that caught in a mesh of extra-economic objective and constraints, state enterprises in Turkey "exhibit extremely poor cash flows, starve the private sector of resources and opportunities and retard economic growth". On the other hand, a comparison of performance in five differently mixed African economies did not yield any clear-cut findings which show the superiority of private enterprise. "Although growth in the more private-oriented industrial sectors of Kenya and Tanzania is found to have been faster than that in the more government-oriented equivalents in Nigeria and Ghana, ... the existence of somehow successful Ugandan public enterprise raises the question of whether the usual prescription for achieving sustained profitability and national growth has to be modified when 'private' is mainly to be read as 'foreign' or 'expatriate'."

Secondly, further insights were thrown on the importance of the action or inaction of the government in the four papers which dealt mainly with the performance of four countries: Ghana,

\*Government and Economic Development (Yale University Press, \$17.50)



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Argentina, Chile and Israel — in relation to the quantity and quality of selected policies towards their private sectors over relatively long historical time periods. The early decision by the Chilean government not to "buy out foreign capitalists who had provided relatively little in exchange for the chance to exploit Chile's nitrate monopoly position" was regrettably attributed to misguided addiction to "laissez-faire philosophy". Instead the government attempted to intervene indirectly — and apparently from a long-term growth standpoint, ineffectually — due to the failure to provide a network of fairly predictable rules by which the game was to be played — a point that is no doubt worth noting by mineral economies in Africa. In Ghana it was shown that during the colonial period the private Ghanaian economy prospered despite, rather than because of, usually wrong-headed government effort, while post-independence governments, aside from the excesses of the late Nkrumah period, reversed this process.

## No substitute for market

Thirdly, an inter-country study was made of attempts by the developing countries to restructure colonial resource patterns in the post-World War II period. The point was made that in the 1950s these countries, unhappy with the objectives and results of the colonial era, by and large attempted to redirect vital resource flows by means of direct controls and a

good deal of across-the-board interventionism. The generally moderate results of this effort led to a gradual realisation in the 1960s, in at least a number of cases, that the achievement of national economic growth objectives may be more consistent with the hitherto discredited indirect tools of government policy, working through rather than substituting for the market mechanism.

Mention must finally be made of the comparative study on devaluation because of its topicality and relevance. It was observed that "by wide agreement many less developed countries have over-valued currencies, yet most countries are reluctant to devalue their currencies even when the signs of over-valuation are unmistakable". The various objections to devaluation are then examined: devaluation will not in fact improve the devaluing country's payment's position; it might work if given the chance but it will unleash forces in the economy that will eventually undercut its benefits and those of other economic policies; and even if it works, it will be politically disastrous to those officials who are responsible for undertaking it. A study of two dozen devaluations in twenty-four developing countries showed that while valid, the above objections do not always and necessarily follow from devaluation. Nevertheless "no clear-cut recommendations emerge from the study, except that considerable attention should be paid to the economic environment before a decision to devalue is made".

What then can one say about "the

Government and Economic Development"? First is that in the circumstances of the developing countries, without the government development will be extremely slow, if it happens at all.

Secondly, given that the primary goal of the colonial administrators was not economic growth but the maintenance of a certain political structure, and given the superior economic and technical advantages of the foreigners over indigenous entrepreneurs, absolute laissez faire would have meant the continued domination by foreigners of the commanding heights of the developing economies. As this study clearly shows, "The considerable growth in private enterprise manufacturing production in both Kenya and Tanzania has had one very important defect at least as far as the African governments are concerned. Nearly all the growth can be attributed to European and Asian entrepreneurship. Very little of manufacturing, trade, or commerce is in the hands of Africans... The African entrepreneur... has been singularly absent as a major factor in Uganda's growth and development". This has two important consequences. First income distribution is highly skewed, with *per capita* incomes of Africa substantially below that of the European and Asian ethnic groups. Second, their lack of experience in responsible positions, in running efficient business enterprises, and in evaluating investment opportunities, places Africans at a certain disadvantage in competing with non-Africans. The operation of a completely free economic system will not alleviate these disadvantages and tends in many cases to reinforce existing patterns of economic inequality".

## An appropriate "mix"

Thirdly like free private enterprise public enterprise has its own undesirable side effects and unhappy experiences. But these are not the monopoly of the developing world. The choice is not between total government control and total free enterprise; it is rather a question of an appropriate "mix" of the two to achieve desired objectives as partners in development.

Fourthly it is significant that the emphasis by the developing world on government as the main instrument of change stems from the mistaken feeling that development can somehow be "ordered" by the same people who previously succeeded in achieving political change. Little was it realised that development is not just an increase in economic growth within an existing social structure; rather it is the modernisation of the entire structure and the mobilisation of the entire community. The true restructuring effort was substantially in error precisely because it failed to do this. Yet to marshal economic forces in the manner needed is to change the social structure of these societies by disrupting the existing groups and classes, and often this in turn calls for a government revolution. Is this inevitable?

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## The U.S. and the Nigerian War

In his second article Bruce Oudes, the American journalist who was in Nigeria during the war, continues his discussion of disagreement about Nigerian policy inside the US government and reports one American's view of British policy.

As soon as he took office President Nixon ordered a review of Nigerian policies. Dave Morris, staff man at the White House responsible for Nigerian affairs under Dr Kissinger, said in an interview. Morris said he prepared a paper on the situation for Kissinger the day after the inauguration. On January 24 Nixon ordered a full-scale National Security Study Memorandum which was completed on January 28. Nixon decided to order the most vigorous relief effort possible short of military intervention. He decided to appoint a special relief co-ordinator, an idea which had been discussed among staff personnel in the final months of the Johnson administration. The job eventually went to Clyde Ferguson (now deputy assistant Secretary of State for Africa) US diplomatic sources say. The President made a special point of ordering the Central Intelligence Agency not to involve itself with Ferguson's staff and mission. The President also ordered a fresh study of relief in Biafra, one which, when finished in November, 1969, under the direction of Dr Karl Western, showed that there were three to four million persons living under secessionist rule rather than the six to seven million claimed by the rebels.

As 1969 went on, Morris said, Kissinger was "frustrated but resigned" to the Lagos embassy's performance. The President wrote "at least a half dozen" letters suggesting a political settlement to the war to leaders such as Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau, Haile Selassie, Kenneth Kaunda and Felix Houphouët-Boigny. In early autumn William Brubeck of the State Department was dispatched to Africa and Europe to explore what role the US might play in promoting a political settlement. The Administration had become convinced that the US was in a unique position as a potential peace-maker, and it had long given up hope that any OAU initiative would amount to anything.

Morris is highly critical of Ferguson's handling of the Western Report; he says flatly that Ferguson "faded in post-war planning". When submitting the Western Report in November, Ferguson "played it down as far as possible". Consequently, Morris said, "We all ignored it". Ferguson, he added, had become by that time too involved in support of the Nigerian side. Morris said he understood the significance of the report only in January, 1970, when the White House was searching for criteria for relief requirements as Biafra crumbled. He said he saw the report on January 12 or 13 and contacted Western who briefed Kissinger who in turn "went upstairs to tell the President". Meanwhile, Morris said, he recommended to Under-secretary of State, Elliott Richardson, that Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom, who

was then visiting Lagos, he instructed to present the Western Report personally to Gen. Gowon. However, Richardson "did not want to be an alarmist".

Finally, Morris said, after Western briefed Kissinger, Ferguson said to him, "I guess Karl Western ought to come over to State and brief Newsom and Richardson". Some ten days later - January 22 or 23 - after the briefing had been completed, Morris said Newsom still thought that the Western Report had already been delivered to the Nigerian government. Morris said he told Newsom it had not. After a flurry of cables to Lagos, Morris testified, Ambassador William Trueheart presented it to Alison Ayida on January 27 or 28.

Morris laments about the episode. "This was the worst famine in the history of recorded famine", he stresses. He said that the US embassy in Lagos had had a copy of the Western Report - itself "as thick as the New York phone book" - since November but had not turned it over to the Nigerians. He said the Biafrans had been given a copy but they did not believe it since it showed Biafra's population to be half what they were claiming. He said the failure of the Lagos embassy promptly to deliver the Western Report to the Nigerians deprived them of "what properly understood was also one of the best pieces of military intelligence the Nigerian government could have had". Morris alleged - and here his account is substantiated by another former US diplomat - the Lagos embassy simply did everything it could to avoid dealing in unpleasant realities with the Nigerian government. Consequently when Ambassador Trueheart belatedly presented the report, the Nigerian government was "suspicious" since the embassy had not previously stressed the seriousness of the relief situation and three more weeks were lost before the relief effort was increased. Morris adds that the Ferguson mission, and anything done under its aegis, such as the Western Report, was not favoured by the Lagos embassy which felt its authority was being undermined. At times, Morris said, "open resentment" was expressed by the embassy.

Morris acknowledged early in his testimony to Senator Fulbright's Senate Foreign Relations Committee which was considering the appointment of Mr. Clinton Olson as Ambassador to Sierra Leone, that he had never visited Nigeria and that he had met Mr. Olson, then No. 2 at the Embassy, "only in passing at an inter-agency meeting in January, 1970". However, he maintains, this does not effect the credibility of his charges on the performance of the embassy.

For his part, Mr Olson denied in his appearance before Fulbright that he suppressed information. He said; "There were disagreements over the course of action to be taken occasionally to get the

maximum amount of assistance in for relief programme for both sides in a civil war and these disagreements were over methods to be used more than anything else. There were those who became impatient at the speed at which the Nigerian government moved on some of the requests which we put up". Olson did not spell out the "disagreements" but he did say "We put every pressure possibly could on the Nigerian government to be co-operative".

Olson denied Morris's charge that the Lagos embassy was urging the State Department to approve the sale of D ammunition and other military equipment to Nigeria after the war began. He said this was a matter outstanding as a result of a pre-war request. Morris, however, later repeated his charge adding that "twice" in 1968 the embassy had urged approval of new sales of ammunition for six 106 mm. recoilless rifles, and that as late as the fall of that year the embassy was still recommending the sale of reconnaissance equipment.

Morris, nevertheless, reserves his strongest criticism of the war period for Britain. He said, "I came into the Biafra affair as an Anglophile and left as an Anglophobe". Britain, he said, was "not interested in relief". The Wilson government was guilty of "chronic callousness and conscious colonial decisions, despicable in the moral sense". In one sense, he said, the war was "another Fashod incident". Therefore, he was highly critical of the US embassy which "relied heavily on British reports of events in Nigeria to the detriment or exclusion of an independent American analysis despite the fact that British policy, unlike ours, firmly supported the Nigerian side of the civil war and persistently sought to influence US policy in that direction".

## Kennedy Onslaught

To an observer it would seem that Roger Morris's charges deserve careful scrutiny, something they are not going to receive in a nation trying to forget wars in which American involvement is substantially larger than in Nigeria. In making his criticisms Morris says he is aware of the view of the US as seen from Lagos at that time. "They felt the US government was about to crumble under the onslaught of Teddy Kennedy and little old ladies with Biafra buttons". Yet the embassy erred in taking upon itself the "self-appointed task of correcting the bias". Mr Olson, he agreed, apparently decided he was "acting in the national interest".

To one who followed the first year of the war from Nigeria and the last 18 months from the United States, it certainly seemed that the simplistic perception of the war by the American public and Congress did not improve with the passage of time - on the contrary. Richard Nixon - and Roger Morris - believed that the politics of a politico-military settlement in Nigeria could be separated from the politics of relief. To

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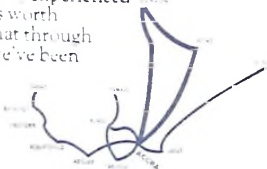
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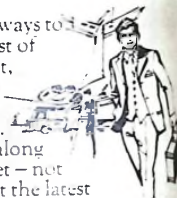
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many observers this was a patent impossibility. Phrased in another way, the difference between the White House and the US embassy in Lagos was in the definition of "neutrality". US policy under Nixon in 1969 seemed to be drifting slowly from neutrally favourable to Nigeria to neutrally unfavourable.

However, it should be possible, as Morris and other critics suggest, to distinguish the performance of the American embassy in Lagos from its motives, however well intentioned. Until and unless the State Department discloses convincing evidence to the contrary, it will be difficult to believe that senior officials in the US mission there during the war were not guilty of a minimum of lack of candour. As one former US official summed it up: "The leadership had no real 'feel' for the country and for the culture". It didn't take an American visitor to Lagos long to find out that the embassy was in fact not one big happy family.

Much the same thing has been said from time to time about the American embassy in Saigon. This is a point that Morris stresses. Overly optimistic and glossy diplomatic reporting can and has resulted in policy disasters. Until the performance of the US embassy is fully investigated, Morris told Fulbright, "the Lagos experience will remain one more buried failure, its lessons unlearned, its price, I am afraid, to be repaid somewhere else sometime soon".

# Books and Publications

## What is African Literature?

African Writers 'Talking' (Hememann H E B Paperback, £1.00).

What is African literature? That was a burning question about a decade ago when the number of black African writers in English and African vernaculars and the poems, novels, short stories and plays they produced began to increase internationally. Up to that time, practically all literature in the English-speaking area of Europe and Africa was produced by white writers whose work fitted naturally into the pattern of English literature. What is it that makes African literature? Is it the subject matter, the theme, or the language used, or the race or colour of the writer?

A most refreshing insight into this interesting question is provided by this book, which contains a collection of interviews edited by Dennis Duerden and Cosmo Pieterse. Sixteen African writers are represented, and these include two women poets and playwrights of Ghana —

Ama Ata Aidoo and Efua Sutherland, Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka and late Christopher Okigbo of Nigeria, J. Nagenda and Ngugi wa Thiong'o of East Africa, and Dennis Brutus, Mazisi Kunene, and, of course, Ezekiel Mphahlele, South Africa. There is an attempt to define African literature and the author interviewed also considers questions about style, theme, diction and audience as well as their personal lives, philosophies and experiences.

Speaking in an interview which was recorded in 1963, Mphahlele described African literature, in effect, as literature in which the image of Africa is represented by Africans — black Africa, white Africans and non-Africans — who are writing out of an African experience. Mphahlele was, at that time, talking to Duerden about a conference in which he was participating and which aimed at persuading universities to integrate the teaching of African writing into their

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normal syllabus. Those who know about the great strides which have been made in the field during the last ten years will certainly be enlightened by the background information contained in this book.

The collection of interviews comes from a library of discussions, talks and interviews that the Transcription Centre in London, whose director is Dennis Duerden, has amassed over a period of some six years. The book helps the reader to gain a better understanding of Africa from different parts of the continent in persons as well as authors, and the interviews fit in with the overall picture of African literary evolution in English between 1962 and 1982.

There are photographs of the authors and interviewees both on the front cover and in the body of the book. They seem to endorse Mphahlele's argument against a literary barbarism and his strong belief in the necessity for the freedom of African literature and writing from racial narrow-mindedness or tokenisation. Looking at the photographs one cannot help being struck by the juxtaposition of the harnes of colour and race which is reflected in the range of skin colour, from the brown of writers like Achebe, Eyo Sutherland and Ngugi to the almost white of Ake, Le Guin and Dennis Brutus.

Thomas Decker's review is really worth reading.

Thomas Decker

## Farmers in society

**Two Blades of Grass: Rural Co-operatives in Remoteness Modernisation** Edited by Peter Honyay. Manchester University Press—£4.95.

This book arose out of a conference held at Sussex University some three years ago on the rather fascinating theme of the relationship between traditional rural communities based on self-help, and modern co-operatives. It includes papers presented at the conference and some others. They range over the entire globe, and show how many differing rural traditional types of life are being transformed to fit into the 20th century with varying degrees of success.

The idea that traditional methods of self-help might be easily changed into modern co-operatives is an attractive one; but when the sociologists get to work one finds that in traditional communities many other factors operate which have no place in modern co-operatives, such as caste, family, sex, language, ethnic groups, power, and when these break down what is left is not sufficient to form the basis of a cohesive modern group. The long way through individual ownership of land and eventually to collective types of farming appears to be sometimes the only way, although efforts are being made to bypass it in many places. Some of these however do not appear to be functioning effectively as they might.

Communities studies vary from the

still evolving types of collective farms in Poland to the national co-operative Tanzanians formed to avoid exploitation by Asian middlemen; for a limited account of communist Chinese collectivisation agriculture see the detailed study of small sugarcane growing district, Mexico, formed after the break-up of Government decree of a large family-owned plantation. These are a few of the countries covered in this book — it would be impossible to mention them all, but of special interest is the erudite study of co-operatives which highlights the Million Acre Scheme in the Highlands of Kenya by D. R. A. Apthorpe, giving some interesting reasons for the partial failure of a pyrethrum-growing scheme. Politics never intrude and affect most of the modern co-operatives, and it is surprising, but somewhat depressing, to hear that the state, or the state-co-operative organisation, is gradually taking on the role and attitudes of the private capitalist owners in some countries. The detailed and statistical study of a village co-op in Israel throws much light on the problems of self-motivated but already-knit community, and there is an interesting paper on the Maharsitra co-operatives in India who operate across the caste system, cut through the dominant caste of Marathi, controls the workings of the co-operatives almost entirely.

This is a useful reference book if anyone studying co-operatives in any part of the world. It illustrates how needed it is for sociologists to study ordinary patterns of rural and urban living in developed and developing areas, or rather how far the planners and developers need to be sociologists with a comprehensive insight into the working of human society, and its history, before they can plan successfully for the future. Mistake can be avoided, or ought to be able to be avoided, by the drawing together of people from these two fields, and it is hoped that this may be possible to a greater extent in the future.

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## The World in maps

**World Economic Atlas of the World** prepared by the Cartographic Department of the Geographical Press (Oxford University Press) £3.75.

This is an ambitious project — in this, the fourth edition, is more ambitious than ever. As the publishers say, it is the only comprehensive work of its kind. It presents in map form a selection of economic, physical, demographic, political, social and communications data significantly larger than ever before. The maps illustrate world distribution patterns, and are supplemented by table notes and a commentary accompanying individual maps.

The maps attempt to present far more detail than in previous editions. Most

more data is presented quantitatively and through the use of insets of congested areas, more individual centres have been clearly located and named. Some commodity maps now show major trade flows.

Previously emphasis was on commodities. Now covered are such matters as disease, medical care, education, foreign aid and trade, employment, birth control and nutrition. Many commodities also get increased coverage or are mapped for the first time, reflecting the changing patterns of production — for example chemicals, computers and tourism. To maps of minerals and energy are now added those showing mineral processing centres, nuclear power plants, and large dams.

A statistical supplement presents for each country detailed data on which the maps are based. Statistics comparing 1963-65 and 1953-55 indicate the economic development in each country. For the first time a gazetteer (over 8,000 names) is included. This provides the locations of many places economically important — mines, dams and industrial areas — not found in most atlases.

Unhappily, while this is a fascinating way of presenting a picture of the world, you cannot always get from it a picture of an individual country, particularly a small one. Moreover, because of the long time needed to produce a work of this kind it is often out of date — for example the Kainji Dam in Nigeria appears as "under construction or proposed before 1970". There are also some rather vague definitions; for example, "plantation crops" appear as the "predominant economy" in some parts of the West African coast, where "export crops grown by small farmers" would be more appropriate. Nowhere in West Africa is "commercial forestry" — whatever that is — shown. Again, because against world totals local totals are often so small, the world maps — and most are world maps — cannot always show the vast importance for particular countries or areas of, for example rice or sugar. So no sugar production is shown for either Nigeria or Ghana. Even more alarming, some might think, no beer production is shown for Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, or Senegal. Again, because in relation to the world's major airports their traffic is so small, the airports at Freetown, Kano and Douala are not shown. No cement works is shown at Sokoto and the oil and gas picture in Nigeria (which is not mentioned in the statistical tables at the bottom of the appropriate maps) is rather incomplete.

Other criticisms can be made, but in a work of such scope perfection is not possible. What one is really criticising is not the competence of those who compiled the maps and the tables, but the concept behind the work. The excellent statistical information, one feels could appear quite separately from these maps, and would then be far more up-to-date. For the reasons I have mentioned, the maps themselves could be positively misleading even when completely accurate.

D.W.

## Sembène stories

*The Money-Order, with White Genesis, by Sembène Ousmane (Heinemann Educational Books, African Writers Series, 50p in UK, 35p or local publishing price elsewhere).*

Sembène Ousmane is now probably better known as a maker of films than as a novelist, although he was writing for many years before he went into the film-making business. In all his writing the suitability for adaptation to the screen is apparent: it was, indeed the title story of this duo that was made into his best-known and most successful film to date, *Mandabi*.

The stories are workmanlike and readable, but one can see why he has switched to the cinema, because his talents are for situation and dialogue rather than for descriptive writing. Sembène can, on occasion, produce something vivid ("the light from the ceiling made the top of his forehead gleam and the dark patch under his eyes extend down to his mouth, which jutted out like a dog's snout"), but on the printed page his characters are often two-dimensional. The morality-play aspect of his stories also seems more suitable to performance. Both *The Money Order* (a sad tale of officialdom and the sordid side of human nature in urban Dakar) and *White Genesis* (a village tragedy of incest and murder) are making strong social points. Indeed it is part of their power.

Sembène's writing is strong and clean, and he shows where Wolof words can be introduced into another text with advantage (there is a good glossary). How can one translate *dambur-dambur* (strictly speaking "a freeborn person" but with connotations of dignity and self-respect), for example? The reader must also be moved by the different levels of tragedy he recounts. But ultimately one can see why, for the author, print was not enough.

K.W.

## Senegalese journalist's venture

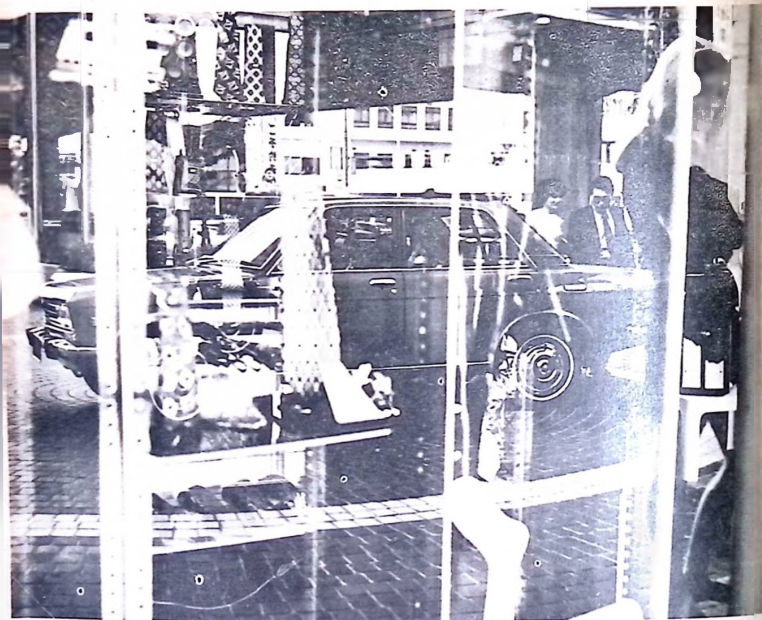
Six issues have now appeared of a privately published fortnightly newsletter, *Lettre Fermée*, from Dakar, so it is possible to form an impression of what its editor, Abdou Rahman Cissé (Abdu Raxman Sissè is how he likes to write it) is trying to do. Its purpose seems to be not to make the kind of frontal political assault which would get it into trouble with even a government with liberal pretensions such as Senegal's, but to concentrate on exposing scandals and wrongdoings of a kind that it might reasonably be supposed the administration would want exposed. Thus the first issue carried a long piece about the closing down of the CAPA sugar refinery in Dakar, and in subsequent issues Cissé

has been carrying on a campaign over the "American financed" Patte D'Oie housing estate in Dakar, which has turned out in practice to be much less marvellous than the plans, and seems likely to be a heavy financial drain on Senegal. Here he has benefited by the leak of a report made by a representative of the National League of Insured Savings Associations in Washington — "Recommendations and Solutions to the Problems of Administration and the Deficit at the Patte D'Oie Estate". Another hard-hitting piece dealt with extravagance on the part of the Regional Representative of Air Afrique in Dakar (a former Gabon minister), and there has also been a series on "the forgotten ones of independence", a series of interviews with groups with grievances, mainly traders: there is the taxi-driver who complains that hotel buses get the best trade from the airport and port, and there are the Senegalese tailors who resent contracts for making flags to decorate the streets of Dakar going overseas.

Cissé goes in for a very personal approach to his readers, with a column "From Me to You" in which he confides his anxieties and hopes, indicating which of his pieces seem to be talked about, or to be incurring displeasure. In his first issue he thanks the head of state for having written to *Le Soleil*, the Dakar daily, to permit the newsletter to be advertised, hoping that "the poet, taking into account the Bohemian appearance and lack of artistic talent of the men of the Fourth Estate, will deign to pardon the journalist for his restless spontaneity which is the salt and spice of his commerce". It's not quite the same translated into English, but its nicely put. Senegal is the one country in French-speaking Africa (apart from Dahomey) where such a venture is possible, as in theory freedom of the press exists there, although rather in the same way as, in theory, opposition parties are possible. But one is always told press freedom exists, and there is certainly an atmosphere of liberal tolerance in conversation. The venture, one is told, has aroused a lot of interest in Dakar, and was written about at length by the indefatigable Marvin Howe in *The New York Times*. It requires courage indeed, both for financial and political reasons, to launch such an operation. One wishes Mr. Cissé success, for it will benefit Senegal as well.

K.W.

*Le Français au Nigeria. This is a regular magazine produced by the Nigerian Association of French Teachers (NAFT), and contains, for example, an article on the new West African School Certificate Advanced Level French Syllabus, by C. M. B. Brann, another (in French) by Dr. J. Umoyen on "La Peste" of Albert Camus, and another, also in French, on "The Poetic Function and the Teaching of French". There are also a number of readers letters, editorial notes and book reviews (Editor, J. de Grandsaigne, P.O. Box 4063, UCI, Ibadan).*



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## Letters to the Editor

### Amin and Africa

SIR Your editorial "Amin and Africa" (August 25) throws a lot more light on some of the issues involved in General Amin's expulsion order than most of what I have read so far. I understand the reasons, the mass media in Britain have devoted much attention to Amin's precipitate expulsion order. But the bulk of the opinions and judgements seem to have been biased. Indeed, public opinion leaders in Britain have been unfair to Amin. It is against this background that your editorial represents a fair account.

To start with, the simple facts about the matter must be clearly and uncompromisingly stated. General Amin's expulsion order, whatever its economic, political, social and anthropological justifications, if any, is hasty, impetuous, rash and ill-organised. Consequently, the short-run washback effects of the order will be severe not only on the republicans but also on the people and economy of Uganda, which, normally, the General himself had wanted to protect.

If the General had done some rigorous thinking he could have carried out comfortably the "task assigned to him from above" at a minimum cost to all the parties concerned. For instance, he might have staggered the departure of the Asians over a longer period than 90 days. In this way, he would have had greater room for manoeuvre in dealing with (a) the disruption of the Ugandan economy as the Asians who dominate the service and commercial sectors quit, (b) the unbearable strain on his limited foreign exchange exacerbated by the spate of demand for foreign currency (c) the gradual takeover of Asian businesses by Ugandans, and from the point of view of the receiving countries, (d) the gradual intake and settlement of the refugees.

However, having said this, I do not for one moment accept the general, though disguised, assumption that people outside Africa understand the Africans and their problems better than the Africans themselves. Hence Africans must always accept "civilised" advice. How civilised is "civilised" advice from whom and to whom and in what circumstances? Because, perhaps, Amin, rightly or wrongly, refused to accept "civilised" advice he has been accused of "law breaking".

By definition, the charge of racialism is extremely difficult to defend. Amin insists on expelling all non-Ugandans in Uganda including some "top" black African refugees from the neighbouring countries of Zaire, Rwanda, and Sudan. The Asians happened to be brighter in colour and non-African in origin. Besides, the post-independence era in Africa is replete with a catalogue of expulsions. In 1969, Ghana under Nkrumah, in a single hysterical move, expelled over half a million Africans, mostly from Upper Volta, Benin, Nigeria, Niger, and Ivory Coast. Expulsion orders have also taken place in countries like Sierra Leone, Liberia and Zambia. If neither of these nor the expulsion of Indians from Ceylon could be called racialist, it is unfair to brand and Amin racialist.

It is quite conceivable that Amin's action has some shrewd and overtones, yet it looks more like a local employment generation policy albeit half-hearted than anything else. So let the ultra-right-wing elements of the British public forget their charge of racialism and cooperate with the government in the grand

effort to receive and resettle the British citizens of the Asiatic world.

UKA EZENWINYINYA

### Africa at Munich

SIR Those members of the British press establishment who have been suggesting "gold medals for hypocrisy" for certain African governments and most of the black Olympic athletes, over the Rhodesian affair, are an even more curious bunch than they looked and sounded on other occasions of overt group conflict. In this instance they and their reactionary supporters are victim not only to their own transparent pretensions but also to a well-known African proverb: "It is universal that he who points two accusing fingers at another has three pointing back at himself."

How revolting it is to see and hear these outside hypocrites once again making a song and dance over "effects" when, like responsible and educated people, they should all the time be worrying, instead, over the causes of conflict and hatred. It is these, if not, which threaten to keep divided and hostile, one part against another — this place that the late, sainted, Wendell Wilkie called "Our World" and Barbara Ward and her anxious associates now identify as "Only One Earth".

How awful to reflect on the role of a newspaper like the *Daily Express*, which seems committed heart and soul to a determination never to recognise the debasing evil of white Rhodesianism and South African apartheid, but only to jump at the exposed throats of the otherwise helpless victims of these policies. Is it possible that educated, supposedly intelligent, people cannot understand how oppressed groups will fight back with the only weapons left to them, or which they can by their hands, now and then and often so unexpectedly?

Is it not monical, almost pathetic, that at the very moment that these champions of un-polluted sport are, savagely the black Olympic athletes and their governments over Rhodesians abroad, Rhodesians at home should be pressing forward relentlessly with plans towards total segregation and deprivation of civil and human rights for their African majority? Meanwhile, to add more pathos to more irony, alongside reports on these Rhodesian moves in the press, Pergame Worshterme, in the *Daily Telegraph*, for one writes away at his favourite cathartic exercise of denigration and defilement of Africa.

How sad the whole business! Should we not all rather be trying to make human beings of every kind acceptable and just to one another, so that such rages as General Amin's can be obviated once and for all in our One Earth? This is really my main point Africa should have a stake in a just and friendly society of human beings, not in a world for ever dominated by affluent technological bullying and contempt.

K A B JONES SQUAREY

### Made-in-Nigeria degrees

SIR While I am not out to deny that we could find Nigerians so unreasonable as to think that "because they have earned their degrees abroad, they should be treated as a special category"

— the alleged attitude of employers at home towards those trained abroad must raise eye-brows vis-à-vis that preference is, as a matter of policy, given to "Made in Nigeria" graduates.

If Nigerians described by Mr Osagie (August 18) are worthy of blame, can anyone give any reasons why employers, including governments, should not be asked to change their attitude to that of treating everyone as citizens of Nigeria, which they are?

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## PORTS: THE VITAL LINK

*By a correspondent*

Because West Africa's trade is overwhelmingly oriented towards overseas countries, the region's ports play a crucial part in economic development.

"In West Africa, congestion and delays to shipping have all too frequently led to ocean freight surcharges or port additions which no poor country can afford", says Mr. David Hilling of the University of London. "Poor performance at ports therefore affects the entire community". Drawing attention to "a clear relationship" between port development and the economic and social advance of tropical African countries, he adds, "the seaport emerges as the vital permissive factor influencing economic development".

Since the establishment and maintenance of port facilities is an expensive business and port structures, once built, are difficult to modify, mistakes in this field can operate a dragging influence on progress over periods of several years. For this reason, the West African Port Management Conference which is being held in Freetown from 9-13 October is a welcome exercise.

The area covered by the conference, which is sponsored by the UN Economic and Social Council, extends over 5,000km of coast from Mauritania to Angola. This is a coast, Mr. Hilling points out in the introduction to his paper, where shelter for shipping has to be provided by costly artificial structures and where, as a result, port facilities at many places were until recently of a rudimentary character with low overall capacity and slow handling rates. Eighteen coastal states plus a number of landlocked countries are to a large degree dependent on these ports.

Their performance has varied greatly, but virtually all have been faced with problems resulting from the huge increase in cargo handled, from 13m tons in 1964 to an estimated 130m tons this year. The Nigerian ports carried the additional burden of the effects of the war and the great rush of cargo in the months following the outbreak of peace.

Much of the region's increase is accounted for by crude oil, refined petroleum products and mineral ores (Western Africa is now the world's leading exporting region for iron ores).

Bulk cargoes are generally handled at special facilities, often financed by the mineral-exporting companies. Indeed, as Mr. Hilling makes clear, much of the recent port provision and improvement has been to accommodate such traffic: completely new facilities have been constructed at Nouadhibou and Buchanan (iron ore), Bonny, off-shore terminals of the Niger Delta and Cap Lopez (crude oil) and Kpeme (phosphates), while modifications have been made at Dakar (for phosphates) Monrovia (iron ore) and Pointe Noire (manganese).

Problems can be created by the



*Ships at Apapa*

ever-increasing size of the bulk carriers (Buchanan was completed in 1963 but there are already plans for fundamental changes to accommodate "super ships"), but, in compensation, the production and export of the bulk carriers is spread fairly evenly throughout the year, the facilities often serve a particular mining enterprise and capacity and technology are therefore easily adjusted to the overall demand. In addition, individual berths have very large throughputs and, in consequence, few are needed.

The real problem area, therefore, is with general cargo, where many buyers and sellers are involved, none of whom is individually large enough to perform an integrated operation. If this traffic is handled inefficiently in the ports, trade will be burdened with unnecessary costs, which are passed on to the customer and thus lead to increases in the cost of living.

One obvious lesson from this is that every effort must be made to organise the shipping of commodities in bulk rather than on liner terms. When the liner rate for logs from West Africa to Europe stood at \$5.80 per ton per thousand miles, the rate for logs travelling bulk rate from British Columbia to Japan was less than \$4.70. This difference in rates was not caused by the liners overcharging as long as the traders present their goods in small individual consignments there is no alternative to the use of liner services, which are intrinsically more expensive than charter services (the ECA has pointed out that "it seems almost certain that the savings attainable in this direction are much greater than those which could be attained by any feasible reduction in liner freight rates through changes in pricing policies").

Freight rates are a constant source of friction and the subject will certainly be raised at the Freetown conference (if for no other reason than that increases on West African routes are generally blamed on rising port costs). The ECA document on shipping presented to the UNCTAD

conference in Santiago earlier this year observed that rates on the West African routes had been increased "10 per cent in November 1968, 10 per cent in March 1969 and 12.5 per cent in October 1969 ... As a rule those increases were arbitrary and unilateral. In many instances the liner conferences did not give advanced notice or failed to consult the shippers". As African countries pattern their trade on the basis of future sales, sudden changes in freight rates can not be reflected in prices. "In consequence, widespread and frequent increases in freight rates had serious adverse repercussions on the exports and balance of payments of African countries".

After the Nigerian civil war, the Nigerian National Shipping Line was engaged in repeated battles to prevent rates being raised by the conferences in which it participated. In 1965, 1967 and 1968 the American West African Freight Conference adopted unilateral decisions on rates to United States ports, which were always the subject of protests by the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Company (increases had previously been discussed in advance). This situation highlighted the need, which exists throughout Africa, for effective consultation on matters of common interest to shippers and ship-owners. The Ivory Coast Shippers' Council, for example, has undertaken a number of technical studies with a view to holding down freight rates. The first study on port operations led to the easing of customs formalities, closer port controls, reorganisation of the storage of packages in warehouses and rationalisations in all port operations (although the ECA has described the progress made as a result of negotiations as inadequate, partly because of the "dilatatory tactics" employed by certain conferences).

Of immediate benefit, too, would be the establishment of shippers councils at multinational or regional levels. As Mr. Hilling observes, "With the bulk of the shipping serving the range already organised in a relatively small number of conferences which give some uniformity of action it would be to the advantage of the ports themselves to act less independently than they do at present".

West African ports operate in similar socio-economic and geographical environments yet there is little transfer of ideas and experience from one to another. In 1971 two ports were each engaged in the establishment of a Port Authority but neither possessed detailed knowledge of neighbouring ports which had previously undertaken the same exercise.

"The problems of Apapa or Tema are more likely to be the problems of Abidjan and Matadi than those of London or Rotterdam. Yet there would seem to be greater readiness to import solutions than to develop solutions based on West African experience and related to local conditions", says Mr. Hilling.

It is to be hoped that next month's conference will mark the beginning of the end of this lack of co-operation.



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# MATCHET'S DIARY

Readers of Bruce Oudes' two articles on American policy during the Nigerian civil war may feel that the criticism he reports of the US Embassy in Lagos is rather unfair. For if the embassy found it necessary to be somewhat equivocal, there was such conflict in Washington itself that the embassy might at times have been justified in feeling that inaction was the safest policy. During his presidential campaign in 1968 Mr. Nixon made plain his sympathy with the people of the secessionist area, and those who expected him to win might reasonably have expected this sympathy to dictate his policies when he came into office. Certainly some rebel leaders expected that his election would mean a switch in US policy. I believe that in the end rebel envoys had to be told very firmly by Dr. Kissinger himself that whatever the pressure from people like Senator Kennedy there was not the smallest possibility of the Nixon administration recognising the rebel régime.

On the other hand it is clear, in retrospect, that the American ban on sales of arms to Nigeria in the end helped the Federal cause in the US. For so strong and vocal was sympathy with the rebels that if the American government had permitted the sale of arms to Nigeria after the war had started, it would ultimately have been obliged to apply a ban, and perhaps, to appease the critics, might even have gone further. All this, however, is now history and perhaps better forgotten. But now we have another presidential campaign and Africa has a prominent place in the Democratic platform. As well as the conventional emphasis on the need to expand aid to Africa the Democrats say that "the central feature of African politics today is the struggle against racism and colonialism in Southern Africa". While rejecting "interventionism" the Democrats say that the US must end "complicity" with white minority governments.

The focus of America's concern with Africa, says the Democratic platform, must be on economic and social development. "Economic aid to Africa, without political conditions, should be expanded, and African states assured an adequate share of the aid dollar. Military aid and aid given for military purposes should be sharply reduced". All military aid to Portugal "should be stopped and the Nixon \$435m. deal for unneeded Azores bases should be cancelled.

"UN sanctions against the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia should be supported vigorously, especially as they apply to chrome imports.

"The US should give full support to UN assertion of its control over Namibia (South West Africa), in accordance with the World Court's ruling.

"The US should make clear its opposition to the racial totalitarianism of South Africa. The US government should

act firmly to press US businesses in South Africa to take measures for the fullest possible justice for their black employees. Blacks should be assigned at all levels to US offices in South Africa and throughout Africa. The South African sugar quota should be withdrawn.

"No US company or its subsidiary should be given US tax credit for taxes paid to white minority-ruled countries of Africa."

Mr. Charles Diggs, the black congressman, has praised this as "the first positive platform recommendations in the direction of just and sensible US-African relations". He went on to attack the republican administration's policy, particularly with regard to supply of arms to Portugal and the breaking of sanctions against Rhodesia.

## Wilson and the Asians

It is difficult to accept the explanation of Mr. Harold Wilson about why he had nothing at all to say about the expulsion of the British Asians from Uganda until the beginning of this month. The Opposition leader said that, on holiday, he kept silent because nobody asked him to make a statement. Yet this is likely to prove one of the most thorny issues in domestic politics and is already one of the highest importance internationally, and since some trade unionists, who are presumably supporters of the Labour Party, have taken a lead in denouncing the British Government's intention of assisting the British Asians to settle in Britain, one would have expected Mr. Wilson to let everybody know at once that in this matter he supported the Government. In his long article on Labour's attitude to international aid in the new journal, *Third World*, published after the Uganda issue had become prominent, Mr. Wilson declared that "the problem of world poverty remains the gravest political issue of our age". He ended his article by referring to a declaration he made 20 years ago, that if the Americans and Russians were unwilling to join the fight against world poverty on the scale expected of them, then Britain and other countries should go it alone. "For Labour that must remain as true as ever. To deny it would be like a man with a fire extinguisher confronted with a blaze who declined to take any action unless or until the fire engine arrived. That is not the stuff of which a future successful Labour government could be made". His silence on the Uganda issue is an extraordinary contrast to this resounding declaration.

I wish, by the way, that people would cease referring to these Asians as "immigrants". As British citizens they are not immigrants, but simply citizens. I wish, too, that it was more widely realised that the British Government

never "offered" them citizenship. The who passed the necessary tests were already British citizens when Uganda was a British colony. All that happened at the time of independence was that they were told that, if they chose, they could retain their British citizenship. No doubt Mr. Sandys, the Minister chiefly concerned never expected that any large number of those who did remain British citizens would wish to settle in Britain. But this has absolutely nothing to do with its legal position.

## Profit and Loss

It is puzzling to find the Kumasi Maize Sellers Association complaining to the Regional Commissioner that aliens, particularly from Gao in Mali, have established a monopoly in the maize trade and that the Regional Commissioner promised the matter would be looked into. For the association went on to complain that the Gao traders were offering high prices to farmers and retailing at "cut-throat" prices to consumers. One would have thought that this was exactly what the government would wish traders to do, and that the proper response would be to invite Ghanaian traders to outbid the Gaos, both in price paid to farmers and in prices offered to consumers. Yet the Kumasi traders ever complained to the Regional Commissioner that the farmers would not sell maize to Ghanaian traders because they got higher prices from aliens. What, then, do the Kumasi association want? Are they seriously arguing that Ghanaian farmers, who have been so unjustly treated for so long, should sacrifice higher incomes for the pleasure of trading with their fellow countrymen — who will then go on to overcharge the consumers? The Gaos seem to me to be performing a good service to Ghana — as many other alien traders have been doing.

## China's veto

There was no surprise, I imagine, in the Ministry of External Affairs in Lagos when it was announced that China, in spite of the criticism her spokesmen had previously made of big-power diplomacy at the UN, had felt obliged to veto the proposal for Bangladesh membership. Nigeria does not want to make a major issue of Bangladesh membership either of the UN or of the Commonwealth, but her leaders' sympathies are still with Pakistan because Bangladesh represents successful secessionism supported by outside interests. The Nigerians always knew, however, that at the UN they need take no line themselves since the Chinese could be relied on to use the veto. What line, however, will the Chinese take when the subject of continuation of sanctions against Rhodesia arises at the UN? For it is generally believed that, as importers of chrome, the Chinese are themselves major sanctions breakers.

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## People

With the consent of General Gowon, the rank of "Commendatore" in the order of Italian Solidarity has been bestowed on the chairman of AGIP, Nigeria, Adekunle Ojora, by the President of Italy. The honour is bestowed "in recognition and appreciation of the sympathy and solidarity which, for so long and in so many different circumstances" Mr Ojora has "shown towards Italy and Italians in Nigeria". The honour also recognises his position as chairman of the Italian-owned Agip in Nigeria - a post to which he was appointed nearly a year ago after serving on the board for four years. Ojora is a former director of UAC, after which he became chairman of the Nigerian National Shipping Line. He is a director of a number of international companies including UTC of Nigeria and Phoenix Assurance. For five years he has been managing director of the Western Nigeria Government-owned Wemabod Estates, the company specialising in Lagos skyscrapers. The company is now building the Elm "Unity House" in Lagos, financed entirely from its own resources, and in April this year it made a cash grant of £1m to the Western State Government to assist its capital projects. It has also made a £250,000 loan to the government. Wemabod is seeking tenders for another imposing building in Lagos through a subsidiary, Lupal Property Co.

After a lengthy dispute, Etubom David James Henshaw has been recognised by Nigeria's South Eastern State Government as Ohong of Calabar. His appointment last year after the death of Etubom Adem E. E. Adam sparked off protests by some sections of the Efik community and the Government instituted a public inquiry into the affair. The sole Commissioner, E. A. Udoh, found that the appointment had been correctly carried out. But the Government's attention was drawn to a 19th century settlement concerning the issue of accession "Whatever may have been the legal significance of the Settlement the Government nevertheless decided not to ignore its political and historical importance" and therefore withheld recognition "in order to give the Efik people a chance to come to a mutual agreement among themselves on how to overcome the provision of the Settlement which vests the right to provide an Ohong in a simple Efik House". Three months later, the Government decided to grant recognition, since "every evidence points to the fact that the majority of the Efik people, represented by their Etuboms", accept Henshaw.

Jeanne Cissé of Guinea has made history at the United Nations - her participation in the Security Council

debate on the admission of Bangladesh to the world body was the first occasion on which a Council delegation has been led by a woman. She was appointed head of the Guinean mission only a few days before the debate. The 46-year-old diplomat is a well-known figure at the UN and at meetings of the Organisation for African Unity. She suggested during the debate that the Council should send a delegation to Bangladesh to make an on-the-spot assessment but, according to the London *Times*, the suggestion made no impact, "probably because Mme. Cissé appeared to have thought of it on the spur of the moment and had not gone through the long hours of corridor bargaining which are supposed to precede initiatives of this sort".

Ghana's former High Commissioner in Nigeria, Alhaj Yakubu Fali, the Tolon Na, is to be High Commissioner in Freetown. The Tolon Na, whose chiefly title comes from a village near Tamale, capital of Ghana's northern region, is a former Deputy Speaker of Ghana's National Assembly and was headmaster of the Buiba Native Authority Boarding School. He served for four years as High Commissioner to Nigeria and in 1970 he was appointed ambassador to Yugoslavia. It is also announced that Philip Palmer, until recently Sierra Leone Ambassador to Ethiopia and Israel, is to succeed the Rev. J. A. C. Davies, as Ambassador to the United States. Mr. Davies is now High Commissioner in London.

The Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation's three-man delegation to the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference in Kenya next month will be led by Christopher Kolade, the Director General. The Ghana Broadcasting Corporation will be represented by its Director General, Stephen B. Mtuwo, and the Director of Engineering, J. L. Mills. The Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service delegation of three will be led by Joseph W. O. Findlay, Director of Broadcasting and Dr. Lamin Mbye, Director of Information and Broadcasting, will represent Radio Gambia. Thirty Commonwealth broadcasting organisations will be represented at the conference.

The black American writer Alex Haley, whose account of how he traced his roots in The Gambia was one of the successes of the Manning Conference this summer in London, visited The Gambia after the Conference. While there he talked about the Kinte Foundation which he has established in Washington (Kinte is the Gambian family in the village of Jullureh from which he is descended). The Foundation was set up to collect and document material about the past, present and future of the black American. It is planning to make a grant to the Public Records Office in Bathurst to assist it in research into Gambian cultural history and set up a museum.

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# Commercial News

## NEW COCOA PACT BID

A major cocoa producing and consuming nations are represented at the United Nations cocoa conference which was due to begin on September 11. About 60 countries are expected to participate in the talks, the aim of which is to conclude an international cocoa agreement before the end of the year.

The chairman of the conference is Mr. Gamani Corea, deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Ceylon. A resolution regretting the failure of attempts to conclude a pact last March was passed at the UNCTAD conference at Santiago in May. The resolution requested the governments concerned to make the resumed conference a plenipotentiary one "to provide the maximum possibility" for the successful formulation of an agreement.

In their most recent report on the cocoa market, commodity dealers Gill and Duffus referred to indications in the press that the conference would run for a month. "In the meantime, reports emanating from Africa indicate that the Cocoa Producers Alliance envisage putting into operation their own international agreement, if no agreement is reached during the UNCTAD conference. Unconfirmed reports have suggested that the members of the Alliance have agreed to stockpile 50,000 tons of cocoa should market circumstances warrant such action".

Members of the Alliance - Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Togo and Brazil - met in Abidjan last week to discuss their strategy for the talks and to discuss marketing problems. The Ghanaian delegation consisted of Mr. W. Koranteng, managing director of the Cocoa Marketing Company, Dr. G. Agama and Mr. Isaac Amoh, chief research officer and chief legal officer of the Cocoa Marketing Board, and Mr. P. Allotey of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism.

• Purchases of Ghana mid crop cocoa in Ghana amounted to 9,800 tons after nine weeks of the season compared with 16,401 tons after the same period of last season.

• After three weeks of tough bargaining, the 62-nation International Coffee Council adopted a compromise solution to the wrangling over marketing arrangements for 1972-73 by fixing an export quota of 13,059,708 bags (of 60

kilos each) for the first quarter and agreeing to meet again in November to discuss quotas for the remainder of the coffee year. The compromise resolution was drawn up by the executive director of the International Coffee Organisation, Sr. Alexandre Baltrao. The quota was based on an annual quote of 46.5m. bags and a "special reserve" of 3.1m. bags.

The President of the Brazilian Coffee Institute, Sr. Carlos Pinto, said later that the talks had shown "the tremendous performance of producers and the excellent co-ordination of their strategy". Colombia's Minister of Agriculture, Sr. Hernan Osampo, told reporters that in future the Agreement would have to be an instrument to defend prices in favour of under-developed countries.

• A recommendation to the British Government to allow a "managed market" for bananas in Britain has been made by the recently formed Commonwealth Banana Exporters' Association. They want a system similar to that operated in France where supplies from France's associate and dependent territories are regulated to market needs by a committee made up of producers, the trade and the Government.

• Members of the "Geneva Group" of coffee-producing nations are to meet in Abidjan next November to prepare a strategy for the meeting of the International Coffee Council which is to be held in London on November 27.

## The danger of growth

Economic growth in Britain and other industrialised countries occurs at the expense of the developing countries and can only accentuate the widening gap between the rich and poor countries, according to a paper prepared by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science. "Within the world community even the poorest UK citizen belongs to the rich minority - that segment of less than one-third of the world's peoples who consume three-quarters of the earth's non-renewable resources. If the rich continue their growth in consumption there will not even be sufficient for the poor to build up the basic infrastructure of industrialisation". The paper notes that the Third World may have "a lot to teach the rich about alternative technologies and social organisation more appropriate to life on a small planet".

## Caledonian to stop at Dakar

"In the light of evidence indicating growing traffic demand" Dakar is being introduced, as a once-weekly stop on British Caledonia's VC10 service between London and Freetown in Monrovia. No other British airline serves Senegal. BOAC dropped the route in 1964. A British Caledonian spokesman said that flight timings from Senegal to London had been fixed to ensure convenient connections with the airline's other services to European centres.

With the introduction of its winter flight schedule in November, British Caledonian's service between London and the West African coast will be doubled to two round-trip flights a week. Super One-Eleven jets offering eight first class/80 economy class seating, will be featured on the service. Coastal services will leave London Thursdays and Sundays and, in conjunction with Sierra Leone Airways, will serve Casablanca, La Palmas, Bathurst, Freetown, Monrovia, Accra and Lagos. The flights will provide Bathurst with a through, same-day service for the first time and introduce Monrovia and Casablanca to the coastal route.

## Warning on funds

Addressing the opening session of the 40-nation Committee of Experts of the Economic Commission for Africa, the Commission's executive secretary, Mr. Robert Gardiner, warned that the committee must not count on any additional funds being made available from the UN Development Programme since those funds were already over-committed. Some of the UN's special commissions, he pointed out, were already cutting back on expenditure, and the committee would have to review the whole question of the deployment of the resources of the ECFA. El Hadj Mahmoudou Haman Dicko of Cameroon was elected chairman of the committee and Mr. E. Olu Sanu of Nigeria as first vice-chairman.

• About 200 United Nations Volunteers will be serving in 15 developing countries by the end of 1972, according to the latest report on the programme by the Secretary-General. So far, 56 volunteers have taken up assignments in eight countries, including Chad, Niger, and Togo. Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea and Liberia have either formally submitted requests for UN volunteers or have shown a "firm willingness" in receiving them.

• King Hassan, current chairman of the OAU, is expected to open a conference on "The Development of Human Resources" which has been organised in Tangier by the African Centre for Training and Research in Administration for Development.



Chief Orij addresses the Enterprises Promotion Committee (see below)

The Rivers State Commissioner for Trade and Industry, Chief Emmanuel Orij, has explained that the Federal Government did not promulgate the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree in order to eject foreign investors and personnel from the country, but rather to encourage more indigenous participation in the economic growth and development of the country. Addressing the first meeting of the State's branch of the Enterprises Promotion Committee in Port Harcourt, the Commissioner pointed out that the Decree was aimed at encouraging expatriate investors to shift investment from areas requiring simple operational techniques to areas requiring more advanced technology.

- Nigeria's foreign exchange reserves increased by nearly £60m during 1971, totalling £149.6m at the end of the year. A trade surplus of £139m was recorded. The Economic and Statistical Review issued by the Federal Government shows that exports increased by 46 per cent to £648m (of which oil accounted for £475m). The value of non-oil exports fell by eight per cent. An overall growth rate of 11 per cent was recorded, "substantially above the growth projected in the plan". The report points to the strong financial position of the Federal Government, and urges the states to explore extra sources of independent revenues which have contributed only a small percentage of their total revenues.

- Mr. Wenike Briggs, Commissioner for Trade, told the Czechoslovak ambassador that direct purchase by East European countries of Nigerian produce instead of through middlemen would be cheaper. He urged Czechoslovakia to buy more Nigerian produce to reduce the trade imbalance, officially put at about £N2.6m in 1970.

- A contract for equipping five cold stores in Zaire has been placed with a British company, Douglas-Rownson. The cold stores will form part of the facilities of a new supermarket being built at Kinshasa. Covering an area of nearly 30,000 square metres, it is claimed to be the largest supermarket in Africa. Douglas-Rownson is supplying the equipment in prefabricated form and carrying out site wiring and installation using local labour under supervision of the company's technical personnel.

## More tin for buffer stock

The International Tin Council, meeting in London, authorised the immediate call-up of a further instalment of 5,000 tons tin metal equivalent, totalling £6.7m to the buffer stock and gave authority to the executive chairman to call-up the final instalment of 2,500 tons metal equivalent, totalling £3.3m at his discretion. (The fourth International Tin Agreement provides for an aggregate compulsory contribution by producing countries of the equivalent of 20,000 tons of tin metal or its equivalent in cash, calculated at the floor price on 1 July 1971) of £1,350 per metric ton. The initial contribution was 7,500 tons equivalent (£10.1m.) and two further instalments of 2,500 tons (£3.3m.) each have been made. At 31 March 1972 the buffer stock held 8,099 metric tons. In spite of a £10 a ton price rise on the London Metal Exchange last week, taking the price to £1,560 a ton, sources in London said that the question of import controls on tin producers was far from closed. The topic was discussed in London and would certainly be raised at the next month's meeting of the Council in Indonesia if prices remained at a low level.

- Indigenous miners in Nigeria's Benue Plateau State who benefitted from the Government's small-scale industries credit scheme are to set up a joint venture to enable them to compete with their foreign counterparts. This was announced by a spokesman of the Nigerian miners when the State's Commissioner for industry and Trade, Mallam Muhammad Damlak, carried out an inspection tour of mining establishments. The indigenous miners "praised the Federal Military Government for establishing the prices of tin to avoid unhealthy competition in the various mining companies". The purpose of the Commissioner's visit was to learn the problems facing indigenous miners and to determine what help the Government could give them.

- Two agreements on economic and technical co-operation and trade were negotiated during his delegation's visit to China, said Nigeria's Commissioner for Economic Development, Dr Adebayo Adedeji.

## SCOTTISH MISSION TO NIGERIA

Mr. Ian Graham, managing director of Howden Godfrey Limited in Glasgow will lead the Scottish Export Committee Trade Mission to Nigeria in October. Mr. Donald S. Reid, of the Scottish Council (Development and Industry), will be Mission Manager. Members will be in Nigeria from 1 to 14 October, and will spend much of their time visiting customers and potential customers in Lagos. The companies participating at Howden Godfrey (represented by Mr. Graham), Babcock and Wilcox (Mr. E. Barnard), Brunton's (Mr. S. Anderson), Commercial Plastics (Mr. G. Telford), Diamond Power Specialty (Mr. W. G. Hamilton), EMCO Wheaton (Mr. M. H. Clarke), G & R Gilbert (Mr. B. J. Vinton), Lewis C. Grant (Mr. R. M. Storie), Hodges Clemco (Mr. A. Buckley), Joy Manufacturing Company (Mr. R. T. Thompson), P & W Maclellan (Mr. D. W. Duguid), Reyrolle Parsons International (Mr. D. R. Skelchy), Thermotank Products, (Mr. N. H. Sherrate), John Watts, Bradford (Mr. A. Hayes).

- Henry Simon Ltd. of Stockport, England, is to supply and commission machinery and accessories valued at £427,000 for the £1.5m. flour milling complex being built in Sapele, Nigeria. The order was received from the Taylor Woodrow Group which is responsible for the design and construction of the mill. The majority stock of Life Flour Mill is owned by Seaboard Overseas Ltd., division of Seaboard Allied Milling Corporation of Kansas City for whom Henry Simon installed machinery in its mill in Sierra Leone in 1968.

- A spokesman for Uruguay's National Meat Institute said in Montevideo that attempts were being made to contact the Nigerian Government about the sale of 30,000 tons of beef to Nigeria. The spokesman said that he understood that Nigeria had expressed an interest in purchasing 100,000 tons, but this was almost as much as Uruguay could export annually and only 30,000 tons could be diverted to Nigeria.

- A contract for over £3m. has been awarded to an Italian firm for the reconstruction of Nigeria's Birnin Gwari-Funtua road. The 98-mile trunk road which should be ready for use by March 1974, will reduce the direct route between Lagos, Funtua and Katsina by 80 miles.

- The Federal Government has denied reports that approval had been given for three car assembly plants; approval has been given only to Peugeot and Volkswagen.

- The Bauchi Meat Products Company has allocated about £1.1m for the development of its cattle ranch, which currently has over 600 head of cattle.

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## Sterling to be discussed

The future of sterling and the Sterling Area will be among the subjects discussed by Commonwealth Finance Ministers in London on September 21 and 22. All member governments of the Commonwealth are expected to be represented at the meeting. The organisation's Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith announced that in addition to issues arising directly from the floating of sterling there would be discussion on international monetary reform. The conference would have before it a study commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat dealing with the working of the international monetary system and with possible changes, particularly from the point of view of the developing countries of the Commonwealth. Also on the agenda was the role of Special Drawing Rights and the possibility of their link with development assistance.

Mr. Smith said the current economic situation in the Commonwealth would be reviewed in a world context. The meeting would look at monetary and aid issues, especially in the light of the expansion of the EEC and the offer of association to 20 Commonwealth countries.

The two-day Finance Ministers Meeting will conclude a week of Commonwealth talks at Lancaster House. The series of meetings will begin on Monday, September 18 with a session of the Board of Representatives of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation. Senior Commonwealth finance officials are scheduled to meet on the 19th and 20th as a preliminary to the Ministerial conference. The Commonwealth Finance Ministers last met in London in 1968. Since then, the annual meetings have been held in Barbados, Cyprus and the Bahamas.

A three-man team representing the Caribbean began a tour of West and East Africa on September 1 to discuss the possibility of a joint approach to Common Market relationship following Britain's entry into the EEC.

## Less tied aid

West Germany's Economic Co-operation Minister, Herr Erhard Eppler has pointed out that the proportion of credit to developing countries tied to purchases in West Germany had dropped from 39.8 per cent in 1968 to 23.6 per cent last year. Credit terms had improved "sharply"; credit for 30 years generally included 10-year repayment standstill and carried two per cent interest. Repayment terms for loans to the 25 least developed countries were 50 years at 0.75 per cent with a 10-year grace period.

The South-Eastern State Agricultural Development Corporation has retained the services of a firm of consultants Harrison Fleming of London.

## Ghana abrogates fishing agreement

The government has abrogated a fishing agreement, signed in 1960, with Star-Kist International SA, a Panamanian fishing company. The agreement, the genuineness of which was questioned by a special contract reviewing committee, gave the company exclusive rights for the landing, buying and trans-shipment of tuna from foreign tuna vessels. Among the main defects pointed out by the committee was the fact that Star-Kist did not bring in foreign exchange to pay for its local expenses and charges.

● Ghana had a trade surplus of 1.9m cedis in May, according to provisional figures released by the Central Bureau of Statistics. Ghana imported 26.1m cedis worth and exported 28m cedis worth of goods during the month. Total imports and exports from January to May were 186.5m cedis and 225.2m cedis, while the comparative figures for the same period in 1971 were 209.8m and 183.1m, respectively.

● Mr. Augustine Adu, a commercial officer in Ghana's Ministry of Trade and Tourism, was one of the representatives from 19 developing countries who visited the World Trade Centre in London recently as part of a month-long course on international trading sponsored by the International Trade Centre in Geneva.

● Ghana Airways is to extend its internal services to Sunyani and Wa. Therefore, said the chairman of the airline, the corporation was negotiating the purchase of two medium-range aircraft. He added that services would be extended to Bolgatanga when an airstrip was constructed there.

● During his visit to the USSR, the Commissioner for Lands and Mineral Resources, Maj. Kwame Baah, signed a protocol for increased trade. Last year's two-way trade figures were £9m., with Ghana importing mainly oil, foodstuffs and equipment.

## Checking "bad habits"

In an interview with the magazine *Ivory Coast* 1972, the Finance and Economy Minister, M. Henri Konan Bedie, claims that the country had saved 3,000m. CFA francs through the Government's austerity measures. These were taken to check certain "bad fiscal habits" and to meet international factors, to which the country was very sensitive. The Minister said the austerity measures would be maintained throughout the years 1972 to 1975. The country's own resources were progressing and were not affected by the international situation.

● France is to finance the building of railway stations and telecommunications equipment for the second section of the Trans-Cameroon railway and also to train senior technical railway staff in France.

## WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

### ELDER Dempster Lines

**SOUTHBOUND** - From Liverpool: FOURAH BAY slg Sept 14, DUMBAIA slg Sept 8; EBANI due Port Harcourt Sept 13, KOHIMA slg Sept 21.

From London: EBOL due Freetown Sept 8; MANO slg Sept 13.

From Glasgow: DUNKWA due Freetown Sept 8.

From North Continent: DARU due Cotonou Sept 13.

From Southampton: AURFOL slg Sept 13.

**NORTHBOUND** - To London: IPLANI due Sept 8, IALABA slg. Apapa Sept 10, BIAMO due Sept 9.

To Avonmouth: KUMBA due Abidjan Sept 8.

To North Continent: KABALA due Rotterdam Sept 9 for Amsterdam, Hamturg, PATANI due Freetown Sept 10, FRETOWN due Amsterdam Sept 8 for Hamburg, Bremen.

**WESTBOUND** - To USA/Canada: DLGAMA due Monrovia Sept 10, DUMURRA due New York Sept 9.

**EASTBOUND** - From USA/Canada: FIAN due Dakar Sept 10.

Eastern Service to West Africa: IRNBANK due Douala Sept 13.

### BARBER Lines

**OUTWARDS** - FERNGATE due Lagos Sept 17, FERLAND due New York Sept 26 for Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa and Tema.

**HOMEWARDS** - FERLAND due load Sapele Sept 14, Ghana Sept 17, Abidjan/Monrovia 3rd week Sept, FERNGATE due load Lagos (SB) Sept 18, Douala Sept 21, Ghana 4th week Sept.

**UNSWEST AFRICA LINE**

**WESTBOUND** - OIFIN RIVER Douala Sept 3, Sapele Sept 6, Calabar Sept 9, Ghana Sept 13, Abidjan Sept 15, New York Sept 30, Philadelphia Oct 4.

**BLACK STAR LINE/UK/CONTINENT/WEST AFRICA**

**SOUTHBOUND** - LAKE BOSOMWI Middleborough Oct 9, SUBIN RIVER Newport Sept 20, Dublin Sept 23, Glasgow Sept 29.

**NORTHBOUND** - SUBIN RIVER Dorkirk Sept 7, Bremen Sept 9, AFRAM RIVER Middleborough Sept 25, London Oct 3.

### DELTA Line

DEI RIO slg Port Arthur Sept 9 due Mofite Sept 13, Abidjan Sept 29, DELTA PARAGUAY slg New Orleans Sept 24 due Houston Sept 19, Mobile Sept 25, Dakar Oct 5.

### PALM Line

**SOUTHBOUND** - EMINA PALM due Freetown Sept 15, FLORIN PALM due Lome Sept 19, LOHIO PALM due Bathurst Sept 17.

### N.Y.K. Line

**WESTBOUND** - SAIKYO MARU Lagos/Apapa Oct 12/15, Abidjan Oct 25/26, Takoradi Oct 27/28.

**EASTBOUND** - SAITAMA MARU Lagos/Apapa Dec 22/25, Abidjan Dec 23/25, Takoradi Dec 25/26.

### K Line

**WESTBOUND** - From Japan via Hong Kong to Port Harcourt, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc.: DOMINICA MARU slg Japan Aug. 21 due Lagos Sept 15.

**EASTBOUND** - From Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc. via Hong Kong: EL SALVADOR MARU slg Lagos Aug 29, Freetown Sept 4, Abidjan Sept 9 due Japan Oct 11.

### WOERMANN Line

LOUGA slg Le Havre Sept 2 due Dakar Sept 10, Abidjan Sept 14, Tema Sept 17, ROLAND RUSS slg Rotterdam Sept 1, due Libreville Sept 16, Port Gentil Sept 18, Matadi Sept 20.

### DAFERA Line

**EASTBOUND** - NIGERIA slg Monrovia Sept 27 due Warri Oct 2, Port Harcourt Oct 5.

**WESTBOUND** - FRANKRIG slg Calabar Sept 10 due Takoradi Sept 12, Abidjan Sept 14, Charleston Sept 30.

### GOLD STAR Line

**WESTBOUND** - GLIDERA Lohito Sept. 10, Luanda Sept 12, Matadi Sept 18.

**EASTBOUND** - NOGAMI Singapore Sept. 8, Kobe Sept 22, Yokohama Sept 28.

### MITSUI OSK Line

SALAMBRIA MARU slg Kobe Sept. 19 due Lagos Oct 21, ARIZONA MARU slg. Kobe Oct 4 due Lagos Nov 10.

### MAERSK Line

**INWARDS** - From Japan via Hong Kong to Matadi, Lagos, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan: JOHANNES MAERSK slg. Hong Kong Sept 16 due Luanda Oct 8.

**OUTWARDS** - From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi: SUSAN MAERSK slg. Lagos/Apapa Sept 20 due Tema Sept 21.

### FARRELL Lines

**HOMEWARDS** - AFRICAN CRESCENT slg. Luanda Sept 2 for Lohito, Matadi, Abidjan, Monrovia, US ports: AFRICAN STAR slg. Lagos/Apapa Sept 14 for Port Harcourt, Douala Sept 18, Abidjan, Monrovia, US ports.

**OUTWARDS** - AFRICAN STAR due Freetown, Monrovia Aug. 31, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Sept. 8, Lagos/Apapa Sept. 10, Port Harcourt, Tema, Lome, Douala, Accra, Abidjan, Monrovia Sept 6 for Abidjan.

### NEDLLOYD - SWAL JOINT SERVICES

BATULI due Rotterdam Sept. 13, Rouen Sept. 15 due Ilo/Ilo/Matadi Sept. 28, Pointe Noire Sept. 30, AMSTELSLAD slg Hamburg Sept 22, Rotterdam Sept 25, Rouen Sept 27 due Ilo/Ilo/Matadi Oct. 13, Pointe Noire Oct 15.

**NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE**

**SOUTHBOUND** - NNAMDI AZIKIWA due Apapa Sept 11, Port Harcourt Sept 17.

**NORTHBOUND** - FELINA M due Amsterdam Sept 10.

### SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

**NORTHBOUND** - CUMULUS slg. W.A. end Sept/Oct. In discharge Scan. end Oct./early Nov.

INDIANA slg. W.A. mid Oct./early Nov. In discharge Scan. mid Nov.

### HOGGH Lines

HOEGH BENIN slg Rotterdam Sept 5 due Dakar Sept 13, Abidjan Sept 17, Port Harcourt Sept 21, HOGGH BREEZE slg. Rotterdam Sept 11 due Apapa Sept 24, Port Harcourt Sept 28.

### ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINE

**INWARDS** - STRAAT FREEMANTLE from Japan slg Sept 18 due Luanda Oct 17, Monrovia Oct 22, Freetown Oct 24, Port Harcourt Oct 30, Lagos/Apapa Nov 2, Takoradi Nov 7, Abidjan Nov 10, STRAAT

MAGLIEHAN from Hong Kong slg. Aug 7, Lome, Sept 18, Abidjan Sept 20, Monrovia Sept 22, Freetown Sept 24, Dakar Sept 26, Conakry Sept 28 Takoradi Oct 10.

**OUTWARDS** - STRAAT FREEMANTLE from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt Hong Kong and Japan early Nov. STRAAT MEGLIEHAN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt Hong Kong, Japan and Shanghai late Sept.

**EAL EUROPE - AFRICA Line GmbH**

ELIATRIS 1 due Dakar Sept 12, Abidjan Sept 17, Lome Sept 20, Lagos/Apapa Sept 22, BLOCKLAND slg. Rouen Sept 6 due Santa Cruz Sept 12, Las Palmas Sept 13.

### NOPAL Lines

**WESTBOUND** - NOPAL TELLUS due Cotonou Sept 10, Abidjan Sept 11, Monrovia Sept 14, NOPAL LUNA slg. Luanda Sept 27, Douala Sept 30 due Takoradi Oct 2.

### WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

WESTWIND slg New Orleans Sept 4 due Tema Sept 24, Lagos Sept 28, Luanda Oct 2.

**SOUTHWIND** slg New Orleans Oct 2, Houston Oct 7 due Tema Oct 23, Lagos Oct 26.

### THE THIES Lines

**SOUTHBOUND** - SIMBA slg Hamburg Sept 4, Antwerp Sept 7, Rotterdam Sept 9, Rouen Sept 12 due Dakar Sept 19, Monrovia Sept 22, Abidjan Sept 24; SARGODHA slg. Copenhagen Sept 13, Aarhus Sept 15, Bremen Sept 17, Hamburg Sept 19, Antwerp Sept 22, Rotterdam Sept 24, Rouen Sept 27 due Dakar Oct 4, Freetown Oct 7, Monrovia Oct 8.

**NORTHBOUND** - PANAMA slg. Lagos Sept 3, Douala Sept 6, Cotonou Sept 8, Abidjan Sept 11, Monrovia Sept 14 due Amsterdam Sept 23, Copenhagen Sept 24, Bremen Sept 26, Hamburg Sept 29, Aarhus Oct 1.

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**GROUP 'A'**

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**GROUP 'B'**

English  
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**GROUP 'C'**

Fine Art  
Drama  
Music

**2. QUALIFICATIONS:** A degree (either general, special honours, single honours, or combined honours of a recognised University in any of the subjects listed in Groups 'A', 'B' and 'C') alone and any of the following professional qualifications -

- Post-graduate diploma or certificate in education;
  - The Nigerian Certificate in Education;
  - The Nigerian College Teachers' Certificate;
  - The Teachers' Professional or Associateship certificate; and
  - The United Kingdom Ministry of Education Teachers' Certificate.
- (i) Candidates without the post-graduate diploma or certificate in Education or any of the professional qualifications listed above may also apply.
- (ii) In respect of applicants for Drama and/or Music, a diploma of a recognised University in Music and/or Drama is acceptable as additional qualification to a degree in Arts (preferably English).

**3. APPLICABLE SALARY SCALES:**

- Graduate with Teaching Qualifications, Scale I V A:  
EN882 & 42 - EN924, EN924 & EN120 - EN1,044, EN1,044 & 48 - EN1,092, EN1,092 & 108 - EN1,200, EN1,200 & 48 - EN1,440, EN1,440 & 54 - EN1,764
- Graduate without teaching qualification, scale 2IV A & 3:  
EN840 & 42 - EN924, EN924 & 120 - EN1,044, EN1,044 & 48 - EN1,092, EN1,092 & 108 - EN1,200, EN1,200 & 48 - EN1,440, EN1,440 & 54 - EN1,764
- Graduate with General Degree with Teaching Qualification, scale IV A (as at 3rd above)
- Graduate with General Degree without Teaching Qualification, 2V A:  
EN810 & 36 - EN882, EN882 & 102 - EN984, EN984 & 36 - EN1,056, EN1,056 & 42 - EN1,098, EN1,098 & 102 - EN1,200, EN1,200 & 48 - EN1,440, EN1,440 & 54 - EN1,764
- Teachers with N.C.T. and Equivalent, Scale 3(A) V A:  
EN768 & 27 - EN882, EN882 & 34 - EN906, EN906 & 36 - EN942, EN942 & 33 - EN1,008, EN1,008, EN1,008 & 36 - EN1,116, EN1,116 & 36 - EN1,212, EN1,212 & 42 - EN1,296.

**ENTRY POINT:** Point of entry into any of the applicable Salary Scales listed in (i)-(v) above will depend on qualifications and experience.

**4. Expatriate applicants if employed will be entitled to**

- The Basic Salary determined in any of the classes (i)-(v) above, plus:
  - Indemnity allowance payable to non-male or female officers at the rate of EN150 per annum or EN200 for married male officers;
  - Passage allowance of EN500 per annum for each period of resident service;
  - an additional 25% of all emoluments earned during each period of resident service.

**5. CONDITIONS OF SERVICE:** Successful candidates who take up appointment would enjoy the conditions of service operating in the State for Teachers and other benefits that may from time to time be severally negotiated.

**6. METHOD OF APPLICATION:** Applications should be on prescribed form obtainable from the Secretary, School Service Board, 151-161 Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos or from the Recruitment Attache, Nigeria High Commission, 9 Northumberland Avenue, London WC2 and submitted to either of the above named officers not later than 2nd October, 1977.

H. Akun Cankersk  
for Permanent Secretary.

## SITUATION VACANT Cont.

## THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL OIL CORPORATION

VACANCIES FOR ENGINEERS,  
GEOLOGISTS AND GEOPHYSICISTS

A large number of vacancies exist in the Nigerian National Oil Corporation for engineers, geologists, and geophysicists. Applications are invited from Nigerians, aged between 21 and 35 years, who are willing to serve the Corporation with a high sense of responsibility and dedication.

## (a) GEOLOGISTS:

## Qualifications:-

A good degree or equivalent in Geology, Physics or Geophysics, and considerable mental and physical capacity for work under oilfield conditions. Previous working experience would be an advantage but is not essential.

## (b) ENGINEERING:

## Qualifications:-

A good degree or equivalent in Petroleum, Chemical or Mechanical Engineering, or in Chemistry, and considerable mental and physical capacity for work under oilfield conditions. Previous working experience would be an advantage but is not essential.

## DUTIES (For (a) and (b) above)

Successful candidates will be offered an initial salary in the range of £N1,200 to £N3,000 oilfield operations and associated activities. They will, at the discretion of the Corporation, undergo training, in Nigeria or abroad, appropriate to their qualifications and background.

## SALARY AND OTHER CONDITIONS OF SERVICE (For (a) and (b) above)

Successful candidates will be offered an initial salary in the range of £1,200 to 3,000 p.a., depending on qualifications and experience. Reasonable fringe benefits will be provided.

## METHOD OF APPLICATION

Application must state (or be accompanied with) the complete curriculum vitae of the applicant, including age, present employment, post and salary, and photo-stat or certified copies of certificates processed, and should be addressed to:

The person Secretary,  
Nigerian National Oil Corporation,  
c/o Federal Ministry of Mines & Power,  
7 Kofu Abayomi Street,  
Victoria Island,  
Lagos.

Applications received after September 30, 1972, will not be considered.

## THE GAMBIA

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## MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons to fill the post of Bilingual Secretary/Translator in the Ministry of External Affairs.

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2. An excellent knowledge of both English and French.
3. Ability to type transcripts from tape recordings.
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5. Exceptional qualities of tact, loyalty and reasonableness backed by references.
6. A sound knowledge of French-English stenography.

The salary scale attached to the post is: D450 - D4 650 x 180 - D5 190 per annum. Sterling equivalent approximately £700 x £30 - £850 - £930 x £30 = £1038, and entry point in the scale would depend on the qualifications and experience of the successful applicant.

Applications which must be made on the prescribed Public Service Commission Application for Appointment form (obtainable from the Office of the Commission, The Quadrangle, Banjul, The Gambia), should be completed and returned to the Secretary not later than Saturday 30th September, 1972.

Applicants in Government Service should forward their applications through their Head of Department.

Applicants who do not fulfil the requirements will not be considered.

Africa Centre requires Administrative Assistant (male)  
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# Dateline Africa

## GHANA

### Acheampong and the workers

Foreigners and their agents spreading false rumours against the government's intended participation in certain businesses should be exposed, Col. Acheampong told a workers' rally in Accra. The main reason the government was seeking participation, he said, was "to ensure a fair deal for our workers who have been exploited for too long". Col. Acheampong called on the workers to "take militant stand in the current revolution which is yet another opportunity for Ghana to redeem herself from the many problems that beset her in order to assume her full greatness".

Last month the NRC announced it would participate in certain mining and timber companies as part of its "declared policy to capture the commanding heights of the economy".

A comprehensive analysis of Ghana's problems and their projected solutions would soon appear in a "Charter of the Revolution", Acheampong said. The armed forces were mindful of the reserve power and unconquerable force of the workers. "In this transformation and upon the toil and sweat of the workers and the people, lies the economic, social and political fortunes of this dear country".

Col. Acheampong also told the meeting that the NRC intended to ask all

landlords to compile a register of the names, homes and business addresses of all tenants as a check against smuggling, robbery and other malpractices. The register, which should also include the rent paid by each tenant, would be made available for inspection by selected members of the armed forces and police. The order is scheduled to come into force on September 15.

Col. Acheampong told workers representatives at TUC headquarters that the NRC was determined to be the constant guardian of their rights and privileges for "workers are the greatest force for change and they have the power to bring failure or success to the revolution". He called on the entire labour movement to take a militant stand to enable Ghana to achieve her full greatness. The struggle was for economic emancipation and national unity "devoid of the shameful and haunting shadows of tribalism". It was in the workers' interest that "we must be able to control and command our economy; it is primarily in your interest that we should have in our national life men of honour and transparent honesty". A responsible labour movement, he stressed, "could serve as a healthy countervailing force against all those elements in our society who insist on controlling our economy and therefore our very lives".



Members of the military tribunal at the subversion trial: left to right Maj. R. K. M. Dzakupasa, Maj. G. N. Goumal, Lt. Col. E. K. Uruka, Col. C. R. Tachie-Menson (president of the tribunal), Mr. Justice D. F. Annan (Judge Advocate), Maj. Tern-Addy, Lt. Cdr. C. G. Lokko, Maj. F. M. K. Adu.

Leaders of the July plot to restore Dr. Busia to power planned to force Col. Acheampong to announce on the radio his resignation as head of state, a witness for the prosecution, Maj. Robert Kunta Zumah, claimed in evidence to the military tribunal trying the nine men accused of subversion (see last week's issue). He alleged that Col. Acheampong was to be handcuffed and taken by

armoured car to Broadcasting House to announce his resignation and that of the NRC. A four-man national constitutional committee, Major Zumah continued, would be formed to meet Dr. Busia on his return. The witness, acting commander of a reconnaissance regiment, told the tribunal that he had been invited to join the plotters as "tactical adviser". He had originally heard of the alleged plot from a

sergeant-major, who told him that a coup was being planned in the ranks. He and his colonel later informed military intelligence. Maj. Zumah alleged that of the accused, Mr. George Kofi Ofori Amaah, director of the Special Branch under Dr. Busia, gave him 3,000 cedis to distribute among troops who were going to take part in the coup. He said that Ofori-Amaah announced details of the takeover at a meeting which Maj. Zumah attended. Plans involving deploying troops at the airport and capturing Broadcasting House and Government House, Maj. Zumah continued. Dr. Busia was to arrive in Ghana on July 15, alleged Maj. Zumah, and his government were to continue in office for two years, after which there would be elections.

Lt. Joseph Boateng Danquah, of the Third Battalion, Sunyani, said earlier evidence that after Corporal Beryl Ofori Mensah had left him on April 3, 1977, telling him the plot involved "senior officers and men in the army", he reported the alleged plot to his commanding officer and also to Capt. Opong Agyare and Maj. Twumasi Ankrach.

The military tribunal has granted permission for a Queen's Counsel from Britain, Mr. J. R. Harvey, to join the defence team of Mr. George Ofori Amaah.

- The £5m. "custom-built" frigate ordered by President Nkrumah but never completed or delivered because of overthrow, has been renamed *Mermala* by the Royal Navy. The British government took over responsibility for the vessel in 1971. Since 1966 the frigate has been lying at Clydebank. *Mermala*, which cost Britain £2m. to convert, will be a ship for *Matopai*, the Royal Navy's new enlarged sonar trials ship.

- According to *The Mirror* Ghana has more than 35m. cedis through over-invoicing on machines ordered by the Drevic Group during the time of Nkrumah. The newspaper alleges that although invoiced as new, some machinery was more than 40 years old and useless, the defects being discovered only when the crates were opened in Tema. Two hundred more crates are to still be at the docks and Drevic's Achuota warehouse.

- Fifteen people, including businessmen and three women have been taken into custody after the discovery of two machines alleged to have been used in printing forged CFA francs, US dollars and Nigerian pounds were discovered in a house in central Accra. Five boxes containing 30m. CFA francs, \$100,000 and £N1,000 were impounded. Photographs showing the US dollar and the Nigerian pound together with photostats of the cedi note were also discovered in the ceiling of a house in Agona Swedru.

- Among the businessmen is Modesto Apaloo, the former politician who was detained under Dr. Nkrumah.

- Any timber company not incorporated in Ghana will not be registered with the Timber Marketing Board.

January "We do not want our economy to be run from outside Ghana", the Chairman, Lt. Col. Odatyey-Wellington told timber men at Takoradi. He also announced that the Timber Marketing Board was working to put the control of exports and prices in the hands of only those companies registered and incorporated in Ghana.

- Eliminated sportsmen would not be sent home from the Olympics, said the team chief, Mr. Allotei Kouah. He was commenting on an editorial in the state-owned *Ghanaian Times* which asked that all Ghanaian sportsmen so far eliminated in the Games should return home immediately. "To allow them to remain in Munich on what is now an obvious holiday is inconsistent with the fact that this country has embarked on an economic war, and that misuse of our scarce foreign exchange is a luxury we can ill afford". Mr. Kouah said that he had expected this type of reaction, but "we have discussed such matters here and have taken our decision without worrying about their reaction... We have been moving as a team and it would be poor tactics to break them up and send them home one by one". The footballers, who lost 4-0 to East Germany, had decided to go home on September 5.

- A multi-purpose dam is to be built at Weja under a 20m cedi project to supply water to neighbouring communities. It will also create an artificial lake that will be used to irrigate wide tracts of land in the Winneba plains and aid livestock raising and lake fishing. Work is expected to begin on the project next year, said a spokesman for the Water and Sewerage Corporation, which expects the World Bank to provide \$10m foreign exchange of the cost, the rest being provided by the government.

- Lt Col. Iddissa, Northern Region Commissioner, ordered the suspension of salaries of all local council officials in the region whose councils were running at a loss, after a surprise visit to some local council offices.

- Ivory's former Defence Minister, Sri Kirihna Memon, has paid a five-day visit to Ghana.

## SIERRA LEONE "Star" for sale

Addressing senior members of the staff at Dimanco, the diamond mining company in which the government has 51 per cent of the capital, the Minister of Lands and Mines said that nobody could imagine how much the government had lost in the last five months as a result of malpractices by the very people who were meant to protect the firm's diamonds. There was little point in driving strangers from the area because they were thought to be responsible for illicit digging, and then to find the company's own staff behaving in this manner.

In a talk at Kenema, where the

Government Diamond Office is situated, the Minister attributed a drop in purchases by the office to smuggling. The office was established to buy stones from dealers or alluvial diggers.

Later the Minister told diamond dealers in Koidu, near Diminco's main leases, that he had information that some diamond dealers had instigated Diminco staff to steal stones from the separator house. He warned dealers that by law they could sell only to the Government Diamond Office. The Minister said that in previous years there was little mention of Lebanese dealers "proceeding on leave", but now many seemed anxious to leave the country temporarily.

- Under a "Certificate of Urgency", a Bill covering the administration of the University of Sierra Leone has been introduced in Parliament. It makes the position of Vice-Chancellor full-time. Previously, the position alternated between the heads of the two constituent colleges, Fourah Bay and Njala. The "Certificate of Urgency" was necessary because on the day that the Bill was introduced the term of office of the present Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Matturi of Njala, came to an end. The government hopes that the new appointment will help it to exercise control over the university's expenditure since, the Vice President told Parliament, it was the taxpayers' money which kept the university going. The name of the new Vice-Chancellor has not been announced. As a result of criticism from the Opposition and back-benchers, voting on the Bill was deferred.

- In talks with Mr. Boris Utmitsv, Deputy Chief of Foreign Students in the Soviet Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education, the President said that Sierra Leone appreciated the scholarships which had been offered by the Soviet Union over the years. He hoped, however, that problems affecting Sierra Leone students in the Soviet Union would be sorted out during Mr. Utmitsv's visit. Mr. Utmitsv said that over 50 Sierra Leone students would be pursuing courses in the Soviet Union during the next academic year. Among the subjects of study would be navigation and naval engineering.

- Sierra Leone Ports Authority has ordered from Holland a new Harbour and Salvage Tug to replace the 20-year-old tug at present being used. The tug, to be named *Seval*, will cost Le986,000. It has 2,000 horse power, tonnage of 420, and is fully air-conditioned. It will have a complement of eighteen officers and ratings and will be able to salvage vessels in distress in the Atlantic.

- During 1971 Sierra Leone's favourable trade balance with Western Germany amounted to Le7m. This surplus was three times greater than in the previous year and resulted both from an increase of exports to Germany and a decrease of imports. Among the exports which registered an increase were iron ore and bauxite. There was a considerable drop in the value of German vehicles imported.

- As a result of the plan to establish "Greater Freetown", the population of the municipality will be increased to some 300,000, according to the Mayor, Councillor Akibo-Betts. The government recently announced that the municipal area would be extended to include suburbs which depend on the capital city both for employment and for amenities, but which have had separate local government and made no contribution to the capital's revenues.

- With the aid of the UNDP Technical Assistance Programme funds, the World Bank, acting as Executive Agency, has commissioned the US firm of Roy Jorgenson Associates to implement a three-year highway organisation and maintenance programme through which machinery will be established for the maintenance and improvement of the entire road system. The Minister of Works has also said that all ferries are eventually to be replaced by bridges.

- A Sierra Leonean, Mrs Salina Joy Zollner, formerly Miss Joy Smythe-Macaulay, has been appointed Assistant Administrator for the Division of African Programmes of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York.

- In an editorial the *Daily Mail* complains that the beach near Cape Sierra Hotel, around which are grouped tourist attractions, is a dumping ground for unwanted fish so that people have to hold their noses to pass by.

## SENEGAL

Future relations between the 19 African Associates of the EEC and the 19 "associable" Commonwealth states were discussed at a meeting in Paris between President Senghor of Senegal and Arnold Smith, Commonwealth Secretary-General. Emeka Anyaoku, head of the Political Division of the Secretariat and Noel Salter, special adviser to Mr. Smith, also attended the meeting, which was described as "very cordial". President Senghor is reported to have suggested to Mr. Smith that a conference of the 38 states should be held at ministerial level in Brussels in November. An earlier attempt to hold a meeting of the 38 at official level in Geneva this month was postponed.

- The Dakar daily *Le Soleil* has now published fuller details of the rainfall in this year's rainy season. The drought reported earlier (see last week's issue) has affected principally the Dakar region, and there has been some heavy rainfall in the regions, notably Casamance. A detailed report from Thies confirmed that in that region there had been an alarming drought for a month, but that there had been irregular rainfall more recently.

- President Senghor has now completed his month's holiday at his farm in Normandy. After a short stay in Paris he returned home via Algiers, for talks with President Boumediene.

## CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

### Bokassa in Uganda

President Bokassa has been on official visits to Somalia and Uganda prior to attending the 14-nation summit of heads of state of East and Central Africa in Dar es Salaam. While in Uganda he attended a number of functions. At Murchison Falls National Park President Bokassa urged Ugandans to rally round President Amin in his economic war. At the foundation-stone laying of a hotel at Arua President Bokassa called on African states to remove the barriers which divide them.

Renaming a Kampala street after General Bokassa (it was formerly called after an Asian trader), President Idi Amin introduced the CAR President saying: "this is the man who put the Central African Republic on the world map". President Bokassa said in reply that from that day it would no longer be necessary for Uganda citizens to have a visa to visit the Central African Republic. During the ceremony the two Presidents

and their rights for the recovery of their occupied lands".

## CAMEROON

President Ahidjo has set up a Supreme Court to deal with political crimes, as part of the new unitary constitution introduced in May. The court will deal with offences against Cameroon's internal and external security and there can be no appeal against its judgments. Ministers and vice-ministers may be brought before the court only by presidential decree. The Head of State may be charged with the same offences only after a secret vote in the National Assembly, with an absolute majority in favour. The court's hearings will be held in public.

## NIGER

### Diori in France

Following talks with President Pompidou in the Elysée, President Hamani Diori of Niger said that revision of the Franco-Niger co-operation agreements would be discussed at the Franco-Niger joint commission when it meets in October. The President emphasised that all agreements deemed necessary would be revised. Revision of France's agreements with all five Entente states was actually envisaged three years ago, said the President, and this had been approved by the French government. President Diori added that President Pompidou appreciated and welcomed the diversification policy being adopted by the African countries.

• President Hamani Diori has carried out important local government changes. Of the country's seven prefects, six have been reshuffled into different prefectures. The heads of 18 out of a total of 35 districts and eight out of 22 administrative posts have also been changed.

## TOGO

Foreign Minister Joachim Hounlede is to lead a large delegation to China from September 12 to 21. Last year Togo recognised Peking, but showed reluctance to break relations with Taiwan. M Hounlede said the visit was a first contact to see what China could do to help Togo.

• President Eyadema has been on a "friendly visit" to Zaïre. In May the Zaïre President was in Togo, to show that relations were still good in spite of Zaïre's departure from OICAM. The Togolese reception was then reportedly cool.

At the end of the visit it was agreed that Togo and Zaïre should set up a joint committee to further co-operation.

• Lomé radio has said that a dispute between local banks and their employees has been settled thanks to President Eyadema's policy of discussion and dialogue. The banks will now pay half of the hospital fees of their workers and their families, and refund the cost of drugs up to the sum of 12,000 francs a year per worker.

## THE GAMBIA

### Census next year

The next population census of Gambia is to be carried out in April 1979. Cost, said Mr. M. Gibril, Census Officer, will be 315,000 Dalasis (63,000 excluding processing costs). The 1973 census recorded 315,486 people. It is expected that next year the total will nearer 400,000. It is still hoped Senegal may be persuaded to hold census on the same day, to prevent evasion by crossing the border. Mapping teams are currently working bringing the map of The Gambia up to date in time for the census operation.

• A Commission has been appointed to look into the affairs of The Gambia Transport Company Limited. The lines of reference are: (a) to investigate present problems and position of the Company and to analyse their causes with particular reference to financial viability, organisational efficiency, transportation capacity and market potential; (b) to advise on a proper course of action to remedy the present situation, with a view to establishing a viable and efficient transportation that can operate on commercial basis and in the best interests of the country; (c) to undertake a valuation of the Company with a view to recommending a fair share value which would form the basis of an offer to raise the shareholding of the public; (d) to conduct an enquiry in the context of river transport in general, taking account of the efficacy of any proposal on other river operators; (e) to advise on a proper relationship between the Company and other river craft operators and to investigate the possibility of co-operation as joint action.

Chairman of the commission is to be Mr. A. M. Morgan-Rees, and other members are J. H. Rees, G. Appleby, Captain B. M. Sallah, Ngor Sarge, and I. B. A. Kelepha-Samba.

• A price control unit is to be set up within the Ministry of Finance during the current financial year. Finance Minister S. M. Djibba told parliament that he hoped it would develop into a Price Control Board.

## IN BRIEF

The Federation of Black African Students in France (FEANF) has protested at the arrest of several dozen "progressive" students in M'passa, Upper Volta, Gabon and Dahomey, including the President of the Association of Dahomeyan Students in France. According to FEANF the arrests are "unrelated" to the forthcoming visit of President Pompidou to Africa (due 15 November).

• The "Morehob" movement for the liberation of Spanish Sahara has called for the expulsion of Spain and other colonial powers from the UN agencies.



frequently embraced each other and vowed to do all in their power to strengthen relations.

At a state banquet General Amin described General Bokassa as "a person who is actually spearheading the economic development of his country". He compared President Bokassa's "penal reform" measures with his own directive that armed robbers should be shot on sight. In a speech to African traders President Bokassa said that present-day Africa condemned "any type of racial discrimination".

A communiqué at the end of the visit said the two governments had set up a joint commission to study possible areas for co-operation. The Commission would meet once or twice a year, either in Bangui or Kampala, or more often if either party requested it. Diplomatic relations are to be established at ambassadorial level, and General Amin accepted an invitation to visit CAR at a date to be fixed "in the near future". The two Presidents "expressed their full support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples

## NIGERIA

### Kidnapping scare

Police will shoot on sight any persons or mobs lynching kidnap suspects, the acting Inspector-General of Police, Mr Theophilus Fagbola, has warned. He said that the Federal Government might soon promulgate a decree imposing capital punishment on kidnapers in a bid to halt the crime. Gen. Gowon, he said, was much disturbed by the recent incidents of child-stealing and the killing of suspects by angry mobs. "Gen. Gowon has given full authority to the law enforcement agencies to deal ruthlessly with any individual or community which takes the law into their hands by beating up or in any way harming suspected kidnapers." All police commands had been told to intensify patrols including joint army-police ones. Mr Fagbola said that a total of 102 cases of kidnapping had been reported in various parts of the Federation in the past six months. Nineteen of the cases had been established as false and the others were still being investigated.

Gen. Gowon has also appealed to Nigerians to report suspected kidnapers to the police and not to take the law into their own hands. Every traditional ruler, he said, had a part to play by advising his people not to manhandle suspects but report them to the police.

Mr Bello Ayala, a contractor, was stoned and then burned to death by a mob in Kaduna. It is reported that the mob believed he was a child kidnapper.

● Radio-television Kaduna has reported a meeting between the Administrator of Kaduna and a delegation from the Yoruba community there which had called on him to protest at what it described as "indiscriminate killing and molestation of innocent people from a particular ethnic group." The Administrator had replied that there was no plan by any person or group to eliminate any particular tribe in the North Central State. The attacks on suspected kidnapers by mobs were not directed against any selected member of the community. The police had intensified their patrols and people taking the law into their own hands would be dealt with severely. He had appealed to leaders of the various communities in the territory to assure their people there was no cause for alarm and that everything was being done to bring "the present unfortunate situation under control".

● A pledge that the Federal Government was determined to preserve the independence of the judiciary as the only means of safeguarding the interest of all Nigerians has been made by Gen. Gowon. Addressing a two-day meeting of high court judges he said that the Government was also concerned that the judges should be in a position to discharge their duty without fear or favour and in an atmosphere free from interference.



During the Nigerian Bar Association meeting in Port Harcourt the Governor of the Rivers State and his wife were guests at an Association dinner. They are seen with Dr Aika, Col Bajawa and Mr. Richard Akinjide.

The meeting recommended the establishment of a Federal Court of Appeal with branches in Lagos, Kaduna, Enugu and possibly Ibadan. The judges also recommended the conversion of the Advisory Judicial Committee into a Judicial Service Commission which could make binding recommendations on the appointment of judges. A committee was set up to make recommendations for the introduction of uniform codes of procedure and rules of court in all courts of similar jurisdiction throughout the Federation.

### Bamigboye cleared

The Advisory Judicial Committee has rejected an allegation by an Iform High Court judge that the Kwara State Governor, Colonel David Bamigboye, had interfered with the judiciary over a hearing concerned with the Erimle/Oifa boundary dispute. The allegation (see last week's issue) was made by Mr Justice James Adestyan. A statement by the Judicial Committee said that after considering the statement, read in open court, and Col. Bamigboye's account to the Head of State, it held the view that there had been no more than normal consultations in the interest of justice "and that there has not been any interference with the judiciary throughout the proceedings". The Judge, said the Committee, should have made any representations he might have had to Chief Justice Reed who would have explained the true position to him "regarding the several matters erroneously alleged in his remarks". It also endorsed Mr Justice Reed's assurance that "at all times while I have been Chief Justice, the governors of the six northern states have been scrupulous in maintaining the independence of the judiciary".

● A list of all Nigerians living in Great Britain is to be compiled shortly by the Nigerian High Commission. The High Commissioner, Alhaji Sule Kolo, said during a visit to Maiduguri that the aim was to combat the brain-drain from Nigeria to developed countries. He added

that the data collected would be made available to the federal and states public service commissions.

● An Ivory Coast delegation has arrived to re-open its Lagos embassy, closed down early on in the Nigerian civil war. Nigeria broke off relations with the Ivory Coast when it announced recognition of the rebel regime. Following an agreement to restore diplomatic relations, Nigeria re-opened its embassy in Abidjan last October.

● Mr G. A. Longe, permanent secretary in the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, has been reassigned to the Ministry of Transport, to replace Mr. Charles Lawson, the new secretary to the Federal Government. Mr. G. A. Ige, Permanent Secretary (political affairs) in the Cabinet Office takes over from Mr. Longe in the Ministry of Works.

● Prince William of Gloucester, who died when his light aircraft crashed, contributed much to the development of Anglo-Nigerian relations, said Gen. Gowon in a message of condolence to Queen Elizabeth. Gen. Gowon said he expressed deep sorrow on behalf of the government and people of Nigeria at the "untimely" death of the Prince, who had served in the British High Commission in Lagos. "Even at his tender age, he contributed so much to the development of Anglo-Nigerian relations during his brief tour in the country. He participated so actively in the country's life with so much enthusiasm and versatility".

### Arikpo in the Pacific

During a visit to New Zealand the Federal Commissioner for External Affairs, Dr. Okoi Arikpo, warned that if New Zealand played host to the South African rugby team in 1973 Nigeria might boycott the Commonwealth Games in Christchurch in 1974. He said on arrival: "There is a strong feeling in Nigeria that our friends in the Commonwealth should not do anything which will encourage South Africa to ride roughshod over its black citizens". On the expulsion of

Asians from Uganda he said that as Nigerian law banned anyone but Africans from working in distributive trades it was unlikely they would be asked to take any vacancies. Dr. Arko said that Nigeria would soon seek some form of diplomatic representation in the Pacific, probably in Australia, but would like to see a New Zealand High Commissioner in Lagos. Nigeria was particularly interested in processed agricultural products in New Zealand but could not see an expansion of bilateral trade until shipping between the two countries improved.

Earlier Dr. Arikpo had spent a week in Australia, where he visited Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne. Later he visited Port Moresby in New Guinea. He held talks with ministers. Nigeria, he said, would like to import more Australian-made vehicles, which stood up to Nigerian conditions well.

Dr. Arikpo is visiting Indonesia before returning home.

The funeral service for the late Mr. George Bell was held at St Saviour's Anglican Church, Tafawa Balewa Square, on September 4. Following the service the burial took place at the Ikoyi Cemetery.

Mr. Bell, who was First Secretary (Information) at the British High Commission in Lagos, died on August 30.

The Immigration Section of the British High Commission in Lagos has warned applicants for UK entry certificates to apply in plenty of time. The number of applicants had greatly

increased and too many were leaving it until the last moment. There was a waiting interval of about three weeks for appointments.

● Maj-Gen. Ejoor, Army Chief of staff has said that the army will construct a road to link Ikom with Oron. It would also bring back into service the road linking Aba and Port Harcourt.

● A communiqué issued in Lagos after talks between Gen. Gowon and the chairman of Dahomey's Presidential Council, M. Justin Ahomadegbe, said that the two countries would explore the need for an agreement on co-operation in judicial and legal matters, power supply, mercantile shipping and marine fishing. This will be in addition to the existing areas of co-operation in economic, commercial, fiscal, technical and cultural matters. Officials of the two countries have been directed to meet in Cotonou before the end of the year for talks on the points discussed by the two leaders. Gen. Gowon accepted an invitation to visit Dahomey.

Before leaving after his one-day visit, M. Ahomadegbe told reporters that it was not his government's intention to tax goods in transit through Dahomey and from Nigeria. "We have been forced to do this by the activities of fraudulent businessmen who evade customs duty and sell goods from other countries at higher prices in Dahomey", he said. He announced that a meeting between Nigeria, Dahomey and Togo would be held soon to work out a solution.

● The Federal Government is offering a number of incentives, including the payment of fares home and the cost of their housemanship in hospitals of their choice, to attract qualified Nigerian doctors abroad to return.

● Sir Samuel Manuwa has been appointed acting chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission while the substantive chairman, Alhaji Sul Katagum, is on leave. Alhaji Musa Dagash has been named chairman of the Corporations Standing Tenders Board for a three-year period.

● A group of about 30 Nigerians has arrived in Lagos after being deported from Zaire. They complained that they had been in gaol for a year and had been allowed to leave "only after our Congolese friends outside the raised money to pay for our passage". They claimed that other Nigerians were still detained in Zaire.

● Mr. Wenike Briggs is attending the ninth Algerian International Trade Fair and the Brno International Fair in Czechoslovakia during a two-week trip. Nigeria was represented at the opening of the Algiers Fair by Col. Abba Kyari, Governor of the North Central State.

● The South Eastern State has released 67 more deserted houses in Calabar, Ikot Ekpene, Uyo and Itu to their original owners. It intends to acquire 154 other deserted houses in the State capital and Divisional headquarters for its own use.

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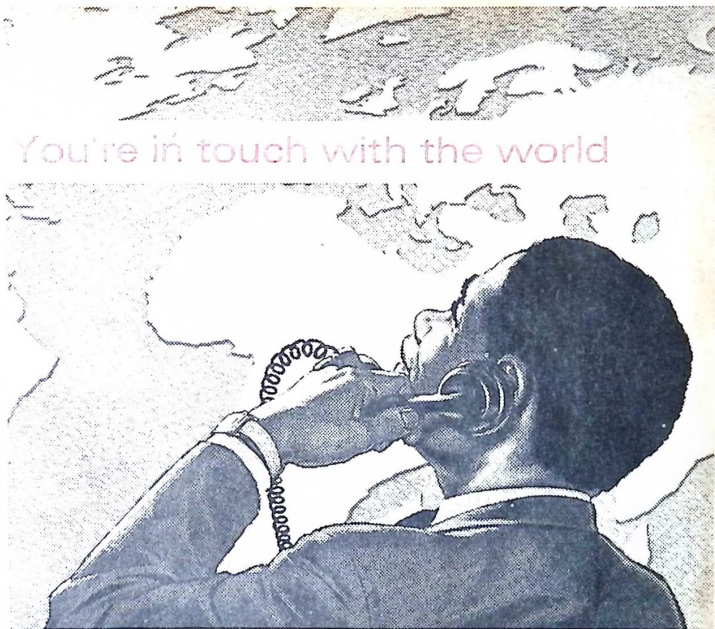
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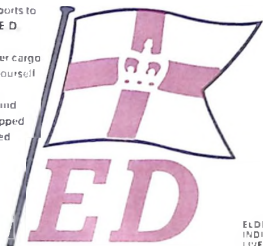
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