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Politics and Promises

PROMISES to cure unemployment, to increase wages, to reduce the cost of living, and generally to make Ghana an earthly paradise are now coming from the mushroom parties which, since May 1, have announced their formation in Accra. So far the two significant parties, those of Dr K. A. Busia and Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, have kept silent about their programmes and neither is expected to emulate the enthusiasm of those who have no prospect of power. Politics is so largely a matter of promises that even a man as prudent as Dr. Busia, or as experienced as Mr. Gbedemah, must join the race in the end. Yet one of the most encouraging aspects of the return to civilian rule in Ghana is that most people expect the two main parties to compete less in promises to various sections of the community than in claims about their competence to run the government.

For politicians taking office there will be no shortage in Accra of information about national problems. They will find in the ministries careful analysis of these, detailed recommendations for dealing with them, and, perhaps, explanations why these recommendations have not been put into effect. What Ghana needs now is not new policies, and certainly not new agencies of government or a great extension of government activities. She needs drive and leadership in carrying out existing policies, a revitalisation of officials at all levels, and active support of the people for the government. Blood and tears may not be necessary. Sweat certainly is.

No politician need waste time declaring, for example, that Ghana's roads urgently need repair. He would, however, earn his countrymen's gratitude if he could ensure that the men, money, and material already available had the effect that they should. The same is true of the cocoa farms, still Ghana's main economic asset.

Local government, said the recent commission of enquiry into electoral and local government reform, is "in a state of chaos; the reputation of local authorities has reached its nadir." There is a field which offers scope to the most ener-

getic and ambitious politician. Much of the apparent ineffectiveness of the national government machine is due to the absence of real local support, while the prospects for democracy are dim in a country where, as the commission also said: "local authority administration is associated in the public mind rightly or wrongly with financial irregularities, incompetence, nepotism and waste; and there is understandably a strong body of opinion in favour of the total abolition of local government."

This does not mean that the soldiers and policemen have failed in the task of restoring Ghana to sanity. With the aid of their civilian advisers they have made arrangements with Ghana's overseas creditors which made the burden of debt tolerable. The balance of payments, but for this burden, would be safe—even if Ghana owes much to the high world cocoa price, which the civilian government seems certain to inherit. This month's Paris meeting on international assistance for Ghana should ensure that there will in future be support for specific prospects. The task of pruning the state enterprises is far from complete; but they are no longer one of the taxpayers' heaviest burdens and in many cases have been made profitable. The bilateral trade agreements with communist countries now work largely in Ghana's favour and afford a valuable outlet for cocoa, a food of considerable external aid, food prices are high. This is partly due to last year's exceptional rains, but it also reflects the weakness of Ghana's agriculture, the economic problem which deserves the main attention of a civilian government. Some of the new commercial crops, however, now look promising. In this field, as in industry, rational policies have enabled Ghana to profit from the exuberance of the Nkrumah regime.

The new civilian government, however, will take over after the start of a financial year for which the main policies will have been laid down. Civilian government itself will mean a considerable addition to the budget—among its other virtues military government can be cheap—and

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there will certainly be nothing to for spectacular new ventures. There is likely to be a significant deficit, reversing a trend whose element has been one of the regime's main achievements. New recurrent budget, which comes into on July 1, will have to allow for deficit as well as for the extra civilian rule, although the factor it may not persist. On the other there should be no shortage of development, which could make the lians' first year seem far more active the last year of the soldiers.

Behind any Ghana government, ever, there stand the sister spectr population growth and urban unemployment. To rescue Ghana from the duply the military regime had to the number of unemployed by recruitment. A civilian government will to face demands for jobs not only general but also in specific places. Estimates put the number of unemployed at a quarter of the wage labour force a tenth of the total labour force. A population growth rate of something 3 per cent. means that about 150,000 national people want work each year. of them elementary school pupils. politicians will find in the files plenty information about this problem. But solutions are lacking. The military ernment, however, has committed with much courage to a policy, though it is, of population control. A from restrictions on immigration—difficult to enforce in the North and ing reprisals against Ghanaians in African countries—this includes limiting the number of paid maternity leave for government workers and reducing children's allowances for them. A country where all children now et to go to school an increase in the for individual parents might have included, though the government already facing protests enough, whether or not this policy is sound effective, to continue it would be one of the politicians' courage.

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West Africa is published by Overseas News (Agencies) Ltd. at their Editorial, Advertisement Publishing Office
Cromwell House, Fulwood Place, London, W.C.2.
Tel: 01-242 6661. Cable: Westnews London

MATCHET'S DIARY

WITHIN range of the 50 ancient cannon which guarded the Royal African Company's slave fort on nearby Bunce Island, giant carriers will soon be leading up to 100,000 tons of ore each at this single berth port, ready for a non-stop voyage to Japan. Some 15 miles north-east of Freetown up the Sierra Leone River, Pepel, itself an island, has been shipping iron ore ever since 1933. Then the *Hindpool* took the first 8,000 tons, to Glasgow, from the Sierra Leone Development Company's mine at Marampa, 80 miles to the east, to serve which the company built the port, and a railway to it. As a port it is unexciting—just stockpiles of ore, the railway workshops, which have to be very self-reliant, a power house, stores and offices, the complex of conveyor belts and "bridges" which convey the ore from waggons to stockpile and from stockpile out to the ship (only one at a time can or need be loaded) moored at the "dolphins," jetties for landing stores, miscellaneous small craft. But as it is being prepared to receive the giant carriers, which will stand out of the water and dwarf the island landscape like cathedrals on a plain, it is very lively.

The carriers will not only need a much deeper channel up the river from the sea, for which dredging will soon be finished (it will have to be repeated constantly) and new "dolphins" farther out than the present ones, and higher and longer loading gear. They will need a gigantic new stockpile of ore—260,000 tons to supplement the existing two, which hold some 180,000 tons. This will make certain that if two carrier giants follow each other in rapid succession—and as they serve world routes with wheat as well as ore this cannot always be avoided—there would be no delay in loading, although the railway would need 60-70 ore trains to fill a single ship directly. Smaller ships will still call for ore, like those which serve the Ford plant at Dagenham, and if they are spaced out three giant carriers could carry all the output of the mine, even after the planned increase to 3 m. tons a year. But because the cost of delay in loading a giant would be ruinous (it is planned that no ship should spend more than 36 hours here) it is worth spending £1 m. on preparing ground for the new stockpile and equipping it with new conveyors from the railway and to the ship. Preparing for the carriers, and the increased production at Marampa for the new Japanese contract which the ships will help to meet, will cost some £3 m.

Marampa ore has been going to Japan for some time, and the other customers are not dropping out because of the new contract. But it gives Marampa a spectacular shot in the arm at a time when the world ore market is depressed

and many new mines, including those in Liberia, have ore of a higher grade than has Marampa. The contract, announced last year, provided that Japan would buy 420,000 tons of concentrates between April 1968 and July 1969, followed by 1.2m. tons annually



A ship loads iron ore at Pepel harbour—now to be expanded.

until the end of 1974, with possible extension to 1979. Whatever happens after 10 years, the contract makes the reconstruction of Pepel worth while, and establishes a remarkable link between Sierra Leone and a country on the other side of the world—which the Prime Minister is visiting this month. At Marampa they are literally moving a mountain—shovelling away the ore which constitutes half the peak of Masaboin. Now they will move it to Japan, which, with no iron ore at home, is a most discriminating customer for it abroad, and feeds her voracious steel industry.

Across the water Freetown's own port will soon have an extra four berths for ocean-going ships to add to the present two. Perhaps unfairly the Ports Authority is blamed for the notorious pilfering and mishandling of cargo which now makes the port so unpopular with shippers. Replacement of the special security guards by regular police, and police dogs, may improve things. But most of the workers are employed by agencies casually, so that, in this country of heavy unemployment, they are tempted, when they do get work on the ships or in the sheds, to take their chances. While here only a handful of skilled men are needed

to load a ship with ore, there they swarm on the quay in hundreds. More serious than the pilfering may be the economics of the port. There is a tendency to suppose that provision of extra berths will mean that more ships will use the port. In fact it is entirely the volume of trade which decides that, and there will still be days, after the new berths come into operation later this year, when there is one ship only—or perhaps not even one—in the port. Perhaps if the approach from Marampa had not been far too swampy for a railway, Marampa's ore would have gone out through Freetown. As it is the port does not handle Sierra Leone's bulk export cargoes. Even the bauxite, which may soon amount to 600,000 tons a year, and the rutile are loaded from lighters at Sherbro. So against some 4m. tons of mineral exports (the most valuable, diamonds, go by air), Freetown may have only some 100,000 tons of produce to export—and this is increasing only very slowly. The great majority of ships bring imports and sail empty.

One new bulk export is now possible. The oil refinery is hopelessly uneconomic and although it finally proved possible to get it into production with BP management, it still must be paid for. The choice is between raising the price of its products in Sierra Leone—Marampa is already feeling the effects of this—giving it a straight subsidy from the taxpayer, or some combination of these methods. Some ships are already taking in fuel here, but unless loading facilities are greatly improved, the refinery cannot attract ships to Freetown just for bunkering, however long the Suez Canal route is closed, unless it can compete with those at Dakar and Las Palmas. Here I return to the giant ore carriers at Pepel. For these, speed is everything. They will certainly not be able to spend a longer time loading fuel than ore, although ideally they should "fill-up" here for the non-stop voyage to Japan. There will be few of them, but their demand for fuel is enormous. The question they ask here is whether it will prove economic for the refinery to provide the special facilities the giants will need. For undoubtedly they should take Sierra Leone's fuel as well as her iron ore, to Japan.

Alexander on the War

An article in *The Sunday Telegraph* by Maj-Gen. Alexander, formerly an international observer in Nigeria, attributed slow progress in the war on the federal side to breaking of fundamental military principles, such as "keeping the objective in mind, concentration of forces at the decisive point, maintenance of a reserve, retaining the initiative, and the conservation of ammunition to be used at the decisive point." There is no co-ordinated command structure, for military and political reasons, there are few experienced officers, already extended lines of communication have been extensively damaged, the number of heavy weapons available on the federal side has been exaggerated, and much administrative capacity is dissipated in caring for refugees.

Distribution of equipment has tended to depend on an individual commander's lobbying power rather than need.

The General also repeated two points he had stressed last autumn, that the federal airforce had been unable to knock out the Uli airstrip, and the correlated point that the French arms supply had resuscitated the Biafrans when they were on their knees last autumn (a Biafran spokesman in London has been quoted as saying that the arms flow from Lishon may increase. Four more Super Constellations have been obtained, bringing the total to seven. Commentators are now suggesting that the importance of the French flow via Gabon and Ivory Coast has been exaggerated, and that in recent months over half Biafran's arms have still come through Lisbon).



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DAHOMEY

Dr. Z and his Enemies

From a correspondent

LAST week President Zinsou of Dahomey, before 1,500 members of the newly-formed Union for the Revival of Dahomey called to a special session at the Presidential Palace in Cotonou, announced that a plot to overthrow him had been nipped in the bud on April 18. Of the twenty-five people arrested in connection with the plot, twenty were present at the meeting. The principal plotters were named as Gabriel Lozes (Foreign Minister in the Apithy-Ahomadegbe régime, 1963-65), Theodore Hesso, former Mayor of Cotonou, Septime Dodde, Judge of the Supreme Court, and Lt. Adjonahoun of the gendarmerie (at one time head of security). According to their statements which Dr. Zinsou read out himself, they had sought the support of the trades unions, the army, but both these had preferred not to become involved. They had then recruited ex-servicemen, who planned to steal arms from the army commando camp at Ouidah.

The President also read a statement claiming that the plotters had received 200,000 CFA francs from Madame Ahomadegbe, wife of the former Premier, now herself living at Ouidah (she had not been arrested, however, for "she is a woman and a wife, and she can make mistakes"), and 150,000 from M. Lozes. Mme. Ahomadegbe's statement said the funds had come from the former party of her husband, the UDD. Dr. Zinsou announced the creation of a Special State Security Court which would try the accused.

The revelation of the plot comes after a difficult few months for the Dahomeyan President. Last year, the spring and early summer had seen an excess of politicking, as the military régime of Col. Alley prepared to return to civilian rule. First of all the idealistic army officers (who had thrown out General Soglo for behaving too much like a politician) had tried to exclude all leading political figures of previous régimes, but when this had led to a massive boycott of elections, Dr. Zinsou, twice a Foreign Minister, was turned to as a respected figure outside the three main political groups (the followers of M. Ahomadegbe, and of former Presidents Maga and Apithy).

Although he was nominated by the outgoing military rather than elected, Dr. Zinsou sought to confirm his position immediately, *de Gaulle* style, by a national referendum, in which he obtained a substantial vote of confidence from a country sick of the endless merry-go-round of politics. The three party leaders, all of whom had been in exile in Paris, arrived in neighbouring

Togo, expecting to be recalled to a possible national government, but were prevented from entering the country. When it became clear that Zinsou, who had effective backing from the trade unions was going to manage without them, the challenge they posed evaporated.

The main theme that he hammered home on assuming the reins of power was the need for a return to financial health, and thus economic recovery. He was in no hurry to see active politics, although it was thought he would eventually plan his own single party. Aid from France for Dahomey's recurrent budget (cut off after the coup which threw out General Soglo) was partly resumed, and moves were made for streamlining the overweighy civil service which has been at the heart of Dahomey's debilitating financial crisis. There was also the increasing likelihood of a future transformation of revenue from offshore petroleum finds by the Americans (though not for a few years), and a short term budgetary improvement made possible a slight alleviation of the swingeing "solidarity tax" on public servants imposed by his predecessors in their search for financial equilibrium.

Apart from a school strike in Porto Novo and Cotonou in December, there was no sign of internal dissatisfaction with the régime, until in January the Dahomey Government agreed to allow the International Red Cross to operate the airlift to Biafra following their difficulties with Equatorial Guinea. This decision, although most Dahomeyans accepted it as prompted by humanitarian considerations, immediately brought a chorus of criticism, from neighbouring Nigeria, whose relations with the Red Cross have not been particularly happy, and suspected that Dr. Zinsou may have been put up to taking the airlift by de Gaulle. Some Nigerian papers said that Dahomey had received a large amount of money from the Red Cross (it is true that the airlift has brought financial benefits in terms of 30m CFA a month in tax, as well as the economic benefits of housing large numbers of Red Cross personnel).

The Nigerian "Banana Skin"

Thus, for the first time since independence, Nigeria had become a factor in Dahomey's internal politics, and the disparate opposition elements were not slow to seize on the airlift issue, in the hope that it would be the "banana skin" which might cause Dr. Zinsou to fall. Aggravated by the semi-closure of the Nigeria-Dahomey frontier (officially because of the considerable increase in smuggling which has undeniably taken place), there were a series of demonstrations based on Porto Novo and the Yoruba areas touch on the Nigerian border, blatantly political and anti-Zinsou, and criticising him as pro-Biafran. The demonstrations however did not succeed in "taking off," as so many Dahomeyan demonstrations have in the past, into any wider anti-government, and in March Dr. Zinsou went on a three-week tour of Europe and the US.

In his absence there were a spate of rumours of his impending resignation, which he was forced to deny on his return. These have been attributed to psychological warfare on the part of the opposition, which still at that stage seemed centred on Porto Novo. M. Apithy, political boss of Porto Novo, appeared in Lagos in the middle of April, apparently expecting something to happen. Dr. Zinsou had, in the meantime, returned to the offensive, and was holding a series of meetings throughout southern Dahomey, from Porto Novo (where he warned against agitation and complained that the richer traders were evading taxes) to his own home town of Ouidah, and Ahomadegbe's headquarters of Abomey, where he spoke the day before the coup was rumoured. He also has been warning the workers about listening to "sinister sirens", and to last week's conference, which is seen as the nucleus of a political party, he took a strong line on a possible new school strike in sympathy with the striking students of Dakar: "The street is closed," he said. (Dahomeyan students in Paris were among the first to criticise the airlift.)

The threat to the régime still appears to come from the regional fiefs of Abomey and Porto Novo. As long as M. Apithy stays on in Lagos, and the Nigerians are unhappy about the airlift, there is uncertainty from that quarter. The presence of M. Ahomadegbe over the western border in Togo, in spite of his assurances to President Eyadema that he will not break the rules of his political asylum, is likely to cause restlessness around Abomey, especially while the trial of his supporters lasts. The periodic presence of M. Maga in Niamey poses less of a threat, as Chabi Mama, the former Secretary-General of Maga's party, and one of the most powerful figures in Northern Dahomey, is Minister of Education. It is true that Bertin Borna, one of Maga's close colleagues, has been mentioned, not very convincingly, as a successor to Dr. Zinsou, but at the moment the Northerners, eyeing the agitations of Ahomadegbe and Apithy with suspicion, seem happy with Dr. Zinsou.

The same may go for the army, which has many Northerners; more important, the soldiers have no desire to become involved with politics again. Trade unions likewise see no alternative to Zinsou at the moment, and are prudently holding their fire; and by a deft nationalisation of cargo-handling in the port of Cotonou, the President has maintained a certain support among the ebullient intelligentsia of the twin capitals, who form such an important pressure group. The President's honeyed and reassuring words to the 60th anniversary of the Dahomey Chamber of Commerce seem to have calmed down the slight ruffle at the idea of "nationalisation" in the conservative French business community.

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CARVING OUT OF TRADITION

By a Correspondent in Ibadan

THOSE who fear the dying out of traditional carving in Africa for want of contemporary use for their skills can take comfort from the traditional sculptor Lamidi Olonade Fakeye. Born in 1928, of Yoruba ancestry, semi-literate and a devout Moslem, Fakeye is descended from several generations of wood carvers in Ila-Orangun near Oshogbo, Western State. He took after his father in wood carving along Yoruba traditional forms, and began at an early age. As if his life work has been disclosed to him in a miraculous way, Fakeye did not stay long at school. A white-collar-job was not for him.

After his father's death, he was apprenticed to a Yoruba sculptor, Bamidele Arowo-Ogun from whom he learnt new techniques and developed his own style. Between 1947 and 1951, Fakeye worked closely with Father Kevin Carroll who had "discovered" Lamidi in a talent-hunt and was prepared to give him every encouragement and assistance. "You don't need to be an African to appreciate African traditional sculpture," Mr. Fakeye said. "I can say for Father Carroll that he understands and appreciates African traditional art more than anybody else that I know. He (Father Carroll) has secretly told me: Try and work consistently within your own tradition."

After 1954 Lamidi Fakeye's work flourished. He was commissioned to do some major works which include four large verandah posts and two doors at one of the entrances to the Oni of Ife's palace; the door of the Roman Catholic chapel at the University of Ibadan, the Conference table and chairs for the suspended Western House of Assembly and House of Chiefs, and verandah posts for the Department of Antiquities in Lagos.

He held an exhibition, under the auspices of the British Council, to mark Nigeria's Independence in 1960. "I was flattered by the publicity which accompanied this show which was opened by Sir John Rankine, former Governor of the Western Region. All the 36 pieces I presented were sold. What a show!"

In 1962 he was awarded a French Government scholarship to study for 10 months stone carving at the University of Besancon and L'Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. He had twice (1963 and 1966) visited the United States, where he exhibited his works and gave lectures

on Yoruba Traditional Arts. He had also stayed for weeks in Britain making visits to museums of primitive arts. In recognition of his work to put Nigeria on the world map of traditional art, the government made him Member of the Federal Republic (MFR) in 1964.

More recently he has produced the wooden maze of the University of Ife; the entrance doors of the United States Information Service Centre (USIS) which was opened in Ibadan in 1968.



After one of his more recent exhibitions, this comment was written:

"Art speaks universal language to the individual. So, such exhibition as we have seen clearly shows that the unity of Nigeria which we have been trying all these years to achieve through political solutions might eventually be found in the silent messages conveyed through our traditional works of art."

A truly Yoruba traditional artist, Mr. Fakeye's work remains true to its origin. Naturally, he adopts new techniques and evolves new styles but this does not spring from a desire to copy or imitate foreign influences. He thinks that an artist should retain his "selfness" at all times. An austere man, he holds that a modern African artist can live comfortably well but he may not "necessarily be rich." His house, his workshop and his studio are all under one roof. His sympathy for the plight of other artists is such that he has lent his place for periodical exhibitions of their works.

As founder and president of the Nigerian Society of Professional Artists, Mr. Fakeye has advocated an Art Gallery in Ibadan and to date he has trained about eight other aspiring artists who now make a living by carving.



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In Memoriam: Native Authority

SO it's goodbye to "Native Authority."

One of the most ancient and most cherished products of the colonial period—and beyond it, too, at least in its original home, the former Northern Region of Nigeria—is now being replaced by conventional local government terminology. This reform has extended even, *mirabile dictu*, to such a stronghold of quintessential "Native Authority" as Kano Emirate. A term that at once links us in a direct line of descent with Lugard is today making its last bow.

As reported in *West Africa* the past three months have seen the North-Central and Kano States, following the lead of Benue-Plateau and Kwara States, announce replacement of the traditional Native Authorities by Local Authority councils, and in the North-East State a committee to study local administration has been set up under the able chairmanship of Mr. Liman Ciroma. When an institution has been an integral part of the way of life of a people and a fundamental concept in much of their thinking and orientation, its passing may be held to merit a brief tribute. This one is offered not so much in a *laudator temporis acti* role as in an historical acknowledgement of service loyally performed and often affectionately accepted.

The idea of ruling through the local chiefs and their pre-conquest administrations derives from Lugard's early views on how to administer his new Protectorate

and it was soon expressed in one of his first political Directives (subsequently collected as *Political Memoranda*): "The cardinal principle upon which the Administration of Northern Nigeria was based was what has been commonly called 'Indirect Rule,' viz, rule through the Native Chiefs, who are regarded as an integral part of the machinery of Government, with well-defined powers and functions recognised by Government and by law, and not dependent on the caprice of an executive officer." This position and authority of the 'recognised chiefs' was safeguarded by legislation, notably the major underpinning of the Native Courts Ordinance, the Native Revenue Ordinance and the Land & Native Rights Ordinance. Then the whole system was brought together under the comprehensive Native Authority Ordinance of 1916, applying for the first time to both Southern and Northern Nigeria. Here is enshrined the first, classic definition of a Native Authority, as a chief or other native so appointed by the Governor. Lugard's basic concept of NAs underwent its ultimate refinement thanks to the far-sightedness of the young H. R. Palmer, whose experiment with a rough form of Native Treasury in co-operation with the go-ahead Katsina administration in 1908 so impressed his senior C. L. Temple that together they were able to sell their sophistication of the NA system to its originator, Lugard. On his return to



The NA Court buildings in Kano—end of an era in Northern Nigeria.

Nigeria from Hong Kong he found his successor in the North, Hesketh Bell, writing that "the most important step taken... has been the establishment in each native state of a Treasury, locally known as a 'Beit-el-Mal'... It consolidated the rank and authority of the emirs and chiefs in each province and strengthened the position of the native judiciary and diminishes extortion and corruption." NA estimates reach back to 1910, and their creation thus completed what has been identified as the four pillars of the NA system: taxation and finance (Native Treasury), justice (Native Courts), chief and council (Native Authority), and administrative supervision (District Officer).

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Certain modifications were enacted through two amending NA ordinances in 1925-1930, but the next major legislation affecting the status and responsibility of Native Authorities was Sir Donald Cameron's "modernising" NA Ordinance of 1933. The term Native Authority was now extended to include "any chief or other native of Nigeria or other person or any native council or group of such natives or persons appointed to be a Native Authority under this Ordinance for the area concerned." It was this interpretation of Native Authority, though reviewed again in the NA Ordinance of 1943, that carried Nigerian local government through to the post-war years, when an extensive revision of the whole basis of local administration was undertaken.

The deathknell

The mansprng for such a review of the functions, legitimacy and nomenclature of the NA system was the Colonial Secretary's watershed dispatch of February 1947. In this, Creech Jones put forward his (largely Andrew Cohen's) opinion that "the key to success lies in the development of an efficient, democratic [later altered to *representative*] system of local government . . . In African administration the term local government must not be interpreted narrowly: it covers political questions such as the functions of native authorities, etc. . . ." This policy directive was virtually the deathknell of indirect rule, already doomed just before the war by the perceptive assessment of Lord Hailey, fresh from the very different field of Indian administration, that "the principles of indirect rule, if not incompatible with the ideal of self-government by representative institutions, are at all events so alien to it that native institutions must be materially modified if they are to fit into any scheme involving an elected parliament". Following on this Colonial Office expression of intent, the Eastern Provinces set the ball in motion by abolishing the title of Native Authority and, in August 1948, setting up a commission to review the whole problem of local government. But the North where the word NA had long been assimilated into the Hausa language as '*ene*, felt differently ("another's property is hard to acquire, better your own," runs a Hausa maxim), and, finding nothing pejorative in the term "Native Authority", were proud to retain it . . . so proud and proprietary, did they feel, in fact, that well after independence the Legislature was willing warmly to endorse a proposal from the Premier that Kaduna Capital Territory should be converted into Kaduna NA, with its own Sarkin Kaduna.

By 1954 all the three Regions, as they had become, enjoyed renovated and sophisticated local government systems, in accordance with the liberal sentiments put forward in the 1947 dispatch. These were brought about respectively by the

Eastern Region Local Government Ordinance of 22 May 1950, the Western Region Local Government Law of 26 February 1952, and the Northern Region Native Authority Law of 31 July 1954 (the Eastern Region subsequently replaced its Ordinance with the Eastern Region Local Government Law of 1 July 1955). In the East, the term NA no longer appeared in the Local Government legislation, nor was it referred to in the West's sections dealing with the establishment of councils. In the North, "Sole" Native Authorities (insofar as they meant anything at all in practice) were abolished, and the Native Authority was broadened in its definition, function and composition. Although the post-independence changes in the political balance between "central" (regional in the Nigerian context) and "local" government, embodied in the structure of a provincial administration headed by a political Commissioner, resulted in some erosion of the powers of the Native Authorities in the North, the use of the term remained unimpaired in its significance and relevance, and in the political vacuum that ensued after the overthrow of the First Republic it was on the NAs that the Iroisi regime had to rely so heavily for communication with the people of the North.

Not interchangeable

One point in this historical resumé requires clarification. In Nigeria, the

initials "NA" have been used variously as an abbreviation for "Native Authority" or "Native Administration". In fact, these were by no means interchangeable units in the local government system, and it is perhaps worth drawing the true distinction here despite its possibly funereal hindsight. Whereas "Native Authority" properly referred to the offices of native authority set up under the Native Authority Law, "Native Administration" acceptedly referred to the various financial and administrative units having an identity and a function essential to the working of the whole system. Hailey puts it succinctly when he talks of the existence of a Native Treasury being proof that a Native Authority had become recognised as a Native Administration, and Professor Low has made the helpful comment in the Buganda context, that "the tendency for the term 'native administration' to replace 'native authority' marks the transition from a local authority preoccupied with law and order and tax collection to one striving to perform a whole range of modern local services". This is not the place to analyse the interaction and reciprocity between Indirect Rule and Native Administration, but few would disagree with Professor Cowan's handy rule of thumb that the NA system is the practical application of indirect rule.

A.H.M.K.-G.

(To be concluded)

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ROUNDAABOUT

Defoccartisation

Most commentators seem to agree that M. Poher, the interim President of France, did a world of good to his independent image by sacking M. Foccart as Secretary-General on African affairs at the Elysée. This was not so much due to Foccart's African connections, as because of the "spymaster" image which surrounded him. So, suddenly we have the prospect that M. Poher, who this week announced his decision to run for President, might, after all, stay in the Elysée, which would in turn mean a more substantial tenure of office for M. Foccart's successor, Daniel Pépy. That invaluable source of information *Le Canard Enchaîné* carried last week a story on "Defoccartisation" which said that although Poher had agreed to Foccart's continuing, three days later, "drily and without phrases", he was dismissed after Poher had heard a number of reports. According to *Le Canard*, M. Pépy himself summoned Foccart to the Elysée to tell him the news. Foccart, saying it should have happened at his own office in the Rue de Grenelle, hurried there, only to be forestalled by Pépy, who was "not alone". The paper said Foccart was furious at having not been able to remove certain papers and even secret funds before being ejected (which, considering the diligence with which he removed the Gaullist files from the Elysée after the General's resignation was a surprising omission). M. Pépy, incidentally, apart from smoothly handling the removal of his predecessor, is a man of many parts. Not only is he fluent in English with a wide experience of English-speaking Africa, but in the same issue of *Le Canard*, he demonstrates his prowess as a poet, with a piece, written before his elevation to high office, on people with the names of animals who wish to change them legally.

Transition to Ghana?

Rajat Neogy, the editor of Africa's most thought-provoking magazine, *Transition*, has received several offers from Ghanaians to restart the magazine there. No issue has appeared since last October when Neogy was detained by the Uganda Government. Charged with publishing seditious material, he was acquitted but held in solitary confinement under the country's detention laws for almost six months, and was finally released in April. But although the magazine has always had strong links with West Africa—George Awoonor-Williams, the Ghanaian writer, is in fact an associate editor—the suggestion of publishing in Ghana is rather premature, for 29-year-old Neogy has not yet even decided whether *Transition* will appear again. He started the magazine seven years ago and for some time before his arrest had been intimating to friends that he was considering trying his hand

at something different, possibly film-making. His detention may give him the impetus to venture into new fields. But if he decides to continue publishing, Ghana would be a likely centre—for he feels that it is one of the few countries in Africa which would tolerate such an outspoken, uncompromising voice.

He is optimistic about the chances of sustaining democratic governments in Africa. Africans, he points out, have learned to be sceptical, to see through emotional but empty phrases such as "African personality" or "African socialism." Africa, he considers, is the fastest learning continent in the world and development has been so fast that the present generation of leaders have been outstripped in the minds of the people. Some countries, however, have severe problems ahead: in Uganda for instance, he sees a close parallel with Nkrumah's Ghana and fears that the army will inevitably take over, with unfortunate results, for the military there is considerably less disciplined than its West African counterparts. He is pondering on the future of *Transition* while in the United States, where he went to attend a Black Writers' Conference. The conference is apparently in jeopardy because the Afro-American participants have been warned that if they take part in the discussions with "Whitey" they will be boycotted by black militants.

Cultural notes: the exhibition of Contemporary African Art, to be held in



Hampstead, is to be opened on August 10 by Jennie Lee, UK Minister of Culture. . . . Julian Mayfield, the Afro-American writer, who used to be one of President Nkrumah's advisers (and was a speech-writer) is the star of a film currently showing in London called *Uptight* (a remake of the John Ford film *The Informer*, with "black power" replacing the IRA) . . . Johnny Sekka, the Senegalese actor, also has a new film showing in London called *The Southern Star*, based on a novel about diamonds by Jules Verne and filmed on location in Senegal last year. My picture shows Talya Vashiti, a talented Ghanaian artist-singer, whose one-woman show has been at the Drian Galleries in London's West End.

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The Commonwealth Secretariat's study of the *Organisation of the Tourist Industry in Commonwealth Countries* ("as at June 1968") includes sections on all the West African Commonwealth states. They deal very briefly with tourist "potential" (such as Ghana's "places of scenic beauty, beaches, surfing, historic castles, forest, game reserves and the colourful dress and customs of the people") and the way the tourist industry is now organised, with details on flights and hotels, and some details of plans for the future. Ghana had 30,000 tourists arrivals in 1967, Sierra Leone 2,350 in 1966, Nigeria 16,900 in 1966, The Gambia 700 in 1967-68.

(Obtainable from the Secretariat, 10s.)



"MONEY" You probably read about or heard of the gentleman who, wanting to get his own back on what he thought was a very mean local government council, wrote them a cheque on the living hide of a cow and led the cow to City Hall! The requisite revenue stamps having been duly affixed, of course, the cow was legal tender! (Its flanks were probably very tender too—after all that scratching about with a red hot quill!) I suppose, in the way that banks return old cheques to their customers, the cow eventually found its way back to home pastures—having been stamped with the Teller's number of all!

But, joking apart, there was a time when, if they had banks or safety deposits in some pastoral communities, the way in which all probability look more like cattle ranches than banks as we now know them. For in such communities cattle would be money—the actual medium of exchange against which goods and services were valued. In other communities grain, wool, fish-hooks, skins, furs, cowries and shells have been used as currency. Indeed, in parts of Nigeria, cowries and manilla were, less than 100 years ago, legal tender. If you were to lose your cheque book and you decide to write your next cheque on the flanks of a cow, National Bank of Nigeria will honour it—provided you do have an account with the bank and that all legal requirements for valid cheques—duties, etc., are complied with.

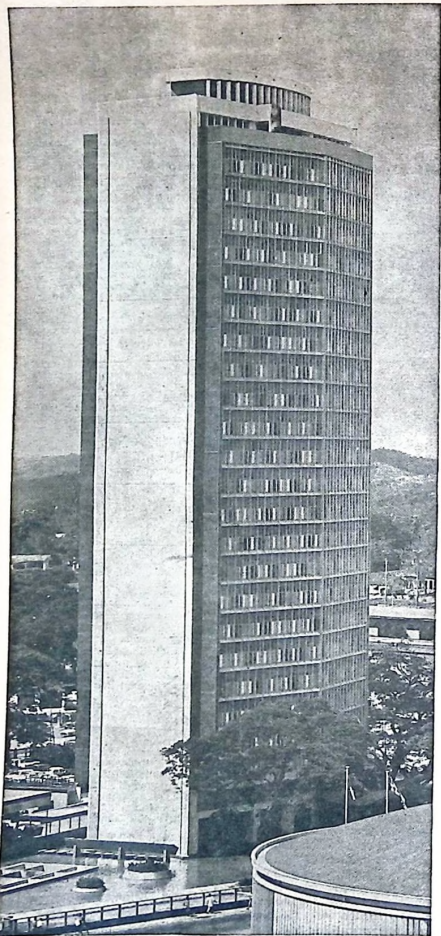
Quite apart from the slight inconvenience to all concerned—of loading an unwilling cow through the traffic to the bank—though National Bank of Nigeria Limited would much rather you used more conventional cheques—like in the National Bank cheque book you get when you open your current account at any of National Bank's branches in Nigeria and abroad! What's more you'll find that National do know about money—money's their business. Savings, transfers, foreign exchange—you name it! If it's money you are talking about you should talk to National Bank of Nigeria Limited—the Bank You Can Trust.



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letters to the editor

CHURCH RELIEF IN NIGERIA

Sir.—This Council takes pleasure in announcing the establishment of a Commission on Relief and Rehabilitation which will assume full responsibility for the emergency programme, until now carried by the Social Action Department.

Mr. Emmanuel Urhobo has been appointed Director of the Commission and other senior staff appointments will be announced shortly. Mr. Urhobo, who took up his appointment on March 1, holds a degree in Economics from the University of London, completed his law studies at the Middle Temple, London, and became a member of the Nigerian Bar in 1960. From 1960 to 1965 he practised as an advocate and company adviser. Since 1965 he has specialised as an industrial consultant, serving as Managing Director of Becc and Mann, and as Director of several companies. He is an Associate Member of the Nigerian Institute of Management, elected into Council in 1968, and a member of the Royal Economic Society.

The Christian Council of Nigeria's Commission on Relief and Rehabilitation receives from Protestant Churches throughout the world personnel, material aid and financial assistance to meet the emergency needs in Nigeria. During 1968 the CCN was responsible for maintaining seven medical-relief teams and 75 short-term volunteers in the various sectors of the distressed area, as well as contributing food, medicines and other relief supplies valued at over £4 m. Under Mr. Urhobo's direction it is expected that the programme will undertake projects costing over £1m. per year for several years.

J. A. I. FALOPF,
General Secretary.

Christian Council of Nigeria,
Lagos.

OFFICERS IN POLITICS

Sir.—I do not see your editorial on Ghana (April 12) as an "encouragement" to young army officers in Africa to become civilian rulers, as Mr. Sola Soke implies (*West Africa* May 3).

It would be a mistake to assume that Ghanaians will accept as automatic leader any army (or police) officer, like any Ghanaian he will have to prove his competence. But this Brigadier Afrifa seems to have done to some extent, his record in the last three years as a public figure is much better than that of most so-called "seasoned politicians" in Ghana.

What is the criterion for a "seasoned politician" in Africa? One sad political experience of the President Nkrumah era is that whereas in 1961-5 one could speak of a form of "political activity" in Nigeria, there was a huge political vacuum in Ghana. In 1969 entrants to the Ghana political scene will have to prove how efficient, selfless and honest they are. It would be disastrous for Africans to accept a permanent political class of "seasoned politicians."

JONAS KWAKWA

SIERRA LEONE NOW

Sir.—Mr. P. L. Tucker (May 3), former secretary to the Cabinet under the Albert Margai regime, fails to realise that no country can solve its economic problems overnight and particularly if such economy had been recklessly handled. Perhaps I should call Mr. Tucker's attention to those gloomy days in Sierra Leone. Our reserves fell to ridiculous levels (less than half a million pounds). The government was not able to pay Civil Servants at the end of the month. In certain sectors of the economy, people had to work for shorter periods, and, finally, confidence in the economic viability of Sierra Leone was so low that there was a wave of deposit withdrawals and capital repatriation.

The most amazing thing is that Mr. Tucker attempts to praise the SLPP for negotiations an IMF Stand-by credit; while I doubt the availability of this credit because of our credit-worthiness, I should remind him that the SLPP-negotiated IMF Credit is a cost to society. It must be repaid with interest. Present estimates of servicing the national debt in Sierra Leone stand as high as one-fifth of our gross national product. There is little doubt that such loans tend to impoverish rather than enrich our society.

If we examine the oil refinery, I believe the opportunity cost of that capital invested is low in terms of rate of return, employment and economic growth in general. The SLPP undertook the project without proper market survey, and, as in the case of the Cape Sierra Hotel, this makes nonsense of past government economic policies.

Mr. Tucker also expects the present government to solve in one year the Kono

problems which took the SLPP under Sir Albert three years without any solution.

M. K. SUMA.

DOUBLE LOYALTIES

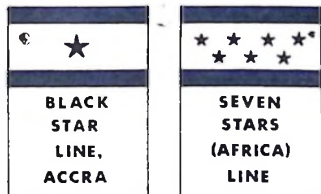
Sir.—Sierra Leone and many other African countries suffer from the infectious disease of political instability. Political theorists and practical politicians have made diagnoses of this disease and recommended cures. But the disease lingers on.

May I suggest that one cause of such instability is the duplication of elective offices in Sierra Leone? In the Albert Margai era many MPs were also members of local councils.

This seems on the surface a good thing, for it helps to link central and local authorities, thereby concerning our development effort. But, I suggest, it is also the force that drives tribes even further apart; because of it the electorate has no nation-wide feelings, and there are no clear-cut policies. For a definite national programme, as things are at the moment, would be a handicap to parties, because of the risk of antagonising certain area support. Members elected under the banner of one party can easily change their party allegiance without fear of losing an election. Councillor-M.P.s tend to use their dual role for gaining favours for their areas. The duplication diverts the attention of M.P.s to local affairs and frustrates the coherence of parties by local entrenchment of members.

I suggest that if we want to weaken the force of tribalism (the force that disunites us most) the law allowing M.P.s to sit in local councils should be repealed.

S. BOCKARI, KASU.



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commercial news

Plan to boost groundnuts

AN outline for a promotional plan to boost the growth rate of groundnuts consumption in Western Europe from the current 31 per cent to six per cent has been drawn up by the International Trade Centre. The report, commissioned by the African Groundnut Council, suggests that the campaign should be financed by a levy on the exports of Council members.

The preamble states that a campaign is necessary because although Africa dominates the groundnuts market, "the rate of growth has not been sufficient to ensure a growing relative share of the expanding world vegetable oil market, in the face of competition from soya and sunflower oils." If sunflower oil continues its present growth rate of 18.9 per cent a year it will outsell groundnuts by 1975. Even soya beans have a faster growth rate, 5.9 per cent a year.

Council members — Nigeria, Senegal, Niger, Mali, Gambia, Sudan and Congo Kinshasa—account for more than two-thirds of the world's groundnuts market but although they supply three-quarters of the milling market they provide only a quarter of the nuts eaten as kernels.

Four-fifths of world groundnut exports go to Western Europe, which is expected to increase its share to 88 per cent. by 1975. The rest of the world has become increasingly self-sufficient or even, like the United States, net exporters.

The report gives a breakdown of a budget for a \$13m. a year promotional campaign and points out that it could be financed by a 1 per cent. to 1 per cent. levy on exports with the possibility of obtaining extra funds from trade interests in importing countries and producers who are not members of the Council.

The four countries in which the report specifically recommends a campaign are:

France: \$375,000 to maintain and strengthen the position of groundnut oil as the dominant cooking and salad oil on the market and to help manufacturers develop new uses for groundnuts.

Britain: \$275,000 on maintaining and encouraging consumption by industrial buyers, food processors, catering markets and consumers and stimulating consumer demand in new uses, especially the confectionery and snack sector.

West Germany: As per capita consumption of groundnut oil is low, a vigorous effort should be made to secure a larger share of the growing cooking oil market, both consumer and catering, as well as exploring the confectionery market (\$200,000).

Switzerland: \$150,000 to strengthen the position of groundnut oil in the cooking oil market and to develop new uses for groundnuts.

The report was commissioned last year after a Council meeting in Niamey.



Groundnuts being loaded in the Gambia.

● Nigerian groundnuts are fetching an unprecedented £130 a ton, compared with £90 a ton last August, largely as a result of a world shortage following a poor 1968 crop.

Gill and Duffus report that although the British budget considerably increased the retail cost, demand for groundnuts is unlikely to be impaired in the long run.

Cocoa shortfall

A shortfall of 115,000 metric tons in world cocoa supplies for 1969 has been forecast by the United Nations. A decline in production in Ghana and Nigeria this year, mainly because of heavy rains, was counterbalanced by greater output in Ivory Coast and Cameroon, which actually increased production by about 10 per cent to top the 100,000 ton mark.

Grindings for 1969 are estimated at 1,344,000 metric tons, compared to 1,294,000 tons in 1968.

● Robusta coffee producers are to meet in Geneva soon and one of the main topics will be a discussion of the selective adjustment system and prices, which have been falling since February despite quota cuts in robustas and other mild arabicas.

By September there may be a carry over of 3m. to 4m. bags of robusta.

● Because supplies of bananas for export (an estimated 6.4m. tons this year) are outstripping demand (forecast at 5.7m. tons), a United Nations committee has stressed the need for the devotion of greater resources to the promotion of consumption.

● To meet the country's rice deficit, Mali is to import 22,400 tons of rice from an unnamed Far Eastern country.

● Ghana's Northern Region Rice Committee is being given a loan of NC50,000 to buy rice to feed the Tamale Rice Mill.

NIGERIAN LOSSES FOR AMAL. METAL

Following losses of £195,000 in Nigeria last year the Amalgamated Metal Corporation is taking "such steps as we can to reduce our commitment" in the country, chairman Sir Paul Benthall says in the company's annual report. Although gross profit before taxation rose by over £200,000 to £2,005,768, "Nigeria and our subsidiaries there have been a major source of wear and loss to the Group." The subsidiaries are Vivian Younger and Bond (Nigeria), Plant Sales and Hire (Nigeria), Interests and Louvre Window.

Staff returning to Port Harcourt after an occupation by Federal forces found that although the assets in the town were less damaged than had been feared, they could not be immediately utilised. A provision of £150,000 had therefore been made in the accounts against future war losses. The approximate current book value of the assets in the old Eastern Region.

The Group's interests in the rest of Nigeria were less catastrophically affected by the war, but were nevertheless unprofitable. Sir Paul says that further information about the Corporation's future in Nigeria would be given either in October or in next year's annual report.

● Despite a 70 per cent increase in production in Dunlop's Nigerian tyre factory, the Federal Government has been forced to relax restrictions and allow the importation of £13m. worth of tyres to meet an acute shortage. Michelin tyre production in Port Harcourt ceased when the civil war broke out.

Oil: key factor

The importance of Nigeria's oil supplies to the Royal Dutch/Shell group is illustrated by the group's first quarter figures. Revenue from joint ventures, in which Nigeria oil was a key factor, doubled to £16.7m. Says Britain's *Financial Times*: "Nigeria's output will increase throughout the year and with production due to double again over the 1969 schedule output, it is obviously a crucial factor in pushing up the proportion of Shell's output fed by its own crude."

● Petrofina's sales of motor spirit and distillates in Africa increased by 15 per cent. The Belgian oil company's annual report shows. In Angola, Petrangol production totalled 560,000 metric tons of crude oil, largely the result of the Quenquela field development, and surveys are being conducted in Cuanza. The group's £2m. profit in 1968 represents a 15 per cent increase over the previous year.

● Two subsidiaries of Texas Gulf and Sulphur Co. of the USA are to buy a 50 per cent. interest in COPETAP, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Compagnie Française des Pétroles and holder of two concessions for land and sea oil prospecting in and off Senegal.

● Texaco Africa Ltd. has started an offshore oil exploration survey at Cape Coast in Ghana.

● An £8m. scheme for the development of the river ports of Bangui and Brazzaville is being studied by officials from Congo-Brazzaville, Central African Republic and forestry and lighterage companies.

commercial news

Iron ore forecast

Experts believe that deposits at Wologu in north west Liberia could produce about 10m tons of iron ore a year. Concession for the field is held by the Liberian Iron and Steel Company of Monrovia, in which the major shareholder is Liberian International American Corporation, which has sold about \$5m. worth of shares in the proposed project to United States and West European banks.

A feasibility study for the mine, which it is estimated will cost at least \$200m. and require a railroad and an ore loading quay at Robertsport, is being carried out.

Liberia is already Africa's biggest producer of iron ore, which forms three-quarters of the country's exports.

The Congo Government has acquired half of the shares in *Minière du Bakwanga*, which produces about 60 per cent of the world's industrial diamonds. It was formerly Belgian owned. Sales will still be through British Congo Diamond Distributors, a subsidiary of the Central Selling Organisation.

No mention of compensation following the Congo Government's nationalisation of the Katanga copper mines is given in the *Union Minière's* annual report.

Local payments in wages and supplies from the Holle potash project in Congo

Brazzaville have been 12.5m. for the last three years, according to a report in the *British Financial Times*.

The report estimates that revenue from what is believed to be the world's largest deposit of potash salts will increase the country's gross internal product by 15 per cent, wipe out trade balance deficits and possibly be the foundation for "a more permanent political peace" in the country.

A plan for a 90-mile railway line linking Benguela and Lobito in Angola is being opposed by the Congo-Kinshasa Government, who consider that the extension of the Benguela railway, which runs from the Congo-Angola border to Benguela port and carries much of Katanga's copper exports, would not be in the Congo's interest. It prefers the extension of its own railway to link Katanga with the Atlantic port of Matadi at a cost expected to be between £400m. and £800m.

Directors of the Board of the Uranium Mining Company of Bakouma held their first meeting in Bangui. The Central African Republic holds 20 per cent of the shares in the company, which will exploit deposits in Bakouma, and the Atomic Energy Commission and the French Uranium Mining Company each have 40 per cent.

Reports from Angola indicate that rich sulphur deposits have been found there by the United States company, *Tenneco*.

A \$10m. Franco-Malian textile plant is to be built in Bamako. Mali already has one textile factory, built with aid from mainland China.

Power for Ghana

Accra's new \$12m. electricity distribution system was officially inaugurated by Brig. Afrifa last Saturday. With assistance from a \$10m. International Development Association credit the Electricity Corporation is establishing similar systems throughout the country, allowing full advantage to be taken of power from the Volta project now supplying 90 per cent of Ghana's needs. It is understood that agreement has been reached in principle on linking up Logo with Ghana's distribution network.

A new 250-room tower block at the *Hotel Ivoire* in Abidjan has been opened, bringing the total room-space to 750. It is claimed this makes the hotel the largest in Africa. An artificial lake and sports complex have also been opened, and a casino is expected to be completed by August. The hotel is managed by the Inter-Continental Hotels Corporation, who also manage hotels in Monrovia, Accra and East Africa.

Spanish fishermen will be given more facilities in Mauritanian waters and will help train Mauritanian fishermen, it was decided after talks between the two countries who also agreed that an initial quota of 1,000 tons of meat could be exported to the Canary Islands on condition that the Mauritians established a laboratory to check the health of their cattle first.

A new £1,300,000 airport building has been opened at Abidjan's Port Bouet airport.



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AUSTRALIA - NEW ZEALAND VICE VERSA

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER DEMPSTER LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool—**FOURAH BAY** s/s. Liverpool May 16; **OBUSAI** s/s. Liverpool May 22; **KUMBA** s/s. Liverpool June 5; **OTI** s/s. Liverpool May 30; **DARU** due Douala May 21; **PERANG** due Lohito May 21.

From South Wales/Glasgow—**DUMURRA** s/s. From Middlesbrough/Hull—**IOHIMA** due Tema May 19.

From London—**ONITSHA** s/s. London May 14; **EGORI** s/s. London May 23; **KABALA** s/s. London May 28.

From Continent—**FORCADOS** s/s. Hamburg May 21; **KADUNA** s/s. Bathurst May 18.

NORTHBOUND—To Liverpool—**AUREOL** s/s. Lagos May 20; **DUNKWA** due Zakoradi May 19.

To Hull—**EBANI** s/s. Lagos May 16.

To London—**EBOE** s/s. Lagos May 28; **BIHAMO** due Dunkirk May 18; **FALABA** due Abidjan May 18; **OWEKKI** due Lisbon May 16.

To Continent—**FIAN** due Freetown May 17; **FREETOWN** due Monrovia May 21.

EASTBOUND—From USA/Canada—**DALLA** due Lome May 20; **DINGOVI** s/s. New York May 19; **DUMIBAIA** s/s. New York May 29.

WESTBOUND—To USA/Canada—**FULANI** due Monrovia May 19.

From India/Pakistan/Burma—**GOWANBANK** due Douala May 25.

JAPAN "K" LINE

WESTBOUND—From Japan (via Hong Kong) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.—**TEXAS MARU** s/s. Japan May 2 due Lagos June 1.

EASTBOUND—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Singapore)—**LOUISIANA MARU** s/s. Lagos May 18; Tema May 21; Freetown May 25; due Japan June 30.

BARBER WEST AFRICA LINE

OUARIS—**FIANIA** due Abidjan May 19; thence Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Cabinda and Takoradi; **TEMA** due via New York May 20, Halifax (NS) May 23, for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Cabinda and Takoradi; **CORNWALL** due via New York Jun. 8, Halifax (NS) Jun. 9, for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi.

HOWEVARIS—**TEMA** due Baltimore May 18; thence Norfolk, CORNWALL due Fall River May 24; thence Carteret, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk; **FERNWOOD** now due Lond Abidjan, Buchanan/Monrovia third week May; **TIFANIA** due Lond Lagos (S. bound) May 22; Douala May 25; Lagos/Ghana (N. bound) first week Jun; Abidjan second week Jun; Buchanan/Monrovia mid Jun.

FARRELL LINES

HOWEVARIS—**AUSTRALIAN ISLE** s/s. Abidjan May 17 for Monrovia for US Ports.

AFRICAN RAINBOW s/s. Douala May 23 for Tema, Takoradi, Abidjan Jun. 6 for Monrovia for US Ports.

OUTWARDS—**AFRICAN GLADE** due Monrovia May 17 for Takoradi, Tema May 23, Matadi, Luanda and Lohito; **AUSTRALIAN REEF** due Monrovia May 27 for Buchanan, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Jun 5, Douala and Lagos/Apapa Jun. 11.

HUGO STINNES TRANSCON

SCHIFFAHT BHM

HENRIETTA RIZLAFF s/s. Rouen May 19; due Las Palmas May 23, Dakar May 28; **Yndjan** Jun. 2; **ANNIE HUGO STINNES** s/s. Dunkirk May 20; s/s. Rouen May 23; **Bordeaux** May 27; due Las Palmas Jun. 3, Dakar Jun. 6, Conakry Jun. 8.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINE

INWARDS—**STRAAT FREMANTLE** from Japan (s/d. Kobe Apr. 21) due Lagos/Apapa May 24, Tema May 30, Monrovia Jun. 3, Freetown Jun. 6, Abidjan Jun. 10; **Tahoudi** June 12; **STRAAT MAGELIENS** from China and Hong Kong (s/d. Hong Kong Apr. 8) due Lagos/Apapa Jun. 14, Conakry Jun. 21, Lome Jun. 23, Tema Jun. 25, Abidjan Jun. 28, Monrovia Jul. 1, Freetown Jul. 3, Dakar Jul. 6, Conakry Jul. 9.

OUTWARDS—**STRAAT FREMANTLE** from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan second half Jun; **STRAAT MAGEL-**

HAEN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and China first half Jul.

PALM LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Liverpool—**IKEJA PALM** due Las Palmas May 19.

From Continent—**IBAMENDA PALM** due Tenerife May 19.

From Continent—**ILESHA PALM** due Lagos May 18.

NORTHBOUND—To London—**IBADAN PALM** s/s. Dakar May 19.

To Liverpool—**ELMINA PALM** s/s. Dakar May 18.

To Liverpool—**LOUBO PALM** s/s. Lagos May 17.

To Continent—**ANDONI PALM** s/s. Sapce May 19.

HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LINE

SOUTHBOUND—From Continent—**TOGO-KLUET** due Dakar May 20; **OLDEKERK** due Dakar May 29; **KATSEDIJK** due Dakar Jun 9.

NORTHBOUND—To Continent—**LIBERTARIKUST** due Rotterdam May 26, due Amsterdam May 28; due Bremen May 29; due Hamburg Jun. 2; **SENEGALKUST** due Rotterdam Jun. 2, due Amsterdam Jun. 3, due Bremen Jun. 9.

NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND—**NOPAL VEGA** due Takoradi May 22, Lagos May 25, Houston Jun. 14;

WESTBOUND—**NOPAL TELLUS** due Takoradi May 23, New Orleans Jun. 10, Houston Jun. 14.

HOGHI LINE

HOGHI AUGVALD s/s. London May 13 due Las Palmas May 18, due Bathurst May 21; **London** via s/s. Takoradi May 24; Tema May 31; Lome Jun. 3; Warts Jun. 4; Sapele Jun. 7.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

SOUTHBOUND—**YARRAWONGA** s/s. Scandinavia including Finland and Bordeaux late May early Jun for WA second half Jun; early Jun; **BURLAREN** s/s. Scandinavia first half Jun; late Jun, early July.

NORTHBOUND—**MANGARELLA** s/s. WA late May for discharge Scandinavia including Finland second half Jun, early Jul; **LOMBARD** s/s. WA late May early Jun for Scandinavia including Finland late Jun, early Jul.

CHARGEURS REUNIS

KIRGUELEN due Lagos/Apapa May 6, Freetown May 20, CAPRAIA s/s. Kobe May 26.

MAERSK LINE

JOHANNES MAERSK s/s. Douala May 24; **Victoria** May 22; **ANETTE MAERSK** s/s. Luanda Jun. 12 arr. Matadi Jun. 13.

MIITSU OSK LINE

HUDSON MARU s/s. Kobe Apr. 21, Lagos May 27; **KINKESAN MARU** Kobe May 20, Lagos Jun. 17.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

SOUTHBOUND—**AHMADULLBELL** s/s. Liverpool May 20, **NNAMDI AZIKWE** s/s. London May 19.

NORTHBOUND—**RIVER BENUE** due Hull Jun. 2; **RIVER OGUN** due Avonmouth Jun. 4.

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

BUENA FORTUNA s/s. New Orleans Jun. 1, Houston Jun. 5, for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos, Abidjan, Luanda and Lome; **SOPHA C** s/s. New Orleans Jun. 22, Houston Jun. 28, for Lagos, Abidjan, Freetown.

WOERMANN LINE

ANITA s/s. Antwerp May 19 due Las Palmas May 27, Freetown Jun. 1, Monrovia Jun. 5.

USAMBARA s/s. Antwerp May 23; due Dakar Jun. 2; **MOSSAL BAY** s/s. Rouen May 25; due Dakar Jun. 3, Abidjan Jun. 7.

GOLD STAR LINE

WESTBOUND—**SHAVIT** s/s. Singapore May 19; due London Jun. 12; **Capri** Jun. 7; **NOGAH** s/s. Yokohama May 23; **Mapaya** May 29, Kobe May 30.

BLACK STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA WESTBOUND—**OFFIN RIVER** Ghana May 18; Montreal Jun. 4; thence Great Lakes.

BLACK STAR LINE UK/CONTINENT/WEST AFRICA

SOUTHBOUND—**OTCHI RIVER** Hamburg May 27, Bremen May 28, Antwerp May 31, Rotterdam Jun. 3, Dunkirk Jun. 4; **BENYA RIVER** London Jun. 13.

NORTHBOUND—**OTCHI RIVER** Hamburg May 20; **PRA RIVER** Rotterdam May 22, Amsterdam May 23, Bremen May 26; **BENYA RIVER** London May 27.

BIG POTENTIAL FOR LEATHER

Africa is one of the world's largest reserves of raw material for the leather industry and although its resources have been used only to a limited extent do represent an important potential source of foreign exchange revenue.

This assessment is given in an international Trade Centre publication, *Major Markets for Hides, Skins and Leather in Western Europe*, which points out that West African countries, with the exception of Nigeria, know only the dry hide trade instead of using salting, the most effective treatment. But Nigerian supplies of tanned bovine hides and dried goatskins are highly appreciated in Europe, especially in the Mediterranean countries where they command higher prices.

Nigerian vegetable-tanned goatskins are praised for their quality and distinctive grain, and the statistics show a considerable increase in sales: 620 metric tons to Italy in 1957 compared to 149 tons in 1961, and an increase from 36 tons to 175 tons of French sales over the same period.

The report notes that the slow rise in meat consumption in Africa limits the increase in livestock slaughtering. But the demand for leather, and thus leather production, in African countries rises continuously so that more and more hides and skins are used domestically. In addition, governments in developing countries encourage the expansion of leather industries by using both legal and administrative measures, such as taxation on the export of the raw material.

Although it points out that the world leather market is at present unstable because of continuous fluctuations in supply and demand, the report adds: "It can be positively stated that the demand for sheep and goat skins of good quality and for reptile skins and first-class calf skins for leather articles is always present in Western Europe and similar industrialised areas. This demand is likely to increase further as long as economic prosperity is maintained."

Post-war food scheme

A "special production scheme," aimed at increasing the production of foodstuffs and livestock to meet Nigeria's post-war needs, is to be introduced by the Best Plateau State Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources within the next few years.

Mr. Isaac Shaabu, the ministry's Commissioner, closing a three-day meeting of all senior agricultural officers of state, said that the ministry planned to embark on this scheme to meet "inflationary tendencies which are likely to follow our present war."

● A £N4.2m. oil palm plantation is to be established by the Western State government in Okitipupa division. The mission governor, Brig. Adeyinka Adebayo, has revealed that £10,000 a year would be spent on the maintenance and construction of feeder roads and that there would be overseas recruitment drive for doctors.

● Cameroon's past financial difficulties have been overcome, President Achebe said when announcing his balanced-£60m budget for 1969/70.

● France is providing £204,000 to Chad for the modernisation of the cotton industry and for boosting the dairy industry.

Population crisis warning

The anticipated sharp rise in Africa's population growth coupled with a likely reduction in the death rate will hit economies severely, warns a report by the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF).

It estimates Africa's population increase between 1950 and 1960 as 23 per cent, about 2.2 per cent a year, second only to Latin America, which it is expected to surpass within the next two decades.

In countries with no organised family planning programme there are a number of doctors who will help, but few other facilities, which is partly attributed to laws remaining from French colonial days and also to rural remoteness of some communities, to the mistaken view that over-population means simply density rather than a disproportionate number of young people suddenly to be supported by the state and to ignorance of the link between family planning and maternal and child health.

"In many cases, government would probably be permissive and give support, once voluntary effort had shown the value of planned parenthood," says the IPPF.

The report points out that although there is a growing acceptance of the idea that family planning services should be available through maternal and child health services in Africa, progress is still inhibited by politics, by the lack of trained medical personnel and the widespread inadequacy of health services. It draws attention to a reduction in the number of doctors: there were 4,700 in 26 central African countries in 1962 and only 4,400 in 1965, a worsening in the doctor/patient ratio from one to 18,000 to one to 20,000 (the United Nations target for 1970 is one doctor for every 10,000 patients).

The report cites Portuguese Guinea and Gabon as having the slowest annual population growths in West Africa: 0.2 per cent and 0.9 per cent, respectively, and Dahomey (2.9 per cent.) and Cameroon (2.8 per cent.) as the fastest. Anti-contraceptive legislation was passed in Cameroon last year.

Chad has the highest death rate in Africa—310 per thousand people.

Gambian imports up

In the second half of 1968 Gambia's imports totalled £6,001,328 and exports £1,737,938 (the figures for the same period the previous year were £4,337,519 and £1,699,477).

● The Central Bank of Nigeria reports that the external reserve on April 15 totalled £N42,946,851, virtually the same as the figure for the previous month.

● Cameroon's foreign reserves stood at CFA Francs 9,705m. at the end of October 1968, compared with CFA Francs 5,898m. in October 1967.

● The establishment of a Ghana Export Council and an Export Company, both designed to improve the country's foreign exchange position, were announced by Trade and Industries Commissioner Mr. R. A. Quashie.

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NOTICES

THE BENIN YOUTH LEAGUE (U.K. BRANCH)

At the General Meeting of the above League, held on Saturday the 10th May 1969, at the League's Secretariat, 54 Drakefield Road, London, S.W.17, the League re-elected its officers as follows:

President Mr. P. Ogbewe
Vice-President Mrs. G. Iyaser
Secretary Mr. E. Omokaro
Publicity Sec Mr. J. O. Akenbor
Social Secretary Mr. Bello
Welfare Officer Mr. S. W. I. Agon
Treasurer Mr. J. Iyeri
Financial Sec Mr. Ogunleye

J. O. AKENBOR,
Publicity Secretary.

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At the Annual Meeting of the Society held on Sunday, May 4, 1969 the following officers were elected for the year 1969/70:

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Vice-President Mrs. J. A. Oluwalade
General Secretary Mr. J. C. Oluwalade
Asst. General Secretary Mr. E. Ikomi
Publicity Secretary Mr. A. O. Boya
Organising Secretary Mr. J. M. Akori
Social Secretary Mr. U. J. Amobi
Treasurer Mr. W. I. Ikomi
Welfare Officer Mrs. M. E. Ikomi, SRN, SCM
All communications should be addressed to:
1A Bantree Road, London, S.E.14.
Addn. O. Boya, LL.B., Publicity Secretary.

EGBE OMO IFE (Great Britain and Ireland)

At the Annual General Meeting of the above-named Egbe, held at 108 Gower Street, W.C.1, the following officers were elected for 1969:

President Bilo Koyoso
Vice President Busi Aderinsoju
General Secretary Alkanke Adesunju
Asst. General Secretary Letia Adesunju
Financial Secretary R. A. Amosunju
Social Secretary D. Aderinsoju
Publicity Secretary Seun Oladinni
Treasurer J. O. Makinde
Auditor Genuwa Awolu

Welfare Officers: (1) Adebisi Adebole
(2) Dean Olatunji
(3) Oluwalade
(4) C. M. Adebole (Mrs.)

Ex Office: (1) Adebisi A. Adesunju
(2) Lati Ogunju
(3) Oluwalade
(4) Jide Awolajo

All correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary, 7 Leamy Street, N.7.

OLUSEGUN OLADINNI, Publicity Secretary.

NIGERIAN STUDENTS ACTION COMMITTEE Officers for 1969-70

Designation	Name	State
1. Chairman	Mala Alamai	North Eastern
2. 1st Vice Chairman	M. A. N. Egielemoi	Mid-West
3. 2nd Vice Chairman	Adebisi Koyejo	Western
4. General Secretary	Dr. Asuquo N. Ema	South Eastern
5. 1st Assst. Secretary	J. A. Tokoro	Rivers
6. 2nd Assst. Secretary	K. O. Aromire	Lagos
7. Joint Publicity Secretaries:	T. L. J. Koko Olu Oyeyele LLB (Lond)	Rivers- Western
8. Social/Welfare Secretary	J. K. Ogidan	Lagos
9. 1st Assst. Social & Welfare Secretary	Nasir M. Sule	Kano
10. 2nd Assst. Social & Welfare Secretary	Miss Faith Davis	Rivers
11. Treasurer	S. I. Awere LLB Hons. (Lond)	Mid-West
12. Financial Secretary	Toye Ogunshuyi	Western
13. Auditor	H. A. Muazu	North Central
14. Legal Adviser	A. E. Amrovhe Barrister at Law	

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Closing Date: Not later than 16th June, 1969

NOTICES—Continued

NOTICE**NIGERIAN STUDENTS ACTION COMMITTEE**

In view of the anxiety expressed by State Organisations, we would like to bring it to the notice of all concerned that, the notice which appeared in the *West Africa* on Saturday, April 19th 1969 and signed by Mr. Adekuoye, 1st Secretary, Education in the Nigeria High Commission does not in any way affect the existence of the Nigerian Students Action Committee or its functions.

Dr. A. N. Ema,
General Secretary

HESSRE H. O. OJUGO AND D. A. ATORI have been elected Interim President and Vice President of Ova Students' Council. Great Britain and Ireland during the general meeting of 27th April, 1969.

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GHANA

Gbedemah's Party and Newspaper

MR. K. A. GBEDEMAH, the former Finance Minister who was the chief organiser of the CPP but broke with it in 1961 and was in exile from then until after the 1966 coup, has formed a new party, the National Alliance of Liberals. He submitted the registration form for it on May 8, at the same date time that Dr. Busia submitted a similar form for his Progress Party. The two rival political leaders (who collaborated when both were in exile) met after they had gone to submit the forms to the Electoral Commissioner, Mr Justice V. Crabbe. The two parties were given provisional certificates, which will be followed by permanent ones if no objections are raised in 21 days against any of the 54 foundation members of either party.

Mr. Joe Appiah, President of the Ghana Bar Association, and formerly a leading United Party MP (detained for a while under the Nkrumah regime), has announced plans for a Nationalist Party, together with Mr. Modesto Apaloo, former chairman of another former UP leader and a detainee for seven years, and two Accra barristers, Messrs E. N. Moore and J. N. Heward-Mills; and Mr. S. A. Akparibilla, another former UP leader.

Mr. B. J. da Rocha, chairman of the board of the Graphic Corporation and a leading barrister and member of the Constituent Assembly, has been appointed national general secretary of the Progress Party. He has resigned his chairmanship of the Graphic Corporation. Branches of the Progress Party are being organised in the Regions; in the Central Region Mr. O. K. Richardson is secretary.

A new daily newspaper, printed in web-offset on a new press already acquired, is to start in the next few months, owned by Mr. Gbedemah. The editor is to be Mr. Kingsley Obeng, former Ghanaian editor of *Drum*.

Mr. Gbedemah is also supported by the *Evening Standard*, which was formerly owned by Mr. F. A. Nzeribe.

Our Correspondent writes: Twelve parties have announced their formation since the lifting of the ban on party politics on May 1. Not all, however, have applied for registration, and it is not known how many will be able to satisfy the Electoral Commissions requirements.

Mr. Gbedemah has already published a list of prominent supporters, but some of these have denied that they offered such support. Those listed include Mr. Charles Nylander, a former Minister who became an ambassador (to Liberia for a time); Dr. E. Boohene, of Legon, former managing director of Ghana Airways; Mr. E. K. Daddon, former CPP whip and ambassador; a "culture vulture", Dr. Seth Cudjoe; Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, former Foreign Minister; and many men and women from all parts of Ghana.

Dr. Busia has published no such list yet, but among expected supporters of the Pro-

gress Party are Mr. Victor Owusu and Mrs. Amonoo-Nenze, leader of the Kumasi market-women.

There is, after all, no "third force" party. Those supporting the idea of a group standing between Messrs Gbedemah and Busia appear themselves to have split. Dr. John Bilson, who is said to have originated the idea of a new movement, now leads the All-People's Congress, and Mr. P. K. K. Quaidoo the Republican Party. Mr. Appiah has now formally broken with Dr. Busia.

Several exempted ex-CPP men are in the Gbedemah ranks, but two, Messrs. Lutterodt and Alex-Hamah, have established their own parties. There is no news yet of the Labour Party suggested as a possibility by Mr. Bentum.

Dr. Willie Lutterodt, a medical practitioner and businessman, has been elected chairman of the new People's Popular Party (PPP) instead of Mr. Imoru Egala, who is barred from forming a party. Mr. G. Adamuah, an Accra barrister, is general secretary of the party.

Mr. Egala, former Minister of Industries, intended to form a political party but was barred from doing so by Decree No. 347.

Mr. Patrick K. K. Quaidoo, former Minister of Trade, will lead a Republican Party. He denied reports that his group was considering merging with Mr. K. A. Gbedemah's party, saying there had never been an occasion for his group and that of Mr. Gbedemah to discuss how their principles could be reconciled.

Mr. Imoru Ayarna, the Accra businessman, has introduced his People's Action Party. A former Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, he said the PAP would aim to "galvanise all the resources of the land."

The police have said they will not issue permits to unregistered political parties to hold rallies or processions. Any person or group intending to hold a public meeting or procession should apply to a police officer not below the rank of Assistant Superintendent in charge of the area, giving 48 hours' notice, and give him such information on the meeting as he may reasonably require.

Kwame Kesse-Adu in the Kumasi *Pioneer* has reported that Mr. Kwatela-Quartey, "former chief propaganda secretary of the CPP" is campaigning for the Progress Party, which, he added, had 100,000 registered members after a week.

44 Politicians' Houses Seized

Twenty-one leaders of the CPP are to refund to the State over 1m. cedis alleged to have been illegally acquired by them during the Nkrumah régime. The government made this decision after receiving the

report of the Commission headed by woman Judge, Mrs. Annie Jagoe, into the assets of CPP leaders and others in various positions under Dr. Nkrumah. The report and the Government White Paper on it published this week, absolve 11 others whose assets were investigated. They include Professor William Abraham, a celebrated philosopher, and Mr. Tawia Adamfio, the former Interior Minister, arrested for a supposed plot in 1962.

Among those ordered to make repayment is Mr. K. A. Gbedemah. The report alleges that he acquired some £17,000 from "secret sources" for his private transactions. The Commission says that he should not have used his position as Minister of Finance to secure loans for private purposes and recommends the establishment of a code of conduct for people in public office similar to that applying to civil servants. The report, however, rejects the allegation that Mr. Gbedemah embezzled large sums of public funds. Gbedemah is now charged in the courts.

The greater part of the money to be refunded by the ex-politicians is represented by 44 houses in Ghana, which the Government has already seized. Of these 16 belong to Mr. Krobob Edusei, former Minister of Agriculture and of the Interior.

Mr. Edusei's buildings, worth over £300,000, include 20 houses in Ghana, one bank building, one beach hut, plus No. 10 Bentywick Street, London. Mr. A. I. Inkumah, former Interior Minister, has 14 houses including No. 144 Wyatt Park Road, London, but this is not unlawfully acquired, says the report. Police are guarding the seized houses.



Mr. Justice Amissh—chairman of the Commission of Enquiry, which has resumed public hearings (there had been a period of "in camera" hearings, not a recess as was reported last week).

Mr. Ekow Eshun, former secretary of the overseas branch of the CPP, has given evidence at the Amissh enquiry into Mr. Marshal Otu and Lt. Kwapong. He is a Socialist Ghana Defence Committee member formed in London soon after the 1966 coup. Mr. Pat Sloan (former lecturer at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute), Mr. Douglas Rogers, editor of *Africa on the World*. He added that the committee aimed to overthrow the NLC peacefully and to counter anti-CPP feeling in the British press: "I disagree that the CPP should be banned," he declared. Mr. Eshun denied that he had ever met Mr. Marshal Otu or discussed with him possibility of overthrowing the NLC.

● Mr. Modesto Apaloo, former chairman of the Water and Sewerage Corporation has denied the allegation, made in a Government statement of May 2, that he was one of four politicians to whom General Ankrakh allegedly admitted passing on money received from certain firms. He called for a full-scale, open public enquiry into the Ankrakh affair, to avoid destruction of innocent people; he himself, he said, had been made a scapegoat.

Speaking soon after Mr. J. E. O. Nunoo's statement (which led to his dismissal from the NLC), Mr. Apaloo said that, if it were correct, "it shows that certain circles of the government are using their official positions or influences to damage (sic) political friends, associates or favourites."

At his May 3 news conference Mr. Nunoo said that at the March 29 meeting between himself, Mr. Justice Ollennu, Attorney-General Victor Owusu and General Ankrakh, the NLC Chairman had only named Mr. Apaloo as an alleged recipient of money passed to him (Ankrakh) for political purposes. If General Ankrakh had mentioned other names, Mr. Nunoo went on, it was not at that time; he (Nunoo) had pointed out at an executive council meeting on April 8 the error in the Government statement of April 12. He accused Mr. Owusu of using the episode to discredit his (Owusu's) opponents.

In a statement announcing the removal of Mr. Nunoo from the NLC and his retirement from the police, the Government said General Ankrakh had named four politicians as having received money paid to him: they were "Mr. Modesto K. Apaloo, Mr. Peter Adjetey, an Accra barrister, Mr. Attoh Quarshie of Accra and Mr. Alex Hutton Mills"; the statement alleged, adding, "These politicians have all been contacted by the police and statements taken from them. They have all denied receiving any monies from Lt-Gen J. A. Ankrakh, as alleged." It went on to say that, after the March 29 meeting, General Ankrakh was given a chance to explain himself at an NLC meeting on April 2, at which Mr. Owusu and all the NLC were present, except for Mr. Nunoo, who—said the statement—had said he was indisposed and could not go. After General Ankrakh's admission, those at the meeting sent for Mr. Nunoo, "so that all members of the NLC could take appropriate decisions", and the meeting adjourned until Mr. Nunoo arrived. Then, said the government, Mr. Nunoo on April 8 challenged the April 2 statement, but he "appeared satisfied" when told that Gen. Ankrakh had named the four politicians on April 2. On April 29, when Mr. Nunoo was present, the NLC Executive Council decided to publish the names of all the politicians named, and the two companies named.

[These were said on May 2 to be Overseas Breweries Ltd., which allegedly admitted paying 10,000 cedis, and British India Insurance Co., which allegedly admitted paying 20,000 cedis.]

On the same day, May 5, Mr. Victor Owusu addressed a news conference where he alleged that Mr. Nunoo had wanted the Ankrakh episode to be dropped and investigations stopped; he (Owusu) had given instructions for them to go on, whereupon—he alleged—Mr. Nunoo said that if this was intended to benefit Dr. Busia and destroy Joe Appiah, it would fail; he (Owusu) replied that he did not expect to gain anything whether Dr. Busia gained power or not. Only after several days, he alleged, did Mr. Nunoo claim to have

heard the name of only one politician mentioned. The former Attorney-General added that General Ankrakh offered to repay 6,000 cedis received from firms, and had asked him to arrange a loan from Mr. W. A. Waife, the businessman.

Africa and the Assembly

● After adjourning the Constituent Assembly on May 2 for lack of a quorum the Speaker, Mr. R. S. Bly, was invited to the Castle to meet Brig. Afrifa, who told him of the Government's concern over the slow progress of the Assembly. On May 6 Brig. Afrifa and three other NLC members—Lt-Col. Yeboah and Messrs. Hartley and Yakubu—paid a surprise visit to Parliament House to watch the Assembly proceedings. The next day the *Pioneer* reported that the Assembly was working faster.

The Assembly has agreed on an entrenched article in the Constitution to make it impossible for any government to set up security organisations like those which existed in the Nkrumah regime. It also agreed on a National Security Council to form part of the President's office and ensure the integration of domestic, foreign and military policies relating to National Security.

On the prime minister, the Assembly has decided that he can have as many terms of office as his party desires, but that a motion of no confidence in him may be moved at any time—not, as the Proposals laid down, only after he has been in office for 24 months.

Under another entrenched clause, the President shall make regulations for registration of professional bodies, to be recognised by him and enabled to make rules to govern themselves.

The President will appoint the Auditor-General, the Ombudsman, Commissions and their chairmen, and members of governing bodies of statutory corporations, or bodies established out of public funds (like radio and television).

● Baba Yara, the eminent footballer, has died at Korle Bu Hospital. He was incapacitated after he was involved in a motor accident at Kpeve in the Volta Region after a football match with his colleagues, Ghana Real Republicans, at Kpando in 1963. Many tributes have been paid, including prominent Press coverage. To Baba Yara, who has been buried at the Odorkor Cemetery.

SIERRA LEONE

After a brief hearing, treason charges against members of the former National Reformation Council and the former Attorney-General, Mr. Berihan Macaulay, have been adjourned until August 5. These charges concern specific acts of the NRC while it was in power; among those accused is ex-Brig. Juxon-Smith, former chairman of the NRC, who is not among the accused in the trial of certain former NRC members, and a number of others, including Mr. Macaulay and Brig. David Lansana, on charges arising out of the actual assumption of power by the military in March 1967. This trial, which has continued for several months, is expected to last for many more weeks.

A statement by Mr. Macaulay, read in evidence by Acting Assistant Superintendent of Police J. B. Jusu, has claimed that he was not aware that Brig. Lansana formed

a military government, and that when he heard of the takeover by junior officers on March 23, 1967, he told Major Blake of the seriousness of suspending the constitution. He said he resigned as Attorney-General because of rudeness by Brig. Juxon-Smith. Mr. Jusu has been questioned by counsel and by Mr. Macaulay himself. Mr. Macaulay complained in his statement that he was deprived of a bath and of gastric ulcer medicine for some days after his arrest last year.

A former District Officer for Bonthe said he received a wireless message on March 20, three days after the elections, instructing him to tell four successful SLPP candidates to travel to Freetown to meet Sir Alben Margai. Another witness has spoken of street shooting during the period following the elections, and a police inspector who took part in investigations of the case in 1968 has given evidence.

● Magistrates' court hearings have begun in the case of Mr. D. L. Sumner, former SLPP Minister of Works, and 26 other people, facing charges of organising the "devils" of the Poro secret society during the by-elections last November in Sherbro, and of arson, malicious damage, conspiracy, riot and assault.

● Mr. Harry Lloyd Evans, Commissioner of Police and Principal Immigration Officer in The Gambia, and Mr. O. A. Sallah of the Gambian Ministry of External Affairs, have been in Freetown to discuss immigration matters.

● The Cornelius Harding Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of six Paramount Chiefs in the Northern Province has resumed its hearings at Magburaka.

LIBERIA

Celebrations of the 25th anniversary of President Tubman's accession have continued, including a ceremony at the University of Liberia last week.

Earlier celebrations included a luncheon in honour of President and Mrs. Tubman (she had been overseas for medical treatment and had missed some festivities) given by the Grand Lodge of Masons.

● The Kakata-Todee diamond mining area has been ordered closed, and work halted, until all miners and prospectors possess clearance indicating that they have registered with the Mining office in Kakata, obtain licences, and cut down the number of labourers to five for prospectors and 20 for miners. Mr. John Beh, chief of Mining Service, says a number of miners and prospectors are defrauding the Government.

THE GAMBIA

A statistical adviser from the Commonwealth Secretariat, Mr. S. M. Ikhtiar ul Mulik, is in the Gambia for three months to assess requirements in the field of statistics and to advise on the future orientation of the statistical division of the Ministry of Finance.

● Minister of Works Kalliu Singhateh has warned that the water shortage in the Bathurst area could become acute unless public consumption is drastically reduced. Consumption had risen in the past two years from 0.66m gallons per day to 1.5m gallons.

Correction

In our issue of April 26 we inadvertently said the UP won all recent by-elections. In fact, as the earlier part of the news item made clear, the PPP won them all.

SENEGAL

Police Move Into Dakar University

Armed security forces, composed of gendarmes, police and the Republican Guard, wearing bulletproof vests and carrying rifles and teargas grenades, closed down the Cité Universitaire of Dakar University on Tuesday of last week. The Cité, which houses student residences, was cordoned off and placed under guard. Senegalese students were sent home to their families, and foreign students were housed in the nearby Lycée Delafosse. A statement from the Ministry of Education said that university faculties would remain open, and that



Assane Seck—"violation of the law"

students would have free access. Examinations would continue at the end of the month.

The closure followed a severe broadcast warning the previous evening from the Minister of National Education, M. Assane Seck, who said that, after several weeks of peaceful strike, the students had decided on a new phase of installing pickets outside faculty buildings to prevent students who wished to from following their studies. They knew, he said, that this was a violation of Senegalese law, because the same thing had happened last year when the students had set up pickets. Such a decision now could only be counted as a provocative action. The original dispute in no way concerned the university, and the schoolchildren and students had gone on strike without any attempt to contact the Education Ministry, purely to show solidarity with the students of Bamboey, who had "beaten their surveillant-general till blood flowed."

The government had tried to keep classes going, with teachers in attendance, and pupils protected, which had paid dividends in a slow return to classes. A new element had been introduced by the decision of other African students at the university to join the strike, on an issue which did not concern the university, a situation "few governments in Africa would have accepted". After April 18, the students and schoolchildren, exasperated at the increasing return to classes, turned to violence, and turned the Cité Universitaire into a kind of beleaguered fortress, protected by university freedom, from which commandos were sent to Dakar and the interior, and where "some young Senegalese were kidnapped and tortured". By the end of April an average of 60 per cent in

colleges and 61 per cent in secondary schools had returned to classes. The decision to mount pickets had been an attempt to swing public opinion back in their favour. The whole education system risked collapse, and it was absolutely necessary that a stop should be put to those who sought in an underhand way to lead Senegalese youth in such an adventure.

Subsequently students have trickled back to the faculties. Student leaders are reported to have been arrested.

The Dahomeyan Education Minister, M. Gbahi Mama, and the Togolese Labour Minister, M. Benoit Malou, have been in Dakar to discuss the position of students from their respective countries at the university.

Two days after the closing of the university, M. Seck opened the first session of a commission for the reform of primary and secondary education, necessitated by the large increase in numbers of those attending school. The Minister said it was envisaged that the reform should come into operation next October, the same time as the reorganisation of Dakar University, which is being discussed in a separate Senegalo-French commission.

As we go to Press there are reports that the Senegalese Union of Post and Telecommunications Workers had decided to strike to obtain rapid governmental consideration of their wage claim, which had been submitted as part of the "cashier" of claims submitted by the Senegalese General Workers Union (UNTS) on May Day when they met the President. (This is the first strike threat since the period of student agitation began in March. Observers have noted that the failure of the students to secure support from the unions meant that the student strike seemed to be destined to flop. Any trade union strike at the moment might change that situation.)

UPPER VOLTA

Yameogo Sentenced

Ex-President Yameogo has been sentenced to five years hard labour for embezzling amounts totalling about £1.2m. His former chef de cabinet, M. Andre Comparé, was sentenced to three years.

The trial was held *in camera* at a special tribunal, but informed sources said that the prosecution alleged that M. Yameogo had taken monies partly from public funds intended for presidential fetes and receptions. Some had gone to his political party, the UDV-RDA, and the rest into the private pockets of himself and his associates. Details were given of the ex-President's property investments totalling 419m CFA francs (£700,000) and of his expenditure on cars, alleged to be 46.7m CFA francs (£75,000). Money had also been illegally spent on buying women's clothes, presents, hiring cars, taking trips abroad and paying hotel bills. The difference between his income and his bank account was alleged to be 578.6m CFA (£958,000). He was fined 51m CFA (£86,000) and ordered to pay damages to the government of 117.5m CFA (about £300,000).

Both M. Yameogo and Comparé refused to answer questions, in protest at the trial being held *in camera*. Their defence counsel claimed the court was unconstitutional, as the constitution had been suspended in 1966.

FRANCE

A statement from the Elysee has said that interim President Poher had sum-

moned the doyen of the African diplomatic corps in Paris, M. Rakoto Ratsimamanga for a "particularly cordial" discussion, in which M. Poher recalled his personal interest in the maintenance and development of relations of profound friendship between France and Madagascar. He affirmed that the policy of co-operation between France and the associated states was in no way affected by the results of the April 27 referendum, either in the form of bilateral co-operation, or in the context of the EEC.

The ambassador said afterwards that he had been summoned to receive a reassurance that nothing would be changed in the policy of France towards the francophone countries.

M. Debré, French Foreign Minister, said that it went without saying that French co-operation policy would continue, whatever won the forthcoming presidential elections: "it is part of our politics." On any hypothesis, co-operation with French-speaking African states will exist, but with perhaps less depth than with General de Gaulle, for co-operation is part of the exigencies of our moral doctrine as taught to us by General de Gaulle. The nearest one gets to his thought and doctrine, the better one will execute co-operation.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

After the arrival in Equatorial Guinea of 235 Spaniards to supervise Spanish interests, the Spanish Catholic newspaper *La Voz* which said another 40 were expected to follow, cited this as a sign of improvement in relations, which became very poor during the internal collapse in Equatorial Guinea in March. Three Spanish freighters have been sent to Santa Isabel and Bata to pick up 5,000 tons of cocoa and 1.5m tons of coffee.

Santa Isabel radio has reported the return of some of the former Spanish population of several thousands, who left during the crisis. Re-entry permits, according to detailed regulations made by the Minister of the Interior, Señor Masie, are required for those returning, and (said the radio) President Macías will decide each case.

A new ambassador to the UN, Gaston B. E. Makoyo, has presented his credentials. He replaces Satornino Ibhogbo, who committed suicide or was murdered after the alleged coup of March 5.

IN BRIEF

Jean-Marie Kone, Foreign Minister, has led a mission to Washington. Another, to Peking, is being led by Captain Charles Cissoko, member of the CMLN.

A meeting of French-speaking Education Ministers, scheduled to take place this month in Paris, has been postponed until after the French Presidential elections.

The former Military Governor of Kinshasa, Col. Bangala, has been sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of his private secretary last December 24.

Bamileke chiefs and notables in Douala under their newly elected head chief, M. David Menfamen Fambou, have sent a message of homage and support to President Ahidjo.

The Benguela railway has been cut by sabotage for the fifth time in six weeks. The sabotage, which has involved several derailments, is thought to be the work of both the Unita party, which operates from inside Angola, and the MPLA, operating from Zambia.

dateline Africa

NIGERIA

COMMANDERS RESHUFFLED

FOLLOWING an important meeting of the Supreme Military Council in Lagos, at which the budget and the war were discussed, an official statement announced that the three commanders in the field had been changed.

They are Col. Mohammed Shuwa, Commander of 1 Division, based on Enugu, who is to be replaced "at an unspecified future date," and brought to Lagos as Military Secretary to Gen Gowon. The present Military Secretary, Col. I. D. Bissala, will then replace him. The Commander of 2 Division (Onitsha) Lt. Col. Haruna is replaced by the Commander of 2 Division, Rear (Benin), Lt. Col. Gibson Jallo. Col. Haruna moves to Lagos as Quartermaster-General. The Commander of 3 Division (Port Harcourt) otherwise known as the 3rd Marine Commando, Col. Benjamin Adekunle has been replaced by the Commander of the Ibadan Garrison Organisation, Col. Olusegun Obasanjo. Col. Adekunle is taking over as Director of Army Training and Planning, a post formerly held by Brigadier David Ejoor, now head of the Nigerian Defence Academy at Zaria.

A correspondent writes

The announcement ended days of speculation which has surrounded the Supreme Council meeting, from which it had been authoritatively leaked that Col. Adekunle and Haruna were leaving their commands. A senior spokesman at military headquarters dismissed as "absolute nonsense" any suggestion that the commanders had proved difficult to control. "All that has happened is that the commanders have been posted to new duties in Lagos. In fact they are going to shoulder heavier duties in Lagos." There was speculation in Lagos, however, that the command shake-up was connected with the military situation arising from the loss of Owerri, which came in Col. Adekunle's sector. The Second Division has also been criticised for the slow progress it has made.

Latest reports from the war fronts are confused and inconclusive. There has been a barrage of claims from Biafra radio, and from their Overseas Press Service in Geneva, and a paucity of information on the federal side. Informed sources said a lull in the war was likely, to allow federal troops to consolidate on the gain of Umuahia, and to prepare for the recapture of Owerri. The onset of the rains this month, although often exaggerated by commentators, is bound to slow down activity, not least air activity, always hampered by thick low flying cloud.

The latest Biafran account of the war is of fighting "in and around Umuahia," against heavy federal mortar fire. They also claim to have made advances southwards from Owerri, and to have captured the key village of Okpuala, halfway from Owerri to Aha. Federal government statement said that Nigerian troops were now three and a half miles south of Umuahia, and fully controlled the town. They were also positioned at Afrola, fifteen miles north

of Elele on the Owerri-Port Harcourt road. The Second Division was said to be pushing to join the First Division on the Enugu-Onitsha road, near Awka (last month it was thought this link-up had already been made). The position arising from the recent infiltration into the Mid-West was causing concern, because of its proximity to the oil areas, although the outbreak appeared to have been contained, federal troops had not conclusively retaken Aboki; there was still a Biafran presence on the West bank of the Niger (see oil-rig story below).

Foreign correspondents visiting Umuahia remarked on the slight damage the town had received. The town was empty, but officers would not say where the enemy were: "noman's land changes every second." Reports also described the sophisticated bunker built by Col. Ojukwu under State House. Officers also claimed that Biafran troops were now crossing the lines in greater numbers. They said 5,000 refugees were now in Uzuakoli.

Unconfirmed reports apparently emanating from the local population indicate that Biafran troops are holding 24 Italian and three German oil technicians following their disappearance from an oil rig eight miles east of Kwale town in the Mid-West State.

Four of the men were said to be prisoners in Okpai, 13 miles east of Kwale and the remainder in Aboh.

A Federal force commanded by Captain Mogaji Burkha was reported to have fought its way to within a few hundred yards of the rig, which was being dismantled "as it was decided it was too close to the lighting" when attacked. First news of the incident came from an Italian who dived through his caravan window when he heard shooting and trekked 12 miles without food or water, to Kwale, where he told his story to officials of the Nigerian Agip oil company, which was drilling under the rig for oil.

Col. Ojukwu has reportedly now accepted the rank of Army General conferred on him by the recent session of Biafra's Constituent Assembly in Owerri. Earlier reports said he was likely to decline the offer, as he had a similar proposal earlier in the war.

Federal Budget

RECURRENT expenditure of £186.8m. is provided for in the budget for 1969-70, considered last week by the Federal Executive Council and the Supreme Military Council. The Federal Government is to spend £103.4m., it will retain £113m. of the estimated revenue of £187m., which exceeds estimated revenue by £200,000, and is £40m. more than 1968-69 estimated revenue. The Federal Government's share of the receipt is £20m. more than in 1969-70, the State Government's share £19m. more (£73m.) Of the sum retained by the Federal Government £10m. is being transferred to the Development Fund.

In the search for additional revenue, says the Council's statement, "efforts have been made to ensure that the commodities normally consumed by people within the lower income bracket are not touched at all." There are no far-reaching changes in direct taxes, except that the super-tax decree is being amended "to rectify the prevailing anomaly whereby some foreign companies operating in Nigeria but not incorporated in Nigeria do not pay the levy." A system of graduated super tax rates is being introduced because "many companies are making excessive profits."

There are several increases in import, excise and export duties. An import duty of 20 per cent, *ad valorem* is conditionally imposed on a few items of machinery, but part will be refunded where the Valuation Committee (to be set up by the Government) is satisfied that its value has not been inflated. New investors will be entitled to a rebate of 15 percentage points of duty paid, and existing establishments, and new companies established by them, to a 10 per cent rebate. Machinery imports are put under the "approved user" scheme.

Purchases by the armed forces, except for purely military equipment and specialised vehicles, will in future attract normal import and excise duties.

Import duties are raised on a large number of commodities, including jute sacks and bags, grey haff for textile printing, tomato puree, certain iron and steel products, motor spirit, diesel oil, fish other than those caught from canoes or Nigerian owned vessels, empty glass bottles for certain drinks, cordage and ropes (duty-free until now) and steel pipes, pipings, tubes and fittings (also duty-free until now). Excise duties are increased, or newly imposed, on gramophone records, metal doors and windows, sausages, insecticides and sprays and powders (excluding agricultural preparations), knitted and woven synthetic piece goods, paints, imitation jewellery.

Export duties are raised on Nigeria's major agricultural exports—cocoa, groundnuts, groundnut meal and cake, cotton seed and hull, palm kernel and kernel oil, rubber, hennessy (in all cases from 10 to 15 per cent). There is also an increase for logs, sawnwood, plywood, animals and reptiles.

In view of various anomalies "in terms of wrong declarations, double invoicing and overvaluation of imports," all imports are now placed under specific import licences, except for 16 items, including wheat, petroleum products and lubricating oils, natural gas, some medicaments, cement, salt, and portable personal effects.

The present "tacit embargo" on repatriation of profits and dividends is to be gradually lifted "with immediate effect." Companies refloating industrial operations in "designated war zones" will have an additional allowance of 25 per cent, above existing rates, these will not be taken into account in calculation of allowances in capital expenditure granted to them.

Import duty is reduced on sugar, milk, commercial vehicles, motor cycles, bicycles and mineral waters, and all sports goods, and is abolished altogether on motor vehicle tyres and tubes, and cement. The excise duty on wooden furniture is reduced.

The Federal Government says it wishes "to stress once again that it will take a very serious view of profiteers who may try to cash in on the nation's problems. Such people will be doing as much disservice to the nation as the rebels."

The Liberian Government has ordered people who consider themselves to be Biafrans to register with the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalisation or face prison. They will have to report to the authorities every six months. An order declared that many people who considered themselves to be Biafrans had refused to renew their passports and travel documents with the Nigerian embassy; they therefore had to comply with Liberian immigration formalities, as they could not be deported.

NIGERIA—continued

● Four crew members of a Red Cross relief DC-6A were killed when it crashed in Biafra last week. The aircraft was reported to have exploded while coming in to land at the Uli airstrip. It had been operated by Balair of Bahré on behalf of the National Committee of the Red Cross; the crew were Germans and Swedes.

Soon afterwards another relief aircraft, one of the American E97 Stratofreighters flying for Joint Church Aid, was immobilised at Uli by a belly landing in which the pilot was slightly injured, and then destroyed in a Federal air raid by rockets.

● Colonel Murtala Mohammed, Director of Signals in the Nigerian Army, told a Commonwealth meeting on defence telecommunications in Canberra that if the Rhodesia situation was allowed to deteriorate any further, "The Commonwealth has only two courses open. One is to kick out its oldest member, Great Britain. The other is to allow the Commonwealth slowly and painfully to disintegrate... Nigeria has demonstrated its love for the Commonwealth by sparing me to join this symposium."

● A correction to a widely publicised report that Information Commissioner Chief Anthony Enahoro had ruled out the possibility of future peace talks with Biafra was issued by the Nigerian Ministry of Information which pointed out that Chief Enahoro had in fact said that with the current Federal advance into the Ibo heartland, Biafra would shrink to a point where

"meaningful talks could not be held" with the secessionist regime.

● U Thant has announced the appointment of Said-Uddin Khan as his representative to Nigeria on humanitarian activities. He succeeds Mr. Gussing.

● Sir Leslie Glass has been appointed to succeed Sir David Hunt, who has been transferred to Brazil, as Britain's High Commissioner in Nigeria.

Inside Biafra

Describing food distribution and medical treatment for large numbers of starving people in the Ohaji area, in Biafran-held territory near the front, Philippe Deeraene of *Le Monde* says medical supplies are very short, and "privileged" people can receive a meal every other day, but mass vaccinations against measles are possible, and doctors say the food situation is improving. Many people die in the bush of inadequate nutrition, however, though "the hecatomb of last year has been stopped."

In another article Deeraene has written a detailed account of work at the hospital at Awo Omama in Biafra, where an international team of doctors and nurses, working in makeshift and very adverse conditions, once carried out 150 operations in 36 hours and 800 patients occupy space meant for 80.

● The United Nations Children's Fund has provided food, drugs and vehicles worth £2.5m. towards the Federal Government's relief programme, the organisation's acting regional director said.

● A new system of taking food direct people instead of requiring them to queue will enable the International Red Cross to feed at least 160,000 people a week in Federally-occupied Afikpo area, north-east of Umuahia.

● Speaking to the Ibadan Daily Star in Ibadan Oba Aruwajoye, the Orangun III, said that the anti-tax riot at his palace broke out as a result of an address meeting of the people by the Divisional Officer for the area, who appealed to them to heed the Government's advice and pay their taxes and rates in time. Immediately after the meeting, Oba Aruwajoye said, he heard that the people were preparing to beat up tax clerks on Monday. On Monday at about 11 a.m. the people's off market women from their stalls who policemen came to warn them of the danger of causing trouble, the people became furious and went first to destroy the police station before coming to destroy his palace... I would have been killed myself if I had not fled the town." The Star also reported a claim that the riot had been incited by people who came from Ibadan.

● Instead of attempting to reopen talks with Ojukwu the Federal Government should put the East Central State administration on the same footing as other State Governments, the general secretary of the Central Eastern State Youth Vanguard, N. Armstrong Ogbonna, has suggested.

● More than 2,000 South Eastern State refugees have been taken to Afikpo from Umuahia since Federal troops took the town, Brig. Hassan Katsina announced.



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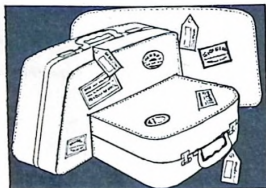
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