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AFRICA'S FIRST QUALITY
MAGAZINE FOR NEWBRED
PEOPLE

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- **THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT REVENUE ALLOCATION**
- **MUHAMMED ALI**
- Champion and Still Champion.
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- An aberration unique to our time?
- **JACKSON FIVE TOURS AFRICA**

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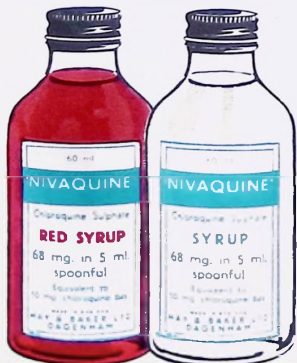


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NEWBREED

AFRICA'S FIRST QUALITY MAGAZINE
FOR NEWBREED PEOPLE

DECEMBER 1974 VOL. 3 NUMBER 7

Top of the Month

THE WAR ON CORRUPTION – WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

NEWBREED subscribes to the view that the war on corruption could be won if we are sincere and practical about it.

Who to bell the cat? The process of finding such a personality; of evolving measures that would make for a smooth implementation of this objective are the subjects of the Editor-in-Chief's column this month. See page 6.



THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT REVENUE ALLOCATION.

In a Federal system of government, the problem arises how to achieve fairness in revenue matters between the centre and the states on one hand, and between the different States on the other.

Beginning with this issue, our Contributing Editor, Mr. Olu Akaraogun examines on page 27, how the various expert committees grappled with the problem and how their recommendations varied with constitutional changes and with changes in the balance of political and economic forces.



MUHAMMED ALI

MUHAMMED ALI – Champion and still Champion.

October 30 established the date when the legendary Muhammed Ali knocked out in eight rounds odds-on-favourite George Foreman in a world heavyweight boxing fight watched by millions of viewers all over the world.

It was a magnificent victory recorded in an incredible style which Ali later defined as the "rope system". Foreman had proved his inexperience, his ineptitude and inferiority in the most painful manner. Ishmael Alabi reports on Page. 56 ...



JACKSON FIVE TOURS AFRICA:

Motown comes home to Africa, but not so many of its world-famed artists. So it was that when in March the Jackson Five, easily the youngest; the most popular and successful of the groups recording under the Motown label, toured some West African countries, and gave live concert shows, it was both a breath-raising and epoch-making event. Our international correspondent, Kwame Braithwaite was there to capture the spirit of the occasion. See page 48.

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

- SEX AIDS _____ Page 23
- PACESETTERS _____ Page 21
- HUMOUR _____ Page 18
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NEWBREED DECEMBER 1974

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CHAT WITH EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Socialist

KOKU

Joins The Rat Race.

POLITICS

The Wisdom of the New Revenue
Allocation.

SEX FORUM

Eligible Bachelors and Spinsters of
the Year.

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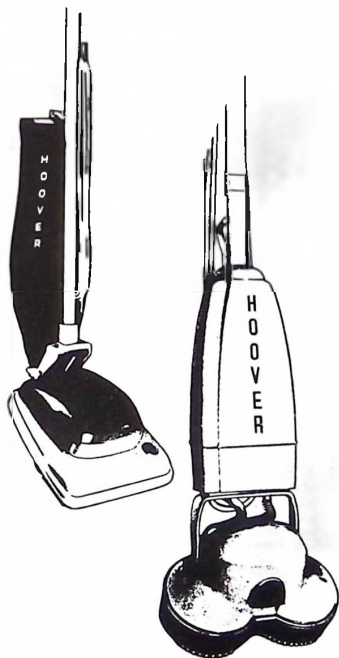
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CHAT WITH THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



Last month, we were forced to excise our article titled "The War On Corruption" due to forces beyond our control. This accounted for the missing pages 5/6 and 7/8 in the October issue. We are deeply sorry for the inconvenience and disappointment our readers suffered. Despite the excision of those pages containing "The War On Corruption" article last month, however, we have refused to abandon the spirit of the corruption article. We insist that the article which was killed when it was ready to circulate must see the light of day. Consequently, the article is re-written and we hope the message will not be misunderstood, but digested and taken in good faith.

Once again, we offer our profound thanks for your kind understanding about those missing pages in NEWBREED last October edition. We also seize this opportunity to wish you a very happy Christmas, and hope the New Year will usher in good luck and prosperity for all

WAR ON CORRUPTION... WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

WAR ON CORRUPTION BEGINS:

Whenever the political history of Nigeria is re-appraised, it would be stained by a chapter on corruption and abuse of public office. The culprits in that chapter would be the elected, and so-called leaders of our nation who times and times again in the conduct of their public offices have often held out with one hand the dubious and dishonest gospel of selfless service to the nation, even as they battle ceaselessly to loot the nation's coffers with the other hand.

Ever since 1960, when Nigeria attained her political independence, this nation has been in the throes of escalating corruption. Now and again, we have searched our conscience and failed to find an appropriate phrase to convey our disgust and outrage with this corruption of Nigerian public life. But without mincing words, this nation is fed up with fruitless commissions of inquiry into the illegal and immoral earnings, the mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds, squandermania, gross abuse of office and obstruction of justice by the corrupt political class our environment has produced. Our treasury has been burgled and emptied in broad daylight by mafia political leaders in the name of service to the nation.

Indeed every schoolboy knows that it was corruption and its related vices that forced the military to take over the reigns of government. The military voluntarily set itself the task of ridding the nation of these maladies that plagued her.

However, since the military incursion, matters have reached a stage where the "God-fearing, honest and impeccable"

General Yakubu Gowon was forced to condemn corruption and admitted that "We have never had it so bad." That was during his ABU speech on the occasion of the Convocation ceremony of the Ahmadu Bello University in 1971.

As if to convey further the magnitude of the problem, the Head of State in his last October address to the nation lamented that despite gigantic efforts to wipe out the vice of corruption, "I regret to say that corruption is still very much with us.

"Many people however feel that not much is being done to seriously tackle the problem and there are those who even think that reporting cases of corruption is being deliberately discouraged. What government sought to discourage, however, is not the issue of reporting cases of corruption but rather the use of methods that can do a lot of damage to the innocent and erode public confidence in the government and its functionaries. What government has always sought to encourage is the use of the time-honoured procedure for reporting to the appropriate government agencies known cases of corruption." The Head of State's concern is well taken.

While identifying oneself with the crusade by government to fight corruption, NEWBREED begs to disagree with General Gowon that cases of corruption should be reported only to the Police and other investigation units. The Police department is a State apparatus. What happens if a senior State official is indicted? Possibly the general public will be in the dark about it. This kind of arrangement will give room for cases of corruption to

be disposed of without solving the basic problem. What the public may regard as corruption may not be what the State apparatus or public officials regard as corruption.

We agree that in an ideal situation, it is best to report corruption through time honoured procedures. But where in the world is the situation ideal?

The nearest case to an ideal situation is to be found in the US yet. It happened during the Watergate scandal that President Nixon controlled the Justice Department.

How could Nixon have ever been brought to justice by reporting him to his appointees in the US Justice Department?

If we apply the analogy to Nigeria and draw the natural inference, it will be seen that those who resorted to swearing affidavits in court were neither mischievous nor being merely fanciful.

For instance, the Federal Commissioner for Industries, Dr. Eytayo Adetoro argued in the September 1974 edition of NEWBREED that "If anything, I'm a millionaire debtor..... Far from doubling, I don't think that I had had anything which is beyond what in fact I would be expected to have, and which is reasonably expected of a person of my standing after seven years in government to possess."

Dr. Adetoro admitted, among other things, his dual status as a shareholder and Commissioner in charge of the implementation of the indigenisation decree. Commissioner Adetoro raised ₦100,000 from UBA to enable him purchase 50,000 shares in Philips (Nigeria) Ltd.

REVENUE ALLOCATION AND NATIONAL UNITY

When the revenue allocation debate was at its height a few months ago, it was apparent that prejudices apart, a majority of the commentators did not have the necessary basic information and background about the subject to guide them to arrive at rational conclusions.

Governor Rotimi of the Western State, emphasised the complexity of the subject, noting that five expert committees had previously studied and made recommendations on revenue allocation in the period between 1951 and 1968.

In order to throw light on the subject, NEWBREED commissioned a special review article. The aim was to go over the ground covered by the five previous revenue allocation committees - to see the problems they grappled with and the rationale for their final recommendations and to find out why no revenue-sharing formula satisfied the needs of the country for any length of time.

NEWBREED's comprehensive review article was in the works when the Head of State, General Gowon in his National Day speech (October 1, 1974) announced that the Supreme Military Council had agreed on a new revenue allocation formula for Nigeria.

The question arose whether we should abandon the article we had painstakingly prepared and merely report and comment on the significance of the new revenue-allocation formula.

In the end, we decided that this is an occasion when the need for public enlightenment should over-ride the requirements of journalistic topicality.

Unless Nigerians know what had gone before, they cannot fully appreciate the full significance of the revenue allocation formula announced by General Gowon on October 1, 1974.

What is even more important is the fact that a review of the work of the five previous revenue allocation committees

show how we have progressed in looking at the subject from narrow Regional (State) stand-point to taking a comprehensive NATIONAL outlook on the impact of whatever revenue-sharing formula is agreed upon.

Even then, there are critics of the new formula. Why, they ask, should sacrifices for national unity be made only in the field of revenue allocation? Why not in other equally sensitive areas? Why indeed?

This argument, whatever its merits, shows that old habits of thought die hard. And that is why there is need for full public enlightenment on what has gone before in the field of revenue allocation.

It is within the realm of possibility that in the very uncertain future a civilian government may find itself in power in Nigeria.

What prevents such a regime from unscrambling the omelette; undoing everything that the military regime had done and reviving the old, fruitless controversy about revenue allocation?

This can happen unless the lessons of the past are learnt and care is taken to avoid past errors.

This briefly is our justification for going ahead with our plans and publishing a comprehensive review of the work of the five revenue allocation expert committees which sat at various times between 1950 and 1968.

The article includes the views, criticisms and recommendations of the Dina Committee which are radical and far-reaching, but which had never been made public; although we notice policy makers borrowing generously now and then from the ideas of the Dina Committee.

The new revenue allocation formula announced by General Gowon on October 1, 1974 is such a radical and hopefully, final departure from the past that NEWBREED is going to report and comment upon it in a separate and subsequent article.

us the war against corruption.

CAN AWOLowo/AZIKIWE HEAL THE WOUNDS OF CORRUPTION?

An interesting aspect of the battle against corruption and abuse of office, especially in Nigerian public life, is the search for new leadership when the military regime decides to end their corrective assignment. The argument is that since the military regime under the hardworking leadership of General Gowon has failed to make a major impact in eradicating corruption, a change of leadership may make the difference, since the present regime is now preoccupied with economic development.

NEWBREED DECEMBER 1974



Dr. Eyiayo Adetoro

In my editorial comment on the Adetoro issue, I stated that Dr. Adetoro would dispell ill-feelings and suspicion of wrong doings if he clarified in the public interest some questions.

There has not been any further comment from Adetoro, neither have the law enforcement agencies made any statement.

It is this kind of silence maintained by Adetoro and the Federal Military Government over allegations of corruption and abuse of office that "do damage to the innocent and erode public confidence in the government and its functionaries," not the use of the press and affidavit testification. General Gowon and the Federal Military Government should encourage greater use of the press and affidavit testification as well as the Police channels. This kind of open channel in reporting corruption is what would win

CHAT WITH THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

WAR ON CORRUPTION

WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

Their whole focus at the moment is on peace, stability and economic prosperity, thereby diverting attention from the evils of corruption. NEWBREED feels economic development, peace and stability cannot take place in a country that is afflicted and riddled with corruption and a decrepit life style.

However, back to post-military leadership, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, two elder statesmen whose life ambitions of becoming Executive President of Nigeria remain unfulfilled and thwarted so far, are good talents and candidates for the job, some people have argued. Both men who are now in their sixties can no longer be interested in chop-chop politics, but in doing a good job for history according to this people.

Chief Awolowo in particular has consistently advocated the birth of a "People's Republic" of Nigeria. The elimination of corruption, mass production of food, free education at all levels, a benevolent housing scheme and an open government would be the central priority of such a Republic.

But the other argument against Awolowo/Azikiwe is that both of them have been probed.

Chief Awolowo was a star figure in the 1962 Coker probe.

In 1956, Dr. Azikiwe featured prominently in the Foster - Sultan Commi-



Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe
The Owelle of Onitsha.

OTHER LEADERS:

Among several other Nigerian leaders who are now believed to be aspiring for high public office when the military quits, the names of Alhaji Inua Wada, Chief Anthony Enahoro and Alhaji Aminu Kano continue to echo prominently.

Inua Wada and Anthony Enahoro belonged to the First Republic in the manner in which Aminu Kano also belonged, having been all members of dominant political groups and served in both government and in various other capacities.

These gentlemen's names were never publicly linked with any of the various corrupt maladies of that discredited regime. However, in the case of Alhaji Inua Wada who served as Minister of Defence before the military take-over, it's a truism often easily ignored that Northerners are less disposed to public probes of their high office-holders, a fact which mitigates the trenchant outward impeccability of some of these leaders. Alhaji Aminu Kano could not have been probed because he was in the opposition then, and was never appointed to public office. Chief Anthony Enahoro was never probed.

This notwithstanding, one cannot proclaim too confidently their ability or willingness to battle corruption effectively.

LONE VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS DR. CHIKE OBI:

Mathematician Chike Obi advocates a Committee of Dictators to rule Nigeria and he believes that if he were to be President or Chairman of that Committee he could put the country on emergency alert for 25 years at least.

Lack of effective leadership is what Dr. Chike Obi diagnoses as being responsible for the corruption of Nigerian society. The question of corruption he

states "depends on leadership". A group of people at the top who are corrupt cannot wipe out corruption". Thus gives the advocate, Dr. Chike Obi believes he is capable of wiping out corruption in its entirety from Nigerian society. Dr. Obi's other credentials for this noble cause are his impeccability, his blunt outspokenness and dare-devil approach to life.

Chike Obi however is not in the predicament as in whether he has the political clout to torpedo himself into such dictatorship. This base he must first establish to contribute effectively to the cause which he has proclaimed to be his life's mission. So Chike Obi's problem is how he gets there.

THE INTELLECTUALS:

The efforts of the intellectuals also deserve some mention. These consist of two groups. The first are those who honestly believe there is much wrong with the society and wish to bring about real changes. This group has often sought to guide the nation's conscience in times of stress along the path of probity without fear or favour.

The second group consists of those whose rambling sophomoric and socialistic diagnosis of the maladies of our times does not extend beyond the pages of newspapers. The men in this group preach but do not practice and have generous liberal editorial support through which they pour out their Sunday venom. Their bandwagon is made up of various groups and committees; leftists, radicals and so called free thinkers. Obviously not all of them are misguided; some have displayed a great deal of zeal in analysing situations but generally all of them appear guilty of preaching the gospel of truth on the altar of political expediency.

Their evident penchant for polemicalising nothing and, where there is something, their apparent flair for banality, jingoism and idealistic aberrations do not make them our best bet for the battle against corruption.



Chief Obafemi Awolowo

MISSION OF INQUIRY

Let us now consider the credentials of other candidates who can embark on the gigantic crusade of cleaning and purging Nigeria of her corrupt practices and other dirty tricks.



Dr. Chike Obi



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CHAT WITH THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

WAR ON CORRUPTION

WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

THE LABOUR ALLIANCE:

The power of labour hitherto unreckoned with in Nigerian politics is a reality today. The talk about the formation of a Labour Party to govern Nigeria after 1976 is not mere empty braggadocio but a practicable political development.

Recently, no less a figure than the General Secretary of the United Labour Congress of Nigeria, Chief E.O.A. Odeyemi reiterated this political role by asking for Labour participation in the military government. In an appeal made in Zaria, Chief Odeyemi called on both the Federal and State Governments to sack all Commissioners and replace them with Labour Leaders, farmers' representatives and selfless intellectuals who have no political ambition.



ULC Secretary General,
Chief E.O. Odeyemi

Looked at any way, there is quite some merit in that appeal as it is true that for too long, the average Nigerian worker on whose vote, willingness or support succeeding Nigerian governments have thrived in power is one of the most down-throdden and least catered for worker anywhere. It is also true that he has been exploited for too long to remain indifferent to his plight and condition.

But while workers have potential political power, it is the responsibility of their leaders to harness and co-ordinate such power for the governance of this country by workers for good or evil. But can their leaders do this? Can they effectively bell the cat of corruption? Have they come out of the corrupt woods themselves? When have they succeeded in containing their penchant for mis-management and for diverting foreign subventions into their pockets?

WAR AGAINST CORRUPTION CAN BE WON:

So, like we asked earlier, can the war against corruption be won in Nigeria? Opinions are divided.

One school of thought argues that Nigeria has laid a concrete corrupt foundation, and that it would be very difficult, if not almost impossible, to break this iron-cast foundation.

The other view, which we subscribe to, is that the war on corruption can be won if we are SINCERE and PRACTICAL about it.

The present military regime as stated earlier is engaged and over-burdened with various time-consuming national assignments like re-organising the Army, economic development, international politics, creation of political institutions, etc. that it is not feasible that adequate attention and priority is given to war on corruption. Perhaps that is one of the many reasons it would be unwise if the press is gagged and intimidated. A vigorous and watchful press will help the military to check itself and check corruption before it reaches a point of no return to normalcy or a run-away epidemic.

The first task that must be done and done now is to have one law that will relegate everyone to an equal level. That is, anyone, no matter how highly placed, who engages himself in criminal conduct, should be given the punishment due to him according to law. This is presently not seen to be the case, although we have reasons to believe and to hope that the forced retirement of Brigadiers Adekunle and Shotomi for their part in the Iyabo Olorunkoya hemp case is a clear indication of the firmness of the Nigerian military on issues of public morality.

However, during the Tarka/Daboh affair, certain pronouncements by certain highly placed officials gave the impression of the existence of a dubious doctrine of commissioners' immunity from prosecution. For in the face of the weighty allegations against the former Commissioner for Communications, the Government's inaction was construed as meaning that Mr. Joseph Tarka enjoyed special procedure in answering to the allegations of corruption and abuse of office levelled,



Ex-Communications Comm.
Joseph Tarka



General Hassan Katsina



Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson

against him. The public impression was also strengthened by various utterances on the subject and the government's own stone-walling on the issue.

Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson contributed by saying: "General Gowon should be left alone to decide what to do about allegations of wrong doings against Mr. Joseph Tarka. General Gowon successfully led Nigeria through the period of the civil war and has brought unity and stability to the country. He is wise enough to know how to handle the present situation. Nobody should attempt to teach him what to do or pressurise him into making a decision." — (Daily Times.)



Crusader Godwin Daboh

CHAT WITH THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

WAR ON CORRUPTION

WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

The Daily Times report referred to here also quoted the Deputy Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters and Commissioner for Establishments, Major-General Hassan, to whom the same question was also directed, as saying he agreed entirely with what Governor Johnson said.

Even on the publication of the Police investigation, Mr. Tarka, speaking on the issue said: "I don't care for Godwin Daboh's ignorance of due processes of government. I know he has never been a member of government. He only walked across the corridors of power. So, I act on his behalf. But I know that as far as I am concerned, nobody has made any enquiries of me. They are making enquiries of Godwin Daboh; so that is his own business with the Police. I do my own business, and that is work".

Now, if the Police are very vigilant, swift and thoroughly efficient in probing lesser citizens when they are suspected of wrong doings, why should a citizen keep shouting on top of his voice and brag that "nobody can probe me". Is Mr. Tarka claiming immunity from probe as a former member of government, or did he plea-bargain his ministerial position to escape "impeachment" by the Police? The answers to these questions are not known to the Nigerian public; but if it emerges that Tarka enjoyed "immunity" from probe as a member or former member of government, then it is a serious misapplication of immunity.

Commenting on the claim of ministerial immunity as fraudulent, a former Cabinet Minister in the Balewa regime,

who is now a practising solicitor declared:

"There is no such doctrine of ministerial immunity in law. When we refer to parliamentary immunity, we mean statements made in parliament either in course of debate or in written answers by ministers of the government to parliamentary questions. Such statements are privileged and are not actionable at law, even if they may contain defamatory matters. Of course when such statements are repeated outside parliament, they are actionable.

"However, sometimes, ministers of the government enjoy some degree of immunity under State security during periods of emergency, crisis or rebellion: when certain rights of the citizens under the constitution are suspended in the interest of State security".

He continued: "I don't know of any procedure that must be invoked. Ministers of State like other citizens are subject to the ordinary laws of the land. As to what the Head of State can do in the event of accusation being levelled against a member entirely depends on the credibility of the allegations and his belief or disbelief of the alleged charges. Generally, there are conventions that govern the conduct of ministers in the discharge of their public affairs. For instance, ministers before taking office submit to a code of conduct which they must adhere to while in office. Non-observance of that code, if it leads to infraction of the convention, will result in the removal or dismissal from office of the minister concerned".

We would like to conclude that those proposals in the NEWBREED edition of March 1974, page 21, under new leadership still hold. In that editorial, we argued that "one of the tricky issues that has confused the masses is the dogmatic and unequivocal demand for a total

honest leadership.

"It is an axiom that national leaders and citizens of the world over never completely live up to their stewardship. In most cases, they are like the over-night millionaires. In other words, it seems that corruption goes along with high offices in the world, whether it is in Nixon's America or in a village or civilian Nigeria.

"In view of the above stark reality, can we afford wishful dogmatism of 100 per cent honest leadership?

"We think it would make sense to wage war on corruption and establish confidence in the ruled if we design and enforce some constitutional safeguards that will command and compel public officers, without exceptions to make public declarations of their Assets and Liabilities on taking up office. Thereafter, their personal accounts should be made public annually by the Auditor-General of the Federation or the Public Accounts Committee.

"Any leader who does not relish this idea should never aspire to hold public office.

"Measures should also be devised to track down unscrupulous leaders who might use their near and distant relations as fronts for shady and mercenary activities".

The present lukewarm attitude to fighting corruption, the present style of secret declaration of assets and liabilities to the constituted authority and private Police investigation of corrupt charges against "big men" in the society will not win us the war against corruption in Nigeria. So let us all resolve from this December 1974 onwards that "To keep Nigeria clean of corruption and dirty tricks is a task that must be done and won".



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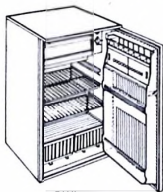
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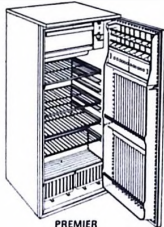
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DR. ADETORO APPEARS DISAPPOINTING.

Your analysis of Dr. Adetoro's official wrongdoings was really inspiring. I am also of the opinion that Nigerians are yet to learn a lesson. Although it is said that resolutions do not come in cellophane wrappers or in cookie-tin patterns to problems such as ours, but at least some answers could be found. This can only be possible if all the millions of people inhabiting this great country, with God's guidance, roll up their sleeves and tackle them together. I am terribly disappointed in Dr. Adetoro's view that he believes in no ideology, no philosophy, "but just interested in joining the winning". What for then does he want to "just" join the winning side? I am ashamed that a man of Dr. Adetoro's calibre does not feel that he has a lot to do for his country besides just living in it. But, I do not blame him for such. Our problems have always been so with most of our public figures, and we are quite informed about their attitudes. Our problems, as we all know, are quite unique. All we require is a man who will dedicate himself to making this dump a place worthy of living, be he a labourer or a university don or Ex-this. Nigerians should realise at this stage that a man who lives by his own selfish end has no room here today. We want a man who can sacrifice. For what right have you to expect others to make a sacrifice for the common good if you won't take the chance yourself?

However, Mr. Editor, we look forward to fellows like you, in the press, to alert the masses of this great nation for a need to stage a revolution against a corrupt society such as ours. As our knowledge of the world around us broadens, may God bless all the citizens of this great nation to see the true path to their own freedom. The days are gone when we could be over-run in darkness. I support the idea that the Federal Military Government should probe the assets of all existing Federal and State commissioners plus those who have resigned and who feel they could escape the galores unnoticed. And a word of guidance to the future. Before any person is appointed into a public chair, his assets should be probed and tendered public by a special committee, and if at the end it swells unexpectedly, then such a man would be answerable for his sins.

I, personally, will like to plead with the entire masses of this nation to think again once and for all that a leader can't be made over-night, and that it is the mind of the people that makes a great nation. Dr. Adetoro has come to confess his weakness to us. I only hope he understands the fact that he will only reap what he has planted.

Long live NEWBREAD — the magazine of the people! Long live the people's right.

Paghi Ibrahim Vandu-Chikola,
Midwestern Nigeria Water Board,
(NYSO), Headquarters, B/City.

CONSTRUCTIVE JOURNALISM MUST BE FRANK.

No press or any means of mass media can claim to fulfill its objectives of serving the people when it easily succumbs to the government, thus rendering its whole organ ineffective.

For the press of today to be able to stand the test of time, it must desist from actions detrimental to its progress. Only by so doing can it rightfully call itself press of the people.

Any constructive journalism must be frank and fearless. It must not only point out courageously where the government has gone astray, at the same time, it must give greasy report where and when it is rightfully due.

But above all, it is of paramount importance for pressmen and journalists to survive these conditions without pandering to the whims of those in power. The Press should as much as possible avoid notorious government red-tapery.

For until it can come out boldly and condemn nefarious acts of the government, the masses will continue to live in surveillance and at the same time be grossly ineffective in the society.

The survival of the press is thus of crucial importance to progress and national stability.

Haruna D. Izah,
c/o Dahiru I. Mshelizeh,
Public Service Commission,
Maiduguri, N.E. State.

AND SO THEY SHED THEIR CHAINS

To a great number of the people of this country, and at least to the avid readers of your magazine and other men of goodwill, the "news of the year" would certainly be the granting of pardon to the 1966 men.

At long last; and glory be!

Even as we rejoice with these men who have regained their freedom and we commend General Gowon's great magnanimity, we should not, blinded by joy, forget those that mounted the campaign for their freedom viz: NEWBREAD and Dr. Tai Solarin whose march to Lagos was foiled by the spurious and malicious campaign of some retrograde newspaper.

Let the newly freed men not be too disappointed however, that the arduous uphill task of ridding this country of corruption, nepotism and other associated malignant vices — the task that cost us so much peace, blood and money — is yet to be completed.

Patriots we all are, only our methods so widely differ But long live the spirit of the revolution. Long live a united and indivisible Nigeria!

Ilorin.

O'Mere—Abdullah.

WHAT VALUE POPULARITY?

Your recent interview with His Excellency the Administrator of the East Central State, Mr. Ukpabi Asika is yet another landmark in this country's journalism. It is not my intention to sing your praise for a job well done, but rather to pin point a few discrepancies out of plentiful academic answers by His Excellency.

In as much as history will remember the Administrator for his courageous effort in taking over schools from missions and private entrepreneurs in the whole country, the same history will pay him much gratitude should he include the teaching of God as the Creator in schools' curriculum. We should remember that, the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge. The disappearance of religious knowledge in schools since the takeover is not only a tragedy, but is also like building a tower on a sandy foundation.

Again, in the interview, His Excellency got it all correct when he said that the Ibos are not sheep to be led to pasture.

In as much as no leader can claim sole credit for making the Ibos co-exist with their fellow Nigerian brothers after the civil war, I am grateful to the Head of State General Gowon who granted them amnesty.

What the Ibos want, like their counterparts in other States, is stability, good roads for easy movement of their trucks, wheel barrows, cycles, mammy wagons and taxi cabs.

The average Nigerian in the East Central State is not after the background of who rules him, neither does he care for the schools he attended, nor how much is dumped in Swiss Banks by rulers; but how capable those who rule deliver his rights and legitimate goods on demand.

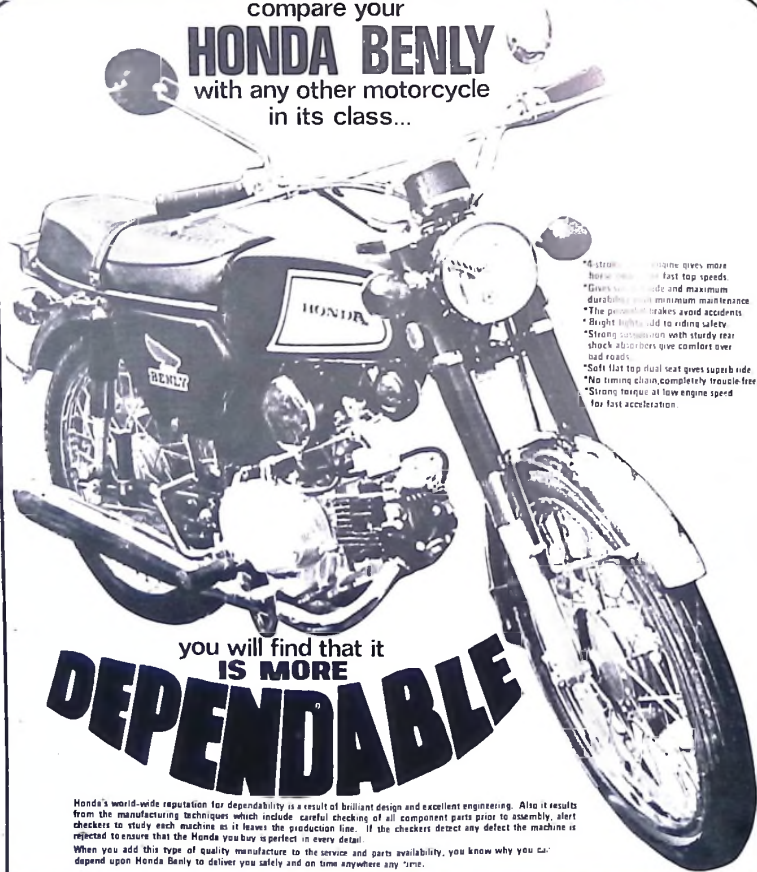
To the Administrator, what value popularity? Since popularity is valueless, why do some people in Nigeria suggest that General Gowon be made the next President after military rule? All the same, a popular Administrator can be requested by his people to administer them in a civilian regime while the unpopular one will both lose his name and deposit on a poll day should he venture. In this respect, Dr. Chike Obi was correct when he said that "as long as things go well with them, they don't care for any other person". The big question now is, who will bell the cat; is it the intellectuals?

What of the East Central State headed by a Don, decorated with pundrits and oo-Don Commissioners? To whom then will the Army hand over power in 1976, as NEWBREAD asked? Perhaps to the former politicians who might have learnt a lot from their mistakes!

Mazi Uchachuku Okoro,
No. 81, Odutola Street,
Sabon Gari — Kano.

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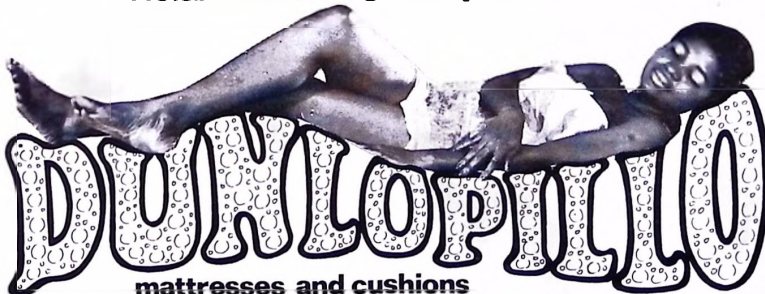
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HUMOUR

A little girl (to her father leading a skinny dog home): "What kind of a puppy is this you bought daddy?"

Father: "I want to hand it over to the police for sale."

Girl: "But daddy, it looks scruffy and doesn't look a police dog or a little bit."

Father: "It's on purpose, my dear. It's going to serve in the secret police unit."

****@#@#*****@#*#**

Vocalist: "Did you notice any voice filled the hall during the concert?"

Disgusted spectator: "Yes, in fact I noticed a lot of people making room for it."

*****@#@#*****@#@#**

"I knew daddy would kill mummy someday" a six-year-old girl at his mother's funeral. An inquisitive detective was there and asked "How?" "Daddy was ever fighting mum in bed. My mum doesn't like noise and so she took all the beatings lying down. See where it has landed her now." she sobbed.

*****@#@#*****@#@#**

Husband: "Yvonne, what sort of meat is this?"

Wife: "Ralph, darling, it's dried wood meat."

Husband: "Thought as much. An axe please."

*****@#@#*****@#@#**

My kindergarten brother hopped into the bed-room when daddy was giving me his latest advice on cigarette smoking. He cuddled around me and resumed his play. My dad stood up later to kill a boozing mosquito and the boy tucked a stick of cigarette into my hands.

I later learnt my friend gave it to him for me. I bought him goodies for his craftiness.

*****@#@#*****@#@#**

My visitor: "There's much grass in your lawn."

"You came for a visit and not to graze" I retorted.

*****@#@#*****@#@#**

Our teacher suddenly became hysteric early one morning. "You are all getting rotten....." he exploded ".....and this will not happen under my nose. A report has reached me that one of you bad eggs is disturbing a girl in the next school. The person concerned takes this girl out to nightclubs, swimming pools and makes love to her under the flower hedges." He continued to roar. "Before I punish the one, I like to show the class the person by throwing this chalk at the boy." he finalised. He pretended to throw the key at someone and we all ducked.

*****@#@#*****@#@#**



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FIRST NIGERIAN FEMALE PLAY-WRIGHT.

IN Nigeria, women have invaded almost all fields of human endeavour except playwrighting. But with the emergence of Mrs. Nwazulu Sofola on the scene, the male monopoly in that field has been broken.

Zulu Sofola, as she is popularly known, is a full time lecturer at the Department of Theatre Arts, University of Ibadan. She writes her plays, produces them but does not take part because she likes to stand out to criticise and improve them.

One of her plays, "The Wedlock of the Gods" was presented at the University of Columbia in the United States of America. The play also won first place in this year's Federal Government Colleges' Drama competition in Lagos.

"King Emene" also written by her, has been translated into the Norwegian language for Radio Oslo.

With all her intelligence and charm, Zulu Sofola is a loving mother and devoted housewife. She told me that she still cooks, bakes and sews.

Talking of her experiences as the first Nigerian female playwright, Zulu Sofola said her only problem comes from the attitude of some men who feel that art is not for women, whom they claim have not got the brain to write plays.

"These men have gone to the extent of sabotaging the staging of my plays.

"When such a thing happens in the theatre where co-operation of everyone is needed, the whole thing becomes a hard battle.

Asked how she got the inspiration to write, she declared: "My desire to write stemmed from a wish to portray the black man in his true perspectives as opposed to the jaundiced portrayal of him by whites."

She stated that a writer who is not understandable either in thought, or in language is not communicating.



IS HE "ANOTHER DIRECTOR"?

He has been on the hot seat as an Executive Director of the Nigerian Petroleum Company for under six months, yet Mr. Femi Asekun is already carrying on his shoulders a heavier load of responsibility than he had hitherto. When he was appointed only after a brief spell with the Company, not a few people wondered whether Mr. Asekun was not 'another Director'; a Nigerian employee of a Petroleum Company wielding a big name but nonetheless powerless to do much to influence decisions and implement them in the interest of his fellow Nigerian workers.

Had he actually faced this contradiction, pacesetter asked him. Not at all was his reply. He added, "one unique thing about Japanese is that an employee is never expected to resign from his place of work. He is expected to grow and die with his Company. So my Company provides all its employees job satisfaction and good conditions of service. It is this standard which is responsible for the Japanese economic miracle".

On the vexed question of oil companies not ploughing some of their profits to develop oil-producing areas, Mr. Asekun pointed out that oil companies had to meet their contractual obligations to the government. "This done, everything else is a matter of preference. But the name of the game is profit."

On the perennial shortage of petrol for public consumption, Mr. Asekun castigated those who have lumped oil exploration and production with marketing companies. "Where petrol comes from has nothing to do with my Company". Mr. Asekun is married with one daughter.

All this said, Mr. Asekun's story is without doubt the story of the transformation of a man without a background in oil from a top programmer in the NBC to a position of rapid competence and responsibility in an entirely new management capacity.



WOMAN IN A MAN'S WORLD

Lithography and photo-engraving are two highly specialised and technical professions in which you find too few women.

For how do you fancy a woman to stand in complete darkness in a closed room for hours on end, mixing chemicals; making sure light does not proliferate an expensive film and separating different shades of colours? Strange but not unusual and already, it is happening here in Lagos.

For the consultant to the VYB reproduction division in Apapa is a 33-year-old Nigerian Mrs. Inyang Brynjolf Pederson.

Inyang is a trained lithographer/photo-engraver who bestrides a man's world like a colossus. Asked how she got into a man's domain, Mrs. Pederson explained that this was not unconnected with "my instinct to do things with my hands".

"At the moment, my main role here, she told pacesetter, is to put customers through in the mechanical aspects of the equipments they buy and also to train them on how to handle such equipments."

Asked why her profession appeals to too few women, she answered that lithography entails dealing with dangerous and poisonous chemicals. "You don't want to buy a dress or two every week and the whole set-up is so manly and involves a lot of time. I wouldn't really blame women for not going into it. It is the same everywhere", she added.

Inyang who is married to a Danish lecturer, Mr. Pederson resides with her family in the College of Technology compound in Yaba.

Asked what it involves to co-exist with a white, she replied cheerfully, "Well they are all human. It is according to the man you have and my man is just good for me.



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WISE SHOPPERS' PARADISE

by Tony I. Uranta.

Being a good lover is a wholetime job. That is why so many lovers fail. But sexual incompleteness is not an aberration unique to this or any other generation. It is as old as sex itself. But the demands of today's industrial society coupled with *laissez-faire* edonism have conspired to wither away the sexual prowess of the present generation preventing it from being as sexually potent and adequate as its predecessor. Yet being an investigative, analytic and prolific animal, mankind started inventing and discovering sex aids from the beginning of time. Indeed, whatever was in the fruit Eve offered Adam, we are at least positive that its effect could be safely deemed aphrodisiac.

Long before Henry the Navigator, the "discoverer" (according to basic history texts) of Africa could crawl, African societies had delved into the ticklish and intimate problems of sexual inadequacy and evolved a science to produce sex aids. The sexual prowess and potency of an ancient Ethiopian tribe grew so prodigiously, after their religious leaders had discovered the stimulatory effects of powdered Rhinoceros Horns, that this age-old aphrodisiac is still employed today even in far-off North America. The modern demand for this aid has compelled the *Rhino Preservation Society* to take a firm stand against the slaughter of this fast-disappearing species.

During the French Revolution, a few peasant citizens announced that Puffles (a type of mushrooms) are guaranteed aphrodisiacs. In less than twelve months after this declaration, Puffles cost so much that only the privileged citizens and Citizenues could afford to indulge themselves in this amor-boosting meal. In fact, it was rumoured, and some still believe, that the citizen Emperor-General Napoleon was very dependent on the love qualities of these mushrooms.

India, in the age of the thousand nights, was a sensual community that industriously plied the ecstatic paths of sex research and pleasures. All the sense would be externally stimulated by serene music, mesmerising dancing, mouth-watering flavours, expensive perfumes, intoxicating incenses, and softly caressing intimate fingers belonging to beautiful virgins. They were masters of the sex art.

Due to their highly conventional unemotional lifestyles, the Elizabethans employed only their fantasies and idiosyncrasies as sex aids. Algolagnia was the major of these. Algolagnia is a sexual deviation that is directly related to pain in its passive (masochism) or active (sadism) forms. Social researchers claim that there existed more sadists and masochists in England then than existed in any

other nation. The English however had a few other sex aids to their credit. One of these, was the root of the Orchis, commonly known as "dog-stones", which was eaten to increase fertility. Another was the forked mandrake which, probably because of its phallic appearance, became renowned as a cure for sexual weakness.

Here in Nigeria, there exists in Opopo town a highly reputed and acclaimed aphrodisiac concocted from a mixture of barks, rushes and roots. Those who have tried it and got so stimulated that they could not even sit down for longer than five minutes at a time would confirm its aphrodisiac potential. It has highly restorative powers; but unless it is taken minimally, it produces such a painful and extreme erection as to cause virtuosity.

SCPTICISM.

In this age of scepticism and modern science, it is normal for sex aids to be scoffed at unless intensive, objective and long-term research has been conducted into their qualities. The scope and variety of today's sex aids leave little to be desired. These aids range from medications to be chewed, drank or rubbed; through visual aids employing colours, fetishes, fantasies, or patterns; to external stimulators guaranteed to make human intercourse appear redundant; stimulatory devices that some owners could easily fall in love with; health centres and cures involving psychic courses in the control of erogenous responses.

There are a-few of these modern aids that merit a few words here.

THE BLAKOE EXERCISER: "This simple, medically designed and approved device helps you shrug off dullness, giving you heightened pleasure and greater staying power", so reads the manufacturer's advertisements for this modern gadget. But three young Nigerians (one of them a girl) who have had the opportunity to put the energiser to the test, expressed guarded scepticism as to the acceptability of the manufacturer's claims. Gbemi, whose West Indian boyfriend had used this artifact, says: "It boosts your ego more than it does your penile power".

Two Americans, Paul Rimmer and Dr. Chartham claim to have perfected a process, they term the **CHARTHAM METHOD**, "that will help men who feel that nature was not generous enough when bestowing them with penes." This is a course of exercises, manipulations and message, together with a vacuum developer, supposed to improve the length and circumference of most penes. The course lasts for twelve weeks, an hour being devoted daily to it. Having never met any student of Dr. Chartham's Me-

thod, I can only depend on what has been written on the subject to judge the plausibility of the Rimmer-Chartham claims. From what I've read, if you carry out the course as prescribed, it is claimed that you can add at least an inch to the length and girth of your penis. One inch may sound small, but it's definitely a morale booster if nothing else. And if you are worried about your penile size, what you really need is a morale booster.

POLLJUVEN: This is said to be a preparation from freshly fermented pollen. It is supposed to have amazing restorative properties. But a report in one US-based international glamour tabloid dismissed these claims as "absolutely misleading, and inaccurate". I've met a man who insists that it worked, and still works, for him. I know that this man has worn out four teenage girls in as many months. If it is Polljuven working, then it's not doing badly.

SENSITIZING and DESENSITIZING SEXAGENTS: There are many product names within this category. From Blakoe, through *inverma*, to Stud. These sensitising creams or sprays are designed to help the over-worked, tired lover get his pecker up, and keep it up, and hard. The Desensitising creams, sprays, and balms are guaranteed to restrain penile greed, and banish the curse of premature ejaculations for a period. Some of these creams are unisex (e.g. Bladie's) but most have specific instructions as to gender usage. There are a few that promise even the coldest of women rapturous and easy orgasms — maybe even multi orgasms.

ORAL MEDICATIONS: These range from Everfit pills ("to life your sagging libido") to **TOPCHAFT** fluid which "produces the electrifying effect to stimulate the man or woman who for any reason feels temporarily disenchanted with sex". It has been proven that the basic element that all these medications contain is Vitamin E. So to those adventurous or disenchanted people who cannot find these wonder drugs, I advise that they start paying serious attention to their vitamin balance. 'E'..... that is the word for zest.

Then of course there are the stimulators. It must be here noted that 90 per cent of these artifices are constructed for the pleasures of the female body. There is the battery-powered artificial dildo that is commonly termed the **VIBRATOR**. There are many manufacturers of this do-it-yourself gadget, but they all serve the same basic purpose; which is to vigorously but gently message the female erogenous zones. This is an efficient masturbatory device for the young lady who wants to do her own thing. It can also be used by a man suffering from premature ejaculation. He could message his partner to within three-quarters of her

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sex aids

climax, and then bring both of them to a simultaneous orgasm through intercourse. The intensity of a woman's orgasm produced by a vibrator is likely to be greater than one achieved through intercourse. But no woman can fall in love with a vibrator, so take heart, you erotics reading this.

Still on stimulators, there is a wide range of rubber products designed to be slipped over the penis before intercourse. These products have frills, protrusions, and knobs designed to massage the sensitive areas of the female genitals (especially the clitoris).

For the man who needs it, there is a vibrator for men. It is normally built into tubes that are slipped over the penis to effect a sensual messaging to ejaculation. But things are getting more life-like (even if ridiculous). Specially designed and constructed inflatable life-size dolls are on the market in the USA, across Eurasia, and on the quiet-quiet in some African countries. Even in Lagos. These dolls allow lonely guys to work off some of their pent-up emotions in them.

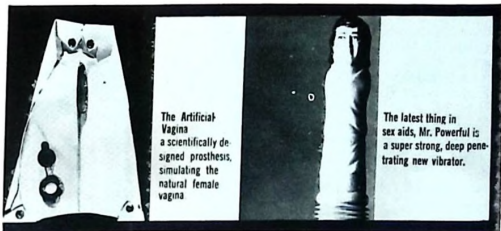
Of course we must not down-play the effects of all forms of pornography: writings, graphics, films, strip-tease shows, and fantasy. However, since these are not guaranteed to increase sexual prowess or desire, we shall skip them.

DRUGS.

Some connoisseurs of the artful science of sex resort to the euphoria-producing drugs like alcohol, marijuana, amphetamines (speed) and cocaine (please don't fool yourself that cocaine isn't on the Nigerian scene). Alcohol is not a recommendable aphrodisiac since its positivism is checked by a negative incapacitation. It's like giving a keen sword to a tired and disinterested swordsman. Marijuana researchers claim that the drug could have some aphrodisiac qualities — but please don't forget the law of the land. Amphetamines are medically recommended stimulants, but very dangerous ones if abused — so lay off them if you can. If you know where to get cocaine, and if you are not scared by all those true stories you hear about this killer drug, go ahead and try it. Maybe after one or two lays you'll peacefully pass away, and escape the tortures of being physically addicted to a scarce, resistance-forming, poison.

SADISM

The Marquis de la Sade unwittingly gave his name to an aberration that one finds it hard to understand until it is remembered that variety is the spice of life. Sadism when transmitted into sexual pleasure is a crucial aid to some ladies and gentlemen. Can you imagine me letting myself be tied to a chair naked, to be



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whipped by a beautiful demented female that insists she can only come off (climax) that way? No, thank you. But even that is more reasonable than masochism in which case a man (or woman) cannot come (climax) unless you administer some punishment to him. Edmund Burke, late American orator, admitted that "we humans have a degree of delight in the real misfortunes and pains of others". I agree with him. I can understand (though not approve) a man who enjoys seeing others suffer (it gives him a false psychological security) but what one gains, from being irrationally subjected to physical and mental torture, escapes me. There are literally thousands that depend on these traumatic and dramatic sex-aids for their sexual satisfaction.

THE NIGERIAN SOCIETY.

Now that we have summarily reviewed the sex-aids on the market, let us have an inside look at the Nigerian society, and its preparedness for these modern gadgets of pleasure. Traditionally, the Nigerian man is little more than a selfish automated animal when it comes to sex. He couldn't care whether his partner enjoys herself or not, provided he is allowed to "do two or three rounds". Pre-coital foreplay, and post-intercourse love-making means very little to him. He would kiss the lass a few times, knead her breasts briefly, then roll on top — time for business.

But the new breed of Nigerians, especially the young adults, are attempting to remove this stigma of detached physical motions that suppress the emotional, the mental, and the completely ecstatic fusion of two minds and two bodies into one entity. This is very expedient because our females are getting liberalized (not the FEMINIST MOVEMENT type) and are prepared to experiment more. The electronic and print media have allowed women to communicate with one another as never before. It has allowed women an outlet of feelings and desires that attempt to place manhood on trial. They now demand from men what could be

seen as amounting to psychic reparations — payments for abuses dating back to the days when Jaja of Opobo's coming was but a prophetic future vision.

This demanding process has rendered hallowed definitions of masculinity baseless. Traditional sex rules are becoming blurry. Today, to assert the traditional "male chauvinism" of dominance, power, stoicism, bravery, independence, aggression, competition and tough indifference is derided by the enlightened female elite. Now the soul sisters, at least the Nigerian sisters, want to be treated as sex-objects with intellect. In bed, they want the giving to be mutual and satisfactory.

Which brings us to sex aids for the folks who agree that nothing is new under the sun. If you need them, and can lay your hands on them, please go ahead and try. Discuss this over with your soul partners, but don't attempt to forcefully convince anyone that they must be used. There are millions (over half of the world's population) who do not use any sexual aids yet get the best out of sex. Do not forget that everything can be faked except an erection. It is the one fact of masculinity that exists. If you men can get it up, can have pleasant intercourse for at least three minutes before ejaculating, and are prepared to cooperate with your partners by learning the science of sexual foreplay, you need not worry. You are normal. No matter whether your penis be long or short, fat or thin, sensitive or deadened a bit (within reason).

And for you women that find that most of the time it's happening, you're preparing the next meal in your mind, going through practised mechanical methods, and praying "I hope he finishes soon. The oaf is killing me"; I say try sex aids. Maybe your frigidity is a temporary ailment resultant of your not communicating efficiently with him.

But if you do not agree with my views, folks, just forget everything I've said, and stick to your own unique sex modus.

THE REVENUE

Debate in Nigeria: A Chapter of Opportunism

By Olu Akaraogun.

Currently and in the years ahead, Nigeria is expected to earn fantastic revenues, almost beyond the dream of avarice, from her petroleum trade.

In the current fiscal year, it is expected that 72 per cent of federal revenues will be derived from petroleum.

All this has led to a passionate and sometimes acrimonious debate over how best to share revenues between the federal government and the constituent States of the federation.

This is what the debate on revenue allocation in Nigeria is all about.

Before crude petroleum became a dominant economic asset for Nigeria, the country earned her foreign exchange from the sale of a few export commodities such as cocoa, groundnuts, cotton, palm-kernels and rubber.

The country also earned foreign exchange from the sale of tin ore and columbite mined from the Plateau minesfield.

Before Shell-BP started to market Nigeria's crude petroleum abroad, the federal government earned revenue mainly from Customs and Excise duties on a variety of items.

The share of Customs and Excise revenue going to the former Regions depended on the volume of goods imported or exported from the different Regions.

During the boom period of the Korean war and up till the middle 1950's, the greatest volume of imports went to the Lagos and the former Western Region. That was why the Western Region at that period was a champion of sharing revenue on the principle of derivation.

Thus, even before petroleum became a major export commodity, the different Regions had always squabbled over how best to share revenue accruing from the export sales of cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, palm-kernel, tin ore, hides and skin.

Both the Mid-West State and the Rivers State with regard to petroleum are NOW in a position similar to that of the former Western Region with regard to cocoa during the boom period of the Korean war in the early 1950's.

The problem of how to arrive at a fair basis of revenue allocation arose precisely because Nigeria changed from a unitary form of government to a federal constitutional arrangement.

In a federal system, the problem arises how to achieve fairness in revenue matters between the Centre and the States on one hand; and between the different States on the other hand.

Experience elsewhere and in Nigeria has shown that there cannot be a static conception of what is a fair revenue allocation formula. The ideal thing is to evolve a dynamic system, which will



NIGERIA'S 12 STATES

evolve with political and constitutional changes.

For example, Nigeria started a federal arrangement with three Regions and a federal government at the Centre. Currently, we now have 12 States in the federation and nobody can say for sure whether or not we shall have more States in the future.

These political changes have had radical effects on existing revenue-sharing formula. The current acrimonious revenue sharing which all the States of the federation will consider as fair. This is not easy, as our experience in Nigeria since 1946 has shown.

Sir Sydney Phillipson was an astute civil servant who grappled with this problem of revenue sharing in its earliest stages. He was a Financial Secretary who was asked to consider among other things, the financial implications of shifting from a unitary to a federal system of government in Nigeria.

After an exhaustive study of the problem, he concluded that the principle of derivation favoured the former Western Region; the principle of Need favoured the former Northern Region. He confessed that there was no principle which he could discover that would do justice to the former Eastern Region.

In the circumstances, Government resorted to all sorts of fiscal compromises

which did not satisfy all the Regions all of the time.

Of the three principles guiding revenue allocation, namely — derivation; need; and national interest; each was given varying emphasis at each of the Nigerian constitutional conferences held in 1950; 1953; 1957 and in 1958.

So far, five expert Committees have set to study and make recommendations on an ideal or widely acceptable basis of revenue sharing in a federal Nigeria.

The first was the Hicks Commission of 1951; the next was that headed by Sir Louis Chick in 1953; the third was that led by Sir Jeremy Raisman which reported in 1958. Then Mr. K.J. Binns headed another expert Committee which reported in 1965.

The last revenue allocation committee which sat in Nigeria was that chaired and by the late Chief I.O. Dina and which reported during the Nigerian civil war in 1968.

In the final analysis, all these expert committees seem to have been playing variations on the theme of how best to share government revenue in a federal Nigeria.

Fiscal fairness has proved a rather elusive concept, but then it is instructive to see in practice how the various expert committees grappled with the problem and how their recommendations varied

ALLOCATION

with constitutional changes and with changes in the balance of political and economic forces.

On the whole, it is safe to say that we should venture an opinion on the allocation debate in Nigeria with the acquaintance with the problems and premises which the five expert committees have revealed.

NEWBREED therefore presents in a logical sequence, the terms of reference, the observations; the conclusions and recommendations of the five expert committees which have so far studied the problem of revenue allocation in Nigeria.

The first was that headed by an Oxford expert in Public Finance, Dr. J.R. Hicks.

THE HICKS COMMISSION

Arising from the 1950 Ibadan conference of the review of the Nigerian Constitution, the terms of reference of the first revenue allocation review committee in Nigeria (Hicks) was as follows:

"An expert and independent enquiry should be undertaken in consultation with all concerned, to submit proposals to the Governor-in-Council for division of revenue over a period of five years between the three Regions and the Central Nigerian Services, in order to achieve in that time a progressively more equitable division of revenue as between the three separate Regions and the Centre."

"If investigation by the expert committee proves that one Region has been unfairly treated during past years, that Region should be allowed a block grant so as to make up for part of what it has lost."

This was the main objective of the Hicks revenue allocation committee which was set up after the constitutional review conference held in Ibadan in 1950.

It is relevant to explain that under the Richard's Constitution, the Regional Councils did not possess legislative powers.

The financial powers of the Regional Councils were limited to the review of the annual and supplementary estimates of expenditure on services and works classified as Regional.

The Regional Councils did not possess any legal power of raising or appropriating revenue for regional expenditure, a fact which was implicit in their lack of any legislative powers at all.

All revenues available for Regional purposes, whether they were "declared regional" or not, were voted to the Regions by the Legislative Council of Nigeria as lump sum grants, each grant constituting a separate head of expenditure in the Estimates of Nigeria.

Broadly speaking, the Hicks Commission based their recommendations on four principles:

- The principle of independent reve-

nues.

- The principle of derivation.
- The principle of needs.
- The principle of national interest.

The proportions in which the four principles were mixed were not clear. The impact on each Region of Nigeria depended on the proportional mix of the four principles guiding revenue allocation.

If more weight was given to the principle of independent revenues, there was a shift in the total distribution of revenue in favour of the richer and more developed Regions. In practice, the more principles of independent revenues and the principle of derivation were pushed at the expense of the other principles, the more was given to the Western Region and the less to both the Northern and Eastern

Distribution according to the principle of needs on the other hand, was favourable to the Northern Regions. Thus, it was found that as between the North and the West, the distribution of revenue depended very much upon the relative weights which were given to the principles of needs or of derivation respectively.

It was observed that too much stress on the principle of derivation would cause the Western Region to swallow up the lion's share of all the funds available; too much stress on the principle of needs would cause the Northern Region to swallow up the lion's share also.

The Hicks Commission attempted to hold a balance between these competing claims.

There remained the problem of the Eastern Region. It was found by the Hicks Commission that the East received during 1951, a larger allocation out of "non-declared revenue" than either the West or the North; the Commission confessed that there was no principle which they had been able to discover which justified an allocation to the Eastern Region of the size which it received in 1951.

The Hicks Commission confessed their dilemma in the following terms:

"Greater stress on derivation moved the advantage in favour of the West; greater stress on need moved it in favour of the North; both principles went against the Eastern Region; if the 1951 allocation to the East was used as a basis of measurement."

"We have to face the fact that the Eastern Region is a poor area (that was in 1951) which during the period preceding 1947 became possessed of a system of public services more expensive than it could have financed from its own resources had those in fact been separated from the general resources of Nigeria, or from the share of the general revenues of Nigeria which could be allocated to it on any fair system of distribution.

But to reduce the revenue of the East so as to give it no more than its claim on the principle of derivation, the principle of need, would involve a large reduction as to invite a catastrophe."

Then the Hicks Commission admitted in a mood of desperation mixed with frustration:

"An allocation of revenue which would satisfy the reasonable claims of the North and of the West is not difficult to discover; but one which will satisfy all the claims which the Eastern Region, as a result of a series of historical accidents had been allowed to develop, is past the wit of man to devise."

This was the observation in 1951 of a committee of expatriate officials who could not be readily accused of bias in favour of one Nigerian ethnic group against the other.

With the benefit of hindsight, one can only say that in 1951, with regard to revenue allocation, the Eastern Region was the problem child of the federation in an unenviable position which the Western State was to occupy much later.

Before the Hicks Commission sat, the Nigerian Government had established a series of "ideal percentages" to guide it in its allocation of revenues to the Regions after the introduction of the Richard's Constitution.



General Yakubu Gowon - Head of State
NEWBREED DECEMBER 1974

REVENUE ALLOCATION

The following tables give some idea of how these "ideal percentages" worked out in practice.

Nigeria: Allocation of Non-declared Revenue — "Ideal Percentages"

Year	North	West	East
As laid down by Government	46 per cent	30 per cent	24 per cent
1948 — 49	43.9 per cent	30.6 per cent	25.5 per cent
1949 — 50	45 per cent	29 per cent	26 per cent
1950 — 51	41.7 per cent	27.4 per cent	30.9 per cent

Nigeria: Actual Allocation of Revenue Percentages

Year	North	West	East
1948 — 49	40.7 per cent	24.7 per cent	34.6 per cent
1949 — 50	34.8 per cent	28.0 per cent	37.1 per cent
1950 — 51	35.7 per cent	27.9 per cent	36.4 per cent

NOTE: It is interesting to see from these figures how both the North and the West in actual fact received less than their estimated "ideal percentages"; while the East, in every year, received more than its estimated "ideal percentages".

It was not the only instance where in the matter of revenue allocations there was a divergence between what was considered to be ideal and what was in fact practicable.

Commenting on these ideal percentages, the Hicks Commission said:

"The official ideal percentages have led the Northern Region to suppose that it has been receiving less than its due on the principle of derivation. That money which should have gone to the Northern Region has been going to the East."

"This belief on the part of the Northern Region has been a large part of the reason for the appointment of the Hicks Commission. Now, investigation of the calculations seems to show that this Northern belief is largely mistaken. It is very probable that the "ideal percentages" attributed to the Northern Region was much too large."

"This is not to say that the North has no case for revision of the allocations of revenue in its favour. It has a strong case, but its case must be based on the principle of NEEDS, not on that of derivation."

"On the principle of derivation, the North has very little case at all."

Having examined the problem of revenue allocation and having openly admitted their confusion and dilemmas, the Hicks Revenue Allocation Committee made the following recommendations:

• Revenue already declared Regional should be handed over to complete Regional control with the Regions having power to fix such rates of tax as they think fit.

• The tax on motor spirit should also be handed over to complete Regional control.

• One half of the revenue from taxes on tobacco and cigarettes should be allocated to the Regions in accordance with consumption.

• A grant of substantial amount should be given to each Region for every adult male tax-payer in that Region. The amount of this grant should be determined from time to time by the Council of Ministers.

• A plan is proposed whereby a uniform system of income taxation should be imposed on all tax-payers in all parts of Nigeria.

• A special once-for-all capital grant

should be paid to the Northern Region in order to assist it to make up for the deficiencies in equipment, especially of schools.

The Hicks Revenue Allocation report was signed by both Dr. J.R. Hicks of Nuffield College, Oxford and by the late Sir Sydney Phillipson, a former Financial Secretary to the Government of Nigeria.

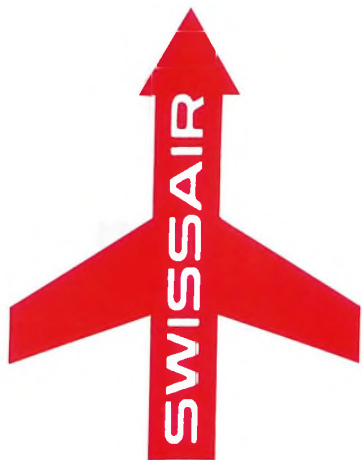
The recommendations were legally embodied in Nigeria (Revenue Allocation) Order-in-Council 1951.

The differences in views among Nigerians about revenue allocation clearly emerged in the evidence given before the Commission.

The Western Region wanted the principle of derivation adopted; the Northern Region favoured the principle of needs, while the Eastern Region wanted the principle of national interest.

In a nutshell, each Region advocated the adoption of a principle which would yield it maximum gain in the revenue-sharing exercise. This attitude persists however clumsily commissioners, ministers, military leaders and civil servants

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HAUT COUTURE—

That's it.

The fashion trend this Christmas in Lagos and other major world capitals is the Skirt. The Skirt is back in vogue and with blouses and matching waist coats, they form just the thing to combine sporting line, comfort and elegance.

High fashion to be sure is already in Lagos, fashions that are inspired to varying degrees by what is happening in the saloons of the high fashion couturiers in Europe and elsewhere. Our problem here however is that with the proliferation of boutiques and fashion houses in the urban centres, so many people have already gone into business for business sake without basic knowledge of fashion tastes that it is difficult to separate the chaff from the grain.

This nevertheless is a fundamental element of fashion growth which should right with time.

So it was that not too many people were in for the surprises which unfolded recently at a charity fashion show organised by the Dolphin Fashion House is a sub-urban apartment at Camaron Road, Ikoyi. It was a Christmas stock which would do pride to the wardrobe of an Arab oil mogul.

It drew wild applause from the select cream of distinguished personalities, mainly women, who were present.

For there were many and varied styles for the skirt, large skirts, slim skirts, flowing skirts well cut on the hips which do not widen with very smart waist line.

And going with the skirts were such items as blouses, shoes, thin and thick pull-overs, woollen bonnet and a whole range of bags and bracelets. They were all imported items of course, but actually for the first time, they were the originals, shipped from Europe from such reputable fashion houses like Frank Usher, Dior and Saint Laurent.

But the biggest surprise of the evening were the Dolphin creations, themselves made and tailored in Nigeria for the woman with taste, wanting elegance and comfort all draped in one. Those long flowing embroidered evening outfits were really smashing. Haut couture, that's it.

Ishmael Alabi.



A caped top on a straight skirt with slit.



A Frank Usher three-piece with sleeveless tank top



Sleeved blouse on pleated knee-length skirt.



A Kimono topped dinner dress with contrast sash

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camouflage their motives with alleged criteria of "objectivity" and "national interest".

THE LOUIS CHICK REVENUE ALLOCATION REPORT.

Two years after the Hicks' recommendations were adopted, Nigerians held another conference to review their constitution.

These series of conferences were intended, at least by Nigerians, to give themselves greater say over their own affairs, leading in the end to total political independence.

The 1953 Constitutional Conference, among other things, decided to appoint a Fiscal Commissioner to examine and report on the financial effects of the newly proposed constitutional arrangements.

The conference laid down the guidelines that the principles of NEEDS and national interest should NOT be applied in future to revenue allocation.

One major feature of the report on revenue sharing by Sir Louis Chick was its emphasis on the principle of derivation.

In his terms of reference, Sir Louis Chick was asked, among other things, to give regard to "the need to provide the Regions and the Centre an adequate measure of fiscal autonomy within their that the total revenue available to Nigeria is allocated in such a way that the principle of DERIVATION is followed to the fullest degree compatible with meeting the reasonable needs of the Centre and each of the Regions".

After the usual taking of evidence from interested parties all over Nigeria, the Fiscal Commissioner, Sir Louis Chick made the following recommendations which were implemented and remained in force between 1954-1959.

The important features of the Chick recommendations are these:

- The following revenues were to be collected and wholly retained by the federal government:
 - 50 per cent of the net proceeds of all export duties;
 - 25 per cent of the import duties on tobacco;
 - 50 per cent of the net proceeds of import duties other than those on motor spirits and tobacco company tax.
- Revenue collected by the Federal Government but assigned wholly or in part to the Regions according to and in proportion to the Regional consumption or origin of products or commodities:
 - 50 per cent of the import duty on tobacco;
 - 50 per cent of all excise duties;
 - 100 per cent of the import duty on

motor spirit.

50 per cent of all export duties. The full amount of personal income tax levied and collected by the federal government is returned to the Region in which the tax payers (Africans) are resident;

All mining royalties and rents; Fees for small craft licences.

- Revenues collected by the Federal government but shared out to the various Regions in the fixed proportions of:
 - 40 per cent to the West;
 - 30 per cent to the North;
 - 29 per cent to the East;
 - 1 per cent to the Southern Cameroons.
 These revenues consist of 50 per cent of the proceeds of import duties other than those on motor spirits and tobacco.

- Revenues collected and retained by the Regional Governments:

Direct tax; Produce Sales tax; licence fees and service fees; interest on loans and earnings on surplus fund invested; revenue from Regional departments and undertakings.

Since at present the bitterness over revenue sharing has something to do with the vast amount accruing from petroleum sales, it is significant to note that between 1954 and 1959, all mining royalties and rents (including those from petroleum) were to be given wholly or in part to the Regions, according to and in proportion to the Regional consumption or ORIGIN of products or commodities.

One general observation which should be made about the Louis Chick report is that it showed a definite transition from a multiplicity of principles of revenue allocation to a sole criterion of revenue sharing based on the principle of derivation.

At the 1953 Constitutional Conference, there were two opposing views:

That of maximum regional fiscal autonomy and financial independence and;

That of a national economic policy leading to balanced development.

There has never been satisfaction over a long period with any formula of revenue sharing in Nigeria.

Dissatisfaction with the practical working of the Louis Chick revenue sharing system led to the appointment of another Fiscal Commission in 1957.

That commission was to examine the existing division of powers to levy taxation in the Federation of Nigeria and the system of allocation of revenues, and to make recommendations thereon.

SIR JEREMY RAISMAN COMMISSION.

Among other things, the Raisman Commission attempted to cure certain defects

which had been noticed in the working of the Louis Chick revenue allocation system.

These defects include the following:

- The limited range of independent revenues in the hands of the Regions.
- The deficiencies in the application of the principle of derivation, particularly as it relates to the allocation to the Regions of their share of import duties derived from sources other than motor spirit and tobacco.
- The absence of any provision which would differentiate at all between the particular needs of a Region and the revenues arising within its boundaries.

Specifically, the Raisman Commission on revenue allocation was given the following terms of reference:

1. To examine the existing (1958) division of powers to levy taxation in the Federation of Nigeria and the system of allocation of the revenue thereby derived in the light of:
 - (a) experience of the system to date;
 - (b) the allocation of functions between the governments in the federation as agreed at the conference (1957);

- (c) the desirability of securing the maximum possible proportion of the income of Regional Governments should be within the exclusive power of those governments to levy and to collect, taking into account considerations of national and inter-regional policy;

- (d) in connection with (c) above, the special problems in the field of indirect taxation as a result of the position of Lagos as a federal territory;

- (e) in so far as the independent revenues that can be secured for the various governments are insufficient to provide not only for their immediate needs but also for a reasonable degree of expansion, and bearing in mind the federal government's own further needs, the desirability of allocating further federal revenue in accordance with such arrangements as will best serve the overall interests of the Federation of Nigeria as a whole.

Let us remind ourselves that when the Raisman Commission was appointed in 1958, Nigeria was still a British Colony.

It was a federation consisting of three Regions - East, West and Lagos; and North. Southern Cameroons was treated as part of the Eastern Region of Nigeria for purposes of revenue allocation.

In their evidence before the Raisman Commission, both the North Regional Government and the West Regional Government advocated maximum decentral-

REVENUE ALLOCATION

lisation and the exercise of regional fiscal jurisdiction within regional areas. Both regional governments were relatively strong financially.

The Eastern Region argued vehemently in favour of a federal levy and the collection of revenues sufficient for specified national purposes, and as well, for discretionary grants to the Regions to promote the harmonisation of regional social services' standards.

On the sharing out of the "Distributable Pool Account" revenue, the Raisman Commission ruled out the principle of derivation.

Among other things, the Commission was convinced that it was desirable for the future to get away from a system under which the distribution of large sums of money rests on calculations that can never be entirely accurate and which lend themselves to controversy.

The Commission therefore tried to reach a compromise position between the principles of derivation and the principle of needs.

In making their recommendations, the Raisman Commission tried to take four main factors into account.

These were:

- * Population;
- * The basic responsibilities of each Regional Government;
- * The need for continuity in regional public services and;
- * The need for balanced development throughout the federation of Nigeria.

On the basis of these factors, Raisman's recommendations for revenue allocation in Nigeria could be summarised as follows:

- * Revenue collected and retained by the federal government included import duties on beer, wine and liquor;
- * 70 per cent of all other import duties except those on motor spirit, diesel oil and tobacco;
- * Excise duties on beer;
- * 70 per cent of excise taxes on soap and mineral waters;
- * Company taxes;
- * Lagos Personal Income Tax;
- * 20 per cent of mining royalties and rents.
- * Revenue collected by the Federal Government but assigned to the Regional Government according to derivation or consumption:
- * All export duties according to Region of origin of product;
- * Import duties on motor spirit, diesel oil, tobacco as well as excise involved;
- * 50 per cent of mining rents and royalties according to Region of deposit of mineral concerned.
- * Revenue collected by the federal government but allocated into a "Distributable Pool" and shared out bet-

ween the various Regions in the proportion of:-

40/95 to the Northern Region;

24/95 to the Western Region;

31/95 to the Eastern Region;

30 per cent of all import duties except those on beer, wine, liquor, motor spirit, diesel oil and tobacco;

* Revenue collected and retained by the Regions:

Personal income tax of Africans and non-Africans in the Region;

Taxes on partnerships, clubs, trusts, and other unincorporated associations;

Licence fees and service fees;

Interest on loans and surplus funds invested;

Revenue from Regional Departments and undertakings;

Sales tax on produce other than tobacco, motor fuel, hides and skins.

Other important features of the Raisman recommendation include a grant of £500,000 (old currency) in 1958-59 to the Northern Region to make up for short-falls in previous years.

Mining rents and royalties were to be distributed as follows:-

50 per cent to the Region of origin;

20 per cent to the federal government;

30 per cent to the "Distributable Pool Account."

General Import revenue was to be allocated as follows:-

70 per cent to the federal government;

30 per cent to the "Distributable Pool Account".

The Federal Government of Nigeria was constitutionally empowered to appoint from time to time, a Fiscal Review Commission to review the distribution of proceeds of mining and mineral royalties and rents; and the size, composition and distribution of items of revenue going into the "Distributable Pool Account".

Before the adoption of the Raisman recommendations, the Western Region received the lion's share of revenue based on derivation.

When the allocation formula was changed from derivation to "Distributable Pool Account", between 1959-1965, the share of the Western Region was the lowest. Over the same period, the share of the Northern Region and of the Eastern Region increased considerably.

The Raisman Revenue Allocation formula was in force in Nigeria between 1959 and 1965 inclusive.

THE BINNS COMMISSION.

The revenue allocation committee which was headed by Mr. K. J. Binns and which reported in 1965 was the first of its kind since Nigeria attained political

independence in 1960. It was the fourth in the series.

The revenue allocation committee was specifically asked to review the following:-

1. The formula for the allocation of the proceeds of mining rent and royalties.
2. The proportion of the proceeds of duties leviable in respect of import into Nigeria of any commodity other than motor spirit, diesel oil, tobacco, wine, beer, spirits, or beer, which is payable to the "Distributable Pool Account".
3. The formula for the distribution of funds in the "Distributable Pool Account".

The various Regional Government of Nigeria told the Binns Commission that the proportion of federal government revenue being transferred to the Regional Governments should be increased substantially either by way of the Distributable Pool Account or by the payment of SPECIFIC GRANTS which would be divided amongst the Regions on a percentage basis.

In their report, the Binns commission were guided by the following over-riding principle:

That the welfare of the Federation of Nigeria as a whole must be promoted and that each Region should therefore be placed in a comparable financial position and should be able, after making due allowances for differences in financial policies, to make an equivalent contribution from its recurrent budget towards the financing of its capital development programme.

In order to achieve these objectives, the Binns Commission recommended two alternative sets of proposals:

The first set of proposals were:

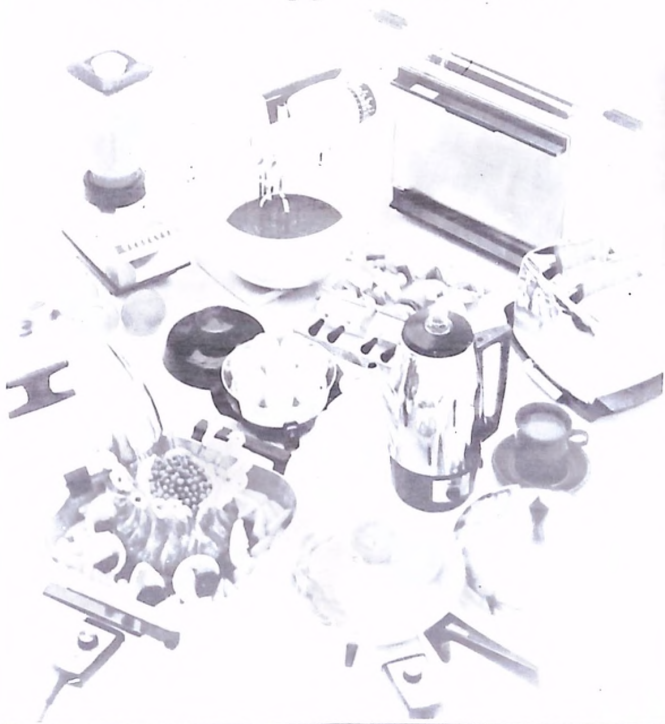
- * The retention of 30 per cent of the general import revenue and of the proceeds of mining rents and royalties as at present (1965) in the Distributable Pool Account.
- * The substitution of a set of percentages for the 90-50 fractions at present (1965) being used to allocate the revenues in the Distributable Pool Account to the Regions, that is:-

Northern Region	-	40 per cent
Eastern Region	-	31 per cent
Western Region	-	21 per cent
Mid-Western Region	-	8 per cent.
- * The payment of a block of annual grant of £3.75 million (old currency) as from 1965-1966 to 1968-69 by the Federal Government to the Regions as follows:-

Northern Region	-	£2 million
Eastern Region	-	(53.3 per cent)
Eastern Region	-	£0.8 million



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REVENUE ALLOCATION

(21.3 per cent)

Western Region	— £0.6 million
	(16 per cent)
Mid-Western Region	— £0.35 million
	(9.3 per cent)

This proposal was subject to the discontinuance as from the 1965-66 Financial Year of the then current arrangement whereby the Federal Government paid to the Regions a share of the general excise revenues.

If the practice of paying a share of the general excise revenue to the Regions was continued, then the block annual grant was to be £3 million (old currency) and it was to be distributed as follows:

Northern Nigeria	— £1.7 million
Eastern Nigeria	— £0.6 million
Western Nigeria	— £0.4 million
Mid-Western Nigeria	— £0.3 million

The second set of proposals put forward by the Binns Commission was that if the Federal Government refused to accept the recommendation that it should make fixed grants to the Regions during the next four years (as from 1965) in addition to their allocation from the "Distributable Pool Account" and prefers that the increased payment due to the Regions should be reflected in a larger Distributable Pool Account, then two adjustments should be made as follows:

* The percentage of the general import revenue and revenue from mining rents and royalties to be credited to the Distributable Pool Account should be increased to 35 per cent.

* The proceeds of the Distributable Pool Account so composed should be distributed amongst the Regions of Nigeria as follows:-

Northern Nigeria	— 42 per cent
Eastern Nigeria	— 30 per cent
Western Nigeria	— 20 per cent
Mid-Western Nigeria	— 8 per cent

The Commission headed by Mr. K.J. Binns reported in 1965 and the take-over of power by the Nigerian Armed Forces occurred on January 15, 1966.

The Binns revenue allocation formula, slightly modified, was still in force throughout Nigeria until 27th May 1967, when the Supreme Military Council of Nigeria promulgated Decree No. 15 of 1967, which created twelve States out of the former Four Regions of Nigeria.

With regard to revenue allocation, the relevant law is the Constitution (Financial Provisions) Decree of 1967. The effect of this decree was to sub-divide the allocations to each of the former 4 Regions of Nigeria among the new States contained in those former Regions.

A number of criticisms have been made against the Constitution (Financial Provisions) Decree of 1967.

Among these are:

That it dealt only with the Distribu-

table Pool Account and therefore failed to take cognisance of the additional administrative costs involved in the creation of new States.

The decree was criticised for failing to realise that the status quo can no longer be assumed in deciding the revenue allocation arrangement.

Finally, the decree was criticised for failing to take account of the basic element which formed the basis of the original allocation of revenue between the constituent units of the Federation, namely:- population; financial need; derivation; and even development.

THE DINA COMMITTEE

Before the end of the Nigerian civil war, a conference was mounted by the Federal Ministry of Economic Development at the Ibadan University in March 1969.

The theme of the conference was "National Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria."

One of the participants at the conference was the late Chief I.O. Dina who read a paper on fiscal measures. The significance of this contribution was that Chief Dina was also the chairman of an interim revenue allocation committee which was the first to be headed by a Nigerian.

Also, all members of the commission were Nigerians drawn from all over the country.

Chief Dina was a foundation lecturer in history when the University College Ibadan was established in 1948. He later took a degree in economics.

Chief Dina, in the civil service of the Western Region, worked as permanent secretary in the Ministry of Economic Planning; and in the Ministry of Finance. His last national assignment was to work as the Chairman of the National Shipping Line.

In his paper on "Fiscal Measures" at the Ibadan conference on reconstruction and development (1969), Chief Dina made the following observations:

"A casual glance at the history of revenue allocation in Nigeria would show clearly that no single principle has created more conflict and bitterness than the principle of derivation. It has been argued that the principle is not only unfair, it is unrealistic and inaccurate to the extent that the data on which it is based are grossly inadequate and lacking in any objectivity.

With the creation of 12 States, the criticisms levied would become even more poignant."

Quoting from a book "Nigerian Federal Finance" written by Dr. Adebayo Adedeji, who is at present the Federal Commissioner for Economic Development, Chief

Dina observed further:

"The derivation principle has bedevilled the development of a rational and equitable system of revenue allocation in Nigeria. It has poisoned inter-governmental relations and has exacerbated inter-regional rivalry and conflict. Perhaps more than any other single factor, it has hampered the development of a sense of national unity or common citizenship in Nigeria."

More recently, its application has been arbitrary and inconsistent. It is applied to some tax revenues and partially to others, while a different set of formulae is applied in the allocation of revenue to some other taxes."

Chief Dina suggested:

"The principle of derivation should therefore be discarded as quickly as possible and a system of allocation of revenues designed essentially for a dynamic development policy evolved."

He noted that the POLITICAL OBSTACLES in the achievement of ideal revenue allocation formulae are considerable. He said:

"It is however my belief that provided the objective of rapid economic development is acceptable to the majority of our people, what may seem politically unpalatable in the short-run, but economically desirable in the long run, would be pursued in the long-term interest of Nigeria."

The Federal Government of Nigeria appointed an interim revenue allocation committee on 7th July 1968 and it was asked to submit its findings and recommendations within four months of its appointment.

The Chairman of the Committee was Chief I.O. Dina. Other members of the Committee were Professor O. Aboyede of Ibadan University (Faculty of Economics); Mr. A.E. Ekuinam; Mr. Ibrahim Tahir; Mr. P.O.A. Dada; Mr. F.M.C. Ohi; Mr. Ahmed Tallib; Professor T.M. Yesulu and Mr. D.O. Ogunyemi.

In the history of revenue allocation review exercises in Nigeria, this was the first occasion when revenue sharing arrangement was being examined, not by so-called foreign experts, but by a committee of Nigerians who have lived all their lives with Nigerian problems and who hopefully, share the aspirations of patriotic Nigerians for their country.

Before discussing the substance of the views of the Dina Revenue Allocation Committee, it is useful to note some of their own criticisms of the previous and existing (1968) revenue sharing formula in Nigeria.

As we have already noted, Decree No. 15 of 1967 which created 12 States out of the existing Regions also provided that the new States should share the revenue

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allocated to the former Regions out of which they were created.

According to the Dina report, this really means that the Binns revenue allocation system was retained; but its rule of thumb application to the new States in consequence of Decree No. 15 was apparently illogical.

The Dina report further noted that the provisions of Decree No. 15 of 1967 have been criticised as arbitrary, being the result of hurried decisions taken in the exigency of creating new States in conditions of a national emergency.

Another ground of criticism was that Decree 15, 1967 dealt only with the Distributable Pool and therefore failed to take cognisance of the additional administrative costs involved in creating new States and of the basic elements of the previous allocations of revenue between the constituent units of the Federation, namely:

- Population;
- Financial Needs;
- Derivation;
- Even national development.

Said the Dina report:

"It appears to this Committee that it is as much a duty to rectify the glaring inadequacies of Decree 15 of 1967, as it affects Revenue Allocation, as it is to create an allocation system which is better geared to promote national economic and political integration and general economic development."

The Dina Committee stated boldly: "We believe that fiscal arrangements in Nigeria should reflect the new spirit of unity to which the nation is dedicated."

It is in the spirit of this new-found unity that we have viewed all the sources of revenue of this country as the common funds of the country to be used for executing the kinds of programmes which can maintain this unity."

The Dina Committee said it was not surprising that neither the pre-1967 revenue allocation formula (as represented by the Binns Commission) nor the emergency revenue allocation measure contained in Decree No. 15 of 1967, proved adequate to meet the new and complex situation of a 12-State federation as compounded by the economic facts of a prolonged armed conflict.

The Dina committee were sitting almost two years before the end of the Nigerian civil war.

DINA'S CRITIQUE OF PAST REVENUE ALLOCATION SYSTEM:

The committee observed that there had been a growing asymmetry between the function of, and resources available to, the various component governments in the federation.

This is true not only as between the Federal Government and the State governments, but also among the different State governments.

"This imbalance between constitutional functions (or fiscal responsibilities) and financial resources was further underlined in 1967, by the arbitrary nature of Decree No. 15 of 1967; an imbalance which was a subject of serious representation put to us by many State governments."

Another criticism of past revenue allocation system was as follows:

"The existence of a multiplicity of taxing and spending authorities with regard to the same revenue source or expenditure function not only generates major administrative problems, but also reduces the effectiveness of any fiscal co-ordination effort."

Once it is accepted that the overwhelming social urge is for accelerated economic development as a major prerequisite for expansion of welfare services, then the point must be sustained that financial relations become only meaningful in the context of integrated development planning."

A third criticism of past revenue sharing formulae made by the Dina Committee was this:

"There is often an unduly large gap between the allocation principles enunciated in various reports and the extent to which they were given operational interpretation."

The principles appeal impressively objective in their verbal description but are not strongly evident in the final formulae which have always appeared to be subjectively prescribed.

"A major explanation of the gap between precept and practice in the reports of most of past Fiscal Review Commissions can be found in the conflicting objectives they were striving to reconcile."

A fourth criticism which the Dina Committee made of past revenue sharing efforts was as follows: "The theoretical construct underlying the approaches of the past Fiscal Review Commissions is not often stated or clear. It is true that there is no unique theory of public finance; much less any unique theory of federal development finance."

But there exist certain aspects of the theory of public finance which would be applied to federal finance in the context of development, however rudimentary the nature of such a theory."

On the general political framework, the Dina Committee said among other things:

"So far as the various analysis of the Nigerian political process in the past go, national integration has been bedevilled

by the development of aggressive ethnicity — the bitter competition between tribes localised in regions for scarce development resources.

While we do not suggest that this is a problem which can be solved through fiscal allocations alone, we are none the less convinced that its solution can be enhanced by rapid economic development and the assurance of all States and groups of at least minimum national standards in the distribution of welfare."

The Dina Committee then talked of the need for a shift to a political ethos of **CO-OPERATIVE FEDERALISM**.

They stated: "The essence of the shift to co-operative federalism is the emphasis placed on the concept of a working partnership between the Centre and the States on the one hand and among the States themselves on the other."

The Dina Committee then reverted to the work of Sir Sydney Phillipson on the financial implications of the introduction of a federal arrangement with constituent Regions, in 1946.

Sir Sydney tried to achieve the twin objectives of inter-regional equity and balanced national development. He considered two principles — derivation and even national development.

Sir Sydney Phillipson maintained that for the purpose of quantifying "even progress", population was the best indicator of human needs — he did not appear to have applied this principle in his recommendations. Sir Sydney admitted that in a single economy there were enormous, if not insurmountable, statistical problems in ascertaining the region of derivation in respect of the three major components of "non-declared" revenues — export duties, company tax; import and excise duties.

We have noted much earlier on, a number of "ideal percentages" which were worked out as a guide in the effort to allocate revenue equitably.

On these efforts, the Dina Committee observed:

"There was a divergence between the principle of derivation and budgetary realities." The Dina Committee set their mind to avoid discrepancies of a similar nature.

Now, let us turn to the substance of the work of the Dina revenue allocation committee.

The main purpose of appointing the committee was the need of working out a more equitable interim allocation of revenue than that in Decree No. 15 of 1967.

The terms of reference of the Dina Committee are as follows:

"In the light of the creation of twelve States, charged at present with the functions formerly exercised by the Regional Governments to:

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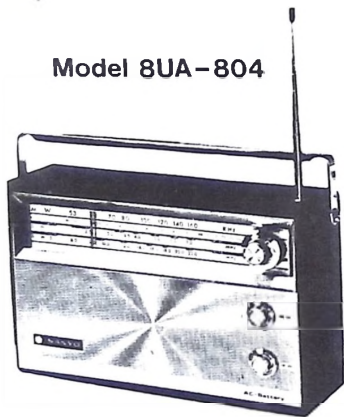
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HUMOUR

Mr. Bawson our local hippie came back late from work. "Honey, I was getting the Executive committee from Lagos started to" he explained to his new wife. "You had better smear those lipstick smudges evenly over your lips and get your own share of the stains too. She flared her eyes.

*****@*****@*****

"What's left in the soup dear?" Gloria my friend asked.

"Not a lot much soup to blend the salt". I said neutrally.

*****@*****@*****

A girl cried to her mother. "Help! I've been raped by an idiot." "How do you know he was an idiot?" asked the mother. "Because I had to tell him how and what to do."

*****@*****@*****

Two young girls were talking in their office canteen when the subject, as usual, came round to discussing the men in their office.

"I wouldn't have anything to do with Kola Ojo, if I were you", said one of the girls.

"But why not?" asked her friend. "He seems such a nice sort of man."

"Ah! But he knows an awful lot of very dirty songs."

But surely he doesn't sing them in the office?" asked the friend. "I've never heard him sing dirty songs."

"No, perhaps not - but he certainly whistles them!"

*****@*****@*****

"If I refuse to go to bed with you, will you really commit suicide?" asked my husband.

"That has been my usual procedure, yes".

*****@*****@*****

In the big cities people learn about life very quickly.

Two boys playing in the street saw a friend peering through a window into a house.

"Quick!" he said. "There's a man and a woman fighting in bed."

One other boy, aged about five, looked in and said: "They're not fighting - they're making love."

The last little boy had a good look, too and said: "Yes - and very badly."

*****@*****@*****

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(a) look into and suggest any change in the existing system of revenue allocation as a whole. This includes all forms of revenue going to each government besides and including the Distributable Pool;

(b) suggest new revenues sources both for the federal and State governments; and;

(c) report findings within 4 months." The Dina Committee was appointed on 15th May 1968.

In its preliminary observations on what it has received to be their task, the Dina Committee said:

"To be meaningful and realistic, any principle of revenue allocation must not be a simple one with problems enumerated in its terms of reference, but also take account of the great necessity for national economic development and social change.

It is in this kind of consideration that underlines our view that the revenue allocation principles can only be logically appraised in the framework of an integrated national political outlook and national economy."

The Dina Committee observed further: "In our view, part of the explanation of the unsatisfactory result of the series of revenue review studies undertaken hitherto can be found in the fact that most of them attempted, under political pressures, to bend their fiscal arrangements to the increasing demands for regional autonomy.

In the new circumstances of today, an absence of an effective coordinating machinery cannot meet the stringent fiscal demands of a new form of federalism orientated towards greater national integration.

The pragmatic formulae of earlier revenue allocation exercises may have served well the needs of the regional system, but they can hardly stand the more complex governmental structure of today against the background of a relatively less prosperous fiscal-resource base, but growing expenditure requirements.

Our analysis of the country's fiscal experience and assessment of its present fiscal problems and requirements, accordingly assume perspectives different from those of past fiscal review commissions."

The Dina Committee noted further: "We believe that fiscal allocation is one of the sensitive points of which special effort must be directed at minimizing such conflicts.

A new outlook and a new sense of direction is required to extricate the country from the throes of the AGGRESSIVE STATISM of the past, which has had a deleterious effect on the emergence of a strong and prosperous nation.

To do otherwise would serve to perpetuate and intensify avoidable development differentials among the various states

and entrench in an intractable form group conflicts within the next federal system.

"To us, the right approach to minimize latent conflicts in a federation is not to be found necessarily in concentrating power in the Centre, but in overhauling the mechanics of decision-making and improving the channels of communication - social, political as well as economic."

Getting into the heart of the matter, the Dina Committee said:

"We would like to think that we have made a beginning in rationalising on the basis of revenue allocation in this country which can be progressively refined as well as more articulately quantified in the future, in the never-ending task of revenue allocation."

"The crux of the revenue allocation exercise," says the Dina Committee, "lies partly in the choice of items covered by the centrally-collected funds and partly on how these are shared among the various governments."

"From our review of Nigeria's fiscal experience, the main bone of contention has been the way in which the "Distributable Pool Account" was composed and allocated.

It is no exaggeration to say that scarcely could any two States be found to agree on a given item in the composition and sharing of the "Distributable Pool Account".

Making one of their radical suggestions, the Dina Committee said:

"We suspect that the term "Distributable Pool Account", whatever its hallowed respectability in other federations, has acquired some unhealthy psychological tinge in the experience of regional rivalry and group conflict in Nigeria.

We recommend that the old "Distributable Pool Account" be changed and renamed the "States JOINT ACCOUNT".

"In sharing the proceeds of the States Joint Account among the States, we have done our best to improve on the methodology and the principles of past fiscal review commissions.

Hitherto, the Distributable Pool Account has been shared on the much publicised, but little quantified principles of derivation, needs, even progress and national interest.

Instead, we have proposed a set of 10 possible principles as allocation criteria."

The following are the new principles suggested by the Dina Committee:

- Independent revenue
- Derivation
- Basic needs
- Minimum national standard.
- Population
- Tax effort
- Financial prudence
- Fiscal efficiency

- Balanced development
- National interest

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Having taken account of these principles, the Dina Committee made a number of recommendations, which could be summarised as follows:-

1. There should be a uniform income tax legislation for the whole country in order to ensure uniformity of rates as well as of the net burden of personal income obligations.

To this end, a Joint Tax Board be constituted to undertake the administration of personal taxation until a new constitution invests this function in the Federal Government.

2. The yield from excise duties should no longer be retained completely by the Federal Government, but shared with the States, and that the entire proceeds of company tax should continue to be retained by the Federal Government.

3. For the purpose of revenue sharing and assignment, the existing distinction between various types of imports, or between production and consumption, should be discontinued.

4. The present jurisdiction of the States over Sales Tax should always be subject to the agreement of the national Joint Tax Board.

5. Rent in respect of in-shore operation should be assigned in full to the States concerned.

6. Royalties from in-shore (petroleum) operations should be assigned to: Federal Government - 15 per cent
State Derivation - 10 per cent
Special Grants Account - 5 per cent

7. ALL revenue accruing from off-shore operations - (premia, rent, licences and royalties) should be assigned to the Federal Government; the 3-mile limit from the coastline being taken as the dividing line for this purpose, and should be allocated as follows:

Federal Government - 60 per cent
State Joint Account - 30 per cent
Special Grants Account - 10 per cent.

8. State Governments should explore the possibility of charging marriage licence fees in respect of marriages performed under customary law and for registration of births.

9. A turnover tax should be levied on companies as an alternative to tax on profits where a firm does not declare profits and that, even when such profits are declared, the tax should be levied on whichever of the two is likely to yield higher revenue, that is, either the Turnover Tax or the Profits Tax.

10. A capital Gains Tax should be introduced not only on stock values, but also on Real Estates and on other



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11. A comprehensive National Social Security Scheme should be introduced to which all wage and salary earners and their employers, on their behalf, would contribute for pension purposes and other benefits.
12. The case of organisations which have already established their own statutory pension schemes, such as the ILO, should continue but only to the extent that employees' contributions exceeded the ratio of contributions to the National Scheme.
13. Governments should introduce occupational licencing for the various trades and professions, and the licences should be renewable annually.
14. The Dina Committee suggested the following categories of trades, occupations and professions for licencing and special income assessment. These trades, occupations and professions cover the work of goldsmith; money-lenders; barbers; bricklayers; race-horse owners; professional photographers; taxi owners; pharmacists; lawyers; accountants; doctors; surveyors in private practice; carpenters; fitters; seamstresses; butchers; watch and clock hawkers; motor mechanics. This list is by no means exhaustive; it is a random selection from the list given by the Dina Committee.
15. All revenues from both occupational licences and taxes on assumed income should accrue to the States of residence of the individuals concerned, except in respect of senior professionals — such as doctors, lawyers and surveyors whose areas of practice necessarily transcend State barriers, their occupational licences (but not income taxes) should be levied by, and the revenues accrue to, the Federal Government.
16. As a pre-requisite for objective analysis of fiscal federalism, a uniform system of presenting government accounts to embrace the entire public sector of each State be evolved for the whole of Nigeria.
17. An account which is to be designated the "Special Grants Account" should be established mainly to meet the principles of national interest, and be administered by the permanent Planning and Fiscal Commissions recommended to be set up.
18. The allocation of the States Joint Account to the States Governments should be in accordance with the principles of basic needs; minimum national standards and balanced development.
19. Self-help schemes should attract matching grants from State Governments.
20. The application of the above revenue allocation principles should be with

effect from 1st April 1969.

All the States of Nigeria submitted memoranda to the Dina Committee; the only exception was the East Central State which was a theatre of military operations in the Nigerian civil war. The Dina Committee sat and submitted its report almost two years before the end of the Nigerian civil war.

NEWBRED has examined the work of the five expert committees on revenue allocation for two main reasons.

First, to provide basic background information on a burning public issue.

Secondly, it would be obvious to anybody who has read the issues involved as analysed by the five expert committees that the subject is more complex than the facile air-port statements of military leaders and civilian commissioners would seem to suggest.

It is significant that the Dina Committee consisted entirely of Nigerians. It made a rational critique of the four previous revenue allocation committees.

The work and recommendations of the Dina Committee display an intellectual frankness and political vision which are admirable. But it was the first revenue allocation report in the history of Nigeria which was rejected by the Federal Government.

It is rumoured that some of its recommendations were considered too radical. It is also suggested that Dina's underlying political assumptions were too far ahead of the realities of Nigerian politics.

However that may be, NEWBRED prefers to wait for an authoritative statement from the Federal Government on why the Dina recommendations were rejected.

We can only say for the moment, that some of the Dina recommendations have such public importance that they should be brought up on the national agenda for critical discussions.

The first is the need to launch a National Social Security scheme. This is a broader conception than the limited National Provident Fund scheme.

A comprehensive social security scheme is one of the ways to bring home to ordinary Nigerians the reality and the economic justice of our much trumpeted oil boom.

Another of Dina's recommendations that should be given urgent airing is the introduction of occupational licences for a wide range of professions and occupations.

At the moment, only civil servants and workers in the big commercial firms pay income taxes to the various governments. A lot of self-employed, professionals, merchants and wealthy market-women do not pay taxes.

The adoption of the Dina recommendations on annual occupational licences

will bring millions of more Nigerians within the tax net and for the first time make them discharge their civic duties.

If this induces them to have a greater awareness, of their civic responsibilities, it is to the good of Nigeria.

Since petroleum is now the goose that lays the golden egg in the Nigerian economy, the revenue allocation debate will boil down substantially to how best to share earnings accruing from petroleum between the Federal Government and the States of the Federation.

All through the debate on revenue allocation so far, very few people (military leaders or civilian commissioners) have come up with hard figures and facts on how best to share Nigeria's petroleum earnings.

The Dina Committee for example suggested that with regard to in-shore petroleum operations — the State Joint Account should have the lion's share — 70 per cent; the Federal Government should keep 15 per cent; while the State of origin should have 10 per cent; and 5 per cent should go to the Special Grants Account.

With off-shore petroleum, Dina suggested that the Federal Government should have 60 per cent; the State Joint Account should have 30 per cent; and the Special Grants Account should have 10 per cent.

The Western-government owned newspaper — The Daily Sketch in its editorial opinion of May 14, 1974 suggested the following revenue allocation formula with regard to petroleum:

20 per cent to the State of origin;
5 per cent to the Federal Government;
and 75 per cent to the other eleven states.

These are hard facts and figures which could form a basis of discussion. Those who disagree should suggest what percentages they consider fair.

One great merit of the Dina recommendation is that it tried to lay the ghost of the principle of derivation. But the fact that this recommendation was rejected shows that this particular ghost dies hard.

Whatever the injustices of the past; whatever the old political scores which some influential leaders are bent on settling; the fact remains that the path of sanity for all of us is to keep our vision of ONE NIGERIA.

For the first time in our history, a federal government has the economic and financial means to foster our unity through a fair distribution of amenities and economic projects.

This is the rationale behind the Dina recommendations. This is why we think the Federal Government should have second thoughts about the Dina report.

The wide disparity in income per head between say the Mid-West and the West

REVENUE ALLOCATION

Revenue Allocation and Percentage Distribution of Nigerian Population Showing the Combined effects of the Binns Report and of Decree No. 15, 1967.

State	Percentage of population. (1963)	Binns Allocation	Allocation after Decree No. 15 of 1967.
Western State	17.0%	20% for the whole of Western Region	18%
Lagos State	2.6%		2%
Mid-Western	4.5%	8%	8%
Northern Region		42%	
North-Western	10.3%		7%
North-Central	7.3%		7%
Kano State	10.4%		7%
North-Eastern	14.0%		7%
Benue-Plateau	7.2%		7%
Kwara State	4.3%		7%
Eastern Region		30%	
East Central State	11.2%		17.5%
South Eastern	8.3%		7.5%
Rivers State	2.8%		5%

The Dina Interim Revenue Allocation Committee Recommended the following Formula for Sharing the following listed Revenues :—

Type of Revenue	Federal Government	State Derivation	States Joint Account	Special Grants Account
Excise Duty	60 per cent	—	30 per cent	10 per cent
Import Duty	50 per cent	—	50 per cent	—
Export Duty	15 per cent	10 per cent	70 per cent	5 per cent

Amounts Received by the Regions from the Federal Government (Old Currency).

Regions	Selected Years.		
	1959-60	1962-63	1964-65
Northern	£ 12,073,000	£ 16,044,000	£ 18,363,000
Western	£ 15,419,000	£ 16,915,000	£ 12,194,000
Eastern	£ 9,414,000	£ 14,012,000	£ 15,095,000
Southern Cameroons	£ 1,512,000	—	—
Mid-Western	—	—	£ 2,045,000

States in fiscal 1974/75 CANNOT form the basis of political and economic stability in our country.

Nigeria's main objective is to build a strong and united country. At the moment, those who are beating the tom-tom of separatism and arrogance are very few.

The question is: Will the Federal Government buckle under to them? We intend not.

NEWBreed recommends in good conscience that to evolve a formula of revenue allocation considered fair by all the States in Nigeria, if possible.

But the unity of Nigeria should be reflected, especially in the area of revenue allocation.

Our belief in the oneness of Nigeria should be reflected in all facets of our national life — employment opportunities; property ownership; freedom to reside anywhere in the country without being made to feel like a "stranger" as it is now.

In short, Nigerian citizenship should be given more meaning, without regard to an individual's ethnic origin, religious or political beliefs.

1974-75 Estimated Federal Statutory Allocations to the States

State	Allocation (₦m)	1973 Est. Pop. (m)
Mid-Western,	139.9	3.2
Rivers	101.1	1.9
East Central	58.4	9.2
Western	47.4	11.5
North-Eastern	41.7	9.9
Kano	35.0	7.3
North Western	34.9	7.3
Benue-Plateau	30.1	5.1
North Central	29.1	5.2
South Eastern	28.2	4.6
Kwara	23.9	3.0
Lagos	20.7	1.8

Revenue Received through Statutory Allocation from Federal Government by State Governments

	₦'000		Percentage charge from
	Actual amount	Estimated amount	
	1970-71	1974-75	1970-71 to 1974-75
Mid-Western	18,541	138,264	626.3
Rivers	19,880*	101,073	433.3
East Central	25,714	58,349	126.9
Western	55,424	47,385	-145
North Eastern	25,142	41,687	65.8
Kano	34,246	34,951	44.2
North Western	19,218	34,879	81.1
Benue-Plateau	16,022	30,077	87.9
North Central	16,508	29,117	76.4
South Eastern	21,652	28,147	30.0
Kwara	14,112	23,926	69.1
Lagos	12,272	20,705	68.7

Sources: Budget Estimates and New Nigerian, April 10, 1974.



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Text and Photos .

Kwame Braithwaite

THE JACKSON 5 IN AFRICA

It was a Tuesday evening, when we boarded Pan Am flight 184 with the Jackson Five on their first ever tour to Africa. The tour promoted by a Senegalese Mamadou Jonny Secka, a filmmaker and former journalist was to take the group to Senegal and if arrangements permitted, Ghana, Zambia and Ethiopia.

Secka sees a vast new market for live performances as well as record sales opening up in Africa in the next few years. With a population close to 500 million, it could revolutionise the whole marketing and sales picture. Currently a record in America selling one million is the gold-mark for which all artists strive. With more than twice the population, chances would be greater by far, especially since the ratio of black people is also much greater.

So that everyone was excited, being that it was the first trip to Africa for most of them. We had just finished a picture session in the airport and the J5 were tired. They had flown from Los Angeles that morning, had a three and half hour layover at which time the press conference was held and had a six and a half hour flight still ahead of them. Despite their hectic schedule, they were very co-operative allowing pictures and autographs to other passengers and airport personnel.

The entourage of assistants numbered 25. Since the three youngest, Randy, Michael and Marion were still in school, Mrs. Rose Fine, their private tutor, was along for the ten days journey. Even at the time of take-off, we did not know how many countries we were going to make. We were sure of the original dates in Dakar, but promoters from other African countries heard of the trip and tried to make some belated arrangements



The Jackson Five relax besides the pool at the Taranga Hotel.

Promoter Mamadou Secka

to bring the tour to their areas. As it turned out, technicalities barred the Ghana, Zambia and Ethiopian proposals for this trip.

The Jackson Five have become extremely popular and extremely secure in the last few years. It was about three years ago, that they began to show a profit, and now their sound investments have assured the family of a future that we all can be proud of. A long way from the poverty situation that they started in, in Gary, Indiana.

It was still dark when we touched down at Yoff airport in Senegal, since the sun had not yet made its way across the African continent. We disembarked and were escorted to the V.I.P. lounge where about 35-40 drummers and dancers greeted us at the entrance outside the building. They performed for the group and we entered the building for a Press Conference with Senegalese radio, TV and the national newspaper Le Soleil.

After the conference we returned outside to the dancers and the fellows got into the act, trying to emulate the steps that the dancers were doing. I'd have to say that Randy copied the steps best of all.

The festivities continued for about 30 minutes by which time the sun had risen, almost as if the drummers and dancers had made it appear, (the change from night to day was so sudden, that I'm not so sure that they didn't).

We boarded the three vans for the trip to the city and to the Taranga Hotel near Independence Square. The hotel was the newest in the city, less than ten months old. It is adorned with plenty of African sculpture.

Now if I were alone, I could have roamed inconspicuously in the streets, and just blended with the people, but when in a large group with varied styles of noticeably U.S. attire, and with six persons as well known as the Jackson Five, it is not quite so easy, especially since there were three foot high posters of the group almost everywhere. So, as we walked, the group drew crowds of fans, curious individuals and sidewalk salesmen with everything from carving, beads, jewellery and Koras (a predecessor



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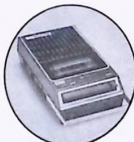
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with cassette tape recorder*



TRQ-225 *AC/battery/car
and boat battery portable
cassette tape recorder*



TRQ-258RW *AC/battery,
handy cassette tape
recorder*



CST-215 *Cassette car stereo
player with MW radio*



CSW-216 *Cassette car stereo
player with MW/SW radio*

THE JACKSON

5 IN AFRICA

of the guitar) to sell.

In Senegal, like in all parts of Africa, the people are friendly. Like in most parts of the world they are also curious, so at times one might feel that he is on display, if it is evident that he is a stranger to the area. There is a kind of warmth most brothers in Africa display when meeting brothers from the U.S., because of the celebrated lifestyles and what they read in newspapers and magazines. Sometimes what they imitate isn't quite the best attributes, but there is unquestionably a widespread adoration for "soul brothers" and news about the western black experience.

Even the young revolutionaries are soul fans and dig such names as James Brown, Aretha Franklin, Stevie Wonder, the Staple Singers, The Jackson Five and most of the top names in the field. But many judge the acts only as how they relate to the worldwide black liberation struggle.

Just before the concert at the Demba Diop Stadium, the first of the three shows, we talked to several students sitting in the first row, waiting to see the Jackson Five. They were very vociferous about their anti-Senghor stand (president of Senegal), and strongly disapproved of his "yes sir boss, yes sir boss" ties with France. They were equally anti-Nixon for his lack of concern for African Liberation and the freedom of black people everywhere. They came down hard on French and U.S. imperialism, and called Presidents Senghor and Nixon a whole lot of "muthafukkas".

In one interview, when asked if he liked the Jackson Five, one student said, "I can say yes.....But I like, because they are black men. But if they are "yes, Boss, yes Boss".....after the white man..... everytime after white man, I don't like. But if the Jackson Five are black, and proud to be black, I like it". It seemed that in each interview about the show, politics crept in and the youth used the opportunity to express their dissatisfaction with the way their country was being run and vowed openly that there would be a revolution.

When asked by Frankie Crocker what they were doing about it, they replied "Revolution, Man!.....everybody must do revolution here." When Marion questioned whether it was a "revolution of

the mouth", they replied, "No, no, no, we are not for revolution of the mouth... the revolution of violence."

The concert started slightly late, and the Jackson Five were the only group on the show. The show opened with an introduction by Secka, and Frankie Crocker. (Mamadou translated for him). They set the stage and brought on the J5 amidst the wild cheers of the audience. They opened with the title tune from their "Get it Together" LP which somehow seemed appropriate. G.I.T. was the theme, and the G.I.T. buttons were our

delegations I.D. for the duration of our stay. They became one of the most sought after items, along with J5 photos and posters. Yes, "Get it Together" was a very appropriate message indeed, with all things being considered.

The show was going well, when just after one of the explosion effects in one of the songs, the smell of smoke, like that of an electrical fire was in the air. Smoke was engulfing the stage, much more than what was used for the effect, and the speakers went dead. It seems that with the equipment and lights



Interpreter helps Jermaine Bargain for sculpture.



"J. 5" watch drummers and dancers at YOFF Airport Welcome.



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THE JACKSON

5 IN AFRICA

...on the transformers, one of them causing a power failure.

The rhythm was still loud and clear, but after seeing that they were getting the go-ahead for the vocal mikes, Marlon, Michael and Jackie left the stage, as the rhythm continued, while repairs and/or replacements were made. When they returned to the stage, there was a thunderous applause and everything was clear sailing from then on.

The audience, which had been relatively quiet until then, became alive and appreciative of what they almost missed.

There was a point where Michael while singing, jumped off the stage into the camera pit, and walked to the audience. He took off his jacket, and threw it to the ground, and a mad scramble ensued for the "souvenir". A tug of war followed for the item, but the winner was promoter Johnny Secka, beating all, in the "battle of Michael's jacket."

The crowd was as much as J5 crowd as the teenagers in Gary, Indiana, or Los Angeles, California. They especially liked the rhythmic choreographed numbers like "Daddy Was A Rolling Stone". Not at all like their daddy, Joe Jackson who was, as always, with them on the tour. Pop, who handles the business, is the brain behind the group and the single most reason for their success.

Mrs. Katherine Jackson (mother of the group), who was not on the trip (nor were the wives of Tito and Jermaine) recently reminisced about the days back in Gary....."One of the reasons the boys picked up interest in music is because Joe and I would not let them hang out in the streets too much. I remember when the boys won their first talent contest. Naturally I was kind of surprised when they were announced as first place winners.

"Many times Joe would spend money needed for the house on microphones, guitars or some other necessity for the group. Being a mother, I used to be quite concerned about the way money was spent around the house. But needless to say, the investments for the instruments were necessary and it was beneficial because the boys practiced very hard and all those years of talent shows and



The Jackson Five pause at the entrance to the slave house at Goree Island.



Jackie signs Autograph for young Senegalese.

THE JACKSON 5 IN AFRICA

small engagements paid off."

Joe Jackson was not without his own moment of glory, for he was honoured by the Senegalese government, with the highest medal of the country. Medal of the Lion, in a special ceremony in his honour. In the absence of President Senghor, who was in France, the medal was presented by Monsieur Fall, the Minister of Tourism, who is among the nicest and most efficient persons around. In turn, Michael presented the government with their latest gold record.

By far, the most dramatic part of the trip was the visit to Goree Island, where the slave prison and houses still stand. Each year thousands of tourists take the ferryboat from Dakar to Goree. The waters are still inhabited by sharks some say, but near to the island many children swim out to meet the boat and dive for coins thrown from abroad.

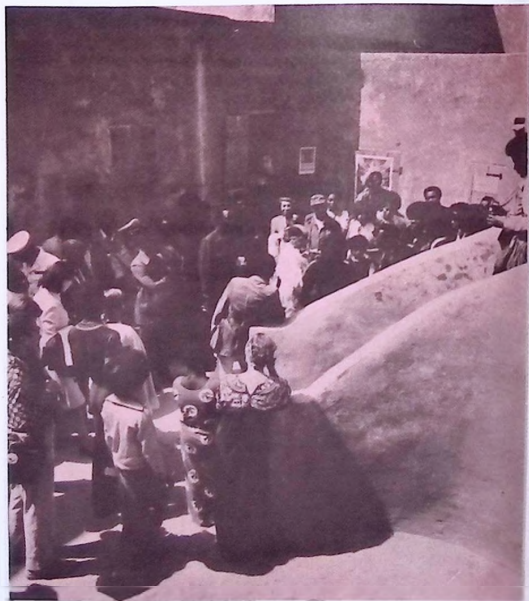
The slave prison was built in 1776 by the Dutch and was the last one built on Goree Island. The first one was built by the Portuguese in 1536. During the Portuguese rule, which lasted until 1580, all around Goree were slave houses, prisons and a capacity count of 1,200 slaves. The waiting was long, two to three months in cramped cells, in chains waiting for the ships to come and make the crossing. Some cells for men held 15 to 20 slaves, sitting with their backs to the wall. The chains were removed only once per day to allow them to go to the toilet. The living was so bad that it created the first yellow fever which took half of the population of Goree in 1789.

Many of the members of the entourage were visibly shaken, as the tour guide, the griot, told the history of Goree. He gave the Jackson Five, and some of us, pieces of the chains, now rusted, that held our forebears, men, women and children only a small percentage of which actually lived to reach the slave plantations of the South and the West Indies.

The Saturday and Sunday shows at the Theatre National Daniel Sorano, were also dynamite but the most deeply inflicted memory was Goree Island.



Promoter Mamadou Seckka translates.



Crowd listens as Griot tells of Goree Island slave life.

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MUHAMMED ALI

CHAMPION and still CHAMPION

Float like a butterfly; Sting like a bee.



Fight of the Century
Dateline: Kinshasha.

by Ishmael Alabi.

Two centuries of prize fights from Molineaux to Joe Louis could not have failed to produce their own legends and sagas. Yet none so true to the moods of the times, so true to the theatrics of refined boxing, and to the yearnings of crowd response and interest which can ever surpass that brought into modern boxing by Muhammed Ali, "that uttermost of Warriors, the vigorous valiant, the dazzle of them all".

For a long time to come, the question as to who is the greatest heavyweight champion of all times would continue to agitate the minds of sporting writers everywhere, but certainly, no one will ever dispute Muhammed Ali's contributions to boxing. Is it his claims to have resurrected heavyweight boxing from the doldrums or his role in bringing meaning into an intrinsically demeaning sport or in educating the whole of mankind about the virtues of an essentially crude craft that anyone will seek to dispute? But no one is more aware of those contributions than Muhammed Ali himself. For often-repeatedly, he has said: "I'm the greatest, the greatest of all times." With his recent victory, he is already being tagged the Alpha and Omega of boxing and who dares contradict?

Indeed, many will see what happened in the Twentieth of May Stadium, Kinshasha, as an exposure of Foreman's deficiencies and of his self-defeating crudity and lack of imagination. But we were only aware of those weaknesses because Muhammed Ali refused to be impressed by the punching power of this "street fighter" who had not been taken beyond the second round in his previous eight fights. For those who cared to read beyond the lines however, the feat was not too unexpected.

LOSER AND STILL CHAMPION

Not long after Atlanta Governor Lester Maddox decided to permit Ali's comeback fight with Jerry Quarry in Georgia, Atlanta, after a three-year lay-off, his personal biographer Schulberg began to piece together the webs and strands of a life which had known several ups and downs. The biography written in the tradition of the American protest novel was an author's uncompromising portrait of a man who despite his enormous following the world-over was a victim of vicious American negrophobia. Schulberg takes the reader through two centuries of prize fights from Molineaux to Joe

Louis and is able to show how inextricably boxing champions are heroes of related acts that serve as parables of cultural change.

For our purpose, we are not interested in all the details of this biography. Suffice it to say that having examined all of Ali's fights from Jerry Quarry to Bonavena and his loss of the heavy weight title to Joe Frazier in *The Fight Of The Century*, Schulberg asked in his book: "Did Ali's defeat by Joe Frazier mean the end of the Ali legend? Could a super-ego who has made braggadocio a way of life live with himself in defeat? another American newspaper inquired. The answers Schulberg provide are germane to what we need here in analysing the return of Ali to heavyweight championship glory on the morning of Oct. 30, 1974 in the Twentieth of May Stadium in Kinshasha, Africa.

For Schulberg had said in his book that "just as people get the government they deserve, so each period in our history seems to create the heavyweight champion it needs to express itself on the platform where body, language and social currents fuse."

The author concluded: "Yes, Joe

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BESIDES EAGLE
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a taste as fresh as breeze
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EAGLE STOUT
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MUHAMMED ALI: CHAMPION AND STILL CHAMPION.

Frazier is an undisputed champion but the allegorical Ali lives on. The scenario of Muhammad Ali is the sum of all our baseness and nobility. He is the mirror in which we may examine our viciousness and thoughtlessness and our fast moments of virtue. It is a time of light and darkness."

Thus, we could see now why Ali, the people's Champion's victory over Foreman, the WBA champion in Kinshasa is just more than another boxing laurel. We should see also why Ali could demand and obtain universal attention in his post-fight press conference to proclaim confidently and with immunity that he is the greatest citizen in America today. But above all else, we could scorn now a pre-fight review in the London Times of Tuesday, Oct 29, 1974 by Neil Allen which went: "psychologically rather than statistically, we have to measure Ali's most permanent euphoria against Foreman's phlegmatic attitude to life. But Ali's charisma should dwindle with the 19-foot ring if his retreat is cut off by Foreman's relentless advance. I am afraid that this will be the last waltz for the great athlete I first saw in the Rome Olympics 14 summers ago. He has come home to Africa too late." Misguided and mischievous this preview now sounds, but it is representative of many, if not all the predictions and previews that went out in the world's press before the fight.

Yet if any one had cared to open "Loser and Still Champion", the answers were permanently there. For Schulberg had said that all along what we see with all the other innovations Ali brought to the climatic ritual of the heavyweight championship are the new tactics of confrontation politics. "He applied to the traditional ceremony of the ring the outlandish behaviour of Abbie Hoffman. Of more importance however, he was the first ideal practitioner of the craft to tap out on the heads and bodies of his opponents the message "black is beautiful."

But in the sceptical pre-fight reviews and calculated onslaught on the man in the world's press, everyone ignored this. Not even the Black Bomber Joe Louis who picked "street fighter" Foreman to win.

"How, a visitor to Las Vegas inquired could Ali be a 3-1 underdog against anyone?"

"I'd make Foreman 4 to 1 if he hadn't got cut over the right eye in the training accident. Joe Louis said. If Ali tries to grab and hold on like the referee let him do against Frazier last time, George will break his back". Well enough of adverse preview publicity and off to Zaire.

BIGGEST BOXING UPSET OF ALL TIMES.

What happened there will now pass as NEWBREED DECEMBER 1974

a fabulous era in the history of boxing in the world. For October 30 established the date when the legendary Muhammad Ali knocked out in eight rounds odds-on-favourite George Foreman in a world heavyweight boxing fight watched by millions of viewers all over the world.

It was a magnificent victory recorded in an incredible style which Ali later defined as the "rope system" easily another one of his many contributions to boxing.

The return to glory was effected in like manner as it all started way back in June 1964 when Ali dethroned odds-on-favourite Sonny Liston who bowed out in the seventh round. Soon after Foreman was counted out, Ali leaped in triumph and then fell, pushed by a mob invading the ring before he sat on his hunches while pandemonium raged above him. Helmeted troops beat back the crowd with their batons and finally, Ali was able to raise his hands to the dawn sky and urge 60,000 onlookers to cry "Ali boom a yea". Foreman, his right eye swollen and blood trickling from his nose and mouth sat hunched in his corner, friendless, dejected and a broken man.

As Foreman swung and missed, Ali firmly backed into the ropes taunting him "show me something, you ain't got nothing", he grunted as Foreman landed to the elbows, the arms and sometimes even below the belt. By the eighth and decisive round, it was the matador toying

with the bull as Ali burnt in left hands and then dropped home the right. There was one sequence of four successive jabs by Ali with the crowd roaring as each sting came like a bullet, and Ali looked so casual at the ease of his task. He had proved his inexperience, his ineptness and inferiority in the most painful of ways.

WHY FIGHT IN ZAIRE.

At the time of going to press, reports reaching Kinshasa confirm that of the tremendous investment of \$8 million, which the government of Mobutu Sese Seko subsidised, the fight, only \$5 million was recovered. Also, receipts from close circuit television transmission to America and Europe which were projected to gross some \$30 million for the organisers fell below expectation. An estimated three million viewers in America alone had been expected to pay admission to watch the blow-by-blow television transmission of the fight. About the same figure was projected for continental Europe, Eurasia and Africa. Not much could be said in this respect of Nigeria where viewers had a boom day when paid transmission of the fight was cancelled in the last minute and by courtesy of Philip Morris a giant American concern, Lagos and Ibadan fans were told to relax at home and enjoy the transmission live within the precincts of their residence.

What accounted for the decline in viewing may be psychological stemming from the massive pre-fight adverse pub-



Muhammed Ali V. Foster Tokyo April '72



It won't be easy to find a better alternative.

Though different to look at, the Passat saloon
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-the car of the future in Nigeria.



MUHAMMED ALI: CHAMPION AND STILL CHAMPION.

licity which built up Foreman to superstar status and made Ali's bid look like a hopeless cause. Of course, this had the natural effect of keeping off many prospective fans from watching as they could not bear the sight of their idol being pummeled into pieces by a not too acceptable opponent. The other reason could be attributed to the Foreman injury which forced postponement of the original date of the fight from September 25 to October 30 and threw into chaos all the related fiesta and festivals which the organisers had mounted to recoup their substantial investment.

This include a musical event which was to star many of the best names in the business like James Brown, Stevie Wonder and Aretha Franklyn. The musical event actually went on despite the postponement but was a big financial loss because it was not conceived as an independent event but was tied to the fight and was only separated from it by circumstance — a cut sustained by Foreman during a training session with sparring partner Bill Mc Murray. Yet, this decrease in monetary expectations should not detract too much from the significance of the fight.

For, to all intents and purposes, the Ali-Foreman championship fight next to the Olympic Games which take place

only once in four years is indeed the biggest single sporting event of our time.

It was not only the most rapturous, the most exhilarating and the most expensive, it was the first involving blacks to be staged in a black African country. Many years ago, a black African country, Nigeria, hosted a world middleweight title fight involving Gene Fulmer, a white and the late Dick Tiger.

The last three heavyweight title fights all involved Americans of course, but not one was held in the United States. There was Kingston, Jamaica where Foreman battered Joe Frazier loose from the crown; then Tokyo and then Caracas where Foreman dismissed Ken Norton the man who had broken Ali's jaw. And now Kinshasha as far as ever from New York's Madison Square Garden which used to be considered the Mecca of the boxing world in the '60s.

These competing claims should no doubt help to explain the significance Africans and blacks everywhere attached to the fight. The successful staging of the fight in Zaire was not only a victory for blackism; it has also helped to put Zaire and Africa firmly on the world map. The publicity generated by the fight is one that no amount of naira can purchase.

In strict political terms also, the

fight has helped President Mobutu Sese Seko to further consolidate his authenticity with the Zairis. The bout was advertised as a "gift from President Mobutu Sese Seko to the people of Zaire". "It is not enough for a Zairois bill board message advertising the fight, for us to condemn colonialism, imperialism and racism; it is also necessary to measure our capacity and our aggressiveness and be united in order to face the challenge of development." Indeed, the fight between two blacks in a black nation organised by blacks and seen by the whole world is a more significant step for the black cause than all the years of treating of the ills of imperialism and colonialism at the customary gathering of African Heads of States.

SHOULD ALI RETIRE?

The question has been asked too many times in the last few weeks whether Muhammed Ali should make his exit. Having reached the apogee of his greatness, should Ali hang his gloves while the going is good; while the victory is sweet and savours of a remarkable end to a glorious career? Or should he stay and fight on?

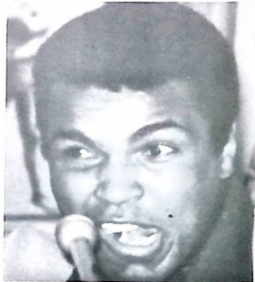
Pondering the same questions in the London Observer of Nov. 3, 1974, Hugh McIlvanney wrote: "We should have known that Muhammed Ali would not settle for any ordinary old resurrection. His had to have an additional flourish. So having rolled away the rock, he hit George Foreman on the head with it" To which I add that having resurrected on the mutilated body of the dethroned Foreman, Ali should ride on; fight on till his bones are rotten. For, after all, whether loser or still champion, Ali is boxing's Alpha and Omega. And boxing is the richer for his presence.

In conclusion, I would like to add that Ali's triumph over Foreman is our hope that light cannot be hidden under a bushel. Hence, naked power and brute force can never triumph over intelligence and truth.



NEWBRED DECEMBER 1974

George Foreman sits beside a bevy of black American beauties and rock and pop music star James Brown.



Facial contortion during pre-fight press luncheon.

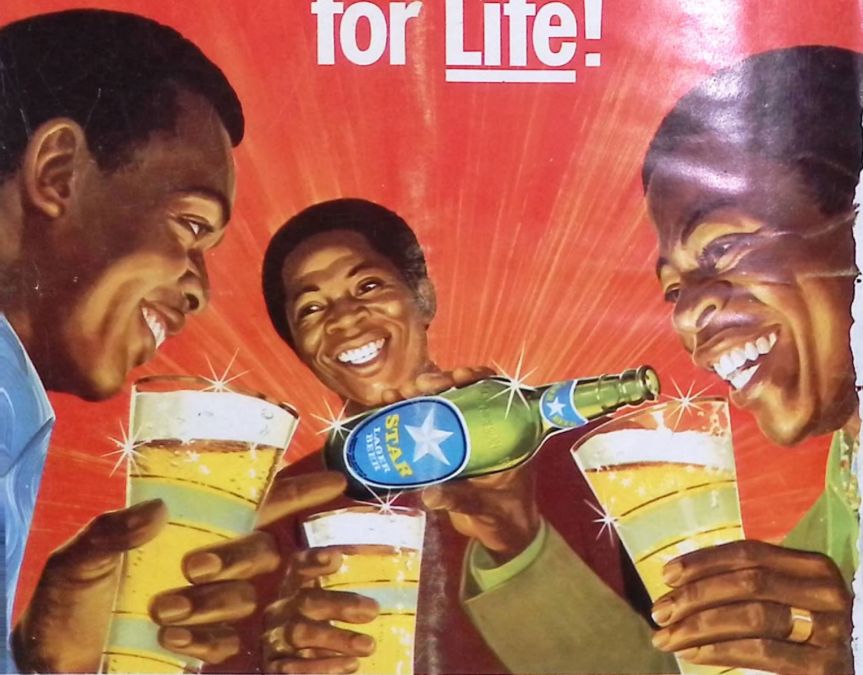
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