

WEST AFRICA

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SENGHOR SEEKS AN OPPOSITION

USSR in Africa now

MATCHET in The GAMBIA

Can Ghana pay
her debts?

• Towards the
Lagos Games

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reprieved

• Cocoa Pact
prospects

Senghor and the State of Senegal

From our correspondent

The Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), which held its eighth party congress at the *Maison du Parti* in Dakar from December 16 to 19, is not, in spite of appearances, a "single-party". It is, as President Senghor has stated on a number of occasions (and repeated both at the Congress and then in an interview with me), a *parti unique* rather than a *parti unique*, that is a "unified" party made up from the merger of several parties.

As a description this phrase also leaves the theoretical possibility for other parties to be formed, as Senegal is not constitutionally a one-party state. It so happens there are no other parties in legal existence at the moment, but the possibility is always there. The president said that the Marxist opposition which still exists in Senegal does not want to form a political party, although the Ministry of the Interior, he told me, had been given instructions to enable them to do so. They had preferred to operate through the left-wing trade unions, which had accordingly split, with more than two-thirds forming a new centre (the CNTS) now affiliated to the ruling party. "I would like a 'normal' opposition", he told me, "but not one which turns to violence, as mine did".

Opposition, the President admits, has

concentrated particularly on the Union of the Secondary School Teachers, whom he described as "sufficiently educated to be susceptible to French influence, but not well-enough educated to know how to detach themselves from French influence" — the teachers in higher education could detach themselves.

There had been a group at the university, too, which was behind the 1968 troubles. These, the President feels, can be completely explained in the context of influence from Paris, although reforms already begun may have been hastened by the events. Tranquility now seems to reign at the university, and with an important section of the trade unions now under the party umbrella, President Senghor is probably more on top of potential challengers than at any time since independence, in 1960.

This new supremacy is probably why he feels able once again to start talking about the possibility of opposition, in the interests of the health of his own party. He is, as well as being President of the Republic, with considerable executive responsibilities, Secretary-General of the UPS (in holding this dual role he is more comparable with President Sekou Touré of Guinea than with President Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast, who

Dakar

has delegated the post of Secretary-General of the party to the President of the National Assembly). Thus he is concerned with the welfare of the party as the embodiment of the nation, and his general political report is a kind of "state of the nation" speech. The theme of his report this year was "The Economic Community as a Framework for Development", and was related especially to his own much-stated vision of a West African Community reaching from Nouakchott to Kinshasa; it also had considerable sections on Senegal's own economic development.

The other main subjects for discussion at the Congress were the report on "New Structures and New Policy for the Party Youth Movement" by Moustapha Niassé, who as well as being an important party man is also the President's *Directeur de Cabinet*, and the report by Habib Thiam, the Rural Development Minister, on the Press and Information. It was during the discussion on the latter that Senghor, under his Secretary-General's hat, made an impromptu intervention to appeal to congressists to engage less in what he called African ritual and repetition, and if anybody disagreed with what was said to feel free in their comments. In my interview the President again alluded to this fact, saying he regretted the tendency towards ritual on such occasions. I felt he was almost apologetic that it was not possible for visitors to witness more stimulating discussion, which he assured me went on at lower levels of the party. The statements of the regional delegations, which occupied much of the time of the Congress, are the result of such a hammering out in discussion, and the President showed himself anxious to know what demands the regions were making. Such occasions are one of the ways in which he can keep in touch with opinion in the regions. The strong views expressed about the cinema, and the content of films, was one example.

The subject of opposition pops up oddly towards the end of the Secretary-General's report, when he says that, if his report is long, and detailed on essential problems, it is intended to furnish party militants with arguments during the electoral campaign. "It is not at all certain that the Opposition is not going to present a candidate. Even the contrary is said. And if it happens, it will dispose of powerful financial means. Opposition from the right, of course, but which will use the liturgy of the 'leftists'." This is a very enigmatic, and triggered off a number of rumours. By the time this

Today Britain enters the European Common Market. How does this affect the countries of West Africa? The subject will be fully discussed in next week's issue.

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Women militants at the conference.

report appears the nominations will have been published, and the "Opposition" candidate will have been shown to be either a phantom or flesh and blood. But politically the exercise serves as a reminder that Senegal operates a relatively liberal system. During the week Senegal was celebrating the centenary of the birth of Blaise Diagne, the first black deputy from Senegal to Paris — a reminder of a particularly rich political heritage which has not been without its conflicts and opposition movements.

The Secretary-General's report also included an important section on financial and monetary matters, reflecting the present debate in francophone Africa on the subject of the franc zone. The basic criticism of the franc zone, said President Senghor, was that the zone and its central banks attached more importance to monetary stability than to economic development. The need to change the system was more pressing because of the coming monetary integration of Europe. He mentioned the memorandum presented by President Diouf to President Pompidou on "The hoped-for evolution of objectives, structures and mechanisms of the franc zone". This proposed replacing the "franc zone committee" with the "economic committee of the franc zone" (with meetings at both ministerial and head of state level). At the West African level, the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO) would be transformed into a "veritable central bank", and a West African Development Bank would be created. The aim would be to renew, reinforce, and rejuvenate the links of cooperation between the African states and France. This, said President Senghor, would not so much suppress the franc zone as revolutionise it, but it might be too late now to introduce a Commonwealth à la française, which such an organism, complete with summit meetings, might seem to imply.

On the level of the BCEAO, however, the President saw areas where modification might be practicable. He proposed the modification to the statutes of the bank, substituting a two-thirds majority for unanimity; the reinforcement of the autonomy of the national committees without going so far as their independence; the increasing of aid from the bank to national treasuries, and the softening of the terms of that assistance.

He also suggested the depoliticisation of the bank, and the progressive Africanising of its personnel, which he found had been proceeding too slowly (BCEAO is at present only 49 per cent Africanised). The aim would be "to proceed progressively, collectively, solidly to an autonomous monetary power". He concluded by tying in the proposals with his larger vision of the Atlantic grouping. He had proposed to the West African anglophones that they should associate with the EEC. To the measure that the EEC "can realise its economic and monetary union we shall elaborate our West African economic and monetary

union, in establishing fixed parities between European and African currencies. This, in the world situation of interdependence, is the surest way".

Inevitably, Senghor's report, his four-hour commentary on it, and the discussion of it, formed the grand centrepiece of the congress. In a short report like this one can only mention a few aspects of it, but there were many dimensions. The President underlined preoccupations such as the deterioration in the terms of trade, and he devoted a great deal of time and detail to the alarming subject of the encroachment of the desert on Senegal, which is more dramatic in a year of acute drought such as this one. These are the realities of the life of Senegal, as a visit to the Senegal River region makes very clear. One proposal that emerged from the Congress which the President seemed to want to encourage was that the more favoured regions should aid those that have been hit by the drought. This constant concern of President Senghor's to educate came across very strongly at the Congress. It is hard to imagine any other leader asking his party militants, as Senghor did in his closing speech, to "sing economic integration", and "dance responsible participation".

Can Ghana Pay?

by a correspondent

To assist Ghana to bring into production two sugar processing plants built by East European countries during the Nkrumah regime the World Bank has approved a \$16m. loan on "soft" IDA terms. Among those supporting the loan was the UK representative, although earlier there had been suggestions that because of Ghana's debt repudiation and the unilateral decision to take control of Ashanti Goldfields and Consolidated Ashanti Selection Trust, the UK might on principle oppose an international loan to Ghana. But according to Washington reports all major countries represented at the meeting which decided to grant the loan agreed that it was in Ghana's essential economic interests.

The World Bank decision, however, does not mean that the controversy over Ghana's medium term debts is not still an active one. Soon after it came to power last January the Acheampong Government announced that it would be honouring in full World Bank, IDA, and certain other long-term debts and had accepted in principle full liability for the short-term debts resulting from the commercial commitments of the Busia regime. But it refused to make any payments on the medium-term debts, nearly all resulting from "contractor-finance", inherited from the Nkrumah régime, and repudiated entirely certain of these. For the Nkrumah debts it had decided that payment could only be made on "IDA" terms, that is to say over a 50 years period including 10 years of

grace with purely nominal interest. The long-term debts amounted to roughly \$230m. and the medium-term debts to some \$370m. But of this latter sum over \$77m. represented "moratorium interests," arising from the postponement of scheduled payments, agreed between Ghana and the creditors under the NLC and Busia regimes and some \$90m. represented the debts wholly repudiated, so the capital sum which the government was ready to pay on IDA terms was only some \$200m. Short-term debts amount to some \$285m. of which last January \$67m. was accounted for by arrears of import payments, \$139m. by unmatured 180 day credits, and \$80m. by arrears on service payments.

Since then the creditor countries have offered yet another "rescheduling" of the medium-term debts under which Ghana would be given five years grace and would then repay the debts over 15 years at 2½ per cent interest. The Ghana Government apparently is unwilling to accept even these terms but the creditors are unwilling to create a precedent by offering any terms which might amount to a cancellation of these debts.

Although Britain is responsible for much the biggest share of the Nkrumah debts, other creditors — France, West Germany, Japan, Norway, Italy, Israel, the US and the Netherlands — have acted with her in the numerous discussions with Ghana. Australia and Canada, the UAR, Yugoslavia and Spain, also creditor



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countries, did not attend the July 1970 conference where the arrangements under which the payments being made when the Acheampong Government took over were worked out; Belgium and Switzerland sent observers, as did the World Bank and I.M.F.

The Ghana government maintains that if Ghana is to recover her economic health, she cannot take on any commitment about the medium term debts, and can only reduce the short-term debts as and when the foreign exchange position permits. But how bad is the position?

The best recent appraisal, a very cautious one, is that of the economic department of the Standard Bank, in its 1972 review of Ghana's economy. No rapid "structural" change in Ghana's economy seems possible, concludes the review, however effective some of the new Government's measures may be in solving immediate problems.

The review notes that the high world price for cocoa helped the growth of the economy in 1969-70 but continuation by the Busia government of the policy of increased development expenditure and trade liberalisation in face of the fall of world cocoa prices in 1971 produced a big balance of payments deficit and heavy short-term debts. "Lack of foreign exchange once more became the crucial factor in the economy". The Busia Government's heavy devaluation further lowered living standards already affected

by the inability of production to keep pace with increased demand. Prices of local food in particular soared, as did prices of imported food.

In the first half of 1972 the decline in imports and the improved world cocoa prices brought about an improvement so that by the end of June external reserves had risen from \$13½m. to almost \$100m. Internally a "complete re-ordering of priorities" has affected both imports and government expenditure. The government has been helped by improved prices for cocoa and the increase in the volume of the crop compared with the previous season. The \$18m. trade deficit in the first half of 1971 was transformed into a surplus of almost \$113m. in the first half of 1972 (allowing for the deficit of \$10.4 in January). And although the July and August figures fell compared with those of the previous four months, they took the surplus to \$133.7m.

So far, so good. But the review goes on to explain that since Ghana unilaterally re-scheduled her debts in February, aid flows have not resumed and overseas suppliers have in many cases been unwilling to supply goods except against "hard" credits. "To justify some return in support from its creditors, the present government appear to be taking firm action to rectify those of her difficulties which require domestic remedies, although it has not yet announced any

arrangements or preliminary time-table for the repayment of the short-term arrears under the 180-day import credit system" (those inherited from the Bu-regime).

A forecast for the next 12 months "must still, inevitably, recognise the p to be played by cocoa. Thus far in 1972 consequent upon the rise in world cocoa prices and the restrictions on import foreign exchange earnings and reserves have been seen to increase markedly. Therefore the outlook would, although uncertain, appear more buoyant than was.

"The change of government, meant a fresh look at Ghana's problems, has given another spur to a mood of optimism in the country. However, given the payments difficulties in 1971 caused by the sharp drop in world cocoa price and the unresolved questions between Ghana and her external creditors over medium-term debts bequeathed by the Nkrumah regime, it is difficult to see how a radically different approach could have been adopted. Although import licensing has already made its impact towards the policy of self-reliance, the concentration on important structural changes will obviously remain a long-term aim." A reduction in food imports could well be seen in the short-term as agricultural productivity increases, "but the attempts to diversify the economy on realistic lines away from cocoa must, of necessity, be part of a slower process."

Matchet's Diary

You cannot be long in the Gambia without becoming involved in discussion about the benefits or disadvantages of tourism to the economy. In this country of some 350,000 people there are now in operation or soon to be opened a dozen hotels, almost as many as in the whole of Nigeria. Although there are some tourists from Britain and other countries, the vast majority of them come from Scandinavia, seeking winter sunshine, sea bathing, and the other attractions this country offers at prices far below those of comparable countries. And during this season, short though it is, The Gambia, or at least the area of Bathurst and the great beaches up the River, has a Mediterranean climate. There is no doubt about the statistical success. Perhaps 20,000 tourists will come during this season, far more than will come, I suspect, to all the rest of West Africa except Senegal, which is far more expensive than The Gambia but otherwise shares its advantages and offers game reserves as well.

The argument is whether the "social costs" of catering for the tourists are matched by their contribution to the economy. It is a little difficult to estimate these "social costs". Perhaps they are best summed up by the front page headline in the recent *Gambia News Bulletin*: "Nudism is Illegal", the Minister

of State responsible for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, Mr. B. L. Kuti Sanyang, said when opening a new tourist camp up the river. He said the government was delighted that the economic benefits of tourism should not be confined to the Bathurst area but were spreading to the provinces, even so the Gambians remained very religious people and the law would be reinforced to make it plain that nudism, which meant tourist nudity, was illegal. In other words the Scandinavians would be welcomed but they must adhere to local convention.

In Bathurst itself the social costs are probably confined to the opportunity the tourists offer to young Gambian men to provide their services as guides to mixed groups or as companions to unaccompanied women. A general laxity of dress among the tourists is also part of the social costs, though nobody has ever accused them of drunkenness or other extravagance. Indeed this is the point: they are accused of parsimony, for almost all come on package tours, for which they pay a travel agency at home. Directly they spend very little in The Gambia and one hotel owner told me that he had scarcely been able to believe his ears when, walking through the bar of his hotel, he had heard a tourist ordering a bottle of beer with four glasses. It is true that the hotels and the ancillary services

from Bathurst

employ many hundred Gambians — now perhaps 1,200. The argument is really about the effect on the balance of payments. For to accommodate the tourists The Gambia has to import equipment for the hotels, much of the food and nearly all the drink. The travel agents organise the tourist's excursions and now are found running night clubs for them. The hotels are managed and supervised by foreigners and though Gambia Airways is one of the few such enterprises in Africa consistently to make a profit, it has no aircraft and makes modest money purely by handling baggage at the airport and by booking tickets.

How much does The Gambia really make? When I put the question to President Jawara in his office in the old and charming State House, which was for so long the residence of British Governors, he had no doubt that the tourists were already benefiting The Gambia economically and could bring far more benefit. "There are still miles and miles of beautiful beaches far away from Bathurst" he said. "I see no need at all to call a halt yet although we are always carefully watching". Perhaps, indeed, it is a mistake to look at the tourists in Bathurst itself, where, to an elderly but regular visitor to West Africa, they do look incongruous. Perhaps on the remote



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Garba-Jahumpa: cloth at least pays

isolated beaches it could be different. But in Bathurst, as Alhaji Garba-Jahumpa, the Minister of Finance, by no means an enthusiast for tourism, emphasised to me, the tourists have at least encouraged the establishment of a splendid market for cloth, where you can find some of the most delightful designs in the world, and excellent handicrafts

Bathurst is still one of the most agreeable early nineteenth century cities in the world, laid out by the Royal Engineers in straight lines with wide streets. Slowly the old buildings are going, but I hope that the government will realise in time that they constitute one great charm of this happy city. Another of its charms is the welcome that you get at the airport. This must be one of the simplest air terminal buildings in the world, where the bar, the health and immigration desks, and the customs examination benches share a single small room, here there is none of the persecution about foreign currency or threatening examination for dutiable goods which are so common elsewhere in West Africa. Polite and genial men make your entry a real welcome and anybody who has had this experience is immediately a friend of The Gambia.

This is a country which, since it became independent in 1965, has been a success story. Then it seemed that sooner or later, for economic reasons, it would have to join the surrounding and richer Senegal. Now it is Senegal that is ailing economically. The Gambia which economically is flourishing. And to this success tourism has made little contribution so far. As was noted in this journal a couple of weeks ago The Gambia Produce Marketing Board, whose main crop is groundnuts, had found it possible to increase the price to farmers by £5. This is £20 a ton higher than in the 1969/70 season, and the crop is now normally much bigger than it used to be, well over 100,000 tons. This is the main reason for the country's satisfactory economic performance but there are also significant achievements in diversifying the economy. I visited a Chinese (Formosan) rice project at Darislim, one of many where Gambian agricultural staff have modified Chinese practice to enable Gambian farmers to grow rice by irrigation. The World Bank is now coming

in to assist this irrigation, which, it is hoped, will ultimately make The Gambia self-sufficient in rice, a development which should surely do more for the balance of payments than any possible expansion of tourism.

Cattle marketing has improved remarkably under government arrangements, as has quality of hides and skins. Cotton lint is now being sold to Japanese firm and shrimps are being exported. This is a realistic government which knows that increased output and improved quality of groundnuts are likely long to remain the basis of prosperity. But the few possibilities of diversification are not being neglected.

One possibility, it seems to me, may be missed. The Port of Bathurst is being expanded with UK assistance. When the improvements are completed the port, though it will still have only two berths, will have more capacity than is needed for The Gambia's own trade. It would, therefore, seem that any excess capacity should be used for the trade of Casamance, that part of Senegal which lies south of The Gambia. Instead one hears of an extravagant plan for building a bridge over The Gambia river at Farafenni where the trans-Gambian Highway now crosses the river by ferry. If co-operation between Senegal and The Gambia means anything — and I find that not everybody here thinks it does — it should mean maximum use of Bathurst port by those parts of Senegal for which this would be economical and sensible, instead of the use of Dakar.

What happened to Pierre?

Nobody here has been able to explain to me why Pierre N'Jie, still held in affection by everybody, failed to attend the House of Representatives for so long that he was disqualified, thereby virtually destroying the Opposition of which he was leader. President Jawara himself told me that he regretted this. This is certainly a country where, if there is to be a one party state, it will not have been brought about by repressive action by the Government. The atmosphere is entirely against dictatorship of any kind and it is one West African capital where you feel that everybody is free to tell you what he thinks. The President told me that his Government had felt it necessary to curtail the power of chiefs only because so many of them had acted in an arbitrary manner. Now that their behaviour conformed to the style of The Gambia they were confirmed in their position as educated men sought appointments as chiefs. Another mark of democracy is the composition of the Court of Appeal. The government is not afraid to invite outside Judges as final arbiters — Sir Samuel Bankole Jones of Sierra Leone, President and Mr. Justice Morgan of Nigeria is a member, they sit with whichever Gambian Judge (there are two whose case is not being heard).

People

It is a measure of the stature that President Senghor now possesses that his party congress (see report on page two) was able to attract among the invited guests a number of personalities enjoying considerable prestige, both in and outside Africa. Of these the most important politically for Senegal, and the most rapturously received by the Congress, was the leader of the African Independence Party for Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), Amilcar Cabral. Relations between the Guinea-Bissau freedom fighters and the government and party of the country to the north have probably never been as cordial as they are now. Cabral, in his message to the Congress spoke warmly of the support he had received from Senegal, whose people and army had also shed blood in the struggle against the Portuguese. He also paid a personal tribute to Senghor, who had been "among the first to pose the problem of independence"; one noted, too, a reference to "the civilisation of the Universal". Cabral was present at the conference with his brother Luis Cabral, who is member of the party's Political Bureau, and Commander of the "Northern Zone" of the struggle. Support for the PAIGC was frequently voiced by



Among the visiting delegations: President Senghor talks to M. Ayattou, delegate of the UNC from Cameroon. Behind M. Ayattou is Amilcar Cabral (in dark glasses).

regional delegations, especially that from Casamance, the area bordering Guinea-Bissau.

Another guest at the Congress who was given an enthusiastic reception was Maitre Abderrahman Bouabid, the Secretary-General of the Moroccan opposition party, (the UNFP), the party of Ben Barka. Me. Bouabid, in a sparkling speech, said that he found the Union Progressiste Senegalaise to have the appearance of "progressive socialism", but he agreed that socialism could only exist within "the national specificity". He

also spoke of the importance of national culture, but it should not be a culture closed in on itself. He spoke, too, of some of the frustrations of opposition in Morocco, and encouraged a "spirit of contestation" if it is followed by "participation and construction". An adviser to the king of Morocco, Moulay Ahmed Alaoui, was also invited to the Congress, but was unable to attend. Similarly, the UDR (the Gaullists) from France were unable to accept the invitation, so the floor was left to Jean Rous, former adviser to President Senghor, and organ-

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iser in Paris in the 1950s of the Movement Against Imperialism, M. Rostaix who is something of a French Fernand Braudel (if such a concept is possible) was representing the new unified Socialist Party of France, and he spoke of the new Socialist-Communist party alliance which is shortly to fight the Gaullists in the French general elections. If they won, said, there was a commitment to increase development aid, and to ensure that the aid did not add to the profit of the business. There were also delegations from the ruling parties of Roumania and Yugoslavia, and representatives from the FLN in Algeria, and Neo-Destour in Tunisia.

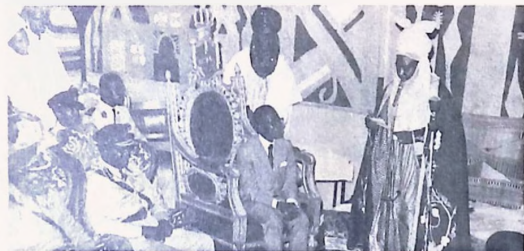
The most comprehensively represented country from francophone Africa was Upper Volta, the only one still practising the multi-party system. All the parliamentary parties sent delegations, that from the ruling UDV-RDA was led by Dr. Comombo, the Foreign Minister, their coalition partners, the PRA, was represented by their new leader, Wali Pale, and the opposition National Liberation Movement by Joseph Ki-Zerbo, the leader. Ki-Zerbo, in his speech, also paid tribute to Senghor, recalling particularly his part as the great champion of the preservation of the West African Federation (AOIF). Other African political parties represented were the UNC from Cameroon, the MPR from Zaïre, the PDCT from Ivory Coast, the PPT from Chad, the PDG from Gabon, the PPA from Mauritania, and, a solitary francophone island, the PPP from The Comoros, led by the Attorney-General, M. L. S. Salim. The Mahian Trade Unions were represented by Seydou Diallo, who is actually of Guinean origin, but this year there is nobody from the PDC of Guinea in the Relations between Guinea and Senegal may have been normalised following OAU mediation, but they have not resumed that cordial level where "external" delegations are in order.

Life brings the drama

Although no other English-speaking country sent delegations, it should not be forgotten that the existence of similar governments in a number of countries limits the amount of political post-solidarity which can exist: the excellent of cultural relations between Senegal and Nigeria was shown by the choice of Nigerian troupe to perform at a special *Soiree de Gala* at the Daniel Sorin Theatre during the Congress. The troupe from the University of Ife, performing *Obaltaye*, a musical drama by W. Ogunyemi, and *Chaka*, the verse play by L. S. Senghor. The latter, although performed in English, is given its special distinction by its powerful musical setting by Akim Fuba, and it so impressed the Senegalese Minister of Culture, Ahmad Sene, when he saw it at the He Feste two years ago (Senegal was the guest of honour) that he decided to ship it to Dakar to enable the President to see it.

Kano greets a President

"Who would ever believe that there had been a civil war in this country" said one of President Senghor's entourage during the Senegalese leader's visit to Kano. For during the durbar staged in honour of the President and General Gowon there were not only the horsemen with their colourful dress, their elaborate harness, saddle cloth and ancient weapons but, for what is believed the first time in a durbar in the northern states artists from all over the Federation took part. There were dancers from far away as Lagos and the eastern states. There was a travelling theatre from the West and acrobats from the Mid-West and later in the day students from Kano state institutions sang songs not only from Hausa and Fulani but Yoruba and Ibo.



The Emir, Alhau Ada Bayer, welcomes President Senghor.



Horsemen arrive at the durbar.



Womens Training College girls pose as "Fulani masu tallun nana", hawkers of local milk, during one of their performances at government house.



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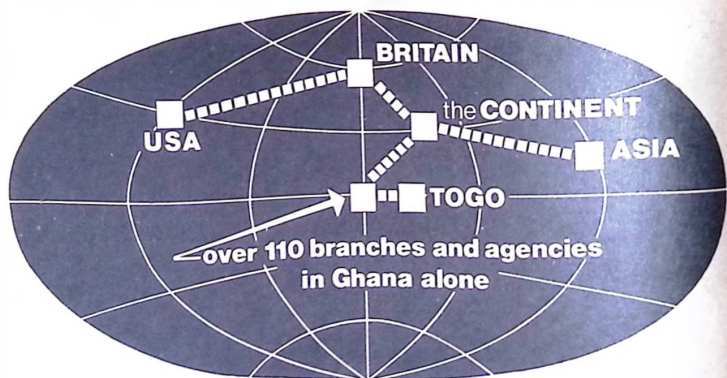
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Books and Publications

Realism from the Russians

Soviet Policy Toward Black Africa by Helen Desjosses Cohn (Pall Mall Press £7.25).

In January 15, 1966, Kudrjavtsev, the prolific Soviet writer on African affairs, concluded in an article in *Izvestia* that the recent overthrow of a number of African governments which had chosen the capitalist path reflected the weaknesses of such governments. Within six weeks the Nkrumah government was similarly overthrown in a military coup. Immediate Soviet reaction was to attribute the overthrow to the CIA or other imperialist agencies. But soon a spate of articles appeared in the USSR analysing the faults of the Nkrumah régime. The Nkrumah cult of personality came under fire, as did the dilution of the ruling party by schoolboys. Indeed, if Professor Cohn's summary of Soviet sources is to be believed, there was in the Soviet Union a far more searching examination of the defects of CPP rule than, say, in Britain.

In an important book by Krutogolov and others, published in 1963, the leading elements in Northern and Western Nigeria were described as "feudalist" and "comprador bourgeoisie", in contrast to leaders of the then Eastern Nigerian-based NCNC, described as progressive. Soon the roles were reversed — although in this case the Russian theoreticians were surely right, even if the volte-face served the interests of the Soviet State, rather than the purity of Marxist doctrine.

These are only two of the case studies in this very detailed analysis of the writings of Soviet specialists regarding the particular problem of national integration of the newly independent Black African states. The book also relates these writings to the policies adopted by the Soviet government towards concrete aspects of this issue — although in practice the issue seems to cover almost all Soviet relations with Black Africa.

Dr. Cohn is an accomplished Russian speaker, has studied and lists an enormous mass of material, including even Hausa broadcasts, and has been able to interview some of the main Soviet authorities in the USSR itself. She has, however, a further purpose. She wishes to test the validity of the common Western assumption that Soviet writing on Black Africa is totally without objectivity, and is subservient to official policies. She is able to show that, partly because of lack of official interest in Black Africa except at moments of crisis, there often has been no official policy, except the vague one

which might be deduced from Marxist premises but which has always been expendable in the light of what was thought to be Soviet State interests. This has meant that while sometimes Soviet Africanists have provided theoretical justifications for already adopted policies, at others "their work may spark a policy reappraisal", for example regarding the political role of the working class.

With the Kremlin's apparent loss of interest in Africa's internal development and concentration on building relations with all African régimes, of whatever persuasion, there is a hope, Professor Cohn believes, that scholarly objectivity will become even more pronounced. Certainly there have already been signs of genuine if restricted debate, for example whether the officers of the armies which have seized power in Black Africa are to be regarded as "progressive" or simply as an expression of the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" whose origins and way of life they share. And if the Ghana and Nigerian examples caused confusion among Soviet Africanists, where did they not?

Originally, it is true, in what may be called the days of neanderthal Marxism, nobody in the Soviet Union seems to have thought it necessary to examine the facts of Black Africa. Marx, Lenin and Stalin had revealed all, and Africa would conform to the Soviet model. Now it is possible for a leading Soviet journalist to report a conversation with Chief Enahoro in which the Commissioner for Information explains with admirable lucidity just why the Soviet example is almost irrelevant for Nigeria.

Dr. Cohn clearly, perhaps too clearly, defines the shifts in Soviet thinking about Africa. The most important ones are marked by the death of Stalin, for whom Third World nationalism was a cloak for the domination of the local bourgeoisie, and the fall of Khrushchev, for whom Third World nationalism, whoever led it, was an ally of the Soviet State in the international power struggle. Khrushchev's fall (and, incidentally, the death of the vastly influential Africanist, Potekhin) was followed by a new realism, still with us, which sees the development of Africa as a long and complex affair, in which the Soviet Union's main interest is to minimise Chinese influence and to secure Soviet economic interests. In relations with African states early Soviet theory about, for example, national languages, national cultures, chiefs or religion (even if these cannot be abandoned) has no

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place, since it could only alienate most African régimes. The brusque announcement just before Christmas that the Soviet Union was cutting down its imports of cocoa is, perhaps, an example of this pragmatism; but it is difficult to believe Dr. Cohn's thesis that the Russians want stability in Africa at any price chiefly because African trade in raw materials are essential for Soviet industry. What really matters is that perhaps because they now had time to collect real information, the Russians are increasingly aware that African countries have real problems, and not just "the legacy of colonialism".

Since the Soviet Union is the world's second most powerful country any aspect of her policy is highly important and Mr. Cohn has made a thorough job of analysing this one. Nor is this just a matter of international politics. She draws attention to many Soviet ideas which are both interesting and perceptively for example the description of most ex-French colonies as "presidential states" is apt, while not all Africanists in the West have realised, as Jablockhov has that in tropical Africa "the relative predominant part of society consists not of the officials". Often the Soviet arguments are boring because they are based on obvious ignorance as well as prejudice. But Dr. Cohn manages to invest any argument with significance.

Unhappily the book suffers from its major defects. In the first place it is difficult to know whether, when Mr. Cohn is not making direct quotations, he is summarising Soviet views or giving his own. It is to be hoped, for example, that when she says that political parties were prohibited in African colonies she is summarising a Soviet view and not stating what a young American scholar believes. And while she often points to errors in Soviet views she lets many pass.

The other defect lies in Dr. Cohn's choice of examples in Africa to illustrate the points she or the Russians are making. These are sometimes inappropriate and are sometimes based on error. For example there has been no conflict between Morocco and Tunisia which illustrates the division caused in the working class in Africa. The rapprochement between the US and Ghana is not just "temporary". By no means do African governments concentrate on the building industry. In Ghana cocoa marketing was not transferred by Nkrumah "from the long-established boards to the state". The development industry in Sierra Leone can scarcely be said to be hindered by rivalry between the Mende and Temne for jobs. Nor can Tema be described, at the time when it was decided to make it an industrial centre, as "an already developed" "outside of Accra". These and other defects do not detract from the value of the material Dr. Cohn has painstakingly gathered and skillfully arranged and summarised. But they call in question judgement on African affairs.

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Letters to the Editor

Military and power

SIR—I refer to Mr. Ralph Iheanyi Onwuka's interesting letter in your issue of December 4.

How would the military "still retain its conventional functions" when any military man who had "sufficiently socialised himself with the people should be allowed to contest an election"?

If, as Mr. Onwuka suggests, "most of the current military are duly politicised to do so", would the so-called conventional functions be relegated to the "few" not now "duly politicised"? And where, if I may ask, are they (the not so many) to be found?

I think your editorial (November 13), *inter alia*, identified a problem: "probably the most dangerous possibility" of further intervention by military factions, in certain civil-military situations. The problem also remains in other situations.

JOHN NELSON-WILLIAMS

*West College,
Edinburgh*

External examiners

SIR It is the practice at the end of final examinations for Nigerian Universities to send invitations "begging" Professors and Lecturers from outside—mostly from Europe—to be External Examiners in courses offered by each University. What does an External Examiner do? He simply places through examination papers which have already been corrected, graded and classified by the respective lecturers, departments and faculties and appends his/her signature approving the results. The system originated with the establishment of our first University in Ibadan, when we were still a colonial territory—a period when academic qualification not obtained from British institutions of their affiliates were frowned at. Each successive new university continued the practice.

Whatever benefit Nigerian universities have derived from this system, it is now an unjustified prolongation of our colonial hang-up. It is academically unnecessary, in view of the high standard so far attained, financially wasteful, and nationally demeaning. If one asks what purpose this system serves, one is told that it "assures acceptable standards". Acceptable to whom? To the Nigerian employers who will employ these graduates or to the governing boards of Commonwealth universities or to the British universities from where most of these examiners come? Surely Nigerian academicians have the intellectual maturity and the honesty to know which student gets what. Why can not each department grade its exams, each faculty certify the result and the Senates approve them? Why do we need to invite X, Y and Z from outside, to come, in most cases, just to say, "Oh! What a high standard!"

Now that the Nigerian Universities Commission has been reconstituted not only to bark but also to bite, may I appeal to the Commission to work with our universities to bite off this hang-up immediately.

ABUBAKAR UMARU

*University of Oklahoma
USA*

The quota system

SIR—I unashamedly belong to the Governor Diere-Spiff camp in the "Quota System" controversy. The opponents of the quota system are ludicrously obsessed with the lowering of what they call standards.

A purely objective and beneficial discussion on the issue is impossible as long as the anti-quota men continue to use non-words like "lowering of standards". Those of us who are keenly interested in the debate would be pleased to have a meaningful definition of the word "standards" in this particular context. Whose standards? And for what? Ibo standards? Yoruba standards? Nigerian standards? Or international standards?

I will come back—if you don't mind—when this nebulous area of the discussion has been clarified by the standard worshippers.

EBIYE SAMI

Edinburgh

Liberation movements and change

SIR—While suitably appreciative of your generous words about my book (*West Africa*, December 11), may I correct one point? My argument is not that it is *only* in the liberation movements that conditions for far-reaching change are being created. They are also being created, after all, in a number of already independent countries. My argument is that the liberation movements often demonstrate the necessary conditions for constructive change with a special clarity and sharpness.

BASIL DAVIDSON

London

Africa's enemies

SIR—Is Mr. Kwasi Damptey serious when he says that an enemy of Africa is the one who sincerely proposes a dialogue with Vorster (December 18)? What name will he give to those who had the courage to deceive the OAU and the world that they would liberate at least one African country by 1973 and still do not bother about fulfilling their promise?

Dr. Busia was a sincere leader and with time on his side we may hear of him again.

KWABENA MENSAH

Corrigenda

SIR In your issue of October 16, Mr. S. A. Opara was referred to as Federal Commissioner for Labour, Nigeria. Mr. S. A. Opara was the Labour Officer in charge of the Abu Labour Office at the time he presented a certificate of registration to the Abu Livestock Workers' Union. As you know, the Federal Commissioner for Labour is Chief Anthony Anahor.

J. A. LABINJO

for Permanent Secretary

*Federal Ministry of Labour,
Industrial Relations Division,
Lagos.*

SIR—I am directed to refer to page 1138 of the issue of August 25 and make the following corrections: The new Director is Mr. J. I. Adepoji not J. I. Adepoji as was recorded. The present Director, Mr. Adepoji, succeeded Chief I. S. Giwa-Osagie and not Mr. Omo-Bare.

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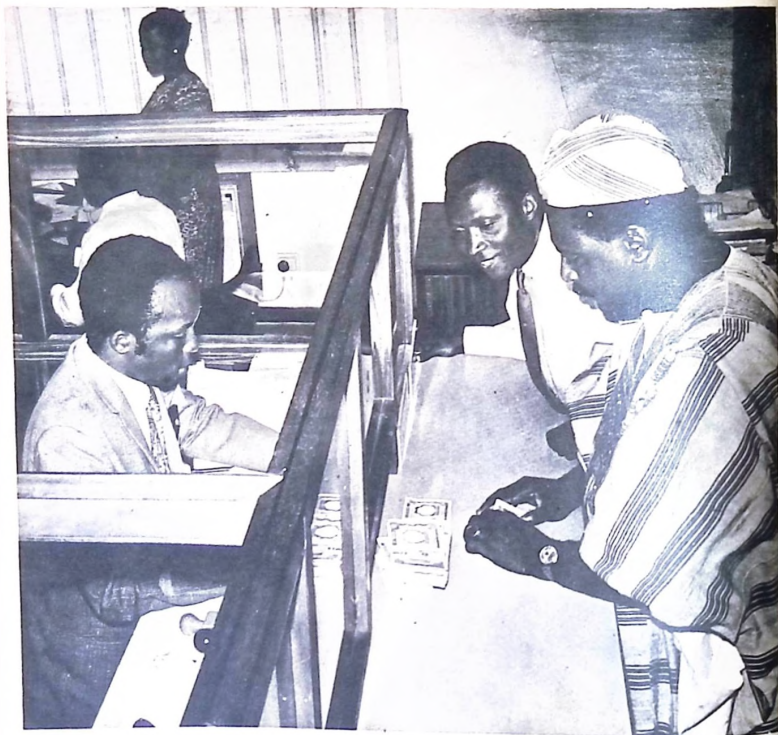
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Developing an African Economy

In the second of his articles on the planning of Nigeria's economic development, Dr. Green Nwankwo, now associate Professor in the Department of Finance in the University of Lagos, continues his discussion of the problems of planning. The basis of the discussion is "Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria", (O.U. £10.50), edited by A. A. Ayida and H. M. A. Onitiri, which contains the proceedings of the 1969 conference at the University of Ibadan on post-war economic planning in Nigeria. Dr. Nwankwo finished his first article recounting the criticisms made at Ibadan of Nigeria's economic planning machinery in the past, particularly the absence of continuity in the personnel of the Joint Planning Committee set up by the National Economic Council. "The result was that the JPC merely kept the communication channels open while the regions execute their plans, again in relative isolation one from the other".

Suggestions were therefore made in the Ibadan Conference to ensure that "Nigeria possesses a good planning process by which the governments will not only produce well co-ordinated or internally consistent plans but are also able to make sound economic and financial decisions. In other words, it must be realised that planning is a continuous process. It is not a one-shot in the plan affair. A crash effort to write a plan in one or two years is therefore not an effective planning process. In this connection, perhaps the most important lesson to be learnt from our experience in the preparation and implementation of the 1962-68 Plan is that it is not enough to bring in foreign experts to prepare a plan which is then turned over to the governments for implementation. Those who are going to implement the plan must be involved in its preparation, and the experts in the planning secretariats must remain in their posts long enough to see the plan through its implementation. This does not mean that the foreign experts have no role to play. They will be needed, but only in a supportive role".

Planning machinery

The resulting planning machinery, embodied in the 1970-74 Plan, seems to be an improvement. It is made up of the Supreme Military Council as the highest organ to decide and harmonise all national economic issues at the inter-governmental level; a Joint Planning Board to harmonise and co-ordinate economic policies and development activities of the Federal and State governments and their agencies, and examine all aspects of economy planning and make recommendations to State and Federal governments; an Economic Advisory Committee, made up of senior officials of economic ministries, representatives of the universities and the private sector to advise the Federal Government on planning, economic and fiscal matters, and to harmonise the activities of the public and private sectors.

The Joint Planning Board will be serviced by a central Planning Office staffed with academic professional planners outside the general pool of administrators. The Board is made up of the

Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction as Chairman, the Directors of the Central Planning Office, Nigerian Institute of Economic and Social Research and of Research, Central Bank. Other members are the Chief Statistician, Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Finance, and Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Economic Planning in each of the twelve States. In addition, the commissioners responsible for planning at the Federal and State levels meet from time to time to review issues of common interest.

Complex machinery

The merit of this complex machinery is that it recognises the concurrent powers of the State and Federal Governments in economic planning: the need for an agreed framework of national objectives and development priorities; the need to co-ordinate and harmonise activities between the public and private sectors, and the need to seek and take advice from appropriate quarters. Finally it establishes the pre-eminent position of the Federal Government to lead and co-ordinate planning at the national level and recognises state governments' initiatives at the state level. It must, however, be noted that both the JPB and the Economic Advisory Committee have largely advisory powers and that the final decision rests with the Federal Government on the national level and with state governments at the state level. It is here that problems arise. In the first place it will demand great tact, skill and ingenuity for the final decision makers to decipher and take the right advice from the apparently competing and diverse interests in the planning mechanism. Secondly one of the deficiencies of earlier planning was not lack of expert advice - it was rather the failure of the decision makers to seek expert advice, or when sought, their rejection of it. The machinery provides for advice. It does not ensure that it will be sought nor indeed be taken.

Another defect in earlier planning experience in Nigeria highlighted by the Ibadan conference is regional rivalry. During the 1962-68 Plan, regional rivalry prohibited the establishment of some

nationally desirable projects, and economic mis-allocations resulted in the duplication of plants and excess capacity in certain sectors of the economy such as breweries, cement manufacture, and textiles. At both the state and federal levels, "each Minister energetically pushed forward his pet projects, for official or private gains, regardless of the need for the maintenance of the Plan's objectives and priorities". If the states compete as the former regions did to out-do each other, the same inefficiencies and waste of scarce resources could be repeated and Nigeria may have multiplied her problems three times over.

Banks and even development

Another important issue at the Ibadan Conference was the demand for even development throughout the country. It was argued that the advantages of even development are obvious and that its absence in earlier planning exercises had serious consequences. First, rural stagnation and unemployment led to high rural-urban migration and even higher unemployment and under-employment in the urban areas. Secondly, and more importantly, as people migrated from the poorer, neglected, or more backward parts of the country to the job and business opportunities in other parts, socio-political tensions arose which were crucial in the 1966 crises and after. Accordingly to remedy the situation the 1970-74 Plan adopted the policy of promoting "balanced development between one part of the country and another and between rural and urban areas".

There is no doubt that in Nigeria's circumstances, "even development" may be politically desirable and attractive. But the economist will wonder how this can be achieved; whether in fact it is achievable, and he may prefer maximum rather than "even" development from his point of view. His concern will no doubt be to maximise output in relation to input of resources. He would not ignore the less developed areas for which special policies may be desirable. But he must stress, and in fact may warn, that whatever policy is finally pursued, it should not result in planning for stagnation in the more developed areas.

(to be continued)

Chairman's Statement

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GOVERNMENT'S PARTICIPATION IN GHANA OPERATION

MR. CHESTER BEATTY'S ANNUAL STATEMENT

The 48th Annual General Meeting of Consolidated African Selection Trust Limited was held on December 13 in London.

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

In the past week there have been two announcements of significance in the affairs of this Company. I refer to a decree promulgated in Ghana under which the Government is to acquire 55% of our operations there, and to a joint announcement we made with Selection Trust containing good news about the Agnew nickel prospect in Western Australia.

SIERRA LEONE

The accounts before you include the first dividend received from The National Diamond Mining Company (Sierra Leone) Limited in respect of its 1970/71 financial year. The NDMC has now declared a dividend for 1971/72, equal to the total of the previous year, namely £500,000 after tax, from which CAST will receive £245,000. Payment of this sum is expected this month.

NDMC's diamond production for the year totalled 890,000 carats which was 32,000 carats less than in the previous year and its profit after tax was down by some £300,000 to £831,000. The decline in profit was principally due to the fact that the proportion of larger-size stones produced was materially less and

the average price per carat realised was substantially lower.

In February of this year, NDMC recovered a diamond of 968.9 carats which was named the "Star of Sierra Leone" by His Excellency The President of Sierra Leone. It is the third largest gem stone ever recorded ranking after the Cullinan, 3,106 carats, and the Excelsior, 995 carats, which were both found in South Africa in 1902 and 1893 respectively. The "Star" was not sold until after the end of June this year and the revenue from its sale was therefore not included in the NDMC results for the year.

Indications for the current year's production of NDMC are that it will contain a greater proportion of larger stones. As a result of this and of the sale of the "Star of Sierra Leone", I am hopeful that NDMC's results for 1972/73 will show a marked improvement.

In addition to the dividend of £245,000 we are due to receive from NDMC this month, it is expected that during the course of our current year we shall receive further repayments amounting to £735,000 of the working capital loan we have made to that company. We were repaid £980,000 during 1971/72 so that we shall have received £1,715,000 out of the loan of £1,960,000 by the end of the current year.

GHANA

I now come to the position in

Ghana. It was in June of this year that we were notified by the military Government of Ghana of its intention to participate in the mining industry in that country. Since then, two sessions of talks in September and November have taken place between ourselves and representatives of the Government, the last session being adjourned to allow both parties to report to their principals. No firm conclusions had been reached but we were encouraged to believe that an equitable solution could be found in further negotiations when, towards the end of the second round of talks, the Government representatives indicated they would drop their demand for acquiring a 55% interest but only paying for 35%, that is, for acquiring 20% of our business without payment.

However, a week ago, the Government promulgated a decree establishing in Ghana a new company, owned as to 55% by the Government and 45% by CAST, to which CAST's assets in Ghana have been transferred, the decree having retrospective effect from 1st October 1972. The decree states that the Government shall pay fair compensation for 55% of the assets thus acquired on the basis of the net written down value for income tax purposes except for mine stores which will be subject to a technical valuation. The decree also states that, subject to the general control of the Board of the new company to which the

Government will nominate a majority of the directors, CAST will be responsible for the technical management of the operations. These operations are to be subject to an additional royalty of up to 6% ad valorem thus increasing the overall rate of taxation to 75% leaving only 25% in the hands of shareholders. CAST receiving 45% of that 25%

Until we have more definite information and have had the opportunity of discussing the situation in detail with the Ghana Government there is little I can usefully add now. We shall indeed have to give the new situation most serious consideration. However, the Government must realise that, even if compensation is to be fair and is paid promptly, it will have doubtful value if exchange control and currency situations result in us receiving currency which we would be unable to deploy elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to feel I have the shareholders' approval in telling the staff of West Africa, expatriate and African alike, that we understand very well the difficulties with which they work particularly during the transitional period in Sierra Leone and Ghana, and assure them they have our support, gratitude and thanks.

Commercial News

UK's new move on Aid

A Select Committee on foreign aid is to be established by the British government. Sir Bernard Braine, MP, chairman of the last select committee on aid, a temporary one, said that he had received a letter from Mr. Prior, Leader of the House of Commons, in which the Government accepted the principle of such a committee.

Sir Bernard said "I hope that the committee will start to function early next year. We shall probably see a lot of questioning of all aspects of our aid policy. We have to examine our motives in giving aid, scrutinise its efficacy, and see what can be done to co-ordinate our efforts with those of our European partners".

According to the London

Guardian discussions would take place over Christmas on the committee's terms of reference. A *Guardian* comment says that it is felt that the government took a brave - if unavoidable - decision in accepting the principle of a parliamentary watchdog over its aid policies. Britain is the only developed nation not to accept the UN target of 0.7 per cent of GNP in official government aid, and "the committee could become a vociferous critic of the Government".

A *Times* comment says that it is hoped that the committee's terms of reference would allow an integrated approach to development, covering aid, trade, private overseas investment, and science and technology.

- New Governor of the Central Bank of The Gambia is 37-year-old Mr. Sheriff S. Sisay, Minister of Finance from 1962 to 1968. The appointment is for five years. The former Governor, Mr. H. R. Monday (Jnr.), is now an Alternate Executive Director of the Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund. Mr. Sisay, son of a former Chief, after pursuing Koranic studies in his home town, entered Armitage Secondary School in Georgetown. In 1959, he resigned from the Civil Service to take up the post of Secretary-General of the People's Progressive Party.

- An inter-African centre for training and research in food science, technology and nutrition is to be set up at the headquarters of OAU. The following are to be in charge: Prof. Sabry Riad Morcos (Egypt), Mr. Omar Hag El Khidir (Sudan), Dr. Adewale Omololu (Nigeria), and Prof. Edouard Adjenchounm (Dahomey).

- Turner & Newall has expanded activities in Nigeria by starting production of asbestos-cement sheeting material at its subsidiary, Turners Asbestos Cement (Kaduna). The £400,000 factory will now be able to satisfy Northern States demand for a variety of asbestos-cement building products.

Production of corrugated and flat sheets has begun. Some 300 workers are expected to be employed eventually, producing approximately 400 tons of material each week. Small diameter pipes for rainwater and soil drainage are also being produced.

There will be Nigerian participation, mainly through New Nigeria Development Co., in which the six Northern State Governments are partners.

- The Secretary to the Cabinet in Grenada, Mr. Paul Scoon, OBE, has been appointed Deputy Director of the Commonwealth Foundation.

- Military coups in developing countries hinder the work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (CFTU), its general secretary Herr Otto Kersten said in Lagos.

At the end of a five day visit to Nigeria, Herr Kersten told a press conference that frequent changes of government slowed negotiations by ICFTU for union reforms. Most African trade unions, he said, were still democratic institutions in spite of strong government measures.

Herr Kersten said the object of his tour, which has already taken him to the Ivory Coast and Senegal, was to exchange views on trade union activities in Africa and discuss with Government and trade union leaders.

- The EEC has made available to Dahomey 5,000 tons of wheat and 2,000 tons of rice. The wheat has already arrived. Proceeds from sale of the food will be used to finance development projects.

- Latest of a number of managers coming to Britain for specialised training from African Timber & Plywood (Nigeria) Sapele, is Mr. Humphrey Oviasu. He is Administration Manager for the company which has 3,000 employees. In the UK he has been attending a series of management courses covering techniques of instruction, employee recruitment and retention, leadership, and negotiating procedures.

- The International Labour Organisation has warned that projects for many developing nations risked failure unless strong birth-control measures are introduced.

An article in its monthly bulletin said that population growth risked defeating all its basic objectives to improve workers' living standards.

The population of developing nations would double by the year 2000 and no solution to the current employment crisis in those countries could be found without a lower birthrate. Emphasising education, the ILO said that half of the children in developing countries leave school at 11 and that there are 43m. under 15 working with no professional training. In developing states 900m. children are expected to reach the age of 15 in the decade 1985-1995 and in more developed countries only 200m.

The ILO said that regions with the worst employment problems also have the highest birthrate. There was an increasing gap between developing and more developed countries in health standards. For example, there was one hospital bed for 100 people in the Northern hemisphere but one for 2000 Nigerians.

Developing countries, the article added, would be forced to triple housing if they were to meet current rates of exodus from rural to urban areas and that "even then most people will probably live in slum areas".



Cdr. Diets-Spiff, Governor of the Rivers State, examines a map of the state with Mr. S.C. Oppen, the Canadian expert on parts administration, who has been commissioned by the Federal Government to examine the workings of Nigeria's parts.

Shipping News

ELDER DEMPSTER LINES
SOUTHBOUND - To Liverpool:
 TO KOBIMA - slg. Jan. 4;
 DEGEMA slg. Jan. 25.
 From London: FULANI slg.
 Apapa Jan. Dec. 31, FALABA due
 Apapa Jan. 8, PEGU slg. London
 Jan. 10.
 From Glasgow: EBANI slg. Jan. 5,
 DUNKWA due Port Gentil
 Dec. 29.
 From Poole: CLEARWAY due
 Lagos Dec. 29.
 From N. Continent: KADUNA
 due Rotterdam Dec. 29,
 KAHALA due Dakar Dec. 30;
 MACHAGON due Apapa Jan. 1.
 From Southampton: AUREOL
 slg. Jan. 3.
NORTHBOUND - To Liverpool:
 FOURAH BAY due Jan. 7;
 DUMBAIA slg. Abidjan Dec. 29,
 To Aysmouth: DEIDO slg.
 Apapa Dec. 29.
 From London: DALLA due Port
 Gentil Dec. 28; MAMO due
 London Jan. 1.
 To Hull: EGORI slg. Apapa
 Jan. 4.
 To Dublin: KUMBA due Jan. 8,
 To N. Continent: FREETOWN
 due Rotterdam Dec. 29.
WESTBOUND - To USA/
 Canada: DARU due Norfolk
 Jan. 6.
 Eastern Service to West Africa:
 DARTBANK due Bathurst
 Dec. 29.
BARBER LINES
OUTWARDS - FERNLAND slg.
 Philadelphia Jan. 2, New York
 Jan. 5 for Montevia, Abidjan,
 Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala,
 HONHWARDS - Ferroland due
 Philadelphia Jan. 1, thence New
 York; FERNGATE Idg. Sapele
 Jan. 1, Douala Jan. 3, Takoradi
 week Jan. 7, Abidjan/Montevia 2nd
 Idg. Jan. 1, FERNLAND Idg. Lagos
 3rd Idg. Jan. 22, Sapele Jan. 24,
 Douala Jan. 26, Ghana Feb. 1,
 Abidjan/Montevia 1st half Feb.
"K" LINE
WESTBOUND - From Japan via
 Hong Kong to Lobito, Luanda,
 Matadi, Port Harcourt, Lagos,
 Montevia, FreeTown, Abidjan.
DOMINICA MARU slg. Japan
 Dec. 5 due Lagos Jan. 1.
EASTBOUND - From Lagos,
 Abidjan, FreeTown, etc.:
DOMINICA MARU slg. Lagos
 Jan. 19, FreeTown Jan. 27,
 Abidjan Jan. 31 due Japan
 March 7.
BLACK STAR LINE/USNH/
WEST AFRICA
WESTBOUND - KORLE
 LAGONO Douala Jan. 1, Ghana
 Jan. 8, Abidjan Jan. 9, New York
 Jan. 22, Philadelphia Jan. 25.
STAR LINE/UK/
BI ACK
CONTINENT/WEST AFRICA
SOUTHBOUND - OTI RIVER
 Middlebrough Jan. 8, BENYA
 RIVER Liverpool Jan. 11.
NORTHBOUND - OTI RIVER
 Middlebrough Dec. 18; BENYA
 RIVER Aysmouth Dec. 12.
AFRA LINES
EASTBOUND - NIGERIA slg.
 Luanda Jan. 2. BELGIEN due
WESTBOUND - BELGIEN due
 Christianst. Jan. 17, Jacksonville
 Jan. 19.
PALM LINE
SOUTHBOUND - KANO PALM
 slg. Douala Dec. 31, ANDONI
 slg. Glasgow Jan. 5.
PALM slg. Douala Jan. 5;
NORTHBOUND - ELMINA
 slg. Douala Jan. 5;
PALM slg. Douala Jan. 5;
PLESHA PALM slg. Abidjan
 Dec. 25.
N.Y.K. LINE
WESTBOUND - SAIKYO MARU
 Lagos/Apapa Feb. 4/7, Douala
 Feb. 8/10, Abidjan Feb. 17/18,
 Takoradi Feb. 19/20.

EASTBOUND - SAIKYO MARU
 Lagos/Apapa Feb. 4/7, Douala
 Feb. 8/10, Pointe Noire Feb.
 12/14, Abidjan Feb. 17/18.
MITSUBISHI LINE
HOUSTON MARU slg. Kofe Dec.
 5 due Lagos Jan. 16; HODAKA-
 SAN MARU slg. Kofe Dec. 19
 due Lagos Jan. 22; MATSUIHO
 SAN MARU slg. Kofe Dec. 29
 due Lagos Feb. 8.
MAERSK LINE
INWARDS - From Japan via
 Hong Kong to Matadi, Lagos,
 Abidjan; JOHANNES MAERSK
 slg. Kofe Jan. 11 due Luanda
 Feb. 7.
OUTWARDS - From Matadi,
 Lagos, Tema, Montevia, Free-
 town, Bathurst, Abidjan,
 Takoradi; JESPER MAERSK slg.
 Abidjan Jan. 6 due Takoradi
 Jan. 7.
NEILLOYD - SWAL JOINT
SERVICES
AMSTELFAID slg. Hamburg Jan.
 12, Rotterdam Jan. 15, Rouen
 Jan. 17 due Boma/Matadi Feb. 2;
HOEGH MELING slg. Bordeaux
 Jan. 19 due Boma/Matadi Feb. 3,
 Pointe Noire Feb. 5, Luanda
 Feb. 8.
SCANDINAVIAN WEST
AFRICA LINE
NORTHBOUND - CUMULUS
 slg. W.A. Jan. for discharge Scan.
 first half Feb. 1973, slg. W.A.
 Jan./Feb. for discharge Scan. 2nd
 half Feb./Mar.
ROYAL INTERCOASTAL LINES
INWARDS - STRAAT IRIE
 IOWA slg. Nov. 17 due Port
 Harcourt Jan. 2, Lagos/Apapa
 Jan. 5, Takoradi Jan. 11, Abidjan
 Jan. 14, STRAAT IOWA slg.
 Hong Kong Dec. 5 due Lagos/
 Apapa Jan. 8, Cottonou Jan. 16,
 Lome Jan. 18, Tema Jan. 19,
 Abidjan Jan. 21, Montevia Jan.
 24, FreeTown Jan. 26, Dakar Jan.
 30, Conakry Feb. 4, Takoradi
 Feb. 8.
OUTWARDS - STRAAT IRIE
LEWIS from Nigeria/Ghana to
 Singapore opt., Hong Kong, Japan
 early Jan. STRAAT VAN
DIEMIN from Nigeria/Ghana to
 Singapore opt., Hong Kong, Japan,
 Shanghai opt., late Dec./early Jan.
AFRICAN LINES
HONHWARDS - AFRICAN
LIGHTNING slg. Lagos/Apapa
 Jan. 18 for Warri, Port Harcourt,
 Douala, Abidjan, Montevia, U.S.
 Ports, MARIAN slg. Matadi
 Jan. 27, for Luanda Feb. 1,
 Lobito, Abidjan, Montevia, U.S.
 Ports.
OUTWARDS - AFRICAN
LIGHTNING due Dakar Feb. in
 for FreeTown, Montevia Jan. 8,
 Buchanan, Abidjan, Takoradi,
 Tema Jan. 11, Lagos/Apapa Jan.
 13, Warri, Port Harcourt, Douala;
AFRICAN SUN due Montevia
 Jan. 16 for Abidjan, Tema Jan.
 21, Matadi, Luanda, Lobito.
WESTWIND AFRICA LINE
SOUTHWIND slg. Houston Jan.
 24 due Tema, Lagos, Pointe
 Noire, FreeTown, BENYA
FORUNA slg. New Orleans Feb.
 7, Houston Feb. 10 due Tema,
 Lagos, Pointe Noire, Abidjan,
 FreeTown.
THE E.A.C. LINES
SOUTHBOUND - SINALOA slg.
 Rouen Jan. 1 due Dakar Jan. 8,
 FreeTown Jan. 11, Montevia Jan.
 12, Abidjan Jan. 14, Tema Jan.
 16, Lagos/Apapa Jan. 18,
 Cottonou Jan. 23, Lome Jan. 25.
NORTHBOUND - SARAFI
 GODHA slg. Abidjan Jan. 2 due
 Amsterdam Jan. 12, Hamburg
 Jan. 4, Copenhagen Jan. 17,
 Aarhus Jan. 15, Bremen Jan. 20,
 Antwerp Jan. 25.

COCOA

Germany In - USSR Out

West Germany has agreed to sign the recently negotiated international cocoa agreement, in spite of strong doubts held by the Economics Ministry about the inflationary effect of the pact. Foreign and development policy factors, rather than economic considerations, are thought to have played the decisive part in the decision. A Government spokesman said that West Germany would also try to persuade the U.S. to sign the agreement.

According to the London *Financial Times*, officials in Bonn privately admit that there seems little chance of getting the US authorities to change their minds. The Germans expect Brazil to sign, however, reducing the danger of the world being split into two "cocoa blocs". But some sort of breakdown, or "avoidance" of the terms of the agreement as one official put it, is seen as likely.

West Germany, says the *Financial Times*, has been consistently trying to further its image as a friend of the developing world, as was apparent at the last UNCTAD meeting in Santiago.

Agreement Headquarters in Hamburg?

The West German cabinet has decided to press for the new International Cocoa Organisation to be established in Hamburg, London and Amsterdam are also competing for the office.

The *Financial Times* Commodities Staff write: "Theoretically this should mean that the proposed Cocoa Agreement has a good chance of coming into force next year. It was agreed at Geneva that the Agreement would have to be ratified by 70 per cent of the consumer countries - a device, opposed by West Germany at the time, to allow the pact to become effective without the U.S., which accounts for some 20 per cent of world cocoa consumption.

West Germany, with some

12 per cent of total sales, is the second biggest buyer. The decision to join will undoubtedly encourage other waverers.

"However, the complexities of the draft Agreement with 77 articles and 60 annexes, and a lot of 'loose ends' to be tied up, are such that many observers feel will not get off the ground, especially if - as seems likely - the US continues its opposition to joining."

Less cocoa for USSR

An official statement to the Soviet Union would be buying less cocoa and coffee in 1973 than in 1972, brought lower prices on the London cocoa futures market. The Soviet trade organisation, in the statement, said it had decided to reduce purchases of cocoa beans, cocoa butter and coffee in 1973 in view of unfavourable market conditions and the fact that Soviet industry "is enjoying considerable stocks of these commodities".

According to the London *Financial Times*, market sources thought a more realistic reason was that with the subsidies the Soviet Union had to spend on such food as grain and sugar, it was probably not the best exchange to spare "luxury" commodities.

Soviet buying of cocoa believed to have risen last year, with grain estimated at 130,000 compared with 108,000 in 1971. Expectations further, but smaller, in demand from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe generally in 1973 were of the calculation that assumption would exceed production, which has recently pushed prices up.

The Soviet statement, virtually no impact on coffee market. The Soviet Union is not a big buyer, and pays low prices since as a "developing" market it was not subject to export quotas under International Coffee Agreement.

Commercial News

French Aid Reviewed

In its annual review of French aid policy the development assistance committee of O.E.C.D. has expressed the hope that France would continue to broaden the geographical distribution of aid, which now was concentrated on French-speaking African states, France's overseas departments and territories, and the Maghreb. The committee also hopes that France would improve the terms of aid to countries outside the Franc zone.

The net volume of French official development assistance (ODA) increased by 12 per cent at current prices in 1971, reaching \$1,088m, or 0.67 per cent of Gross National Product (GNP) compared with 0.66 per cent in 1970. Net private flows amounted to only \$498m. in 1971 (compared with \$836m. in 1970), largely as a result of repayments of export credits and a falling-off in private investment and loans brought about by the international monetary situation. As a consequence, total flows fell from 1.24 per cent of GNP in

1970 to 1 per cent in 1971, which is the target figure accepted at international level.

The financial terms of French aid continued to comply with the provisions of the DAC recommendations. Grants represented 76.5 per cent of total ODA commitments, a considerably higher percentage than the average for DAC countries as a whole. "However, the terms of some of the loans granted in 1971 were less favourable than those extended to the recipient countries concerned by other DAC members".

The Committee welcomed the fact that France's multilateral contributions had increased by 25 per cent in 1971, reaching 12 per cent of official development assistance. It expressed its interest in the attempts being made to adapt technical assistance to the requirements of recipient countries and to provide training for local cadres. It emphasised the advantages of increased co-ordination between technical assistance and capital aid.

- A two week seminar on the generalised system of preferences has ended at the ECA headquarters in Addis Ababa. Among countries invited to participate were Sierra Leone, the Gambia, Togo, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Mali, Niger and Upper Volta. The seminar was part of a project approved by the UNDP to discuss general non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory preferences to benefit the developing countries.

- Loans by the Overseas Development Administration for supply of British goods and services resulted in £31m. worth of orders for British Industry during October and November. Sales to Ghana included spares for engines to the value of £236,000.

- Over £1m has been granted by USAID towards major cereal crop production research in West and Central Africa. It is for a project which deals with the development of high-yielding, protein rich varieties of sorghum, millet, maize and pulses. The executive secretary of the OAU Scientific, Training and Research Council, Mr A. O. Odelola, said the project was aimed at increasing food production in Africa. The project, based at the Institute of Agricultural Research at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, has been producing improved seed varieties through research and distributing them to farmers.
- The French Elf Petrol Company has discovered new traces of oil and gas off Gabon's Coast, Radio Libre-ville reports.

Banker on Development

Commenting on the reduction of "outstandings" for the second year running Lord Seebohm, Chairman of Barclay's Overseas Development Corporation, said that the real reason was lack of effective demand for finance on the commercial terms which the Corporation has to charge. Among companies in which the corporation has a holding is Bentworth Finance (Sierra Leone).

Many developing countries in which the Corporation operated depended heavily on agriculture, said Lord Seebohm. Slow growth of world demand for agricultural products and the limitations imposed by trade barriers were major constraints on the economic growth of these countries. Restricted opportunities for increased agricultural exports inhibited growth of rural incomes and therefore of domestic market for products of secondary manufacturing which would stimulate expansion of commerce and industry and create the need for development finance. "Most of the more obvious industrial developments, such as agricultural processing, cement, textiles, cigarettes, aluminium and steel rolling mills have already been established, often with our assistance." Recently there were indications that some of these established industries were expanding but the resulting opportunities to lend and invest more were relatively limited.

"The only new area of dynamic growth has been tourism" continued the chairman. In the poorer developing countries an added factor was an understandable preference for obtaining finance for the relatively small number of development projects from international financial institutions and local banks which could lend at cheaper rates than we can afford."

In many areas there was also a lack of "an active indigenous class of entrepreneurs, proven local management and adequate skilled or semi-skilled labour." Many developing countries also had small-scale economies with an in-

sufficient resource base to permit effective industrialisation. Then there were political uncertainties and philosophies "which do not encourage the flow of private investment."

Nevertheless, concluded Lord Seebohm, the need for the Corporation's specialised services had not lessened to the point where they should be content just to maintain operations. We consider it should be feasible to increase our operations significantly in selected countries, particularly now that we are able to insure, through ECGD, our overseas investments against the main types of non-commercial risks. However, because of its cost, the ECGD Overseas Investment Insurance Scheme, may prove to be of more limited use than we had anticipated... the provision of development finance, though desirable, is not very rewarding financially. The additional cost of insurance, unless absorbed by the borrower, reduces margins significantly."

Ironically, a better interest return might be obtainable on a loan to an established concern in the U.K. than to a new enterprise in a developing country. The parent bank had accepted a low return from the corporation in the interests of the development of countries in which it operated.

- Cheikh Fall, President Director-General of Air Afrique has announced that he will not continue in office when his present term expires in 1947. M. Fall has held the post since the airline's creation in 1961.

M. Fall paid tribute to the efforts of President Senghor of Senegal to settle the Air Afrique crisis touched off by the withdrawal of Cameroon. He also announced that Air Afrique's first jumbo jet will be delivered next month, and will be put into service in March. He is due to fly to Washington to negotiate purchase of giant aircraft.

He said that Air Afrique was stronger than ever in spite of the withdrawal of Cameroon. The airline had reached agreement with Cameroon on the debts it owed.

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Duties: To perform executive duties relating to control operations; maintenance and repair of vehicles; waterworks and stores.

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OTHER BENEFITS:

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- Provision for a car loan and allowance payable for maintenance when applicable.
- Free passages to and fro on first appointment and on leave.
- Partially furnished accommodation at a very low rental of 8% of basic salary subject to a maximum of £N150 p.a. is provided.
- Leave at rate of 5 to 7 days for each completed month's service.
- Income tax at Nigerian rates, these are substantially lower than those prevailing in the U.K.
- Favourable exchange rate £N1 = £1.17 sterling.
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SITUATIONS VACANT Cont.

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2. Department of Zoology

Chair of Zoology

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3. Department of History

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- (b) Another should specialise in at least one or a combination of the following areas:
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 - French-speaking Central Africa;
 - East Africa (including Ethiopia);
 - South Africa;
 - The Maghrib (North West Africa);
 - Egypt and the Nile Valley.
- (c) The third specialist will teach the History of Asia and the Far East.

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Lecturer (Non-Medical)	£N1,380 x 75
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6. Conditions of Service:

Appointments are to commence as soon as possible and for three years initially subject to review thereafter. Passages are paid for family on appointment, approved overseas leave and termination, where applicable UNLUSS, children and car allowances. Part-furnished accommodation or housing allowance is provided.

7. Method of Application:

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SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS OF JOB:

Microbiology, Chemistry and/or Soil Science background will be an asset. Candidate will be required to work long hours on occasions.

SALARY: The salary of this position is quite attractive and negotiable

METHOD OF APPLICATION:

All applications should be in writing giving full details of qualification, experience, present salary status and fringe benefits being received from present employer. All envelopes should be marked with the title of the position being applied for and addressed to:

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IBADAN

NOTE: Only applications which show the requisite qualification and experience stated for the position will be acknowledged.

Closing Date: 15th January 1973.

SITUATIONS VACANT Cont.

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GHANA

Plotters reprieved

Colonel Acheampong has reprieved eight people sentenced to death for attempting to overthrow the régime last July. The penalty was commuted to life imprisonment. A ninth person, David Afful Bimpong, jailed for 25 years, had the term reduced to 20 years. The eight defendants given death sentences have been charged with conspiracy to commit subversion, subversion and concealment of subversion. The ninth was charged on the last count only. All pleaded not guilty. The eight are Mr. Emil Adzima, former press secretary to Dr. Busia, Mr. George Otiou Amaah, director of the Special Branch under Dr. Busia, Mr. Daniel Owusu Darkwa Attakora, Sgts. Kwaku Nimako, Wilberforce Agyare, Sandys Johnson Opon-Nyantakyi, Ptes. Charles Adu Boateng and Kwaku Odoro.

A warden at Sunyani Central Prison has been arrested for allegedly smuggling a letter out of the prison. The letter was addressed to the president of the Brong Ahalo Regional House of Chiefs and had been signed by eight members of the Progress Party who are in protective custody at the prison. The Regional Commissioner, Cdr. Kyremeh, said that in the letter, which was dated November 23, the men pleaded for their release.

Ghana's foreign trade balance showed a surplus of 133.6m cedis for the first nine months of this year, according to provisional figures released by the Central Bureau of Statistics. A trade deficit of 47.9m cedis was recorded for the same period last year. In September this year Ghana imported 33.3m cedis worth of goods as against 33.2m

cedis worth of exports. Corresponding figures for August were 29.7m cedis and 39.6m cedis respectively. Total imports and exports from January to September this year were 307.6m cedis and 441.2m cedis, whilst in the same period in 1971 were 349.7m cedis and 301.8m cedis respectively.

A five-man Ghana delegation, led by Mr. Kwame Amoako-Atta, Minister of Finance under Dr. Nkrumah, has visited the Soviet Union to negotiate for the supply of crude oil to Ghana. Mr. Amoako-Atta, who is a special economic adviser to the NRC said that the deal had become necessary because the contract entered into by the Ghana Supply Commission and the Soviet suppliers was scheduled to end by the end of 1972.

Military tribunals may be appointed to adjudicate offences such as the stealing of drugs, medicines, pharmaceutical preparations and materials from government hospitals, health centres and clinics. An amendment to the Subversion Decree lists smuggling, attempting to smuggle any cocoa, timber, diamonds or gold out of Ghana as offences to be tried before a military tribunal.

Aliens wishing to become Ghana nationals must provide evidence that they are able to make a substantial contribution to the economy according to a new decree. They must also produce a current income tax clearance certificate and undertake writing to invest their foreign exchange resources in Ghana. Anyone seeking Ghana citizenship must also provide that he has been resident in Ghana for the previous years.

Colonel Acheampong has ceremonially switched on the power from the Akosombo dam to Togo and Dahomey. The power transmission line, which is strung across 250 steel towers from the Volta Dam to the two countries will deliver a 161,800 volt current to sub stations at Lomé and Cotonou. The Akosombo Expansion Project, phase two of the Volta River Project, is estimated to have cost 22.4m cedis.

One of the most important aspects of the project had been the international goodwill and co-operation which it had engendered, said Col. Acheampong. The agreement covering the supply of power to Togo and Dahomey was a tangible example of the kind of co-operation between African states that should be encouraged.

Reynolds quit Bascol

Reynolds Metals Co. has announced its withdrawal from the Bascol consortium, which is studying the possibility of bauxite production at Kibi. Kaiser Aluminum and Chemicals has a 50 per cent share in Bascol, Reynolds held 30 per cent and five Japanese groups the remaining 20 per cent. The Japanese have turned down the proposal that they take up the Reynolds stake. Reynolds communicated their decision to the other partners in November, before Ghana had published its participation decree. Reynolds is a shareholder in British Aluminum, in which participation is proposed.

Prospecting work on the bauxite deposits at Nyimahin, near Kumasi, will start next year if negotiations now going on were successful, the leader of three Bulgarian experts said when calling on the Ashanti Regional Commissioner, Lt-Col Baidoo. He said preliminary study at the site had indicated rich deposits and that future studies would be carried out on samples collected. He said his country might release 10 geologists to Ghana under a technical assistance agreement to help in tapping other mineral resources. He also disclosed that Bulgaria might assist Ghana in the develop-

ment of poultry, animal husbandry and forestry.

The Ashanti Regional Commissioner emphasised that Ghana's doors are not closed to foreign participation in the nation's industrial development. Speaking to a six-man Hungarian delegation which called on him in Kumasi, Lieut. Col Baidoo pointed out that despite the policy of self-reliance the Government would welcome genuine foreign aid. The delegation is currently inspecting some abandoned Hungarian industrial projects in the country with the view to reactivating them. The Regional Commissioner expressed the hope that the Hungarians would submit a good report to their Government.

A total of 1,525m. cedis of the accrued royalties of the Lonrho agreement has been approved to pay for a number of projects in the Adansi traditional area. Lieut. Col Baidoo, Ashanti Regional Commissioner, announced that the money would be used to build a first class hospital at Fomena and also to extend the electricity supply to towns and villages in the area. Part of the amount would also be used to offer scholarships to deserving children of Adansi to pursue education in secondary schools and universities. Ashanti Goldfields Corporation is sited in the Adansi traditional area.

British Council Centre opened

The Commissioner for Education, Lt-Col. Paul Nkegbe, has opened a new British Council Centre, costing 300,000 cedis in Accra. He said the opening marked a significant milestone in the activities of the British Council in Ghana and bore testimony to the growing scope of the Council's work in the country.

Nii Amaa Ollennu, one of the first members of the Council in Ghana, suggested the revival of literary and social societies such as the ones sponsored in the 1940s by the British Council. He hoped the new centre would further strengthen the bonds of friendship between the peoples of Ghana and Britain.

"Barefoot" doctors

Ghana is to train a wide range of medical assistants and other medical personnel, on the lines of the "barefoot doctors" of the People's Republic of China, Col. Acheampong has announced. Opening a seminar on "Poverty, population and development in Africa", Col. Acheampong said the doctors would be sent to the countryside to help the people. The seminar is being jointly sponsored by the International Students movement of the United Nations and the United Nations fund for population activities.

The National Redemption Council has published a decree making it an offence for any person to falsify or mutilate any record or document of the Loyalty Group of companies to defeat the purpose of the Government's take-over of the companies. Such a person shall on summary conviction be liable to a fine not exceeding 10,000 cedis or to imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both.

Twenty two Ghanaian fishermen have been rescued off Togo after nine days at sea when their boat broke down. The Government, which had mounted an air and sea search for the men, flew them back from Lomé in an Air Force aircraft.

Cleaners and messengers in some government departments in Kumasi were given a days holiday while their jobs were taken over by workers who had turned up late at their offices. The Regional Commissioner, ordered the workers to report one hour early to clean their offices as a punishment for reporting late to work.

The Ghana United Nations Association (GUNA) advocated a "total take-over of all mining concerns in the country" in a resolution adopted at the end of its 20th Annual General Assembly. The Association said "notwithstanding our admiration of the step taken by the Government, the 55 per cent equity shares acquired by the Government in the two

British-owned mining companies is not enough".

Ghana Sanyo Electrical Manufacturing company made a profit of 101,000 cedis after tax last year. The company would start production of refrigerators if current negotiations with the government were successful, said the Managing Director. The Japanese shareholders (Ghana Government has a 51 per cent controlling interest) have been urged to reinvest their profits in the company.

A conference of the African Travel Commission is to be held in Ghana next August, the Director of Operations of the Geneva-based International Union of Official Trade Organisations has announced. He said that the conference, preceded by a seminar with the theme "Marketing-Tourist Products in Africa", would be attended by 120 delegates from 35 countries.

The Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation has announced plans to go into large-scale farming. Its immediate target is to cultivate enough tomatoes, pineapples and kenaf to keep its canneries and fibre bag factories working at full capacity. Almost all GIHOC's factories are currently under producing because of an inadequate supply of local raw materials, said a spokesman.

The first major course on intra-African trade to be offered to both English and French-speaking African countries has taken place in Accra. Twenty-two countries participated in the course, which was organised by the ECA with finance from the UNDP.

Ghana and East Germany have agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

Travel agents have been warned against illegal currency dealings with foreign tourists.

An eight-member board has been inaugurated to formulate a prices and incomes policy.

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dent Siaka Stevens formally became Head of under a Bill approved Parliament, replacing the old styles of the Queen hose of the President. resident is now, under publican constitution, of State, Com- in-Chief of the d Forces, and the ain of Honour".

Stevens, who became lent in April last year, is ecutive President and is Minister of Defence. The President, and Prime ster, Mr. Sorie Ibrahim ma, who is also Interior ster, said that with Sierra becoming a Republic it ime necessary formally to away with the style and s of the Queen and ace them with national

Receiving the five-man Parliamentary delegation, President said he was

happy with Sierra Leone's relations with the UK Government, and particularly with the part played by the former British High Commissioner, Mr. Sidney Olver. He had always gone out of his way to offer helpful suggestions for the mutual benefit of both countries.

Speaking on tourism Mr. Stevens said a game reserve in Kabala, in the Northern Province, was being developed, new chalets were being constructed at the Cape Sierra Hotel and the Peninsula Road was being reconstructed to relieve congestion in Freetown. Construction of an air strip at Aberdeen was being considered, and of a jetty at Cape Sierra Hotel so that people can travel direct from Lungi Airport by sea to the hotel.

• Some union officials avoid convening delegate conferences for fear of what would happen to them in elections, according to the Minister of Labour, Mr. F. B. Turay. He warned trade unionists that the government would not tolerate illegal strikes, which did not observe the statutory twenty-one days notice.

DAHOMEY

Plotters freed

Major Kerekou has announced the freeing of 21 soldiers, including Colonel Maurice Kouandete, held following an attempt on the life of the former army chief of staff in February. Six had been under sentence of death, including Col. Kouandete, Captain Lucien Glele, Captain Josué Afouda, and Sergeant Fahien Aghoton.

Major Kerekou, making the announcement in a broadcast, said the attempt on the life of the chief of staff (Col. Paul-Emile de Souza) was an attempt to divide the country and to precipitate a military confrontation.

The decision to free the 21 had been taken because "we have the sincere conviction that those detained can take part effectively in the work of national correction which we have just started".

• The military régime in Dahomey has set up a watchdog council of young officers and NCO's and told it to provide advice and

criticism. The new body called the Military Council of the Revolution - is to oversee morals throughout the economy and administrative and keep a watch on the military government itself. "Should you happen to observe in Government members failings, negligence or attitudes which are those stipulated or desired for the good of the country, the Head of State told his councilmen at a solemn inaugural session, "it is your duty to bring these shortcomings to my attention". The Council would also have a role in "arbitration" to play if serious differences arose within Government, Major Kerekou said. The President had said earlier: "You must first of all work with vigilance and firmness in administration and in public and semi-public enterprises to denounce abuses and irregularities in management and employment of personnel and the property and materials owned by the state". The councilmen are to "bring order to areas where it no longer exists". They must be of discipline and support important decisions".

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 week in each month.

President Kerekou has said he will rid Dahomey of any harmful foreign influences, build up the economy and follow a policy of non-alignment. In a major policy speech before Dahomeyan and diplomatic personalities, the president said foreign domination was the main cause of his country's problems. He said his Government would aim at a "National Policy of Independence and Economic and Social Development" in which only Dahomey's interests would count. The country should rely on itself and its own resources and "reorganise all economic, cultural and social structures towards liberation from foreign domination and the eradication of corruption".

The military government has denounced foreign and local businessmen for illegally exporting capital out of the country after the October coup. Government figures show that between October 26 and December 4 a total of 236 million CFA francs (about \$944,000) was transferred from Dahomey to France. At a meeting with businessmen Major Kerekou criticised "sabotage" of the economy since the coup. He accused banks of withdrawing overdraft facilities granted to Dahomeyan businessmen and said that some firms were deliberately trying to cause shortages of food products and pharmaceutical goods.

M. Idelfonse Lemon, Director of the Society Dahomeene de Banque, said that the movement of the cash constituted a normal transfer to the Franc Zone's Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO), of which Dahomey is a member. Genuine transfers of cash abroad since the coup to pay for imports had in fact been less than before.

Referring to an article, "The Role of Youth in Dahomey" in *Daho-Express*, the government organ, which talked about the role of youth as defined by Mao Tse Tung in the Little Red Book, Major Kerekou said that "everyone is invited to help consolidate our revolution", but everyone invited "must be genuinely national". This clearly meant "that there is no need to borrow ideas from publications expressing thoughts which are foreign to

our African customs, principles and traditions. The organ of the revolution is open to all Dahomeans, and we invite them to express their views on the exact content and direction they would like us to give to our revolution, which must be pure and genuinely Dahomean".

GUINEA

China's "Place of Honour"

Prime Minister Louis Lansana Beavogui has been on an official visit to China. At a banquet in Peking he said that the Chinese were accorded a place of honour in Guinea and in all Africa in the hearts and minds of the African peoples. Guinea's co-operation with China had an "exceptionally militant, total and profound character". Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai praised Guinea as the "heroic country" which had "repeatedly frustrated imperialist schemes of interference and subversion".

Conakry radio has broadcast a recording of President Sekou Toure's address to members of visiting sports teams from Senegal, Mali and Uganda. He said that it was "our duty to tell the youth of Uganda that they must feel at home in Guinea as they do in Kampala... As you know, after the fall of our Brother Ohote, Guinea adopted an attitude of opposition to the new Ugandan Government. We understood the progressive spirit of the new régime later, after following the developments in the country. Anyone who directly fights against British Imperialism, Zionism and complete domination of the Ugandan economy by Hindus, is surely an authentic African sacrificing himself for the great African cause. Therefore, we immediately changed our hostile attitude into an attitude of complete support for the new Ugandan régime. The achievements of my brother, Gen. Idi Amin, are in the interests of the true progress of Uganda and Africa. His victory in this struggle is also Africa's victory... He is making a revolution, even if he does not talk about it".

The cabinet has moved to correct what it calls a "very

important shortage" of elementary school teachers which became apparent at the start of the present school year. All teachers who had been on transfer to other public functions have been ordered back to school. The communiqué denied that the sudden shortage was due to faulty planning. The cause was a rash of "last-minute desertions".

A delegation, led by Development Minister Ismael Toure, has been on a ten-day visit to Yugoslavia. The Chief of Staff of the Guinea Army, Major-General Namory Keita, and his attaché, Lt. Barda Mamatou, have been on a visit to China.

According to Conakry radio a cattle thief has been sentenced to have his arms cut off at the shoulder by the Popular Tribunal of Kissidougou. The sentence was carried out on the spot before 3,000 spectators. The accused was also sentenced to 15 years in prison for having stolen more than 200 cattle.

India has offered assistance in the development of the railway system in Guinea, following the visit of the Minister for Social Affairs, M. Keita to New Delhi. A small technical team of railway engineers is to be sent to Guinea to assess requirements of rolling stock.

The National Political Bureau has decided that the 10th party congress is to be held in March 1973. It is to discuss and approve the next Five-Year Development Plan.

Two Breton sailors sentenced to two years prison last August for espionage have been freed by order of President Sekou Toure.

SPANISH SAHARA

"No Coercion"

Spain has reiterated that she would abide by the decision of the people of Spanish Sahara on the question of self-determination. Senor Fernando Moran, Spanish Delegate to the U.N. General Assembly's Trusteeship and Colonial Affairs Committee, told the Committee, Spain "will accept without reservation, the statute which the native population chooses freely, without coercion of any type". Senor Moran, Director of African Affairs in the

Spanish Foreign Ministry added however that "because of certain voices" in neighbouring states, the Spanish Saharan population feared they would be annexed against their will. He said, "it would be easy to dispel these doubts if all the neighbouring states would officially and solemnly declare that they would respect the integrity of the territory whose population will self-determine itself".

Spanish Sahara is bordered on the North by Morocco and on the South and East by Mauritania, both of which have claimed it. It has a very short border with Algeria. Earlier, the Spanish Ambassador to the United Nations, Senor Jaime Alba, affirmed to the same committee, that self-determination had been offered to the Spanish Saharans and Spain had agreed to accept "without reservation" whatever course they chose.

At the end of the visit of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia to Mauritania, a communiqué called on Spain to decolonise Spanish Sahara.

ZAIRE

Mobutu for Peking

The Chinese Ambassador to Brazzaville has handed a personal message from Chairman Mao Tse Tung to General Mobutu Sese Seko inviting him to visit China in January. The invitation has been accepted. Chairman Mao's invitation came less than a month after establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE

Union leader killed

M. Ikogne, Secretary-General of the Workers' Federation has died at the sugar refinery of Congolese Industrial and Agricultural Company at Jacob, which lies between Brazzaville and Pointe Noire. He was said to have been killed in a clash of which the government news agency said "the least that can be said is that it is still mysterious".

President Nguabi later deplored the fact that trade unionists in Jacob went so far as "physical elimination of a union official. "Those responsible for this odious crime will have the possibility, in all liberty, of expressing themselves publicly before the people to justify their act so that all militants will know whether there are reactionary or revolutionary forces at work in Jacob". The President recalled that, when he had last spoken to the workers they had proved their determination and awareness in the struggle for national liberation. The decisions on the sugar refinery (which had been taken over by the Congolese government by agreement with the French company which formerly ran it at a loss) are now gradually being realised with support from revolutionaries of friendly countries. "You are working side by side with Cuban comrades who have come with the specific purpose of making concrete contributions to the Congolese revolution". Attempts by imperialists to sabotage "our company, your company", have fortunately failed, but in this stage of the revolution "enemies should not be confused with friends", he said. The principal enemies were the French companies still in the country.

IVORY COAST

Boosting Trade with Formosa

Nationalist China and Ivory Coast signed an agreement to narrow the trade gap between them, during the visit to Taipei of Jean Baptiste Amethier at the head of a five member mission. Taiwan agreed to import more products from the Ivory Coast, will consider reducing tariffs on such imports and provide technical assistance to porcelain, textile and pineapple canning industries in the Ivory Coast.

Taiwan's exports to the Ivory Coast amounted to \$9m while imports totalled \$52,000 during the first 10 months of this year.

• The Ivory Coast government has launched a campaign to clean up Abidjan and rid the capital and its

suburbs of slum dwellings. The aim is to present a clean and beautiful city by next August 7, when the 13th independence anniversary will be celebrated. Thousands of huts in the shanty towns of Adjame, Yopougan and Aboho-Gare, on the outskirts of the capital, have already been raised by bulldozers. The city administration has even promised to destroy its own property if it is not up to standard. Some six thousand new low-price homes are to be built next year and 2,000 luxury homes.

CENTRAFRICAN REPUBLIC

Houphouet's visit

President Houphouet Boigny officially opened a school named after himself in a model village named after his host, President Bokassa. M. Houphouet-Boigny, on an official visit for CAR's national day, gave \$20,000 dollars to the school and pledged to meet half its running costs. "It is the first time that my name has been given to a school", President Houphouet-Boigny told General Bokassa.

Work on Jean-Bedel Bokassa village 13 miles north of Bangui began in late 1970. Seventy houses so far have been built and up to now the village has cost \$480,000. There are plans to increase the number of houses to 300 in two years and to construct a clinic, a market, a cinema and a social centre. Centrafrican Education Minister Henri Madoou said that Houphouet-Boigny's school would turn out highly qualified agricultural experts.

Later, more than 200,000 servicemen and civilians took part in a three-hour parade through Bangui. The parade was followed by canoe-racing on the Oubangui River.

SENEGAL

Elections this month

Elections will take place on January 28 to elect the President and 100 deputies (the present National Assembly has 80 members).

• Refugee Aid Committee in Senegal says that the country is currently harbouring 82,000 refugees from Guinea-Bissau. The UNICR has donated \$160,000 for health, education and feeding programmes. In southern Casamance 77 classes had been formed, and in the Dakar suburb of Pikine a school with six classes has been opened. Forty Senegalese villages have taken in refugees to resettle them in the countryside with grants of land backed by a food programme.

• M. Latyr Camara, Senegalese Ambassador to East Africa, has delivered messages from President Senghor to the three heads of state of the East African Community, concerned with association with the EEC. In Uganda M. Camara told President Amin that President Senghor hoped that the three East African states would be at the forthcoming meeting between the 19 associates and the "associate" states of the Commonwealth (due in Brussels this month).

USA and Africa

Speaking in Nairobi, Mr. Clarence Ferguson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said that the US no longer sees Africa as a cold war arena as in the Kennedy era and will not compete with the USSR and China in giving aid. It was not true to say, however, that there was any less interest in the countries themselves. This change of emphasis had been indicated in the 1970 policy statement, and represented a more mature view. The days of "triangular shopping", in which an African country might approach Washington and Moscow, did not now apply. "No longer will economic assistance requests be justified by saying that it is possible to get better from the Soviet Union and China". Total US aid to Africa had increased recently, but multilateral aid was replacing bilateral aid.

MALI

Air accord

Algeria and Mali have signed an agreement under which the Algerian Airlines, Air Algérie, will provisionally run a service between Algiers and Bamako and the Mali

Airline, Air Mali, will fly between Bamako and Paris via Algiers. The agreement annexed to air transport agreement of July this year. Starting next month, Algeria can use the route Algiers - Tamansasset (Algeria) - Niamey (Niger) - Bamako and Air Mali can fly Bamako - Algiers - Paris.

UPPER VOLTA Lamizana's warning

In a National Day address President Lamizana said it was obvious that "we have not made much progress towards national unity and the resumption of political activities and the establishment of the new institutions".

"We are giving attention to the dissatisfaction of citizens, who are worried because they are experiencing difficulty in achieving a decent standard of living, rearing their children in inadequate conditions. In this painful situation, which must consider temporary, our duty is to avoid temptation of individual defeatism and weariness".

• Upper Volta and North Korea have decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

IN BRIEF

President Nguema Equatorial Guinea cotton experimental farm Rio Muni. At a rally he urged the people to make an effort to develop cotton production independently and strengthen further friendship and co-operation with the Chinese technical personnel working in the country.

• The Common Market Commission is sending aid to Senegal, Mali, Niger and Chad, which have been hit by severe drought and shortage in recent months. 29,555 tons of cereals will be sent, of which Senegal will get 8,555 tons, and Niger and Chad 7,000 tons each. Further aid is not to be sent until a full assessment of the situation is known.

• A French military detachment has been in Gabon to "reinforce the ties of friendship between the Gabon and French armed forces".

NIGERIA

Tight security for Games

A joint army and police command made up of 3,000 men will control traffic and maintain law and order in Lagos during the second All-Africa Games in January. Police Commissioner Joseph Adeola has announced. Mr Adeola said all games villages, important streets, the games arena and other strategic points would be policed. The police were taking these precautions because "we do not want a repetition of the Munich Olympic killings." He added: "Although we are not expecting such killings here in Lagos, we ought to be fully prepared".

• Nigeria has banned all outside film coverage of the Games, which open on January 7. A statement issued by the Games' organising committee said that arrangements had been made for complete film coverage of the games by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. No film or electronic camera items will be allowed into the stadium for the 12 days of events.

The statement said that NBC would be providing 625 line colour coverage on the European Pal system, an international sound guide programme in English and other languages. In addition to satellite coverage there would be a 20 minute 16 millimetre black and white film covering 15 minutes of highlights and five minutes major news each day.

Games regulations allow two journalists to accompany each participating contingent as part of the official delegation, but neither of them may film events. "Therefore, for television and broadcasting purposes, all nations in the world are advised to make use of the facilities made available by the broadcasting organisations of Nigeria," said the statement. Rights to produce documentaries on the Games for commercial purposes are being given out on a contract basis but all film for this will be frozen until after the games, when it will be handed over to the companies.



Nigeria's "chief medal hopes" at the Games have been training at London's Crystal Palace. Seen here with their trainer are, standing, Paul Eboradu (breast stroke), left, John Ebitu (free style) and Chris Adunigupu (back stroke)

Expatriates barred

Expatriates are to be barred from taking employment as barmen and barmaids in Nigeria, the Federal Immigration Office has announced. A statement said that in future expatriates serving as bar attendants faced possible deportation. "Expatriates were needed for 'more useful purposes'". Social clubs had a great role to play in showing, especially to foreigners coming for the All Africa Games, that Nigeria's indigenisation policy was not a sham.

• Commenting on President Amin's take-over of certain British-owned enterprises Lagos Radio said it could be described at phase two of his economic war. While some people were angry at the methods he was using "judging from what is happening in a place like Nigeria, where the foreign companies are trying to sabotage the indigenisation decree, it is difficult to blame General Idi Amin."

• In his Christmas message to the nation, General Gowon renewed his appeal to Nigerians to help the government's crusade against corruption and other social evils. "We must not tolerate indolence, indiscipline and recklessness in whatever form in our national life if our nation must march forward with hope along the path of moral sanity and true greatness. We will continue to need men who are willing to serve without counting the cost and who are modest with their achievements."

• Nigeria's new currency notes go into circulation on January 1. Banks closed from December 29 to January 2.

The new decimal notes are:

- 50 Kobo = 5/-
- 1 Naira = 10/-
- 5 Naira = £2 10/-
- 10 Naira = £5

The new decimal coinage is already in circulation alongside the old coinage.

The Federal Commissioner for Finance, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, has expressed concern over reports that the police have recovered quantities of forged Naira notes. He told newsmen at Kaduna that it was a surprise that anybody could succeed in forging the new notes in spite of security measures taken by the government. "The new notes and coins have been in the strong rooms of the Central Bank and nobody has access to them. The specimens we have put in print and distributed are not the real size and shape", he said. The Commissioner warned the public to watch out for forged notes.

Niger-Nigeria Co-operation

A permanent committee has been established to ensure the smooth operation of the agreement between Nigeria and Niger on greater co-operation in rail and port services which Nigeria handles on Niger's behalf. The agreement was reached at a conference between officials of the Nigeria Railway, the

Nigerian Ports Authority and their Niger counterparts. It was also agreed that security and storage facilities at Nigerian ports should be improved, particularly where goods meant for Niger were affected.

• The Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA) will lose £3.08m. year because of the Federal Government's decision to slash terminal handling charges for crude oil from 3s. 4d to 1s. 2d a ton at the ports. The reduction came after appeals by oil companies.

The NPA general manager, Mr. S. O. M. Bolanle, said the expected loss set against a profit projection of £1.7m. was causing the authority much concern.

• A consultancy service to analyse prospective and existing newspaper proprietors on the problems of newspaper publishing is to be established. It will be financed by the Newspaper Proprietors Association, which discussed the idea at its annual conference in Benin. On the proposed Press Council the NPA directed its executive to take steps to have it established in 1973.

• A £100,000 timber company has been established in Benin. Known as the Kano-Midwest Timber Company, the organisation is a joint venture between the Kano and Midwestern state governments. The company will be managed by a four-man board two of whom will come from each state. Mallam Abubakar Sadauki of Kano State has been appointed board chairman while Mr. J. E. Osazuwa of the Midwest was named general manager.

Establishment of the company came after discussions between the Governors of the two states during Colonel Ogbemudia's visit to Kano a year ago. The Midwestern state is a big timber producer, while Kano state requires timber for its development.

• Nigeria Airways Ltd is to operate outside the jurisdiction of the Federal Statutory Corporations Service Commission according to a new decree. Thus, staff matters and awards of certain categories of contracts usually reserved for the

federal Statutory Corporations Service Commission will now be dealt with directly by the Airways management.

Stringent disciplinary measures have been adopted by Nigeria Airways to try and improve services. Any crew member who reports late for duty will be dismissed, as will stewards and stewardesses who are discourteous to passengers.

Thirty-eight hotels and rest houses can now buy foreign currency and travellers cheques from visitors and Nigerians returning from abroad. They are required to surrender all proceeds from such transactions to an authorised dealer within 48 hours later.

The Federal Government has voted 10m. naira (£3m.) for the establishment of the proposed Agricultural Credit Bank. The General Manager, Mr. Mackay said on arrival in Nigeria to carry out a feasibility survey. During the first three years the bank is to be managed by expatriates, who will later hand over to Nigerians.

The Nigerian Medical Council has decided that as from January new doctors

who have completed their housemanship will be required to serve a year's rural posting before they can be fully registered. An inducement allowance of 720 naira (£360) per annum, tax free, is to be paid to each doctor on rural posting.

Members of the Medical Students Association of the Lagos University College of Medicine have come out in support of the Nigerian Medical Council's proposal.

A tourist company, Pan-African-Trans-Nigerian Ltd., has been launched in Lagos. It will operate a fleet of air-conditioned buses for shuttle services between Ikeja airport and major hotels in Lagos and will also arrange local tours for visitors.

The judicial Commission of Enquiry into the collapse of the catwalk of the Nigerian Ports Authority in Calabar which resulted in the death of 22 people has begun. Set up by the South East State Government the Commission is headed by Mr. Justice Edem Koofeh.

Courses at the South Eastern State Campus of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, will begin early in the new year, the vice-chancellor, Professor Hubert Kodilinye, has announced. Speaking at the seventh convocation ceremony, Professor Kodilinye said the new campus would provide opportunities for many more qualified students.

Mr. Rasak Afolabi, 29, and his wife, Sola, aged 25, were among 17 artistes from the Western State who died in a road accident on their way home at the end of the All-Nigeria Festival of the Arts which took place at Kaduna. Another was 14-year-old Dapo Durosaro, a student of Government College, Ibadan, and son of the businessman, Chief Samuel Durosaro.

The accident was said to have occurred when an Ibadan City Transport bus in which the artistes were travelling ran into a stationary vehicle 35 miles from Kaduna.

The Lagos State Government has allocated £5m. to the Local Authorities Capital

Loans Fund. Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson told a meeting of Obas and Chiefs. He explained that "the loan will enable local authorities to finance capital projects which are beyond the capacity of the local government councils concerned."

Kwara State Government has invested £2.5m. in the state's new Investment Corporation, Governor Dan Bamigboye has said. He hoped the corporation would contribute to the social and economic development of the state.

Three national museums at Ibadan, Kaduna and Enugu, are to be set up by the Federal Government before the end of 1973. "museums of unity" will cost 60,000 naira (£30,000).

A £2½m. contract to supply 470 Bedford trucks to Nigeria has been won by Vauxhall Motors. Deliveries are scheduled to start early in the New Year, say company officials.

The Federal Government is to acquire over 2,500 ha of land at Ikeja to extend the airport.

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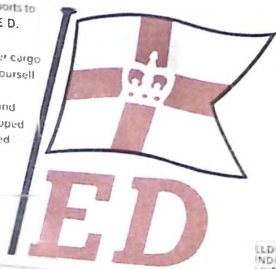
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