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African Concord

2 October 1986 No 110

The Premier Pan-African WEEKLY

Magos '89
Hosting
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The Gambia:
Politics
among
friends

Nigeria:
Pains of
nation-building

26

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African concord

The Premier Pan-African WEEKLY



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The nation's first family, the Babangidas

Nigeria celebrates its 26th year of independence on 1 October, and once again it will be a time for looking back to assess what went wrong. The Babangida Government, which came to power last August, is very conscious of its role in the future of Nigeria and this year's festivities are bound to carry a note of serious optimism with them. *African Concord*, with the rest of Nigeria, also looks back at the past 26 years. P. 9

Like many African countries, one party has ruled Gambia since independence, but it has escaped the description of being a one party state because of the existence of a number of opposition parties. But, as our special essay reveals, this opposition has become part of a political game and does not represent a serious threat to the government. P. 26



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CONTENTS

Commentary.....	0
Needed: a Babangida time-table Growth without development	
News Insight	8
Independence without self government	
Cover Story.....	9
Still hope after disappointment Room for improvement Military unwritten agenda The wheel of progress Emerging theatre culture Men of letters	
Amazing transformation Nigeria.....	24
Oil hope rising	
Africa	26
The Gambia: The political opposition game Uganda: Fast forward into the future Swaziland: Walking on a tightrope South Africa: The 'do and die' trade Sanctions: the hawks swoop down	
Africa Abroad.....	35
Trinidad and Tobago: Political elite challenged A positive view of Africa	
Business Forum	37
The price of planlessness Smooth start for SFEM	
Book Reviews.....	41
The role of traditional healers The Islamic revival	
Art & Culture	42
Exhibition: Oshogbo artists Record: From Paris with Funk	
Concord Diary	43
An East African safari	
Other Departments	
Letters.....	4
Readers Forum	5
Sports	45
Concord People.....	50

Letters to the Editor

Bad mistake

Sir,

I read with deep regret that Shagari and Ekwueme have been released. Frankly speaking, the Babangida Government has done more harm than good to the country through actions like this.

So far, over 75 per cent of detained politicians have been released by Babangida. Babangida and his men thought they would gain the support of the people by releasing the rogues who put Nigerians in the sorry state we are in today. But if people like Shagari, Ekwueme and co can be freed, there is no point killing armed robbers because these people put the armed robbers in the business.

This means that if people like Dikko, Akinloye, Akinjide and Wayas decide to go back home, the maximum punishment they will get will be few months under house arrest before they are released.

Lemmy Akinsoji,
London,
UK.

Welcome but unrealistic

Sir,

The decision by Babangida to return power to an elected civilian government is welcome. But I feel the time-limit, 1990, is somewhat unrealistic. I also believe the political debate to decide what sort of system the new civilian government should have is a waste of time.

Dapo Adesulere Jrn,
London,
UK.

Ensure road safety

Sir,

The Federal Ministry of Transport should remind all public transport operators that their vehicles must have functioning speedometers. An observant passenger might note the speed at which the engine was running in case of an accident and any survivor from a motor accident might be able to help the police, for instance, to establish whether or not an accident was caused by overspeeding.

Car manufacturers should be asked to make vehicles for export that are suitable for our roads too. This might go some way to reducing speeding and accidents on our roads.

The government should also make the Onitsha-Benin road a dual carriageway because it is such a busy commercial route. The Enugu-Onitsha road was once a busy highway but it has now been reconstructed as a dual carriageway. The rate of accidents has now gone down drastically and

this example should be followed elsewhere.

Fidelis Agribe,
Lagos,
Nigeria.

The army should fight elections too

Sir,

I agree with that school of thought which says the military has no business being in government. However, given the realities of Nigerian politics I believe the military cannot be dismissed. In its own inefficient and corrupt way, it has been able to bring a semblance of sanity and calm to the country at times when the worst seemed inevitable.

I suggest that the military should fight future elections. A two-thirds majority would give it the mandate to form a government for the term specified in the new constitution. In this way there would be no justification for any more coups. Military entrance into politics will be legitimized and more importantly, sanctioned by the people.

Richard Idugboe,
New York,
USA.

Ban Gowon too

Sir,

Your recent coverage on corruption in Nigeria was timely. The crux of the matter is that corruption has been rife in Nigeria since its baptism, no matter that it is a colonial legacy.

Those who looted public funds were apprentices in the sixties, graduates during Gowon's government, post-graduates under Obasanjo and finally Phd's under Shagari.

And if Gowon now supports the ten-year

ban on corrupt office holders under Shagari, should not Gowon himself be banned for life?

Enyinna Onuegbu,
Owerri,
Nigeria.

Beware of Libya!

Sir,

Taking note of what Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has come to represent to the international community, namely terrorism, subversion and fanaticism, it was unfortunate that President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda recently visited him and spoke glowingly of Gaddafi.

This visit appeared to condone Gaddafi's activities in the world and was surely a serious foreign policy blunder. Unless our memory of recent history is very short, we cannot have forgotten Gaddafi's staunch support for Idi Amin Dada only seven or so years ago. Neither shall the world have forgotten Gaddafi's subversive activities against Egypt, Chad, Morocco, Nigeria, Sudan and Tunisia etc. While Gaddafi's assistance to the National Resistance Army during its fight against the murderous dictatorships of Obote and Okello is to be greatly appreciated, there were diplomatic channels of thanking Gaddafi other than going all out to embrace a man whom the majority of other African leaders avoid.

Museveni's foreign policy advisers ought to have advised him better because Ugandans have little, if anything to benefit from regimes such as those of Captain Sankara and Colonel Gaddafi. All Uganda needs are realistic strategies for relief, rehabilitation and development — not crude fanaticism and radicalism.

Frankie Xavier Ssembizzi,
Kampala,
Uganda.



Col Gaddafi arriving at the Ugandan Muslim Supreme Council offices in Kampala, accompanied by the Vice-Chairman of the National Resistance Council (NRC), Hajji Musa Kigongo (left) and the Uganda Chief Khaddi, Sheikh Hussein Rajab Kakooza (right)

Sierra Leone

Back to the soil

In the face of Sierra Leone's increasing economic difficulties, **J Lahai Sam-Bomah** argues the case for recycling revenue back into the agricultural sector.

As *African Concord* (issue No. 98) rightly pointed out, a "big sigh" did indeed greet the IMF-inspired 1986/87 budget speech. And along with the sigh came the inflationary spiral which served adequately to translate esoteric economic jargon into simple terms that the man in the street could appreciate.

Price control, subsidies on fuel and rice, have been done away with. The Leone has been floated. Though these measures may be meant to stabilise the ruined economy, nevertheless there are some implications one must not overlook.

The excessive devaluation of the currency, for that is what the more fashionable "currency flotation" amounts to, does not always perform the wonders theory attributes to it. While it will make our exports cheaper, this will not result in a simultaneous increase in export earnings. The inelastic demand of our export commodities will tend to neutralise any increased demand resulting from lower prices.

In short, we face a reduced foreign exchange earning capacity.

The lifting of price controls can only herald further price increases.

With the stifling of imported consumer commodities by the foreign exchange shortage and large-scale hoarding of existing stocks in anticipation of IMF conditionalities, prices have been taking opportunistic leaps. The lifting of price controls can only herald further price increases, as has been the case. In a situation where the pricing system is left entirely to the market forces of demand and supply, and there is a scarcity, real or otherwise, the seller will rationally ask and receive more for his goods. This, coupled with the removal of subsidies on fuel and rice — they too will be subjected to the forces of demand and supply — gives sufficient cause for concern.

In the traditional African setting a man's status is in direct proportion not to the numbers of his family members and other dependants but to the extent he can adequately feed and care for them.

Sierra Leone, which up to the mid 1970s was exporting rice surpluses, has been

reduced to the condition where "rice aid" is not an uncommon phenomenon. The country can no longer feed her children! In the last fiscal year not less than \$20 million was spent on importing rice, of which one bag now goes for almost twice a Government Clerk's salary.

As the gap between the rich and the poor increases, so also do the ranks of the latter claim more members. It is obvious that in order to come to grips with our socio-economic maladies a consistent development strategy must be embarked upon.

Why agriculture?

There has been no scarcity of people expressing the view that agriculture must be the basic ingredient in any realistic development strategy for Sierra Leone. I remain unapologetically a member of that group and with good reason.

In the first place, it has the potential to reduce or eliminate the food deficiency; secondly, increased agricultural exports will generate much needed foreign exchange and will increase government revenue, doing so cheaply since few imported inputs are required.

During the "boom" years of the mid-70's agriculture was earning up to 38% of GDP and, in 1976/77, accounting for no less than 55% of total exports. In a situation where 70% of the population lives off the land, it follows that a productive agricultural sector can reduce under-employment and lead to the improvement of earnings and the general quality of life for the "weightier" part of Sierra Leone society. Small scale industries will also flourish, as raw materials will be available for local processing, preferably using labour-intensive methods.

Causes

Underdevelopment (or as some would say, "the state of developing"), rural poverty, and agricultural decline are not isolated phenomena. They are largely the products of the entire socio-political context. So, first and foremost, their amelioration is a political programme which should seek to mobilise the awareness and participation of the mass of the people.

Among the many causes of our predicament can be included the inadequate or non-existent access to production resources, namely land, water, capital equip-

ment, insufficient credit transport and marketing facilities, a lack of training and extension services and the failure of previous governments to recycle sufficient amounts of revenue back into the agricultural sector. One must not overlook also the short-comings of previous development policies in general and the Agrarian Policy in particular. Low producer prices, misplaced emphases on capital-intensive systems, foreign trade policies, and the specific effects the latter has on the traditional sector. This list is by no means exhaustive.

The only hope of realising the economic recovery everyone is clamouring for is, as for the rest of Africa, reliance on external financing. And the only likely source of such financing is the West.

With Western leaders hollering jubilantly for drastic cuts in public spending for the restoration of a "climate favourable for private investment", and advising Third World Countries to reach suicidal "agreements" with the IMF, the future looks dim. Given Africa's huge foreign debt and high interest rates, it is doubtful whether we will ever be able to pay off our debtors. And, last year the amount Africa borrowed from the IMF was far less than that paid out to it in debt repayments.

It is no uncertain prospect that Africa faces a possible shortfall in future financial aid flows. Against this background Sierra Leone's fight for economic recovery and independence assumes seemingly impossible dimensions. Our unenviable status, in the midst of abundant natural resources, as

Are we ready to go back to the soil, our collective ancestral heritage?

one of the poorest of the "World's Poorest" nations does not inspire confidence at all.

Sierra Leoneans may indeed have several questions to ask of themselves. Are we going to forever remain in this stupor of deprivation, reduced to a state of ecstatic self-pity? Are our politicians going to honestly address themselves to the responsibilities they pleaded for on bent knees? Will our economists and intellectuals ever come down to the level of earthly reality? Are we ready to go back to the soil, our collective ancestral heritage? We need the answers to these and many other questions and we need them quickly!

Meanwhile, as their currency continues to "float", it remains to be ascertained whether Sierra Leoneans are on the verge of taking the final, decisive step into the bottomless pit of absolute poverty.

J Lahai Sam-Bomah,
Freetown,
Sierra Leone.

Nigeria

Growth without development

Since independence, Nigeria has emerged as the leading power in black Africa, but the quality of life for the vast majority of its population remains stagnant, argues Kofi Buenor Hadjor.

As Nigeria celebrates its independence anniversary it is worth drawing up a balance sheet of the past 26 years. It goes without saying that during this period Nigeria has emerged as the leading power in black Africa. This is no small achievement. Despite considerable internal tensions and one major civil war Nigeria has retained its coherence and has demonstrated the resilience of its national institutions.

But looking back upon the post-independence era, the predominant impression is one of disappointment. For a while it seemed as if Nigeria would emerge as a dynamic, prosperous power-house of Africa. Endowed with considerable natural resources, including oil, Nigeria appeared to be on the threshold of becoming an influential regional power. Today those dreams have been replaced by the realisation that there has been no qualitative improvement in the lives of the vast majority of Nigeria's population.

Nigeria has been betrayed by politicians and businessmen who have literally squandered its fabulous oil wealth. The oil boom presented Nigeria with an opportunity to transform its economy and improve the quality of life for its people. Instead of investing this immense wealth in the future of the nation, private greed has had the last say.

Rather than benefitting Nigeria, the oil boom has actually damaged economic and social life. The \$100 billion dollars earned from oil between the years 1973-1981 were spent on ludicrous prestige projects benefitting only a handful of entrepreneurs and foreign interests. As an alternative to embarking on a development strategy organic to Nigeria's needs, billions were directed towards junk factories that have since closed down. There are five lorry and car assembly plants in Nigeria — and all of them are shut.

Instead of investing in agriculture to revolutionise the lives of millions in the countryside, the oil boom actually helped undermine it. During the seventies Nigerian farmers suffered a major setback. Oil revenues spent on cheap food imports destroyed the farmers' export trade and made it difficult for them to even compete on the domestic market. Hitherto self-sufficient in food, Nigeria became an importer of food thanks to the oil boom. It is no exaggeration to say that Nigeria is now worse off than before the oil boom. Since 1978 real incomes have fallen by 30 per cent and are back to the levels of the late sixties. Real Gross Domestic Product today is 15 per cent below its 1978 peak. And one of the frightening legacies of the oil bonanza is the dimensions of Nigeria's foreign debt. Indeed the size of overseas debt remains a mystery — according to *The Economist* it is somewhere between \$15 and \$22 billion.

Today, Nigeria is less in control of its resources than during the sixties. Despite hesitations, the World Bank stabilisation plan is being implemented piecemeal. The recent introduction of the two-bar exchange rate for the naira and its devaluation, though necessary, indicate the influence of international finance over Nigeria's economic policy. Since last August, the Government of Major-General Ibrahim Babangida has undertaken a clean-up of the worst excesses. However, Nigeria has many obstacles to overcome before it can begin to realise its potential as the leading force in black Africa.

Despite devaluation and the crackdown on the privileges of the elite, the power of the old vested interest has not yet been broken. The black market flourishes and many of those who have enriched themselves at the expense of the nation continue to thrive. To be sure the *nouveau riche* are less ostentatious and more circumspect about advertising their ill-gotten gains, but behind the scenes they

The main challenge facing Nigeria is agriculture. The future of the nation is inseparable from agriculture. Most of Nigeria's 115 million people still live in the countryside. It is in the countryside that most of the gains can be made in the short and medium term.

continue to indulge themselves with a lifestyle that is an insult to Nigeria's people. As long as these parasites retain power, progress will be minimal and the effects of government policy will be cosmetic.

The main challenge facing Nigeria is agriculture. The future of the nation is inseparable from agriculture. Most of Nigeria's 115 million people still live in the countryside. It is in the countryside that most of the gains can be made in the short and medium term. Despite a few initiatives agricultural output continues to stagnate. Output last year was below that achieved in 1979 which represents a 20 per cent fall in per capita food production.

Until now Nigeria has experienced only statistical growth and not the qualitative changes that imply real development. To develop Nigeria requires a major programme of investment in agriculture. Only if Nigeria's farmers are encouraged to prosper through the extension of practical assistance can the foundations for national development be established. Changes in agriculture can have the most extensive impact on national life. It affects the lives of millions and helps the evolution of the domestic market. Moreover food imports can be eliminated and Nigeria can earn foreign exchange through exports.

It is necessary to stress that half measures will not work. Only a major programme implemented by an imaginative leadership can achieve results. At the risk of appearing provocative, one idea to be considered is to pledge Nigeria's oil revenue to agriculture. Although this revenue is falling it is still sufficient to make a substantial difference in agriculture. Such a pledge could ensure that precious oil resources will not be frittered away on dubious purchases. It is a way of transferring Nigeria's oil revenues back into the land — an investment to secure the nation's future.

All Africans ought to be concerned with the future of Nigeria. What happens in this great nation has a not insignificant influence on the rest of the continent. That is why we fervently hope that those with influence and power are now prepared to make the hard decisions that Nigeria needs to embark on the road to development. Perhaps the slump in oil prices may yet prove to be a blessing in disguise. Nigeria can no longer afford to evade the main challenge of development. To disregard the compelling demands for real change would be to court a national disaster. Let this anniversary of Nigeria's independence serve as an inspiration to finally take control of the nation's future. If realistic steps are not pursued, Nigeria will simply be growing without developing.



Late Prime Minister Ibafole



First President Azikiwe



First Opposition leader, Awolowo



Northern strongman, Ahmadu Bello

Nigerian Independence Anniversary

Still hope after the disappointments

A look at Nigeria's post independence history by Okechukwu Ifionu.

On October 1 1960 the Union Jack was replaced by the Nigerian flag in what today is known as Tafawa Balewa Square in Lagos. A new nation was born. For nearly a century Nigeria had been under the yoke of colonial rule but the nationalist struggle became stronger as the years went by, reaching a climax in the 1950s. When Nigeria eventually became independent there was not only nationwide euphoria but great hope for the future.

Self rule began with a coalition government of the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). But the three main regions of the nation each had their own mini-governments. The Eastern Region was controlled by the NCNC under the premiership of the late Michael Iheonukara Okpara; the Western by the Action Group (AG), its premier the late Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola; while the Northern Region was controlled by the NPC under the late Alhaji Ahmadu Bello.

British legacy

Under the Westminster style parliamentary democracy which the new nation had inherited from the British, there was a National Legislative Assembly and a House of Senate in Lagos, while in each of the three regions, there were a regional House of Assembly and a House of Chiefs whose function was mainly advisory.

One of the characteristics of political life at the time was the power exerted by the different parties. Ministers and other leading public servants all owed their positions to the party they belonged to and as a result it was in them that their first loyalties appeared to lie. At the same time parties tended to represent the country's three main ethnic groups — the AG, led by Obafemi Awolowo was Yoruba dominated; Nnamdi Azikiwe's NCNC, the Ibo

of the East, and the NPC, the Hausas and Fulani of the North.

Although, in theory, leaders of the time professed to believe in a united Nigeria, individually their primary loyalty was with their respective regions. Thus there were early signs that Nigeria was essentially three nations trying to exist as one. It was to become a major problem. As one writer once observed "Tribalism was more of a tool than a cause. It was deftly used by leaders — few leaders, if any resisted its attraction. Not Zik, not Awo, not Sarduna. They used it with excellence and set a structure that has defied change while also claiming to be nationalists and advocates of one Nigeria — when it suited them."

The thinking then, which the revenue allocation formula helped to encourage, was that the largest region would be sure to cart away the largest share of the nation's revenue.

On many occasions each of the three regions behaved in a manner that suggested their lack of faith in the federation. In 1963, for example, an attempt at a national census proved a fiasco. The exercise was considered to be simply unacceptable by many people. Population figures were believed to have been inflated by each region in a bid to come out the largest. The thinking then, which the revenue allocation formula helped to encourage, was that the largest region would be sure to cart away the largest share of the nation's revenue. This in turn had encouraged widespread fraud which in some cases meant the counting of the dead and even livestock as part of the human population. The results were never published.

Earlier, the Action Group had been hit by a severe crisis which was to lead to a

violent disorder on the floor of the Western House of Assembly in 1962. The dispute was caused mainly by the "differences on tactics" between Chief Samuel Akintola, the premier of Western region who advocated that the party should enter a Federal coalition government, and Chief Obafemi Awolowo who was strongly against this view. A state of emergency in the West was eventually declared by Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa. Meanwhile Awolowo, who had been under house arrest sequel to these events, was charged with treason. Along with notable members of the Action Group he was trying to overthrow the Federal Government and was sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

Census disputed

Another census was conducted in November 1963 and the result was released in February 1964. Again it was a subject of intense dispute. Some regions, notably the East and Midwestern regions, rejected it arguing that the figures for the Northern Region had been "highly inflated." Although the official population of the country was put at 55.7 million, many people doubted the accuracy of this figure.

The crisis that rocked the Action Group and the circumstances of the second census had brought about considerable shifts in political alliances. This resulted in the formation of new political parties against the forthcoming federal election scheduled for 1964. The NPC teamed up with the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), which had been formed by Chief Akintola after his break with the AG, to form the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) under the leadership of Sir Ahmadu Bello. The NCNC and the AG linked up to form the United Progressive

Cover Story

Grand Alliance (UPGA). Both parties agreed to field joint lists of candidates and to publish their manifestoes for the federal elections. The 1964 elections were boycotted by UPGA in protest against the Electoral Commission's rejection of its demand for the postponement of the election. The consequence was that there were no elections in the East and Midwest regions, resulting in a huge victory for the NNA. However a compromise was reached in which it was agreed that a broad-based national government should be formed, with Tafawa Balewa as the Prime Minister.

The 1965 elections of the Western House of Assembly turned out to be what an eyewitness had described as the most massively rigged election in the history of parliamentary democracy in Nigeria. Its outcome provoked incidents of arson and murder that were to earn the region the sobriquet of "wild, wild West". These disheartening events were believed to have prompted a group of Nigerian soldiers into attempting to seize power from civilians in January 1966. Although the Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu-led putsch failed it was not before some key figures in the First Republic had been assassinated. Among these were Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, Sir Tafawa Balewa, and Chief Ladoko Akin-tola.

Northern suspicion

The pattern of these killings and the fact that the coup makers came mainly from one ethnic group let to great suspicion among northerners.

Nzeogwu and his men, before they were overcome by fellow soldiers loyal to Balewa, had promised among other things "to create a free country, devoid of corruption, nepotism, tribalism and regionalism". Ironically some people believed they had been tribally inspired in their bid to overthrow the government.

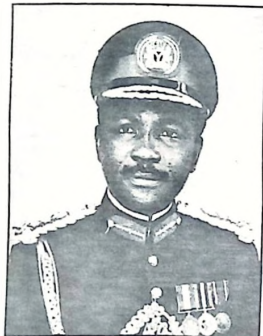
Barely 24 hours after the attempted coup, Aguiyi Ironsi became the Head of State.

Ironsi issued a decree suspending sections of the constitution that provided for a president, prime minister, and parliament and appointed regional governors. On May 24, 1966, he issued another decree which brought about drastic changes in the federal structure of the country. Decree No. 34 instituted a provincial system of administration. Thus the regions became groups of provinces and the Federal Military Government itself became the National Military Government. But these reforms met with violent resistance in the North a few days after it was issued.

On July 29, while Ironsi was on a tour of the country, he was kidnapped at Ibadan and later killed by soldiers from Northern Nigeria. Three days later on August 1,



Late General Ironsi



Yakubu Gowon



Emeka Ojukwu

1966, Lt Col Yakubu Gowon, then Chief of Army Staff, emerged as the country's new military Head of State. But these quickly occurring events left the country badly disunited. Mutual distrust had only increased to unmanageable proportions particularly with the now unabated killings of Easterners in the North. The country that Gowon had taken over was on the throes of collapse.

The Aburi Accord

An *ad hoc* constitutional conference became imperative to review the country's constitution in the face of the ensuing crisis. But it produced nothing due, as one source put it, to "distrust and bitterness". Another was convened at Aburi, Ghana. Here there was some form of agreement to introduce a greater measure of decentralisation by increasing the powers of the regions. However, military leaders, on return to Lagos gave different interpretations of the Aburi accord. Meanwhile hostility against Easterners in the North had become worse. Everything was fast building up to a tragic climax.

On May 27, 1967, Lt Col Odumegwu Ojukwu, military governor of the Eastern Region, declared the independent Republic of Biafra and ordered that all royalties and other taxes that used to go to the Federal Government be henceforth paid into the Eastern Nigeria Treasury. Fighting broke out on July 6 after Gowon had already split the country into 12 states to allay the fears of the minorities, but mainly to undercut Ojukwu's power base. Thirty months into the war Biafra collapsed but the country had lost a great deal in human and material resources.

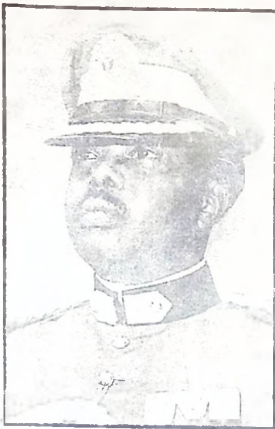
Gen Yakubu Gowon was faced with the enormous responsibility of reconstructing and rehabilitating a war-ravaged nation. There were hardships over the country, but the country's oil wells were gushing with high grade petroleum. The money needed for reconstruction was no problem.

Gowon worked hard to change the nation's agonising experience to one of hope. But he has also been accused of profligacy in the expenditure of the nation's resources.

Muhammed

When Gowon ignored his 1976 deadline for a return to civilian rule, he invited the anger of other military officers. Before the deadline ran out he was toppled by another military leader whose zest and attitude to matters of national consequence won him the admiration of many of his subjects. Brigadier Murtala Muhammed was announced as Head of State on Tuesday July 29 1975 while Gowon was attending AFRICAN CONCORD 2 OCTOBER 1986

Cover Story



Murtala Muhammed

the OAU Heads of State meeting in Kampala, Uganda. The new leader came with measures that brought about sweeping changes in the socio-political life of the nation.

Muhammed acted swiftly in setting up a commission to look into the demand for the creation of more states; he purged the civil service, the police, customs and the armed forces of their dead-wood and removed many permanent secretaries. He also wasted no time in setting an agenda for a return to civil rule. He appointed a 50-member constitution-drafting committee to give the nation a new constitution against 1979 when he had hoped to hand over to a freely elected government. But Muhammed was assassinated on February

13, 1976. By the time he had divided the nation into 19 states and restructured the local government system.

After he was murdered in an attempted coup led by one Lt Col Bukar Dimka, Muhammed's Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Gen Olusagun Obasanjo succeeded him as Head of State. Obasanjo kept to the letter and spirit of virtually all of Muhammed's programmes.

After the draft constitution was submitted by the Rotimi Williams Committee, Obasanjo constituted a wider body to debate and ratify it. And in keeping with Muhammed's desire, on October 1, 1979, the military handed over to an elected civilian president, Alhaji Shehu Shagari.

The period between 1979 and '83 witnessed the progressive plundering of the nation's wealth by greedy politicians and the barefaced rigging of elections by over-ambitious candidates. Ethnic politics reigned in full swing during the Second Republic. The atmosphere reeked of corruption and incompetence. In December 1983 the military returned with General Muhammadu Buhari emerging as the Head of State.

Buhari started out tough and single-minded but soon showed signs of double standards. He became too close to traditional rulers who many Nigerians had come to regard as abhorrent because of their role in the Second Republic.

Buhari also clamped down on free speech. He quickly promulgated the notorious Decree No. 4 of 1984 to deal with journalists who attempted to criticise the Government functionaries. Two journalists were sent to jail for one year and their newspaper fined N50,000.

However, Buhari's War Against Indiscipline did inject some does of orderliness in Nigerians by the time the administration was sacked in August last year by Ibrahim Babangida.



General Obasanjo

Babangida's administration is barely one year old now and is the 5th military government to rule the country. It has had to tackle a few knotty problems such as whether or not the country should take the IMF loan. It has also quashed one attempted coup d'etat and is still doing battle with the nation's worsening economic condition. Babangida has set a political programme for a return to civilian rule in 1990 and has constituted a political bureau whose job is to co-ordinate debates on the appropriate political system for the nation and make recommendations to the government. Observers, however, say that the issue of a census for the country should have taken precedence over any political agenda.



Shehu Shagari



Gen Buhari (rtd)



President Babangida



The Range Rover Assembly Line: the component parts are manufactured abroad

Room for development

An acute shortage of reliable up-to-date statistics is one of the indices of underdevelopment in Nigeria. Fredlintaz Igbeare attempts an assessment of the country's development since independence.

Aggravated by drought and desertification, the gross neglect of agriculture has taken a heavy toll. Its contribution to gross domestic products (GDP) was 64 per cent in the 60s. It declined to 44.6 per cent in the 70s, staying at 23 per cent in the first half of the 80s.

This trend brought down its growth rate by 10.5 per cent in 1975/76. Comparing poorly with the estimated annual 2.5 to 3.5 per cent rate of population increase, it read zero in 1976/77 and continued its descent at an average rate of five per cent between 1978 and 1980. Denoting this fall, local rice production, which was 270 tonnes between 1978/79, collapsed to 99 tonnes in 1983/84.

As a result, the country has become dependent on food and raw material imports. Some of them formerly exported food items. Signifying an eight-fold rise in six years, food import bills jumped from N126.3 million in 1972 to N1,027.1 million in 1978. Since then it has averaged annually at N1.5 billion, about 15 per cent GDP. Steps have since been taken to reduce this trend by the government with the banning of imported meat, wheat, rice and other items. Besides the Agriculture's share of total exports was 85.6 per cent in 1960. After ten years it reduced to 30 per cent. In another ten years, it shrunk to 2.4.

But there has not been a shortage of government efforts to boost agricultural production. Drawing billions of naira, programmes like the National Accelerated

Food Production, (1970/75), Operation Feed the Nation (1975/79) and the Green Revolution (1979/83) have come and gone, but the problem has remained. What rankles most is that, according to the third national development plan (1981/85), 76.9 per cent of Nigeria's land is potentially cultivable. Of this, less than 50 per cent is actually used.

Recently wealthy businessmen have become involved in farming.

Agriculture presently employs 70 per cent of the labour force. This indicates low productivity. Farming is still essentially subsistence. The small-holders who dominate the sector have to contend with outmoded technology, ineffective distribution and marketing services, and problems with obtaining even small loans. Recently wealthy businessmen have become involved in farming and this in addition to favourable weather conditions has brought some successes. The index of agricultural production therefore showed an increase of 4.2 per cent in 1984, sustained at 2.5 per cent in 1985.

In the industrial sector the share of manufacturing to GDP rose from two per cent in 1960 to ten per cent in 1982. Its growth rate which was 18 per cent in 1975, slowed down to an average of 12 per cent

between 1976 and 1980. It crashed in 1983, when foreign exchange restraints increased. The contribution generally of the industry to GNP rose from 3.6 per cent in 1960 to a peak of 9.5 per cent in 1970. It fell to 4.7 per cent in 1975.

Companies in the industrial sector also depend largely on foreign inputs. And with the sharp decline in their foreign exchange allocation, they have had to sack workers, close down factories and often operate at less than 50 per cent capacity.

The import substitution strategy, whereby locally produced materials are encouraged, has many shortcomings as revealed by the national's 98.8 per cent import dependence for industrial goods and 93.9 per cent for agricultural machinery.

But manufacturing concerns have expanded their scope of operation over the years. They now produce food, beverages and tobacco, textiles, leather and wood products, paper, medicines, cosmetics, toiletries, rubber and plastic goods, beer and soft drinks to name but a few. Agro-based industries, however, are yet to realise their full potential. The indigenisation efforts of the 70s and the banning of imported garments and leather products encouraged local industry but in spite of this banned goods still enter the country illegally.

The steel industry is still bogged down with problems.

In 1980, there were 2,315 industrial establishments in Nigeria. They employed 453,632 paying N1,121,954 with gross output at 10,246,438. In 1976 the gross output was N3,814,810. It was N21,681,374 in 1981.

After a decline of 12 per cent in 1984, the index of manufacturing production rose by 19.2 per cent in 1985. On the whole, the index of industrial production rose by 14.7 per cent in 1985 as against a decline of 4.9 per cent in 1984. This improved showing arose from the streamlining of the import licence system which ensured a greater flow of imported raw materials and spare parts, according to the Central Bank of Nigeria.

The steel industry is still bogged down with problems. It was planned to provide a spring base for the nation's industrial take-off. Only the Aladja complex in Kwara State is operating but at less than full capacity. It is hit by the foreign exchange shortage since it imports over 90 per cent of its inputs, most of which could be obtained locally. The Ajaokuta Mills in Niger State are yet to start operation because of bureaucratic snare-ups.

Initially, the industry was planned to produce only iron rods which are important for the expanding construction industry but flat sheet steel used in producing

Cover Story

car bodies has been ignored. Had it not, then the assembly plants producing Peugeot, Mercedes and Volkswagen products would not have suffered recession. Flat sheets also facilitate the production of tanks, oil pipelines, casing of military hardware and motor cycles. All of these are presently imported, contributing to the country's unfavourable trade imbalance.

The programme mapped out for the petrochemical sector is still in stage one, which is said to be nearing completion. Liquefied natural gas production is yet to take off, with the country's huge gas reserves still being wasted.

Oil production started in 1958. Average

production capacity as at 1960 was 17,000 barrels. The quadrupling of oil prices in 1970 and the rise of production to 395.8 million barrels per year, had a dramatic effect on the Nigerian economy. By 1980, the value of oil exports was N13.3 billion, accounting for 98 per cent of government export earnings and over 80 per cent of its revenue. With this, the government could afford devoting gigantic sums to the country's development plan: N43 billion (1975-80) and N82 billion (1981-85) as against N2.2 billion (1962-68) and N3.2 billion (1970-74) in less prosperous periods.

Between 1958 and 1983, the country

earned N85 billion in oil revenue and N43 billion between 1979 and 1983. But the country wasted a great deal of this money and imports rose to an unprecedented N1.2 billion a month in 1981. When oil prices came tumbling down, the country suffered. Foreign reserves disappeared and the external debt increased. The overdependence of the nation on petroleum earnings has not yet been solved.

Although overshadowed by petroleum, other mining activities have been going on since independence, but of minor contribution to the GDP: marble, radio-active minerals, tin, lead, zinc, limestone and cement.

Military's unwritten agenda

The military's withdrawal from the political scene is an important issue for public debate, writes Anthony A. Akina.

When President Babangida takes the VV salute at the independence parade on 1 October, it will be exactly twenty years since the Nigerian military asserted its right to rule. The military has now been in power for seventeen of the twenty six years of Nigerian independence.

Yet the role of the army in the governing process has not been constitutionally defined. Nor do Nigerians believe that a political system characterised by instability — coups and counter-coups — is the one with which their nation must be identified.

Consequently, the issue of the military in politics has engendered a growing body of literature. Popular views can be brought under three distinct umbrellas, "Military Democracy," "Diarchy" and "No Diarchy." The proposition that has been tagged "military democracy" has a recent advocate in Chief Saka Layonu, former secretary of the defunct Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP). He suggested, while testifying before the Justice Bolarinwa Babalakin Commission of Inquiry set up to probe the activities of the defunct Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO), that: "Political science should be introduced into the syllabus of the Nigerian Defence Academy and all other military institutions in the country, so that the army can be trained in the art of ruling. They should therefore continue governing the country, and any civilian who wants to rule should join the army."

Chief Layonu's suggestion, ridiculous or sarcastic depending on how one looks at it, seems to be a genuine expression of frustration at both the inability of civilians to govern themselves and the inability of the military to wait while things sorted out in a process of gradual evolution. Today, it is not uncommon to hear young Nigerians express the ambition to join the military, not for the purpose of defending their nation against external aggression but to

provide them with a political platform. But it is doubtful if "military democracy," which is nothing but a proposition for a system of professional apartheid, will be taken seriously in Nigeria.

Serious debate

More serious debates are to be sought in the diarchy proposition. By definition, diarchy is government by two independent authorities; in the Nigerian context, the civilian politicians and the military. The proposition was advanced by Nnamdi Azikiwe, and has been either supported, abridged or expanded by Messrs Arthur Nwankwo, S G Ikoku, Chief H O Davies and a host of others. The central thesis of diarchy is that political stability can only be assured if power is shared between the military and civilians, since it is the former that wrests power from the latter. It is further assumed that this would put an end to corruption, election rigging, administrative ineptitude and other ills associated with civilian rule. The idea of diarchy has been effectively floated not only by armchair theorists and politicians but, more significantly, by some prominent members of the military.

There are two arguments against the proposition. The first is that if diarchy assures stability, one must be able to argue that all military administrations are stable. This is an argument which opponents of diarchy contend cannot be upheld in view of the experience of counter-coups. The second argument is that those officers who would be drafted into a diarchical arrangement may not be the ones who are most likely to stage coups. According to Nigeria's former Chief of Army Staff, Lt General T Y Danjuma, who has argued vigorously against diarchy, coups are normally undertaken by middle ranking officers who, by rank and experience, are

too young to be in the government.

It seems clear that civilians will not abdicate government solely to soldiers, and since it also seems that the efficacy of diarchy cannot be sustained theoretically, it would therefore appear that the ultimate position would be that of military disengagement from politics. And how do the military become disengaged from a role they have imposed on themselves? This is the million dollar question that Nigerians must be prepared to resolve. One cannot but agree with Lt Colonel Umar, political scientist and military governor of Kaduna state, who, in dismissing the idea of diarchy as "very cheap," submitted that only "good government" would reduce coups. But what is good government, and good in whose eyes? are questions which must be thoroughly appraised in the search for a stable Nigeria.

The truth of the matter is that factions exist in the Nigerian military, and each faction tends to outsmart the other as a political party with a stake in the governing process. This has been facilitated by the fact that the Nigerian politician has proved himself to be incapable of respecting that element of change which is central to the principles of democracy. Once a government has been installed, it assumes that it must govern for eternity, whether it is popular or not. When the military strikes, it sees itself as the vanguard of expression for a people whose enthusiasm for responsible and responsive government has been sabotaged in the electoral process. Hence, there has been an electoral connection in each of the coups that has sent civilians packing.

The extent to which the military has been able to live up to the role it has imposed on itself is a matter for value judgement. One thing which seems frustrating is that each succeeding government

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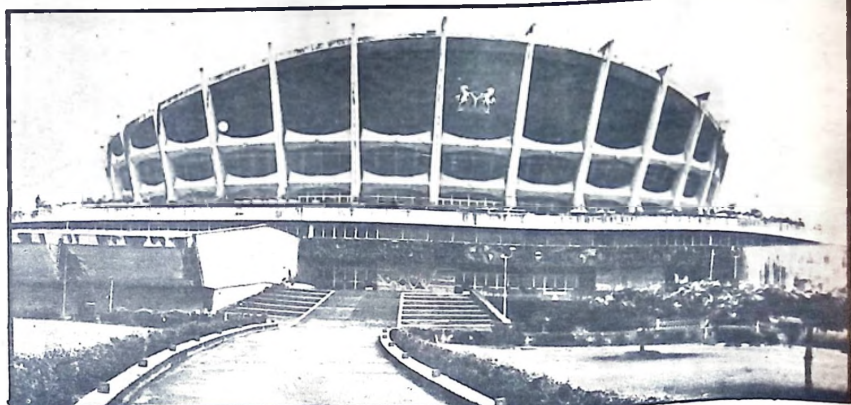
has made angry condemnations of corruption, which turn out to be documentary speeches that would only be admired in a school of rhetoric: The bankruptcy of successive governments to the collective wealth of Nigerians has been shared by Lt General T Y Danjuma: "Corruption had existed, and in fact flourished, even during

the years of Nigeria's corrective military rule . . ."

One may, therefore, conclude that Nigeria can only achieve great heights in an ordered society, a society where the soldier embraces the ethics of professionalism, and where the politician is not only protecting and advancing the interests of

the governed, but is also seen to be doing so.

President Babangida's call for a national debate has historical significance, and it is hoped that the debate will expose the hopes of our political and economic instability, so that the lesson of history can be learned for the betterment of the future.



National Art theatre, Lagos

Arts and Culture

The wheel of progress

Much strides have been recorded in Nigeria's art and culture since she attained nationhood.

FROM hindsight, it could only be described as a confounding arcade of styles, belief, implements and arts. But 26 years after independence, Nigeria has managed to merge reasonably more than 250 intrinsic ways of life of its plural ethnic groups, plus a formidable dose of foreign cultures. The British were able to tamper with practically all of the indigenous nations through one or more strategies in order to reflect a British-oriented culture.

If it was the duty of the missionaries to entice with refined products on one hand, and indoctrination on the other, it fell on our founding fathers to ostracize these alien habits and set about an internally generated cultural value. But western training, coupled with a fascination for western artifacts all but obliterated such thoughts from their minds. Instead it led to the embracing of such values as western suits and other dresses,

foreign arts, literature, music and dance. There was almost a total abandonment of local implements for foreign technology and medicine, and a deep commitment to the mastery of the English Language to the extent of nearly jettisoning of the mother tongue and indigenous ideas. Indeed, in the '60s the Nigerian woman was not allowed to wear the traditional wrapper to her work place.

Yet deep down, however, the majority of Nigerians never really broke the cultural link. In Ife-Ife alone, the 400-odd annual festivals that date to immemorial times still persist. And although there is a large population of Muslims and Christians, many still revert to traditional religious practices in times of extreme stress. This is most true about traditional medicine.

In the early '60s, Professor Adeoye Lambo, a member of the World Health

Organisation and a pioneer in the field of integrated psychiatric research, advocated the blending of traditional and modern psychiatry, a feat he achieved with the setting up of the Psychiatric Hospital, Aro, in Abeokuta, Ogun State.

In 1975, Professor Umaru Shehu of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, again advocated the use of traditional healers for the mentally disturbed and traditional midwives in rural areas. Dennis Ityarya, another specialist, suggested that healers should be employed to drive out evil spirit from persons tormented by it. Whilst some western trained medical practitioners, who are vastly outnumbered by their traditional counterparts maintain that the latter's practise is unscientific and should not be officially endorsed, D.N. Ojanuga, in 1977-78 found out that 58% of western doctors polled agreed that traditional doctors should work in government hospitals under western doctors' supervision. Up to 88% of the western doctors on the survey were in favour of teaming up with traditional doctors if they received more modern training, and up

to 79% of the traditional doctors were ready to administer treatment in government hospitals. A surprising 81% of the traditional doctors said they were willing to undergo training in modern medicine before working in the hospitals and an astounding 76% were ready to work under the supervision of western-trained doctors. The bone of contention was over who should receive higher pay.

Traditional religious practices which centre on indigenous deities, or 'orisha' which are anthromorphic in nature still exist. The deities symbolise a particular virtue for which they are worshipped. In the New Yam Festival, which is celebrated by most ethnic groups, the deity is the god of harvest. By far a more colourful festival, is the Pategi Regatta, a biennial Nupe festival. Competitors come from Bida and participate with local Pategi boatsmen. The canoes are bedecked with colourful bunting, whilst drummers, mascots, dancers, musicians and singers are beset in all of them, to lend morale to the boatsmen. When they are called, up by the Pategi monarch, they row to their positions on the stream and paddle furiously upstream. The winners are then picked by the judges and given prizes.

International participation in some Nigerian festivals has waxed stronger in spite of indigenous apathy. In the annual Oshun and Argungu Fishing festivals, tourist followships have emerged. International worshippers follow the Ataoja in the Osun festival, with his retinue to the Oshun river when he goes to renew his pact with the goddess Oshun. Folklore has it that the then Ataoja, Oba Laro of Oshogbo made a



Yeyeosun festival

pact with the goddess at the river, after which a large fish spat some water into his hands. This water, it is believed, has the effect of making barren women fertile. Thus, women turn out in large numbers at the festival, evoking the river goddess with bells, and drinking the water for fertility.

The Argungu fishing festival, located in a small desert village called Argungu in Sokoto State, is centred around competitive fishing. The gods are appeased with a sacrifice of mixed honey with rice flour balls, a red nanny goat, a couple of black and red hens, water melons, kolanuts, pawpaw and onions. If these sacrifices at the river appease the gods and ancestors, they believe big fishes will be caught when the festival is declared open. For tourists' benefit, it has been lengthened from 1 to 5 days and it now includes wrestling and box-

ing, matches, and dancing.

The Lagos Adimuorisha plays — funeral obsequies staged in memory of a distinguished son or daughter of Lagos — was originally well-planned and orderly, attracting a wide tourist following. Unfortunately, the calibre of people who enter to perform the 'Eyo' (white ghost-like hatted figures with clubs, representing the ancestors) have all but turned the festival into a yearly bloodthirsty ritual.

Some men of letters have captured many of these festivals in their books. Wole Soyinka's poem, 'Idanre' and 'Kongi's harvest' a drama, were derived from harvest festivals. In Chinua Achebe's 'Things Fall Apart' (which has been made into a television mini-series) and 'Arrow of God,' he throws in sight into the Igbo yam festival and the Igbo culture at large, suggesting both their dignities and their shortcomings.

In recent times, television has made tremendous strides in solving the problems of ethnicity and creating a national culture. In national events, a common motion is transmitted whether it be national mourning, or celebration or sporting achievements. Families share these common experience across the nation and it's nurturing especially the privileged children to a less restricted view of their environment. The former Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) Director-General, Vincent Maduka, estimates that nearly 85000 hours of different programmes are watched every year, with a viewership of over 20 million in 1984 from only a few thousand at the time of independence.

Basically it was a slow beginning for television growth. On October 31st 1959 the Western Nigeria Television, Ibadan (WNTV) went on air as the first television station in Nigeria. By independence day the next year, Eastern Nigeria Television, Enugu, started broadcasting. And at the beginning of 1962, Radio and Television Kaduna was

AFRICAN CONCORD 2 OCTOBER 1986



Oblani dom masque rađe from Obubra, Cross River State

Cover Story

set up. By 1976, the number of television stations had risen and they were all taken over by the Federal government by Decree 24 of 1977. Subsequently, 12 more were added to the station owned by the Federal government, whilst 12 new stations were created by state governments according to provisions of a new constitution in 1979, bringing the total to 34 television stations presently being operated.

Moreover, a 1984 report by the Organisation for African Unity Agency for Radio and Television, URTNA, showed Nigeria as the highest producer of local television programmes in Africa, apart from Egypt. The consequent effect could be the enhancement of the various Nigerian cultures locally and abroad. One of such programmes, *Icheoku*, produced by NTA Enugu (established on October 1st 1960) is a comedy which shows the pattern of operations in colonial courts where the British District Officer presided and assisted by local district court clerks as interpreters. Another, *'Samaja'* produced by NTA Kaduna (established in March 1962) is a comedy which depicts life in the army barracks as seen by a semi-illiterate warrant officer.

Lagos Television, Ikeja, established in November 1980 has perhaps the most pioneering achievement by launching the Lagos Weekend Television (LWT) which runs round the clock from Fridays to Sundays, except for a short break from 5-8 of the mornings. Kiddies Times and Horror Tales are some of its star programmes. But perhaps the most popular television organisation by far is the NTA National Production Lagos, producing all network programmes which include popular soap operas like



Bobby Benson: A pioneer of highlife music

Cock Crow At Dawn and *Mirror In The Sun*. High ratings were achieved for serials *Second Chance*, *Family Menu*, the new *Village Headmaster* and *Tales by Moon Light*.

New independent television production houses have sprang up. Alpha Communications Ltd., a private film-making agency co-directed by Jab Adu who plays the lead role in its series *'Wheel of Progress'* is one, whilst Mike Enahoro, a former senior broadcaster with NTA is the director of Prime Television whose *Sounds of Destiny* has also gained some interest nationwide. *'Things Fall Apart'* is a mini-series produced by NTA and African Continental Bank, in television

interpretation of Chinua Achebe's book of the same title, it is perhaps currently the most valued indigenous programme by television viewers.

A budding crop of nationally-known actors has been developed. Okpala, 34 is an actor and scriptwriter. He has featured in plays such as *'Wind Versus Polygamy'*, *'Sons and Daughters'* and *'The Lion And The Jewel'* (all by playwright Wole Soyinka). Also featured in *'Cock Crow At Dawn'*, and his most distinctive performance is as the whimsical Chief Zebrudaya Okoroigwe Nwogbo, alias "4.30" in the satirical *'Masquerade'* drama series. Clarion Chukwura 23, actress, dramatist and singer, featured in the plays, *'The Divorce'*, *'Our Husband Has Gone Mad Again'* and *'The Wind of Change'*, in NTA soap opera *'Mirror In The Sun'* as Tinu and in the film *'Money Power'*. Joseph Abiodun Babatunde Adu, 54, actor, playwright and private television director has featured in television slots, *'The Village Headmaster'* as Bassey Okon, *'The Adio Family'* as Mr. Adio and lately in *'The Wheel of Progress'*.

James Afolayan, 41, plays the character of Jagus in the *'Jaguo'* television series. He ushered in the cry of comic relief "my belle o, my head o" (ooh my tommy oh my head) with his expectant sized-pot belly. Founder of the Jolly Mabo Orchestra, and co-founder of the Afolayan Ogunsoola Theatre Party, he has featured in other television productions such as *'Mother-in-Law'* and *'Journey To Mecca'*.

Despite the apparent superiority of the western musical instruments, not taking into cognisance the over 10,000-odd Nigerian musical artifacts, popular Nigerian music has succeeded in blending traditional and western instrument into dancing and listening media.

The early masters of the game, playing mostly juju and highlife were I.K Dairo, Tunde Nightingale, late Ayinde Bakare and Dele Ojo, all playing juju music. 'Onilegogoro', a Lagos hit number, was an improvisation with the accordion by Dairo, who led the field. The western guitar was often the only instrument introduced into the predominantly percussive traditional beats.

Highlife meant the fusion of many kinds of music: the samba, congo calypso and reggae. Its masters were mainly musicians who had been overseas and played music in foreign bands. The late Bobby Benson and Rex Lawson, Victor Olaiya, Eddy Okonta and Roy Chicago were the harbingers of the modern music cult. They included the saxophone, trumpet and other horns, with guitars and percussions in their musical arrangements. In later years, particularly the early seventies, another crop of musical experimentalists were to come up, using African forms and harmonic techniques.



Okosun. Ade: Blazing trail





Essien — Igbokwe, making steady progress

Felix Nwuba, Kehinde Olusanya, Emeka Nzewi, Chinyere Ohia, Taiwo Ogunade, and Kayode Oni were all not very successful in these chosen forms. The musical public did not catch on.

However, new genre of highly vocalised singers were more successful. Particularly western oriented, not so much in lyrical form but in the manner of presentation and instrumentation, they were Christy Essien-Igbokwe and Nelly Uchendu who led the female version of this group. Earlier on, an actress, Essien-Igbokwe was at first not taken very seriously in music circles. Later, her prowess for showmanship became apparent. Now out with her seventh album, *'Taking My Time'*, a previous one, *'Seun Rere'*, made her nationally popular.

A popular musician among the teenagers is Oby Onyioha. Her music is dance-oriented. She appears to be shifting her bias towards traditional beats in a forth-coming album. Dora Ifudu, a painter and accomplished photographer apart from being a singer, came back from the USA to launch her first and second albums in Nigeria. As a highly creative person, she wrote, arranged and produced them (and even tried to market them by herself). The public was unable to appreciate her music because of its high level of anglicised vocalising. Martha Ulaeto on the other hand, a blend of operatic style singing with pop music which could not be perfected.

Traditional cum exotic contemporary music is the new trend with contemporary Nigerian musicians. Sonny

Okosun, 39, combines reggae and rock with traditional music. He belongs to the group of black cultural nationalist musicians who condemn apartheid and strive for an increased cultural awareness amongst Africans. He came into limelight with the album *'Help Don't Cry'*. Some of his other hits have been more successful: *'Papa's Land'*, *'Fire In Soweto'*, and *'Ozzidi'*. He now heads the Performing Musicians



Oby

Association of Nigeria (PMAN), the body which represents Nigerian musicians. His contemporaries in the new cultural nationalism from the '70s were Segun Bueknor, Joni Haastrup, Bongos Ikwue, Oliver de Coque and Fela Anikulapo-Kuti.

The latter-day juju musicians are King Sunny Ade (real name, Sunday Adeniyi), along with Ebenezer Obey, Prince Adekunle, Idowu Animashaun, Expensive Olubi and Dele Abiodun. Adeniyi shot into prominence when in the '70s he introduced a new style called the 'Synchro System.' He maintained the edge from then on, through periodic innovations particularly in regard to his instruments. His repute has grown both locally and internationally as the owner of the most sophisticated set of instruments in the country. He specialised in the playing of the guitar which he does with dexterity.

For the folk and gospel lovers, Steve Rhodes made popular fare in the '70s. His, *'Steve Rhodes Voices'* was an amateur group which drew membership from people from all walks of life, making musical and operatic performances. Another musician who is a traditional soloist (popular since independence) is Dan Maraya Jos, who uses the *'bira'* (a miniature traditional guitar), which he plays with his original compositions, in Hausa language. His laurels include a Medal of Peace given by the United Nations secretariat.

Bala Miller, 58, could be ranked among the senior musicians in contemporary music. He founded the 'All Stars Band' in 1958. Much later in 1977, he was to find another band, 'Nothen Pyramids' after the demise of the former. They were equipped to orchestrate standards and were the forerunners of 'Pyramids of Africa,' which he formed in 1982. The 'Harbours Band,' another popular group, was formed by him. He hosted a television slot, 'The Bala Miller Show' which was quite popular while it lasted.

The counter-cultural musicians who tried to stop the infiltration of classic music and foreign hymns, were the composers. They wrote their music for choral and orchestra arrangements. Reverend Ola Olude at about the time of independence made up a popular Yoruba hymn book called *'Aayokun'*. It intercalated traditional and pagan melodies with christian, Yoruba lyrics, making it easily adapted. His parallel from the eastern part of Nigeria was David Okongwu, a self-trained musician. He learned the flute and trumpet to the point of dexterity, then joined the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation in 1963 after doing a stint as a music teacher in some secondary schools. He composed secular songs to be performed solo, and also choir arrangements for psalms. He wrote many anthems in Igbo and Latin which still maintain currency.

Cover Story

There was a teacher of note, and he was Fela Showade, now 81, who headed the Music Research Department at the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation before independence. He was essentially a western-oriented musician who wrote in several European mediums. He was popular in teaching music theory and practice to university students. In recognition of this role, he was awarded honorary doctorate in music by the University of Ife in 1974. He was also conferred with a professor emeritus in music by the University of Pittsburg, U.S.A. in 1975. He now resides in the United States.

As a composer, Lazarus Ekwueme wrote African classical music. He fused European idiom with African themes like rhythm, melody and language. His 'Missa Africana' piece is typical of this style. He heads the Ekwueme National Choir and he is professor of the music subdepartment at the University of Lagos.

Sam Akpabot, who ranged from serious to popular learned his trade at the Royal College of Music, England, majoring in trumpeting. With a Ph.D from Michigan State University, he made his mark with such works as 'Opu Jaja,' an opera which mixes different folk tunes. Some works like 'Cynthia's Lament' were done in European form, making his style defy any particular nomenclature. He is a comic, entertainer

and choir director. These are apart from teaching music at the Theatre Arts department of the University of Ibadan.

Among the golden voices through the years of independence, Christopher Oyesiku became popular with his classical baritone renditions of Ayo Bankole's 'Iya' (mother) and 'Kinun' (Lion). Joy Nwosu is a popular soprano of the University of Lagos. Nwosu is well patronised at both local and international classical shows.

Christopher Abiodun Ajilo, 57, became a national celebrity around the time of independence, with compositions like 'Angola' and 'The Falling Heroes.' From 1959 to '63, he was the president of the Nigerian Union of Musicians. With his band, 'Chris Ajilo and his Cubanos,' he recorded 10 albums and personally produced over 100 albums for Nigerian and West African artists. He was a good flautist, saxophonist, and clarinetist; playing in the Independence Day Band. Later on in the Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) Band, in 1977 he featured. He is still actively involved in music as the President of the Lagos state wing of the PMAN.

The cause celebre for his outspokenness and Pan-Africanism, was Fela Anikulapo-Kuti. Incarcerated in Nigeria, USA and Italy for various offences, the enigmatic blacklist had his house (The Kalakuta Republic) burnt by government troops as a result of his

vociferous criticisms of the military and police. In the '60s, his Koola Lobitos Band played high-life music but he changed gear at the turn of the decade. He formed the 'African '70 Organisation' which played a fused traditional jazz beat with modern speciality: the saxophone, his forte, has made him an international music star.

— Ademola Oguntayo



Fela

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Emerging theatre culture

Although beset by lots of problems, the Nigerian theatre is gradually having a bearing.

THEATRE had been in existence before the British and other Europeans came to Nigeria. Its practitioners were typified by the 'Alarínjo' or travelling theatre in Yoruba theatre tradition. Professor J.A. Adedeji of the University of Ibadan estimated its existence to date back to the 16th century.

The storyteller/praise singer was the traditional performing artiste per excellence. He relied on his voice, physical and facial expressions to capture his audience. His grasp of history and human knowledge made him an excellent social critique. This was the total artiste. In the 'Atilogwu' dance, such mastery of the work reveals the space of time it takes to perfect the dance, music and costumes.

Since independence, however, some problems have beset the traditional theatre. Thus they have been excluded from popular entertainment a function that is rightfully theirs.

Firstly, its traditional practitioners found themselves juxtaposed with new entrants who had studied the subject formally. They had sophisticated instruments and sets, and therefore, claimed superiority. Their mode of performance was the European form of theatre, in the English medium. Gradually these former set were forced to toe this particular style which has proved less successful.

Again, there was the problem of the theatre culture. The traditional society was being uprooted to urban dwellings. They had to travel distances in order to watch theatre in its locative halls. So, playing groups now spent fortunes on advertising, which would erstwhile have been used to develop stage paraphernalia or given to the actors.

Ade-Odutola, an aficionado, identifies this third problem as one in which the script writer plays a schizophrenic role. He wants to make his play authentically African. Something his audience can relate to and possibly, enjoy. At the same time, he directs his attention to the outside world, trying to create a script which would portray a highly polished culture and aesthetics. More often than not, he fails in achieving this balance.

Chief Hubert Ogunde, Duro Ladipo and Kola Ogunmola were among leaders in the field who stuck to traditional Yoruba theatre and developed it. Moses Olaiya and Baba Mero became popular with comical theatre.

Ogunde, in Professor Adedeji's view, maintains his leading role in Nigerian theatre because he is able to produce a significantly African theatre while communicating a valuable lesson to the audience.

He also ensures a rapport with the audience; engaging their rapt attention by fusing art and truth, thus making the performance true to life.

Ogunde's theatre is somewhat a celebration, by being active and recreative. This, he achieves by creating a rich mise en scene. Ogunde believes that "Africans like a spectacle. His and for them theatre is a place of magnificence." His overall visual effect is one of such, created by colourful costumes, the use of stage effects, scenery and properties.

Adedeji also observes that "his dexterous use of words, action, dance, music and songs," creates an atmosphere of celebration in his productions.

He is thematically vast, ranging in ideas from an exploration of the relationship between the spirit world and the mundane, to morality and social virtues.

Plays like 'Africa and God', 'Ayanmo' and 'Aiyé' focus on man's fate and the world beyond. In some of his satires like 'Yoruba Ronu', 'Worse Than Crime', and 'Strike and Hunger', he looks at the society's state.

Others like 'Mama Eko', 'Iwa Gbemi' and 'Ieba T'ode'.

reveal morality and social virtues. Whilst in the likes of 'The Black Forest', 'Half and Half' and 'Awo Mimo', he explores the relationship between the spirit world and man on earth.

The western theatre practitioners, or academics turned out productions were slow in gaining acceptance. Wole Soyinka's early plays were among such. Ola Rotimi was fairly successful with the plays like 'Kurunmi' and 'The Gods are not to Blame'.

Another academic, and a prolific playwright, at that, was Femi Osofisan, 39. Since 1975, he has written 22 stage plays, and 39 television plays of one-hour duration, and 2 short stories.

In many of his works, he fights corruption, oppression



Ogunde: A pioneer of Yoruba theatre

and injustice. His aim "is to catalyse. The evolution of collective consciousness among all black people in an effort to liberate themselves from economic and socio-political oppression inherited from the colonial experience," said Muiyfa Awodija, a lecturer at University of Benin.

Osofisan's plays avoid a tragic hero, or any kind of hero, because he believes the ultimate end would be the superimposition of the hero's fate over that of the society, which could be disastrous.

His greatest achievement in Nigerian theatre is his extraordinary theatre forms. He searches for new ways to express old thoughts on the same stage.

Sometimes, he experiments with no stage, or aptly, any stage at all. This could be at the market or any place. This is in applying the German, Bertolt Brecht's 'poor theatre' innovation, which calls for a highest level of creativity by the director.

Osofisan employs an easily understood style and language. His characters are easily liked, and the situations are believable. His use of songs, dance, riddles and storytelling often pays off. D.S. Izevbaye noticed that at the end of 'Midnight Hotel', people hummed and sang some of the tunes as they filed out.

Slowly, a theatre culture is emerging in Nigeria. Last August, when the Ajo Productions theatre group held a month-long festival, there was a large audience turnout. Fred Agbeyegbe, its director, expressed his satisfaction at the outcome.

The PEC Repertory theatre has also held periodic plays over the years under the artistic guidance of JP Clark, a poet and playwright.

Bassey Effiong has encouraged willing actors and actresses to perform with his Anansa Playhouse. They put up plays regularly in Lagos.

— Ademola Oguntayo

Men of letters

Ademola Oguntayo looks at the growth of Nigerian literature since independence.

SINCE independence, some Nigerians have tried to recreate or capture in poetry or prose the essence of our traditions and culture. Wale Soyinka in the poems: 'Idanre' and 'Kongi's Harvest' derived inspiration from the harvest festival. In Chinua Achebe's 'Things Fall Apart' and 'Arrow of God' he throws an insight into the Igbo New Yam festival.

"African people did not hear of culture for the first time through the Europeans. Their societies were not mindless but frequently had a philosophy of depth and value. They had poetry and dignity," explained Chinua Achebe.

In *Things Fall Apart*, he explores this poetry and value. It paints the local colour, elucidating the cultural richness of the Igbo Umuofia community.

The novel has been translated to 45 languages world-wide. Achebe studied literature, history and religion at the University of Ibadan. Since then he has put together four novels. The others are 'Man of the People' and 'No Longer at Ease'. Each is considered a masterpiece.

Another well established writer is John Pepper Clark. He has written four books of collected poems since 1962. Many of the poems, like 'Fuiani Cattle', 'Abiku' and 'Ivbie' show his strong link with the local environment and ancestral heritage. He is usually a social satirist and has become more so in his latest collection of poems, 'State of the Nation' which is yet to be published. Here he shows his impatience with the moral decadence afflicting the Nigerian society. It was intended as a prologue to the demise of the Second Republic, but it still remains relevant.

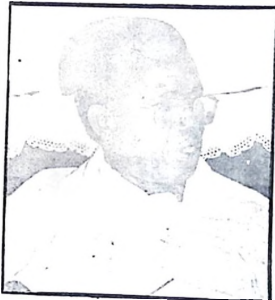
Some of the other senior literary figures are Frank Aig-Imokhuede and Gabriel Okara, who writes poetry. Isidore Okpewho, Elechi Amadi and John Munonye write mainly novels.

The New Nigerian literature has as its hall mark, as the contemporary Nigerian society. Poets Odia Ofeimun (who has published the book, 'The Poet Lied'), Femi Fatoba ('Petals for Thought'), Niyi Osundare ('Song of the Market place') are receiving considerable critical attention. Tanure Ojaide ('Song of Iroko'), Harry Garuba ('Shadow and Dream') and Funsho Aiyejina have made some mark. Emman Anametemfiok, Ada Ugah, E.B. Asibong and Idi Bukar all have published materials.

Some like Osmond Enekwe, Chinweizu, Ezenwa Irobi, Obiora Udechukwu, Emeka Ogoeogu, and Shehu Usman are yet to publish theirs.

In the realms of literature in Nigerian

languages, the Northern Nigerian Publishing Company had done a lot in publishing local authors. In 1980, they staged a literary competition for Hausa writers. The winners were Hafsatu Abdulwalid, Magaji Dambatta and Sulaiman Katsina.



Achebe, Soyinka: Celebrated writers

The Igbo literary works have made progress though the efforts of D.N. Achara (published in 1964), J.U. Tagbo, L.N. Oraka, Uchenna Ubesie and Julie Onwuchekwa.

Modern writers like Oladejo Okediji, Adebayo Faleti, Olu Owolabi, T.A. Oladele, and Kole Akinlade, have advanced Yoruba literary writing D.F.



Nwapa

Fagunwa and Delano are among the older writers.

Among Women English language writers, Flora Nwapa was the pioneer (her first novel 'Efuru' was published in 1966). For a long time, she was the only female writer in Nigeria. Her other novels are 'Idu' (1970), 'One is Enough' (1981), and 'Never Again', collection of short stories (1975).

Later, she was joined by Buchi Emecheta, Zulu Sofola, Funmilayo Fakunle, and Omolara Ogundipe-Leslie. Also Tess Onwueme, Catherine



Achonolu, Mabel Segun, and Bimpe Aboyade became popular writers. Zulu Sofola is the only female playwright. Phebean Ogundipe is known for her folklore and Fidelma Okwesa is a dance dramatist of note. Others like Helen Ovbibegbe and Ronke Fetuga are better known for their press publications. Zinab Alkali and Ifeoma Okoye are now writers.

Buchi Emecheta is probably the most prolific. She trained as a sociologist in England. It is not surprising therefore that her eight novels follow that theme.

Literary criticism has grown in ranks. One of the top-ranking critics is Abiola Irele. He is so ranked for his effective inter-disciplinary discourse and a wide range of subjects of thought.

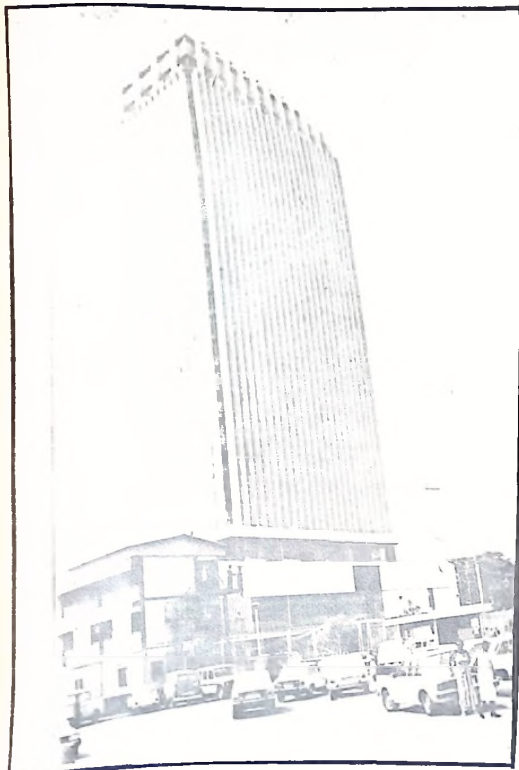
Some of the other outstanding critics are Isidore Okpewo, Michael Echerwo, Jones, and Dan Ezevbaya.

A new novelist of note, among many others, is Ben Okri, 27, who wrote his first novel at 19. The novel, 'Flowers and Shadows', was published in 1980, and after he left for England to begin higher studies. In 1982 another, 'Landscapes Within', hit the market.

Since graduation, he tried to make full-time writing a career, doing journalism on a freelance basis. Things became so tough that he had to seek grant from the British Arts Council to effect the publication of his third novel, 'Incidents at the Shrine' issued this year.

Amazing transformation

Not only the Nigerian landscape has changed beyond belief, the society's life styles have also shifted



Lagos: Basking in new outlook

"We returned to our places, these kingdoms. But no longer at ease here in the old dispensation"

IT has been a lot of years since T.S. Eliot wrote those two lines lamenting a past that was missed by a seemingly brief spell. It is 26 years already since Nigeria got her independence and yet everything seems so sudden. The years have been dwarfed by the amazing size

of the transformation that has taken place in the society. Today, Nigerians can quote Eliot all over again. The nation has undergone what Rev. Fr. (Dr) Emmanuel Babatunde of the University of Lagos paraphrased as 'structural deformity'.

The past was very alluring. Older citizens spoke about it with an all-consuming nostalgia. The young ones listen-

ed but had to lick their fingers in regret. What a blissful era they had missed! The society they know is one that has been held hostage in a web of intricacies, a society in which the traditional fortresses have cracked and modernity has taken over. The very peace of the past sounds like folklores when narrated by elders. Yet it was nothing but real.

Pa Joseph Afolaju, 72, who came to Lagos as a bicycle repairer in 1956 put the story in a capsulated statement "You may not believe it but we used to sleep outside when it became too hot inside the house." He disclosed that a few shillings used to be enough for his family's daily need. "I would give two pence (kobo) to my two children for their mid-day meals at school and I paid just ten shillings per month for the room we were using" said Pa Afolaju. Robberies, he said were rare and armed robbery unheard of. The thought of its frequency these days was enough to make Pa Afolaju shudder.

Mr. Kayode Ikudehin was about 20 years old when he came to Lagos from Ilaje area of Ondo State in 1962. His school certificate result was not favourable, so he headed for Lagos with a G4 statement of result. He did not find it hard to get job at the UAC Ltd. as store-keeper. "It was as if the job was waiting for me. In any case two other colleagues with whom I was to resume duty did not show up after all. May be they got better offers somewhere else," he explained. Mr Ikudehin disclosed that he too was offered a teaching appointment by the old Western state government but had to leave for Lagos "because I did not like teaching."

When he was reminded that graduates now roam the streets in search of jobs, he simply replied that it all resulted from the fall in the standard of education. Pa Afolaju expressed a different view. He laid the blame at the feet of government, "They keep opening Universities without creating jobs," he complained. His bitterness had a basis in the personal pain that his last son, who graduated in Civil Engineering two years ago, was yet to secure a job. The unemployment trap is one of the tragedies that Nigeria has fallen into in her 26 years of independence. The figure has now run into seven digits. It started with primary school leavers early in the 60s affecting especially those who shunned menial jobs. Later in the 70s life was still relatively rosy for those who accepted routine office jobs.

It was by the late 70s that university graduates started waiting for long period to get jobs. By 1982 the rate became

Cover Story

alarming until lately when people stopped worrying any more.

Nature does not mark time. Nigeria's population does not either. It has simply exploded, assuming an ominous dimension which has been driving Nigerians to family planning clinics. But to Mr Ikudehin it was all a matter of economic necessity. "Can you maintain eight children with your present salary?" he asked. Experts, however, said that population explosion in Nigeria was due to gains recorded in life expectancy

ly he got a job in Lagos in 1962 two of his nephews came over to stay with him. He quickly apprenticed them in a mechanic workshop but one of them could not complete the training. He was deported back to Ilafe for misbehaving. Mr. Ikudehin said that more than 20 relatives of his had passed through his own care.

Nigeria's data on urbanization over the last few decades of independence look staggering. The share of urban

copters had to be used to assist traffic wardens. Later many streets were converted to one way traffic routes while several overhead flyovers started springing up. It was the traffic stress on the Carter Bridge that led to the construction of the Eko bridge in the early 70s. Construction of major by-passes and ring roads also became the vogue. And later, the expressway culture became more appealing.

Today, long stretches of tarred roads have penetrated into the heartland lighting up the nooks and corners of Nigeria. The result is the rapid infiltration of modernity. It sounds almost incredible the way it happened. The story of a village, Agege, in the outskirts of Lagos was told. The only electricity there was at the railway station. The only public tap used to be a crowded scene. The only upstairs building was owned by one Darosa whose name, to the villagers became synonymous with wealth. That was Agege as it was in those days. But today massive structures have taken over and the woods cleared. Water still remain sporadic but electricity is available in most homes. Agege however, has now acquired an ominous accolade. It has become a haven for robbers.

They have taken the whole of Lagos hostage driving Lagosians behind barricades erected with iron. The iron-gate or fence culture has spread across the country. Yet it was imposed by the fear of robbers. At first sight Lagos present the image of a prison city. That is the picture conveyed by the endless fences seen around houses in Lagos. According to Mr Ikudehin who lives in a fenced mansion, the barricade culture has become a matter of necessity if one wanted to feel secure. He agreed however that the culture probably had something to do with the people's lack of confidence in the country's law enforcement agents.

Christianity and Islam have been on the chase of traditional religion. The ritual drums have become faint. It is the choir-master's voice and that of his bandset that have taken the air. The masquerades no longer hold attraction for the youths. In 1977, the nation embarked on a cultural jamboree under FESTAC in a bid to revive the dying local culture; but soon after, interest reverted to its low ebbs. The Osun in Osogbo, Ogun in Ondo which have survived the deadly stab on the Nigerian traditional religion have all been divested of the myths that made them religion. They have become mere entertainment outfits.

In Dr Babatunde's view, this had to be so. "How does masquerades help you to become technologically developed? How does it help you to compete with advancements in the world?" He queried.

— Oluwambo Balogun



New houses sprouting up daily

which was 40 years in 1970 but has gone up to 50 years in 1983 while crude death rates per thousand moved down from 23 in 1965 to 17 1983.

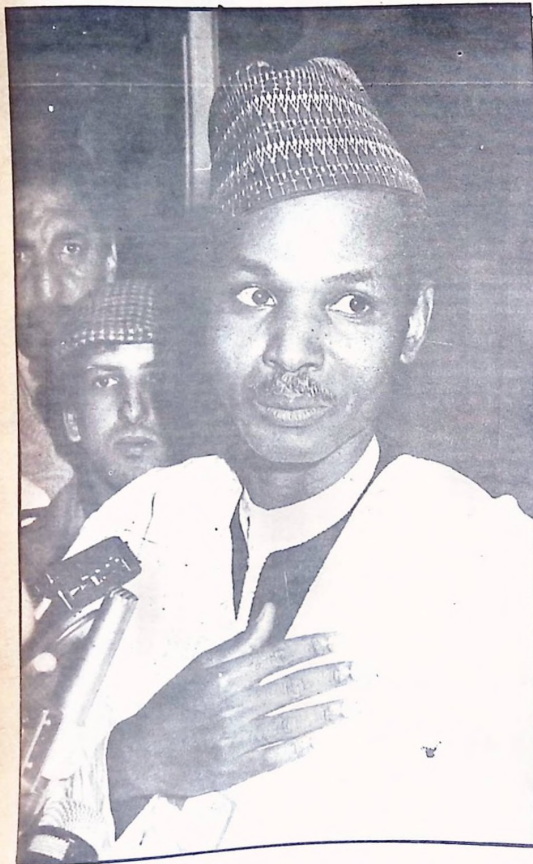
But while the explosion continues, there has been a noticeable change in the attitude of urbanized Nigerians. There has been a movement towards individuality and the extended family system has suffered a major crack. Said Mr Steven Iroha, a self employed architect: "If any body wants to visit me from my home town (Okigwe) he must write to me first otherwise I may have to turn him back. What I earn is not even enough for me and my wife." The experience of Mr Ikudehin was different. Immediate-

population out of Nigeria's total rose from 19.6 percent (10.9 million) in 1963 to 23.2 percent (16.2 million) in 1972. The 1963 figure for Lagos, was 665,246 and 149,910 for Kaduna. Enugu's population was put at 138,457 while 627,379 was recorded for Ibadan. The result of the growth which has become evident in the major cities was the stress brought to bear on available social amenities.

Traffic had become a real menace. One could probably count the number of buses that plied Lagos in 1960. The oil boom of the late 60s to the early 70s led to massive increase in the number of vehicles on Lagos routes. In 1973 helic-

Oil hope rising

Lukman briefs the press on his ministry and sounds optimistic



Lukman: Sounds optimistic

NIGERIA is anchoring new hopes in foreign earnings through diversified international trading with the exportation of bulk bitumen. The first ship load of 2600 metric tonnes of bitumen sailed off Nigeria's shore last week. Nigerian

National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) in charge of this venture is intensifying the bitumen — export-drive through planned, enlarged production of 300,000 metric tonnes of various grades

of bitumen at the Kaduna refinery this year. The proposed figure will take care of domestic and export demands. Petroleum Resources Minister, Alhaji Rilwanu Lukman, who is also the president of Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) made the disclosures last Wednesday at the Eko Holiday Inn, Lagos, while briefing newsmen on the activities of his ministry.

Alhaji Lukman talked extensively on the future of the yet to be commissioned petrochemical projects, the refineries, exploration activities, domestic and industrial gas supplies, the adulteration of petroleum products and recurring shortages in petroleum products. He promised that the first phase of the petrochemical projects with their plant's location in Ekpan, Bendel State, and Kaduna in Kaduna state would be brought into operation in the first quarter of 1987. The delay in its take-off was attributed to "an operational delay" in the expansion work of the Waziri refinery's capacity from 100,000 to 125,000 barrels per stream day (BPSD). He expressed the hope that petrochemicals (being core projects) "will provide inputs to other industries and thus stimulate them to higher levels of production."

Petrochemical

The phase two of the petrochemical projects, he said, would be made up of 10 distinctive but closely linked plants to be located in Port Harcourt. The plants are expected to support the textile, agricultural, electrical, automotive and building industries with materials needed by each of the industries.

Against the backdrop of a fastly receding oil earning by the country, the minister gave an account of how the refineries fared. He disclosed that NNPC is currently building its fourth refinery at the cost of N750 million with a projected completion date fixed for 1988. Alhaji Lukman explained that the additional refinery is intended to render offshore processing arrangements unnecessary, offshore processing (currently in practise) requires taking Nigeria's crude oil abroad for refining while the by-products of such processing are eventually imported back to Nigeria to meet the shortfall in domestic requirements.

He also recounted the exploration activities for more oil well by NNPC's seismic outfits. The seismic crew, he said, has completed the phase one of the national hydrocarbon reserves evaluation projects covering 30 selected oil fields. The minister further said that his ministry was spending a sum of N9.75 million to improve pipelines and depul

Nigeria

this year. He specified the projects involved in the improvement drive as comprising an expansion of tankage and loading facilities at Jos in Plateau State, Aba in Imo State and Mosimi in Ogun State; the construction of a pump station at Biu, Borno state, and renewed efforts to transform the Calabar Port into an oil jetty.

Alhaji Rilwanu revisited the Federal government withdrawal of subsidies on petroleum products early this year and said it had yielded N517 million for the federal government's Economic Recovery Fund between last January and July. He promised that subsequent savings from that measure would be duly paid into the Economic Recovery Fund. The minister noted that there was additional blessing from the withdrawal of oil subsidies. He disclosed that the measure made gas within the period much more competitive in the market than oil.

Lukman threw some light on the pattern of disbursement of the 1.5 percent derivation provided by the Revenue Allocation Act for the mineral producing states and said that Federal government officials meet on regular basis with the states in question to work out

method of disbursement. The minister said that it was unfair to assume that government and oil companies did not intend to pay attention to the predicament of the affected areas.

He cited an example of efforts directed at alleviating the predicaments of the oil areas by government and oil companies. The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, he recounted, is embarking on the Obaji water projects in Rivers state. The estimated cost of the project is N1.7 million. But he concluded that "however, no matter how much you do, it will not be enough for some people".

When the paper reading gave way for questions session the minister was foyced by zealous journalists to reopen the closing chapters of the *M.T. Turma* vessel. "Well, the only thing I have to let you know about *M.T. Turma* is that the vessel is in Portugal under some sort of arrest for debts". The minister stopped at that and refused to expatiate. He however admitted that Pan Ocean had not paid the \$150 million worth of crude oil it lifted from Nigeria sometime ago but promised that efforts were seriously directed at recovering it.

When asked what had become of earlier proposed counter-trade arrangement between Nigeria and Uganda, the oil minister pleaded ignorance of the deal. But on the same international platform the minister was more forthcoming on OPEC affairs. He expressed happiness with OPEC member nations who realised the need to shore up the oil body from deepening quota and price crises. The minister attributed the current stability in oil prices to the arrangement that demands of every member country safe for Iraq to revert to their October 1984 quota.

He expressed the feeling that both OPEC and non-OPEC countries were aware of the need to exercise restraint in their production in order to firm up crude oil prices. The minister wrapped up the press session with an exhortation on Nigerians to fight unscrupulous operators and tanker drivers whom he said adulterate kerosene on a massive scale. He admitted that there were reports of large scale kerosene shortages but attributed the cause to activities of smugglers who take the products across the border.

— Obiora Chukwumba

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The Gambia

The political opposition game

Sulayman S Nyang, a professor at America's Howard University, explains how the political opposition in the Gambia has become more of a game than a serious challenge to the Government.

When the Gambia entered independence it had two political parties, the ruling People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the United Party of Pierre Sarr Njie, former Chief Minister of the country. During the first three years efforts were made to bring the leaders of the two parties together. Much energy was expended to reconcile Prime Minister Jawara and Opposition Leader Pierre Sarr Njie.

For a brief period the two leaders worked out a *modus vivendi*. But due to some irreconcilable disagreements between Sarr Njie and Jawara the newly formed coalition government fell apart. The lone United Party minister in the coalition cabinet, Njie's younger brother, E D Njie, resigned from the government. This happened after enormous pressure from his brother and other leaders of the United Party.

With younger Njie's resignation the Gambia went back to a two-party system and within a short time it became clear that the opposition was waning. The test case was the 1966 general elections. The Opposition performed poorly. These seats were actually those of UP defectors who had earlier crossed the carpet and joined the ruling party. Chiefs among these defectors were Assan Musa Camara (then known as Andrew), Micheal Baldeh, I B I Jobe, Demba Jaguna and K C A Kah. This early bath of UP defectors set the precedence of the politics of defection in the Gambia. Some were rewarded with ministerial portfolios, others were not. But regardless of one's interpretations of events at this time in the history of Gambian political parties, the fact remains that Gambian opposition leaders were in the main not committed to the principle of opposition. Many of them were in the game of politics for what they could get.

Those who felt that there were certain values and principles to be defended by remaining with the opposition party and hoped for the day when victory would come their way, were either abandoned by their supporters and allies or had to struggle to maintain their dignity and standing in the community.

It is indeed against this background that one can understand what happened to the opposition under the leadership of Pierre Sarr Njie. Between 1965 and 1968, the opposition party witnessed a gradual decline and by 1968 a major development took place within the United Party. Its main financial backer defected to join the

ruling party. It was the kind of defection that was virtually inevitable.

The Gambian Prime Minister had asked for the hand of one of the daughters of wealthy Gambian Alhaji Momodou Musa Njie, and the old man certainly welcomed the idea. Out of courtesy the old UP financier asked his friend and lawyer, Pierre Sarr Njie to offer his daughter in marriage to the Prime Minister. This occasion was seen by some elders, such as the late Imam Muhammad Lamin Bah of Banjul, as an opportunity once again to



Gambia's President Dauda Jawara

reconcile Pierre Sarr Njie and the Prime Minister. The marriage did not lead to this. Instead it weakened the opposition and set the stage for the total collapse of the United Party.

A couple of the UP members who were still holding on to the rope of political optimism soon began to negotiate their way to the PPP. Having lost one of their major sources of funding, these UP parliamentarians and supporters felt it politically wise and advantageous to jump out of the sinking ship. As a result of these developments, Gambia became a one-party state. There is still opposition but it has lost its base and is going downhill.

The situation changed dramatically in 1968 when the PPP was divided by a political show-down between Prime Minister Jawara and his Finance Minister, Sheriff Sisay. This disagreement between

the number one man of the PPP and his immediate lieutenant set the stage for a new kind of political opposition — opposition from within the ruling party. Called the Progressive Peoples Alliance (PPA), this political opposition became the vehicle for Sisay, Yusupha Samba, Paul Baldeh, K C A Kah and other disillusioned members of the ruling party.

The significance of the PPA in Gambian political history lies in the fact that it represented the first important split within the PPP. Major personalities who worked very hard in the past to build the party left it for personal and political reasons. For K C A Kah his defection meant his second defection from one party to another. Two years before independence he abandoned the party that first elected him to parliament. Five years afterwards he decided to abandon his adopted party for a new one. As history would have it, men like K C A Kah, Yusupha Samba and Paul Baldeh would fade out of the Gambian political scene.

The history of their party leader is however different. Although he suffered a great deal while in opposition he managed to make a comeback. In 1972 he dissolved his PPA and returned to the PPP. Much has been said about this return of Sisay to the PPP; but regardless of what happened, the fact remains that he regained his membership in his old party and today he is the Finance Minister of the country, a position he struggled hard to keep in 1968 when his relations with Prime Minister Jawara soured.

Between 1972 and 1975, when the PPA fizzled out and the leadership abandoned its challenge against the ruling PPP, the only opposition in the Gambia was the United Party. By this time the UP had been badly weakened. Its performance at the elections to determine whether the Gambia was to be a republic or not was poor.

Unlike the 1965 referendum when the UP and other forces coalesced to challenge the issue, the 1970 referendum turned out very well for the ruling party. Not only was Jawara elevated to the office of presidency but the Gambia witnessed a much stronger PPP asserting itself more and more as the unchallenged master of the political arena in the country. This sense of power and dominance was soon shattered by a new development within the ruling PPP. This was the conflict between President Jawara and former Vice President and Minister of Economic Planning and Industrial Development, Sheriff Mustapha Dibba.

A longstanding leader within the PPP, Dibba had many enemies within the ruling council of the Government. Many of his enemies were simply rivals who feared Dibba's potential. After having served once as Vice President before a scandal tarnished his political reputation and affected his relations with the President, AFRICAN CONCORD 2 OCTOBER 1986

Africa

many in the PPP thought that sooner or later he would be reconciled with Jawara and his old job as Vice President would be given back to him. This sense of uncertainty and fear created many enemies for Dibba. When he had a row with the President on certain matters of policy, his opponents within and without the cabinet plotted his doom. Cornered and forced to resign, Dibba left the PPP.

His resignation soon led to his decision to form his own political party. Known as the National Convention Party (NCP), this new opposition raised much hope among the supporters of Dibba. Soon it became the rallying point for all those who had become disillusioned with the ruling party. Because its leader was from the Baddibu region of the country, the party was soon labelled "the Baddibunka Party". Though its performance was a disappointment to many supporters of Dibba, the fact remains that the formation of the NCP demonstrated the possibility of fragmentation within the ruling party. Another lesson for students of Gambian politics is that political opposition in the Gambia is most likely to develop out of personal grievances of fallen politicians.

But if the NCP came about because former PPP leaders found it necessary to create their own vehicles and challenge their former colleagues in the ruling party, the mid-1970s witnessed the emergence of a new kind of political opposition. This was the development of political parties with a radical ideological tinge.

The first party of this kind in the Gambia was the National Liberation Party of Paps Choyassin Secka, one of the Gambians who were condemned to death following the abortive coup d'etat in July, 1981. Educated in the United States where he studied international relations at the American University in Washington and Columbia University, Secka went on to study law in England before returning home to the Gambia. Although in the United States Secka was very much influenced by Dr Martin Luther King, he also showed a fascination for the writings of Stokely Carmichael. But even those Gambians who knew him well never suspected any ultra-radicalism about him.

The history of his party shows a political opposition that was doomed to failure from the very outset. Two things accounted for the demise of the National Liberation Party (NDP). First of all, the party did not have a power base. The young people who could have rallied around it were either ungalvanised by the party leadership or turned off by the nature of the party structure and the manner in which recruitment efforts were made. Secondly, the party failed largely because ideological politics were still undeveloped in the Gambia.

But the electoral defeat of the NLP at the polls in 1977 did not discourage other

radical political forces from emerging. Following the Liberia coup d'etat of Samuel Doe, in 1980, a new political opposition began to agitate against the Jawara regime called Meja. Existing side by side with MOJA were two socialist political parties formed by "Pinks", George and Kukoi Samba Sanyang. Though George was not previously known for any radical views prior to the formation of his socialist party, his involvement in the Kukoi Samba Sanyang coup d'etat of July, 1981 led many observers to associate him intimately with the socialist plans announced over Radio Gambia during the abortive coup. The case of Kukoi Samba Sanyang was much more complicated. At the time of the coup reports coming out of Senegambia strongly stated that he was linked to some foreign socialist elements. Libya was strongly suspected and some reports associated Sanyang's coup with the Eastern bloc.

New faces

Since 1981 the political situation in the country has changed remarkably. Some of those who were at the highest levels of the political system have fallen from their positions and have been replaced by new faces. These changes in the cabinet and in the higher echelons of the ruling PPP have created new problems for President Jawara and his cabinet. The new opposition, like those of 1968 and 1975, comes from within the ruling party. It is a new party founded by former Vice President Assan Musa Camara and two other ex-cabinet members. They are Attorney-General Lamin Saho and former cabinet minister H O Semege Jannah. The attorney-general was a staunch PPP member and all the legal changes in the Gambia since independence bear his mark. His involvement in the formation of the Gambia People's Party (GPP) raised a number of questions about government and opposition in the Gambia. After sixteen years of political patronage from President Jawara, Saho decided to quit the party and joined those opposed to his former boss. His defection from the PPP has been perceived by some Gambians as the height of ingratitude from a politician whose very long tenure depended more on Jawara than on the will of the electorate. But if his critics point to his dependency on Jawara's largesse, his supporters have argued that his defection was in response to an act of Presidential betrayal. In the words of his supporters, Jawara promised him the Vice Presidency and then reneged. But the formation of the GPP has not gone unchallenged by the President. Abandoned by his old cronies and colleagues and now lambasted by them as an ineffective leader, the Gambian leader has counter-attacked his opponents' fire. Charging them with opportunism,

President Jawara has told the Gambians that the GPP is the 'Greedy People's Party'. Recent reports in the Gambian papers about the Saho's means the Gambian President can now claim that greed has driven his opponents to superstitious beliefs in jujusism an un-Islamic maraboutism. Whether these charges and counter-charges will affect the future of the GPP or not is too early to tell. The future of the new opposition in the Gambia will depend more on the dissatisfaction of the Gambian electorate with the state of things in the country than on the superstitious belief of Gambian politicians. In this connection it should be pointed out that, though the GPP leadership is now in disarray, there is no indication that the party is doomed to total failure.

Despite the Gambian opposition, the ruling PPP will have little difficulty in winning at the polls next spring. The two opposition parties could give a great deal of competition to the ruling PPP if they mend their fences and put up a united front. This, however, is very unlikely. Another reason is the regional character of the new opposition. Banking heavily on the Upper River base of support of Camara, and hoping that the former Attorney-General could mobilise the Banjul voters to the cause of the GPP, many of the new party supporters expect the emergence of a national opposition to the PPP. This assessment is not based on realism. The GPP does have any definite guarantee of support from the people of the Upper River Division of the country. In fact the emergence of the GPP is a clear indication of the fragmentation of an important lobbying group in the Gambian political system. Previously aligned to the President's powerful father-in-law and perceived as spokesman of the rising petty bourgeoisie of that part of the country, Camara represents the disillusioned branch of the so-called "Upper River Mafia". His party faced the same kind of problems that Sisay and Dibba experienced in the early stage of their break with the ruling party. His success will also depend on the GPP's ability to raise funds and minimize the PPP's ability to use government largesse to turn voters around. The PPA suffered from this politics of patronage; Dibba could not fight back without adequate means in 1977. Will Camara be the exception to this pattern of political immobilisation? The Gambian President has suspected this already and his allegations that the GPP is seeking funds abroad is a good indication that the ruling party does not want to be surprised by its opponents. But regardless of whether Nigerian tycoons are behind the new opposition or not, the fact remains that such fears do exist and this coming election will be the first one in Gambian political history when outsiders are suspected to be in league with the opposition.

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East Africa

Uganda (Interview with Museveni)

Fast forward into the future

An exclusive interview in Kampala with the National Resistance Movement Government leader, Yoweri Museveni, from our Lagos bureau.

Q: *Uganda has been in crisis since 1966. To rebuild the country, the Government needs to develop its technology and educational facilities. How do you intend to do this?*

A: As regards education, we are now busy rehabilitating existing institutions which have fallen into disuse. This has been our emphasis up until now. After about two years we shall embark on programmes of expansion for development.

Q: *One of the major problems in Uganda is the issue of sectarianism. Since the NRM assumed power, how far have you been able to weld these forces together to form a basis for national unity?*

A: We have already formed a government of national unity and all the political groups have accepted the leadership of the NRM. In that sense, the focal point is now the NRM around which all these political forces are now rallied. There is unity in the country and we are consolidating it. People are now seeing the value of such unity.

Q: *Does your administration intend to go to the IMF to solve some of its chronic financial problems?*

A: What is important is whether the terms are good or not. In our case, what we now consider crucial is production. Whatever dealings we engage in with outsiders, they should be of a nature that would enhance our productivity. Our poor economic performance is artificial. Uganda's performance looks miserable now because of some exogenous factors. One of these is political mismanagement. If you remove this the economy will look very different. But even at present, our economy is rich — we don't have a food problem like other African countries. We are a net exporter of food, even in the hard times.

There are three major problems which give a sense of economic disruption. One, consumer goods like soap have to be imported. When there are in short supply, it creates an impression that the economy is not performing well. But in fact, there are many other basic needs which our economy satisfies like food and power. The second is our damaged infrastructure — the roads, railways and water ways. The third is the transportation and storage of goods.

The combination of these factors inhibit our capability to export. Otherwise, we don't really have many problems. If one got a few hundred tractors, lorries and trucks, ten road repair equipment units, storage capacities, our economy would be booming.

But we are not going to solve our

problems by borrowing. We are going to do it through increased production. This is our objective. We can produce much more even at the present level of technology. For instance, if I produce 200,000 tonnes of beans and I sell them. I earn 100 million dollars in addition to what I have already earned from coffee and other crops. If you go to the banks to borrow money, they might give you the same amount or with certain conditionalities. So why should I inconvenience myself with conditions of a loan when I can raise the same amount of money through my own efforts?

Q: *How much does Uganda owe the external creditor?*

A: One billion dollars. We pay 200 million dollars yearly. We are net exporters of capital. We give more to donors than we get from them.

Q: *Do you have plans to ask for the extradition of former Ugandan leaders who ruined the economy?*

A: That will depend on the commission of inquiry which is at work. It will make recommendations which I will follow.

Q: *But suppose they want to come home in line with your call on Ugandans to return?*

A: Idi Amin will be arrested and charged — I am sure — and so will Obote. Those who can come back don't include criminals.

Q: *One of the unavoidable foreign exchange bills of the Government is oil. What is your Government's position on oil purchases? Do you have plans to buy oil from a country like Nigeria?*

A: We would like to buy oil from Nigeria, Libya, Angola, Algeria — all sorts of countries. We would want especially to do it if these brothers are willing to exchange oil for the commodities we produce. If Nigeria needs fish, we will give you fish and then take your oil!

Q: *What kind of political structure would you want Uganda to have after your four year term?*

A: That will be debated by the people.

Q: *Including the monarchical system?*

A: Yes, they will also be able to give their own opinion. One of my people (Princess Elizabeth Bagaya) is a monarchist!

Q: *What is your Government's position on the restoration of the monarchies?*

A: That is for the people to decide. When the time comes, there will be constitutional committee. The committee will canvass the views of the public. It will then compile the report and present it to the Constituent Assembly.

Q: *You appear to be one of the African leaders moving close to Gaddafi. In view of the US' position towards Libya, shouldn't you be more cautious?*

A: I cannot refuse to deal with a person with whom I have no quarrel. I cannot refuse to do so just because America says nobody should talk to Gaddafi. Britain and the US deal with South Africa and have investments there, but this does not stop us dealing with them.

Q: *Many of your people have suffered during the struggle. What programme do you have to rehabilitate them?*

A: We have broken down the programme into three phases. Phase one is relief. The second is rehabilitation of the infrastructure. The third is development of new projects.

Q: *What about the youngsters in the army?*

A: We shall train them in our army schools. They are now being rehabilitated.

Q: *How soon will the National Resistance Army become a regular army?*

A: We have a policy to expand the army, recruit people from the parts of the country where we did not fight during the war. We mainly fought in the south. We have to recruit soldiers from east and north. Then we shall give them training to safeguard national frontiers. This is not immediate. We have however got plans to make the army a productive unit, so that it can finance itself.

Q: *Right now, your Government is being confronted with pockets of resistance in the north. What are you going to do to eliminate these new threats so that Uganda does not relive its recent history?*

A: This happened in the past because there were reasons for it. But it cannot happen again for a number of factors. One, the people opposing us don't have a good case, politically. They committed a lot of atrocities in the past and so have no popular base. Secondly, we are not incapable of fighting them back. Thirdly, we have the support of the people.

Q: *You recently asked the Sudanese Government to allow your forces to pursue the rebels into Sudan. Have you considered asking Garang for the same help?*

A: A Sudanese delegation is visiting us and we shall discuss these matters. As for Garang, I don't want to interfere in the internal affairs of Sudan. All we want is that Sudan should not allow their territory to be used by our opponents.

Q: *In your OAU speech, you condemned in strong terms the non-intervention clause in the charter. If human rights were being violated in Tanzania, what would you do to intervene?*

A: We would not intervene, but we would make our position clear. We might stop talking to such a country. We might not trade with it. And we would publicly denounce such a country.

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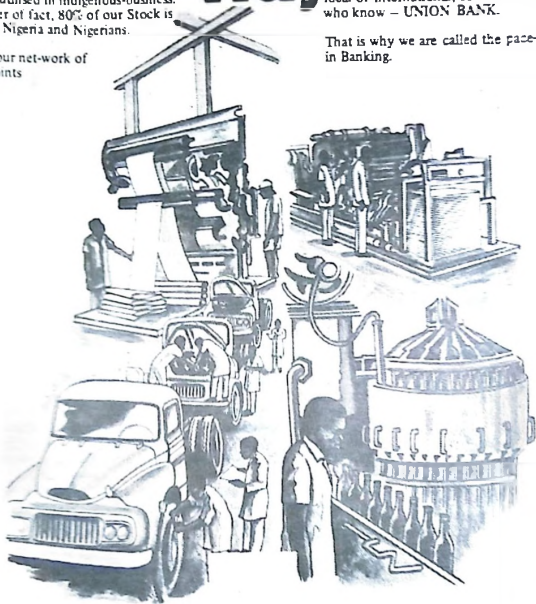
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Southern Africa

Swaziland

Walking on a tightrope

The new Swazi king is walking a political tightrope as frontline states put pressure on him to distance himself from South Africa, reports Simon Ngunwenya from Mbabane.

One of the trickiest problems faced by Swaziland's 18-year-old King Mswati III since his April coronation has been finding a way of living with South Africa, which almost surrounds his kingdom.

Almost every month, South Africa sends a high-powered delegation to Mbabane or invites prominent Swazis to Pretoria for secret talks. When Foreign Minister Pik Botha was asked by reporters whether his first meeting with the king in late August had been a success, he replied, "Don't you know that I am a Swazi? I always come here; Swaziland is my home."

With an economy dominated by South Africa, Swaziland has stood against international pressure for sanctions or disinvestments to bring down apartheid. It has cooperated with the South African police by holding and handing over men wanted by Pretoria, particularly members of the banned African National Congress (ANC). Yet recently there has been a spate of attacks by South African forces, mainly against ANC members and sympathisers.

Speculation

This has provoked speculation over whether the kidnappings and murders were stage-managed to avoid an international outcry over the lack of security of ANC men in Swazi cells, whether the South Africa Defence Force is now in control of the state, or whether the incidents were designed to embarrass attempts at negotiation between the two neighbours.

A British diplomatic source here suggested that there were indications that the authorities were aware that South Africa's minority government was not permanent, and that as a result, Swaziland was relaxing its tough line against the ANC. There have been suggestions that Swaziland would like to give the ANC the status of it is accorded in Lesotho, Mozambique or other countries in southern Africa.

Such a move would be welcomed by the nine southern African "frontline states" which are opposed to the Pretoria Government as a shift away from the policies of Mswati's long-reigning father, King Sobhuza.

Several frontline states have sent delegations to urge Swaziland to take a positive stand in support of sanctions. Zambia sent a mission to investigate the possibility of opening a new air route through Swaziland in order to enable Lusaka to cut its air links with South Africa.

Ironically, Pretoria has reportedly prom-



King Mswati III of Swaziland

ised assistance for the expansion of Swaziland's Manzini airport if the government gives landing rights to South African Airways Jumbos.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has experience of Swaziland's potential role in the South African imbroglio because Sobhuza was instrumental in the diplomacy which resulted in the lifting of the South African economic sanctions against Zambia several years ago. The king is said at the time to have advised Kaunda that "one cannot rule a hungry nation because a hungry man is an angry man."

Several frontline states have sent delegations to urge Swaziland to take a positive stand in support of sanctions

Conflicting pressures on the young king began as soon he was crowned. At the time of colourful ceremonies, meetings were held between the delegations from Mozambique and South Africa, and several representatives from African countries met President Pieter Botha. The South African President's security men were often clearly nervous about what to expect, and whenever the convoy of visiting dignitaries stopped, would rush to protect all the windows of his car.

Pretoria wants to maintain its influence over Swaziland, both by working with the government (*The Times of Swaziland* reported recently that a South African military instructor accidentally killed a Swazi soldier during a training exercise), and by trying to isolate it from the tide of global opinion against the republic.

But Mswati would probably like to be a little more independent, as evidence by the decision to break away from the common monetary area with South Africa. Mswati also has to deal with pressure from the Mozambique government for a clampdown on the logistical support Maputo believes Swaziland provides to Renamo (Mozambique National Resistance) rebels, who are supported by Pretoria.

Before the coronation, President Samora Machel publicly announced that Mozambique would co-operate with Swaziland to ensure that the event was a success. His declaration of support was seen as paving the way for negotiations between the young king and the socialist president.

At the same time, Mswati will want assurances that Mozambique will not allow itself to be used as a base by his own opponents. Whichever way he turns, however, the new ruler must take into account the reality that South Africa is breathing down his neck.

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South African black miners: easy victims of apartheid labour conditions

South Africa

The 'do and die' trade

Black miners will not forget the disaster which claimed almost 200 lives, writes Wiseman Khuzwayo.

Those who dig it will never be rich, those who earn it will always remain rich, says a Zulu idiom. And how true it is when applied to the mining disaster which took place in South Africa last week, the worst in the country's history, killing 177 black and five white mineworkers. No national day of mourning was declared for them, as would have been in any other country. For in South Africa 'theirs is to do and die', if one can borrow the phrase from Coleridge.

The disaster took place 1.6 kilometres underground in No 2 shaft, of the Kinross gold mine which is situated on the Rand, in the eastern Transvaal. Questions still remain to be answered about safety standards in the mine. The National Union of Mineworkers said the disaster was completely unnecessary and "demonstrated clearly the unacceptably low safety standards practiced in South Africa's mining industry."

But it was South Africa's biggest trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which put the question more adeptly when it charged that "black miners are paying with their lives for the wealth and profits in which they do not share." The disaster, the worst in Pretoria's mining history, was caused by an underground fire which set alight polyurethane foam — lining a portion of a tunnel — which gave off toxic fumes. A

number of questions are already being asked: Why was polyurethane being used when its toxicity underground was commonly known and as a result has been banned in most countries? Where were fire extinguishers at the point where the fire started as a result of sparks from a welding operation? Why was an alarm system not working?

Gold is South Africa's main earner of foreign exchange, accounting for over 60 per cent of Pretoria's balance sheet. Its price has soared even further within the last few weeks as foreign markets increased their purchases to offset any economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. Productivity of the gold mines, according to Cosatu, has risen by 15 per cent between 1977 and 1985.

A cavalier attitude to the disaster was displayed by the mine's management. Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers — the biggest mining union in the country — faced hostile obstruction from management. When he tried to rush to the hospital where survivors were, he was kept waiting for an hour at a road block. When he was eventually let through and got to the hospital, he was allowed to see only those who had not been seriously hurt and was refused permission to see the bodies of the dead.

Journalists investigating the cause of the

disaster were allowed into the hospital by doctors only to be ordered out of the premises by orders of Kinross mine management. At a press conference, the mine's spokesman was equally obstructive to journalists. He repeatedly refused to answer questions about safety precautions claiming that the issue was sub judice. He also refused to say why Kinross had lost two 'stars' out of its five 'stars' last year, a safety rating system practiced in South Africa. He could not remember, he first said. Then facing further questioning from probing journalists he said he could not disclose further information on the grounds of confidentiality.

Strike action

The South African Government might be wanting to bury the issue of the disaster under the carpet, but the 300,000 strong NUM is not. The union has already called for a one-day strike on 1 October in mourning for the victims. Other unions affiliated to Cosatu have been invited to join in the stoppage. Ironically, the tragedy coincided with the NUM's publication of a leaflet "A thousand ways to die," timed to coincide with the Gold 100 Conference to celebrate the discovery of gold in Johannesburg. In one part, the document puts the South Africa reality starkly: "The white miner gets bonuses for how many metres he can push the rock face forward — or how hard he can push the workers."

Johannesburg is called "eGoli" in Zulu, which means the City of Gold. But as such tragedies take place time after time, one has to start wondering how long black people are going to keep on dying in order that people all over the world can continue wearing gold rings.

SANCTIONS The continuing crisis



The EEC gets tough with apartheid

● After months of manoeuvring, European Community ministers have finally approved an emasculated package of economic sanctions against South Africa, banning new investment and imports of iron, steel and gold coins.

● The impact of even these limited measures - ministers could not agree on a proposal to ban coal imports - is further weakened because action will have to await national legislation in the member countries. In addition, West Germany has suggested the investment ban applies to new projects and not to fresh money for existing schemes.

● But the sanctions debate, and Pretoria's response, continues to have an impact on a variety of countries. Gemini spotlights two of them: the new Lesotho Government's efforts to establish good relations with the white-ruled republic that surrounds it, and Brazil, which is experiencing a mining boom partly as a result of the question-mark which hangs over mineral supplies from South Africa.

Sanctions: The hawks swoop down

Chasing with the hounds and running with the hares might be the most appropriate way of describing the British foreign policy on South Africa.

In one week - last week - the British Government performed an incredible wonder: It blocked even paperweight sanctions against South Africa and yet met for the first time with the country's best known liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC).

Foreign Ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC) had been deliberating for two days without agreement and when they did reach one, Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, and Dr Helmut Kohl, the West German

Chancellor, decided to throw the spanner into the works.

The ministers belatedly agreed on a package of limited sanctions against South Africa, but, on West German insistence, a ban on South African coal imports was deleted from the list. Coal amounts to a third of the trade Pretoria has with the EEC.

The two leaders made it very clear that they were reluctantly agreeing to the other measures adopted by the foreign ministers. These are, an end to new investments and a ban on the import of iron, steel and gold coins.

"I do not believe that sanctions will help to bring apartheid to an end," said

Thatcher. "They may... however, cause poverty, unemployment and starvation among many black South Africans, which is why Dr Kohl and I recoil from many of the suggestions put forward with regard to sanctions."

Observers have pointed out that the move is likely to do more damage to EEC credibility than to the South African Government. Already, the pro-sanctions group, which includes the Nordic countries and the Netherlands, have promised that they will never never drop the issue. They are planning to put it on the agenda of every EEC foreign ministers' meeting.

A few days later the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, met Oliver Tambo in London, the first time such a high level meeting has taken place between the British Government and the ANC. Sir Geoffrey is said to have rejected renewed calls for comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria.

On the other hand, had the ANC said both sides agreed on a number of issues, including the necessity of ending apartheid and securing the release from prison of black leaders, including Nelson Mandela. But they could not reach agreement on how to bring about change.

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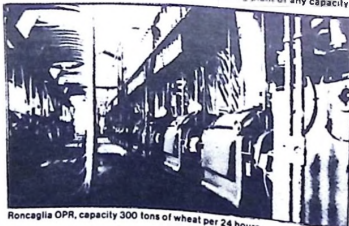
remodelling for changes in flour specifications. No other mill-building company can guarantee its products for 10 years nor can anyone assure a breakroll life of as long as six to eight years without refuelling. It reduces maintenance to minimum levels and offers economies in staffing. The concept of large buildings inevitably means high energy and maintenance costs on top of the cost of the construction itself. Site selection and preparation can involve much expense and difficulty, especially if there are environmental complications.

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Prime Minister Chambers



Opposition leader Robinson

Trinidad & Tobago

Political elite challenged

The dominance of the party which has governed the island since independence may be coming to an end, reports Lindsay Mackon from Port of Spain.

A four-party opposition coalition is mounting a serious attack on the political party which has ruled the twin-island Caribbean republic of Trinidad and Tobago for 30 years.

Threatening Prime Minister George Chambers People's National Movement (PNM) is the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), led by former finance minister Ray Robinson. The opposition leader broke with the ruling party about 16 years ago during the height of black power uprising.

Never before have Trinidad and Tobago's opposition groups been so united with the objective of removing the PNM. The previous proliferation of parties helped the PNM sweep to victory for six consecutive five-year terms.

Three years ago, however, the PNM suffered a crushing defeat in local government elections at the hands of the Alliance's constituent parties — the United Labour Front, the Democratic Action Congress, the Organisation for National Reconstruction, and the Tapia House Movement. In subsequent elections to the Tobago House of Assembly, the ruling party was trounced by the Democratic Action Congress.

Now the PNM is facing the united strength of the opposition, and public opinion polls put the NAR ahead of the PNM and indicate that Robinson is gaining popularity over Chambers.

Fully aware of the prevailing mood, 59-year-old Robinson wasted no time in

kicking off his party's campaign even before the announcement of a poll date by Chambers, who points out that it is not constitutionally due until February. Robinson's theme of "Time for Change" has been widely taken up at a time when the country is reeling under a recession after ten years of prosperity brought about by the petro-dollar boom.

For 58-year-old Chambers this is his toughest test since he came to office in 1981. His party is campaigning on what it says are its achievements of the past three decades — taking the country from colonial rule to self-government to independence in 1962 and republic status in 1976. All this, members of the party hierarchy point out, was achieved without the bloodshed that has characterised political transition elsewhere in the world.

In a recent statement on the occasion of the country's 24th anniversary of independence, Chambers admitted that the country lost \$300 million between last January and July as a result of the drop in world oil prices. The revenue shortfall has forced the Government to scale down and suspend projects. But he says that the Government has been able to contain inflation and maintain jobs in the public service.

Last December's 50 per cent devaluation of the Trinidad and Tobago dollar, now worth 27 US cents, was aimed at bringing more revenue to the Government's depleted coffers. But the move incensed businessmen and pushed up prices. Chambers' recent trip to the Far East, designed

to generate foreign investment, has yet to yield results.

Unemployment has been rising too. Faced with growing criticism over the handling of the economy, the party has stepped up attempts to put itself in order, holding constituency group meetings and house-to-house canvassing throughout the two islands.

Disenchantment has set in since the death five years ago of Chambers' predecessor, Dr Eric Williams. The most recent of a series of criticisms of the Prime Minister came from Government backbencher Hardeo Hardath who accused Chambers of "ineffective leadership", saying that some of his recent statements had embarrassed party followers. Hardath, an MP since 1971, told the party in a letter that he had the impression that Chambers "did not care to have a Hindu (East Indian) in his Cabinet." Chambers did not respond publicly to the accusations, but the party's Youth League called for the MP's resignation from the PNM and Parliament.

Despite its difficulties, the party cannot be written off, for it is known for its resilience in times of crisis and its Women's League plays a significant behind-the-scenes role in electioneering. Chambers' opponent, the greying Robinson, is chairman of the Tobago House of Assembly but is not a member of the present House of Representatives.

Robinson, an Oxford-educated lawyer, claims that the country is bankrupt, and accuses the Government of "scandalous waste of billions" earned during the 1973-83 oil boom.

He says foreign reserves plummeted from \$7.9 billion in 1982 to less than \$2 billion at the end of 1985. Opposition politicians claim that some \$50 billion was earned during the oil boom years but that money was frittered away on grandiose "white elephant" projects such as the money-losing Iron and Steel Mill, the Hall of Justice, and an abandoned multi-million dollar racing complex.

Job creation is part of the opposition platform; unemployment is reported to be 100,000 (in a population of 1.2 million) and the situation is worsening as companies continue to retrench workers in response to the recession. Only a few of the 66 state enterprises are profitable, the rest being subsidised by taxpayers' money. The NAR says it will privatise these firms to make them viable.

It is also campaigning on allegations of corruption and mis-spending by the administration, unchecked drug abuse and rising crime — the latter popularly linked with joblessness.

A rise in oil prices would help the economy, but few here believe that revenue from the five oil companies operating in Trinidad will hit the level achieved in the early 1980s. Whoever wins power will face a daunting economic task.

'The Africans'

A positive view of Africa

Rufus Ladipo from Chicago reports on the showing of an important new series.

Every autumn America hits the television screens with a wide range of new series, from the Cosby Show which features the popular Afro-American actor Bill Cosby, to Dallas, the now internationally reknowned soap opera.

But something new is coming this season. It is "The Africans", a nine-part television series that documents African life from different perspectives. The show is expected to be shown first on Chicago's public service television outlet — WTTW Channel 11 from October to early December.

"The Africans" provides a unique view of Africa from the inside looking out and smashes the myths created by the infamous Tarzan movies which portrayed Africa as one big jungle, ruled by a white man.

Apart from being a form of entertainment, "The Africans" is also a learning process for all Americans, regardless of ethnic origin. This documentary shows the authentic African way of life and opens the minds of black Americans to their historic past. In the same vein, it also reminds white America of the atrocities it has committed since the days of slavery.

"I can sense the tragedy of how we blacks have been cut off from our roots," says Dr Hycel Taylor, president of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) following a preview of the television series at the Chicago State University, a predominantly black college strategically located on Chicago's improved South Side. The choice of Chicago to premiere the series should not be seen as a coincidence. Of all American big cities, Chicago has the record of being the most racially segregated.

And very little is known about African culture in a city with a sizeable number of blacks; and a huge museum of African-American history.

This explains the timelines of "The Africans", it will correct the myth that black Americans have neither roots nor cultural values.

Hosted by Ali Mazrui, professor of political science at the University of Michigan and the University of Jos, in Nigeria, the series further examines the contemporary life and history of Africa through what Mazrui describes as the continent's triple heritage of indigenous, Islamic and Western culture. These legacies, he says, explain the diversity of the continent and its people.

Throughout the nine-part series, Mazrui guides viewers through the Africa of its experience, drawing on the knowledge of



Documentary author, Ali Mazrui

scholars all over the world. Africa, Mazrui claims, existed before the Europeans infiltrated the continent; and explains in detail the historical significance of African kingdoms and customs, and their impact on the extended family system as an integral part of Africans' way of life.

Of utmost concern is the segment that details the exploitative activities of the Western powers. This part generated emotional feelings among black Americans who saw the preview.

Looking at global Africa in a broader perspective, "The Africans" details the emergence of a new Black Power in America with more black Americans becoming politically involved. This involvement, precipitated by Rev Jesse Jackson's presidential candidacy three years ago, and the emergence of blacks as mayors in big cities like Philadelphia and Chicago which could result in a powerful lobby for Africa; just like the Jewish lobby for Israel, Mazrui noted.

Filed in 20 African countries, and co-

produced by WETA Washington, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). "The Africans," also documents new social orders in Africa as a means of a viable form of government in the politically-distabilised continent.

"The Africans" also shows a conflict of cultures. That is, the co-existence of many African traditions and modern life; and the conflicts and compromises that emerge from the mixing of cultures. And the nagging question is raised as to whether Africa can synthesize its own heritage with the legacies of Islamic and Western civilisation.

Meanwhile, several groups have demonstrated interest in preparing follow-up community forums that will address some of the provocative issues raised by "The Africans".

According to Tokunbo Pearse, one of the co-ordinators who put the Chicago showing together. "We will continue to have more intellectual discussions on the subject as a means of further educating Americans about Africans."

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NIGERIA

The price of planlessness

For 26 years the country has shown remarkable shortsightedness in her economic management.

THE first decade after independence in Nigeria was marked by a belief that the most critical factor necessary for the development of the country was capital.

Since 1960, the country has prepared and implemented four national development plans.

In most of these, the need to increase real income of the average citizen and even distribution of income among individuals and social-economic groups was

plans did not involve the overwhelming majority of the populace in the development process.

There was the tendency to concentrate development resources in the urban centres at the expense of the rural areas, leading to the emergence of primate cities, usually the capital-cum port-cum-industrial cities which grew at astronomical rates and came to contain a disproportionate share of economic activities in the country.

vided about 90-95 per cent of the nation's total foreign exchange earnings in the 1970s.

The oil boom of the 1970s caused fundamental structural changes in the economy: the pattern of investment shifted from the agriculture sector to the construction and service sectors. In 1960, agriculture's contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 63.4 per cent, compared with 23.4 per cent in 1975. In 1960, 70 per cent

tion of the peasantry, a social class that was virtually unrepresented in all the decision-making bodies in the country, and was not accorded serious consideration in the provision of social services.

The neglect of agriculture led to massive drift of population to the cities, with the attendant stress and strain on social infrastructures, stagnation in provision of raw materials for agro-industries and rising food import bills.

In 1965, N46.1 million was spent in the importation of food. This increased to N1004.2 and N2198.3 million in 1978 and 1981 respectively. By 1984, food import recorded 15.9 per cent of the total consumer and product import.

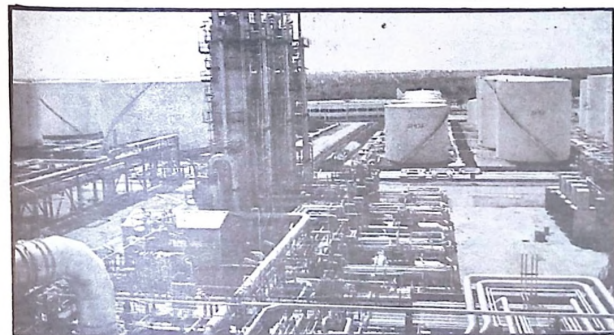
Suddenly, the proportion of oil contribution to total federally collectable revenue dropped, due to world oil glut. From the peak of N13.632 billion in 1980, the value of oil export declined to N10.536 in 1981 and N5.584 billion in 1982. In 1985 fiscal year, oil contributed only 66.3 per cent of total federally collectable revenue.

The effects were that economic activities took a downward trend, and government began to face financial crisis arising from reduced revenue inflow.

The GDP, that is, the total output of food and services fell by 5.3 per cent in 1981. This was followed by a further 2.2 per cent decline in 1982, another 8.5 per cent drop in 1983, and 5.5 per cent decrease in 1984.

Instead of reducing expenditure to match with revenue, government (especially between 1979-1983) resorted to heavy internal and external borrowings to finance huge budgetary and balance of payment deficits. The external debt of the country increased from mere N488.8 million in 1970 to about N20 billion in 1985.

The results were rise in inflation (5.5 per cent in 1985), unemployment and underemployment, factory closures, smuggling, low



Oil: Reduced revenue

regarded as crucial. The plans also aimed at increasing the supply of high level manpower, reduction of the dependence of the economy in narrow activities, achievement of relatively self-sustained economy among other objectives.

The set objectives could not be achieved in spite of huge allocations to industry, transport and communication, agriculture, education, power and water resources because these

Poor executive capacity and over-dependence on the external sector to stimulate growth were also factors that have bedevilled plans in the country.

Two main features have emerged, a narrow resources base and dependence. The Nigerian economy remains undiversified, relying for its foreign exchange earnings (and by extension, its domestic source of development) on oil. Earnings from oil pro-

of the labour force was engaged in agriculture whereas the number dropped to 62 per cent in 1970.

The juxtaposition of oil boom and agricultural stagnation is perhaps the sharpest expression of government neglect of the welfare of the rural populace and the structural distortion of the Nigerian economy in the 1970s.

The stagnation in the agricultural sector was also caused by the marginalisa-

production and productivity, high cost inputs into production and under-utilization of the installed capacity in our factories. Attempts to reduce dependence have yielded poor results.

In the 1950s and 1960s (and to the present time), due to fall in foreign exchange earnings of primary products; the need to supply local market from local sources, and above all to promote industrialisation and diversification of the economy, made government to encourage import substitution. To encourage foreign and local investors to produce the imported goods locally, government gave all sort of incentives to investors, such as accelerated depreciation allowances, tariff protection, the provision of industrial estates and tax holidays for a certain number of years among others.

The benefits to the economy have been the offset of employment at high cost, infusion of some elements of factory discipline and some trickle down of technical knowhow through the operation and maintenance of industrial equipment.

Nigeria has made little progress in industrialisation and diversification of her economy. According to Chief M.S. Adigun, ex-minister of national planning, "the manufacturing sector today depends on foreign services for over 70 per cent of its raw materials; 80 per cent of its technical managerial manpower; 95 per cent for all the technology in use and over 80 per cent for maintenance of equipment. The sector remains dominated 60 per cent by light consumer goods industries, about 30 per cent by assembly type durable consumer goods industries, and less than 10 per cent can be attributed to intermediate goods."

To localise control and ownership of the economy, the Federal Government promulgated the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Act 1972, the Nigerian

Enterprises Promotion (Amendment) Decree 1973, the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion (Amendment) Decree 1974 and, the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1976. These decrees brought relatively minor changes. According to Professor Ake: "It is not an answer to the problem of dependence. It does not address the problem in its essentials. First of all, the state of Nigeria's technology is a critical aspect of her dependence, and this approach offers nothing relevant to this aspect of dependence."

The development of a Liquefied Natural Gas export to utilize the country's vast resources of natural gas has been neglected for over a decade. This would have been a good source of foreign exchange earner. However, in November, 1985, a framework agreement for a \$4 billion LNG project which will have an output capacity of 5,000 to 8,000 million cubic metres per year was reached between the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and three oil companies.

Several petrochemical projects have been under consideration since the late seventies with none having taken off. The products of these petrochemical plants will be used for the manufacture of woven snacks, bottle crates, automotive components, textiles, footwear, carbon papers pigment. It appears governments have not taken adequate steps to remove the peculiar determinations, distortions and disarticulation of the economy arising from the monocultural character of the post-independence economy.

Yet, the impression must not be created that socio-economic conditions in the country have been static or have changed only marginally.

Transportation, communication and electricity development have gone some way with some vigour. For instance, electricity's contribution to Gross National Product was N7.5 million in

1960, but increased to N58.7 million in 1985. Electricity generated was increased from 423 thousand kilowatt hours (Kwh) in 1960 to over 2,654 thousand kwh in 1974. Electricity generation now stands at over 9,899,140 thousand kwh.

Road development has been very rapid since independence, and greater emphasis is now being placed on road maintenance.

Maintenance and rehabilitation works on a number of roads have been in progress through the country.

Amidst the prospect of imminent collapse, the civilian government was overthrown on December 31, 1983 and a military government headed by Major-General Buhari took control of the reins of power. Buhari's government too was overthrown on August 27, 1985, giving way to Major-General Babangida as the new head of state.

The broad policy objectives of the administration economic programme are:

- *restructuring and diversifying the productive base of the economy in order to reduce dependence on the oil sector and imports;
- *achieving a fiscal and balance of payment viability over the medium and long term.

Towards this end, various policies and programmes were evolved and are being vigorously pursued by the present administration.

The government has a fundamental commitment to reduce the large role played by the public sector in economic activities. The government plans to sell off its investment in commercial enterprises and discourage its statutory corporations and companies from economic activities which can best be left to the private sector.

As at the end of October, 1985, Federal Government has a total investment of N23 billion in its parastatal and companies. In addition,

a total of N11,513, 752,672 has also been recorded as subventions given to various parastatal and companies, and also guaranteed loans in foreign currencies running to millions of dollar. Total recorded dividend during the period 1980 - December 31, 1985 amounted to N933,710,134 which gives an average of about N159 million per year on an investment of over N11 billion. Similarly, of the more than N40 billion lent out to various parastatals and companies only N67,959,735 has been recovered as loan repayments and N26,124,463 as interest payment.

This poor performance which is a reflection of inefficiency in the public corporations is what government intends to correct by privatising such corporations.

To diversify the sources of foreign exchange earnings and reduce the excessive dependence on the export of crude oil, the government is vigorously pursuing the strategy of export promotion. The package of export incentives to aid production and export of manufactured products, processed agricultural food items and industrial products includes among others:

- *import duty rebate on raw materials and components used for the production of export products;
- *liberalisation of export licensing
- *retention of 25 per cent of the proceeds of foreign exchange earnings by exporters and
- *encouragement and establishment of free export zone.

The Second-tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) will be introduced to aid in the realistic adjustment of the external value of the naira. Government believes that the Naira is overvalued. SFEM is also aimed at restructuring the economy and promoting investment.

— Nimi Wariboko

Smooth start for SFEM

The long-awaited second window opens

THE first bidding under the Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) began last Friday, with the dollar selling for N4.6174 (on the reverse the naira is valued only 21 American cents). The Pound Sterling sold for N6.6269.

Other rates fixed for the different currencies are one Deutsch Mark to N2.2578; one Swiss Franc to N2.7840; one French Franc to N.6900; one Dutch Guilder to N1.9972; and one Yen to N 0.299.

It was observed that on the first tier foreign exchange market, a unit of the dollar exchanged for N1.569 (63 cents to the naira) whilst on the black market, the dollar exchanged for N5. This shows that the naira depreciated by 66 per cent against the dollar on the Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market.

Financial experts along Broad Street in Lagos and at the bidding centre

pointed out that the 38.3 kobo difference between the Second-tier rate and the rate in the black market will compel importers to come to SFEM.

The exchange rate determined on the market last Friday is the rate for dealing



Ahmed, CBN boss

this week. Although many banks accepted the rate as realistic and professional considering the downturn of the economy, they quarrelled with high exchange rate quoted by some banks. For instance a bank wanted to buy foreign exchange at

the rate of N5. 1250, the highest bid for the session. There was the fear that over-bidding will unnecessarily depreciate the naira's exchange rate. If the naira depreciates too much, the effect will be to unduly raise the overhead cost of business houses who are the main buyers on the market.

The Central Bank of Nigeria made available \$50 million for bidding by 34 authorised banks. And when all the bids were added up, the cumulative demand by the 34 banks amounted to — \$84.37 million.

The exchange rate was determined by adding all the successful bid rates and then dividing by the number of lucky bids. Only 16 of the 34 commercial banks which bidded for the —\$50 million offered for sale succeeded. The others were willing to buy the dollar at the rates below the marginal bid rate. The lucky banks are allowed to sell to their customers one percent above the buying rates.

It was not possible to know the names of the lucky banks as bidding was

done in codes. Each bank offered different rates written on a black board in a descending order.

Last Friday's bidding was conducted by the director of foreign operation at the Central Bank, Mr. Sunday Oluwole Sonoiki.

A great deal of preparation went into making Friday's bidding a success. Since June, when President Babangida announced the introduction of the scheme, many seminars have been held, articles written in various magazines and newspapers. The CBN has organised training sessions for over 300 operators of the market.

On Wednesday, 9 September, the CBN had surprised bankers with a circular announcing that it was holding a simulated session for all the authorised dealers at 10 a.m. the following day.

Even though the Central Bank's director of foreign exchange control, Mr. Victor Odozi, warned banks at the simulated session that documents have to be genuine and relevant, some bidding banks used unauthorised forms. This mistake was discovered and rectified. Last Thursday, top officials of the Central Bank met with chief executives of commercial banks for several hours to discuss the modalities and guidelines for the market.

Earlier on Tuesday, the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) decided that SFEM should take off on September 29. The AFRC had met to consider various proposals to revive the national economy through the implementation of the structural adjustment programme. The nation's highest decision making body accepted \$400 million from the World Bank to support SFEM.

The loan is repayable over 20 years with five years moratorium at an interest



Business starts at 2nd-Tier market

rate of 8.5 per cent a year.

The Second-tier Foreign Exchange Decree (1986), the necessary legal instrument to bring SFEM into existence was published in Lagos last Tuesday after the AFEC meeting presided over by President Babangida. The decree has 29 sections and provides a number of guidelines on the market including penalties for offenders. For instance, any person convicted under the decree will be liable to an imprisonment of a term of 15 years. He will have no option of fine.

In the case of a corporate body, the penalty will be a fine 10 times the amount of the foreign currency involved, including the forfeiture of the body's assets, movable or immovable including motor vehicles. The decree states that any person, corporate or individ-

ual, who intends to defraud or forge, mutilate alter or deface any foreign currency, traveller's cheque or other instrument of exchange in the market, or

Negotiate any draft, foreign bank note, other foreign exchange or any other trading instrument otherwise than as permitted by the decree, or

Forge or produce as genuine any false document to the Central Bank or the market with a view to utilising such documents in any transaction in the market established under the decree, will be tried by the Special Military Tribunal established under the Exchange Control Decree 1984 as amended. The Federal government has released a list of items prohibited from importation. About 16 prohibited items covering a range of products were

listed in a statement released in Lagos last Thursday by the director of budget, Chief Omowale Kuye. This was a drastic reduction from earlier 74 items under ban. Chief Kuye explained that the drastic reduction was aimed at discouraging the promotion of black market, so that those expected to have access to the SFEM would not go into the black market.

He also spoke of the reduction on import and export duties, except luxury items which was to encourage local production. Among the items banned are rice and fowls, including ducks, geese, turkey and guinea fowls, but excluding "grand-parent and foundation stocks" for research and multiplication purposes. Others are eggs, fruits and vegetables, including tomato puree and paste, roots and tubers,

fresh or dried, whole or sliced, cut or powdered.

Also banned are all types of textile fabrics, domestic articles and wares (including babies' feeding bottles), furniture products, soft drinks, beer, sparkling wines, including champagne, jewellery and precious metals. Other prohibited import items are maize and wheat, and the allied products, vegetable oils, gaming machine and cigarettes.

Chief Kuye told newsmen at the Ministry of National Planning that the list was being released to acquaint importers and the general public with items they could not bring into the country.

— Nimi Wariboko

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Books

The role of traditional healers

The professionalisation of African Medicine, By M Last and G L Chavunduka, MUP, 1986

The place of traditional medicine in the provision of primary health care in Africa has reawakened the interest of African governments in recent years. There seems to be a realisation that within the context of social advancement, traditional medicine has carved a niche for itself. It is therefore necessary to examine it as an institution, attempt to rationalise it, harness its resources, assess its contributions, reflect on its future and determine its role in the national health scheme.

The book being the edited report of a conference held on the professionalisation of African medicine at the University of Botswana, Gaborone, in September 1983, covers the following countries: Zimbabwe, Botswana, Tanzania, Malawi, Ghana, Benin, South Africa and Nigeria. It draws on the knowledge and experience of the contributors as practitioners of orthodox western medicine, with some interesting medical anthropological accounts.

It is a compendium of comparative essays on the local situation in some African countries providing: a descriptive treatise; an informative assemblage of facts; an analytical profile of governmental policies; and a conspectus of proposals or suggestions for reforms. The articles are lively and provide "extensive" documentation on associations of traditional healers — information which is not readily available elsewhere.

Apart from its comparative value, several articles examine what traditional medicine means. Is it a "profession" comparable to orthodox medical practice; ambiguities involved in governmental policies on the treatment of traditional medicine. Should the government control it as part of its own medical framework? If so should it be integrated into the existing structure? or should it utilise formal professional institutions or associations in approaching problems of control?

An interesting problem of conflicting ethical standards is raised in the Harriet Neubane's

article "The Predicament of the Sinister Healer." She observed that traditional medicine is not averse to prescribing or sanctioning ritual killing as a prophylaxis or curative measure which may be tantamount to murder (by counselling) under the criminal laws.

The contribution of the editors centres on the discussion of the problems of professionalisation by providing a range of possible professional associations, alternatives to full professionalisation, an explanation of the trend towards herbalism as opposed to divination or spiritualism and the difficulty of graduating from associations into a fully fledged profession by practitioners of traditional medicine.

All the articles in the book agree that traditional medicine, if properly harnessed, can supplement orthodox scientific medicine in providing much needed primary health care. This book is particularly valuable to policy makers in developing countries to aid their understanding of the issues involved in attempting to integrate traditional medicine into the national health scheme.

Blodun Layonu

The Islamic revival

Sacred Rage, By Robin Wright, Andrew Deutsch, 1986, £10.95.

Since the Iranian revolution in 1979 many articles have been written on the subject in the Western media. In the last seven years, Muslims have written articles in defence of their communities, but the much more powerful news agencies in the West are increasingly making projections about the waves of 'Islamic fundamentalism' around the world.

Sacred Rage belongs to the body of literature identified with Western journalists reporting from the Middle East. This data base is important because it is widely read and therefore exercises tremendous influence on the perceptions and interpretations of events around the world.

It is against this background that Robin Wright's book is examined here. A former correspondent for the *Sunday Times* of London, *CBS news* and *The Washington Post*, Wright

comes to her study with experience and analytical powers. Her stint in the Middle East provided her with the much needed data and the personal involvement which desk bound editors lack.

Wright searches for the meaning of the Islamic revival in the contemporary Muslim world. She begins her book with some accounts of the bloody situation in Lebanon. Here, in the land of cedars, violence has replaced all the beauties Khalil Gibran captured in his poetry.

Wright prepares her audience for any disappointment when she confesses that she is "neither an Islamic expert nor an Arabist... I am merely a Western reporter who lived in the region during the fundamentalist explosion." Though she is not an expert, those devoted to studying the problems of Muslim society will find her work useful. She exaggerates in places but overall her work deserves our attention.

The first chapter analyses the confrontation between what Wright calls "Islamic fundamentalists" and the Arab moderates or Western-orientated leaders. Following in the footsteps of other Western analysts, Wright sees the Iranian revolution as a "turning point" in the development of fundamentalist thought in the Muslim world.

By taking this position, Wright shares the widely expressed view that the coming to power of Imam Khomeini opened the floodgates of Muslim agitation against regimes which were not Islamic enough. Pursuing this line, she also maintains, along with other Westerners, that the Iranians want to export their revolution.

Contrary to Wright's analysis, the Muslim world is not up in arms against the West. Rather, certain segments of the Muslim world are plagued by a terrible sense of injustice. The perceived source of the injustice is the creation of the state of Israel and the West's support of that state. This feeling is strongest in the Arab states.

If Islamic fundamentalism was a Muslim way of saying that they are fed up with the excesses of America and the Middle East, it must have started in the Arab world. How come Iranians were first to establish a Muslim state backed by Shana? This is a question the author fails to deal with.

Wright gives us three reasons why Islamic fundamentalism

develops in the world. The first is the conflict with foreign ideologies. Rehashing what other Western commentators have said, she too embraces the view that the mere defeat of Islam in battle means the invalidation of Muslim values and beliefs. She cites the 1967 war as a good indication of the failure of Arab nationalists.

When one analyses these interpretations, one comes to the conclusion that in the eyes of these commentators might is right and unless and until Muslims demonstrate might in battle their ideas would be found wanting. Such analyses are unhistorical. They not only give the impression that ideas are validated by warfare and victories in battle, but that those who believe in ideas like Islam are either unfaithful to their religion or their religion is useless in the contemporary world.

Wright's second reason is the Islamic nature of the Egyptian response to the 1973 war. The third reason she offers for the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is the emergence of petrodollar states. In her view, the rise in the price of oil gave greater visibility to the Muslim oil-producing states and this helped advance the cause of Islamic fundamentalism.

The view that muslim fundamentalism grew out of the oil wealth of the mid and late 1970s is a half-truth. It does not explain much. If the oil wealth had anything to do with the development of fundamentalism in the Muslim world, the reason for its impact lies in the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor and the growing sense of alienation felt by many segments in the modernising society. This is the best way to explain why the Iranians were the first to upset the apparent of the Pahlavi dynasty.

Wright gives a good synthesis of the material available to her in the individual case studies of Muslim countries, affected or likely to be affected by Islamic

fundamentalism. The only major criticism a scholar or journalist familiar with Islamic studies can make is that she too studied the Muslim situation through the eyes of Western writers who preceded her. But even if one makes this criticism of the book, one must quickly add that the author has done well for a non-specialist in either Arab studies or Islamic studies. Her book will certainly join other recent studies on the origins and the challenges of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East. Sulayman S Nwanji



Contemporary African Art dealer, Howard T. Cash, draws attention to the tail feathers of the image in Cornelius Arinju's pen and ink drawing, *The Egg Collectors*

Exhibition

Oshogbo artists

For three weeks, the artistic works by Bintu Olaniyi Twin Seven Seven, Yemisi Olaniyi Twin Seven Seven, Oni Abiodun and Cornelius Arinju were exhibited at the Gimmell Gallery, Manhattan, New York, USA.

Organised by IHR International, an American firm which imports African crafts and artworks, the exhibition was partly aimed at exposing the works of these talented Nigerian artists and partly at raising funds for Greater Harlem Guidance Centre, USA.

During the three-week exhibition, exquisite bronzes were displayed to the delight of those who attended.

The works included Yemisi's *The Founding Yam Women*, Bintu's *The Palm Wine Tapper* and Cornelius Arinju's *The Elephant Hunter* and *The birth and death of Jesus Christ*, excellent drawings in pen and ink. The exhibition also featured wood carvings, sculptures and fine jewellery, all from the private collection of Dr. Oliva Pearl Stokes, an educator and international traveller.

Declaring the exhibition open, an educationist at the Centre for African Art, New York, Dr Rosalind Jefferies said of the works, "the overpowering energetic forms of contemporary Oshogbo artists live in the banks of Bintu Olaniyi Twin Seven Seven, Yemisi Olaniyi Twin Seven Seven, Oni Abiodun and pen and ink artist Cornelius Arinju to reincarnate the fact that the wellspring of the creative traditionalist does not and in fact cannot die."

To her, "new webs of intrigue have been etched, spun, dyed and painted to entice the viewer into a world of century-old metaphors." Emma Madine



The Birth and Death of Jesus Christ (Art by Cornelius Arinju)

Record

From Paris with funk

The Paris based recording company, *Sonodisc*, has a reputation for bringing the best music out of Francophone Africa and the Caribbean. Its excellence can simply be confirmed by the quality albums that emanate from its stable. With monthly releases averaging ten albums they are probably the market leaders in African material in France.

Their current album is funk from the two key musicians of the group, Kassav. Jacob F Desvarieux and Georges Decimus, who combine their talents to produce heavy, electro-funk. These are eight tracks altogether but the hits are obviously *Chava* and *Goree*; then the unstoppable *Le Swing* which is dance and disco.

Kassav have just completed a sell-out African tour which swept through Togo, Ivory Coast and Angola. Reports confirmed that venues were mainly in stadiums in these countries, but in their Caribbean homeland they left riotous scenes in Antilles where they promptly

called off the tour to prevent further chaos. Kassav is now reputed to be outselling the legendary Zaireans in France.

"Operation Grand Frere Petit Frere" is also a hot disco 45 from Sonodisc which will keep you dancing, but the big winner from that label this month is Franco with Jolie Delta, a female singer he discovered and signed into his huge outfit. The famous Franco aka "OK Jazz" is probably the greatest African musician outside of Fela and Zaire's Tabuley. He is the grand master of soukous and rumba sounds.

The album opens with *Marisa* a relaxed rumba reminiscent of Franco's excellent tract *IDA* from his last but one album. *Layile* written by Franco is probably the best track on this album. It has a new freshness injected by Jolie Delta but the experience and tightness of the legendary Franco.

Other notable material from the Sonodisc August releases include Ivory Coast's Tony Blesson, Gabon's Poaty Bebevo and Cameroun's Peter Mpouly and Zaire's Pompon Kuleta who is backed by the tight Afrika International from the Tabuley stable. There is so much music coming out of Francophone Africa that one begins to wonder what is happening in the English speaking African countries like Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone for example.

Advantage

The French enjoy the advantage of international marketing which is almost absent from Nigerian or Ghanaian acts. The Paris based producers like Sonodisc and Safari Ambiance clearly have the edge in marketing African acts under the French sphere of influence and there is no chance that the gap will be narrowed in the near future because Nigeria record companies are more inward than outward looking in their marketing policies.

"Ndedi Ewango" and "Doh Albel's Evolution" present a package which conforms with the tradition of the makossa style disco from Cameroun and the Ivorian beat. This selection includes some of the finest African music currently on the market.



Concord Publisher, Chief M K O Abiola with Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni

An East African safari

Lagos reporter **Bayo Onanuga** accompanied Concord Press publisher, Chief M K O Abiola, on his recent visit to Kenya and Uganda. He writes of his impressions of the two countries.

One only has to emerge from the countries' two airports to know that Kenya and Uganda, so close to each other, are poles apart. One is a haven paradise for thousands of Western tourists in search of sun and exotica, the other has been torn apart by a long and bloody civil war.

At Jomo Kenyatta Airport we were greeted by an air of warmth. Everything seemed to say, "Welcome to Kenya." Even the taxi drivers were polite as they took passengers to the garden city of Nairobi. But walking into Uganda's Entebbe Airport was like walking into a graveyard. There were no welcoming crowds and no hustle and bustle. In fact, the airport was about to close down for the day even though it was only 6 pm.

Our safari to these two African countries was as exciting as the word safari sounds. We criss-crossed Kenya's game parks, mountains and lakes. We visited the ancient city of Mombasa taking a boat ride on the Indian Ocean. In Uganda, we traversed the Luwero Triangle where we saw stacks of human bones and skulls —

victims of the country's ghastly theatre of war.

"If the Europeans come back they would be ashamed." This was the proud boast of Mohammed Haji, provincial commissioner

of Rift Valley Province, as he showed us the prosperous grain farmers at Nakuru. They are better run than in the days of the colonialists, he says.

It was not an empty boast. Nakuru has 45,000 tonne integrated wheat silo, 30 concrete maize silos with a capacity of 13,000 tonnes and two storage depots where thousands of maize bags are kept. Kericho, also in Rift Valley Province, possesses more than 42 tea estates, which account for 75 per cent of Kenya's produce



Chief Abiola (right) in audience with Kenvan President Daniel Arap Moi

CONCORD DIARY

tion. Here, we saw the lush green tea farms flanking the highways. We passed villages which not only had an electricity supply but also had telephones and piped water. The idea is to make farming as attractive as possible to youngsters.

At Kitale, the country's leading maize producing area, 25 concrete maize silos can each store 15,000 tonnes when full. District officials say these could sustain Kenyans for at least two years in case of a drought.

At Lake Nakuru, more than a million birds had gathered feeding on the algae in the water. They were mainly flamingos and are a big tourist attraction. Although agriculture dominates the Kenyan economy, tourism is also a major foreign exchange earner — an average of 20 billion shillings yearly.

Mombasa, a ninety-minute plane ride from Nairobi, is a big tourist attraction. Unlike the European touch of Nairobi, this city cuts the image of a truly African town, despite its fair share of Asian and Arab influences. The city's port has a story 300 centuries old. It was the Indian Ocean port for Arabian and Asian traders. Today, imprints of these, cross-cultural contacts are still stamped on the town — in its architecture, its people and religion.

"If you have not seen Mombasa, you have not seen Kenya," says one of the numerous tourist pamphlets. The city has wide, white beaches blown by the soothing breezes from the Indian Ocean. Its deep water port, its wildlife, its coconut palms and monuments are other attractions. Tourist hotels are mushrooming all the time. The latest is the 420-room International Hotel, opened a few months ago.

Mombasa port was rebuilt in 1978 and is equipped to off-load and on-load 22 million tonnes of cargo. At present, it handles between 7-8 million tonnes. The port could relieve the landlocked frontier states who wish to bypass South Africa.

Later we visited Amboseli, which has a large concentration of wild animals. We saw animals living in their natural habitat — elephants, buffalo, ostrich, giraffe, zebra. We also stopped at Mzima Springs from where most of Kenya's drink water is pumped. We visited the sites of the lava flows, so fresh they might have happened yesterday. We crossed across the land of the cattle-rearing Masai. We saw them in their full colours — head and caparisoned, iron-clothed, with some holding arrows. We found the Masai, too, were in the tourism business, the women offering bracelets, sculptures and bangles for sale and others posing for photographs for money.

We flew to Entebbe, hoping to explore Uganda as we did Kenya. Princess Elizabeth Bagaya, Uganda's ambassador to the United States, was at the airport to receive us.

We did not see as much of Uganda as we did Kenya, but we did visit the Entebbe

Triangle. About 30 kilometres from Kampala, a narrow, dusty road lead to much of this area lined with villages. We reached an ill-equipped school in Kibari where all the pupils said Obote's men had made them orphans. We saw many houses destroyed and armed youths. They were manning the road blocks.

In Kampala we found many shops with empty shelves, goods like soap and detegents being sold for four times more

than in Kenya. But Ugandans are happy. These we spoke to were elated by the new order — the peace in Kampala, the liberty to go out freely even at night. They are also full of hope from the Museveni Government. President Museveni has vowed not to disappoint his people and seems confident to wrestle with the problems afflicting his state.

Perhaps in Museveni's time, the dulled Ugandan Pearl will glitter again.

NNSL — AOL clash

Two shipping firms at loggerhead over cargo.

THE embattled Nigerian National Shipping Line (NNSL) is yet to have a breathing space. Accusations of drug trafficking and financial mismanagement have been against it in the past.

A new dimension has now been added. Last week, the Managing Director of African Ocean Lines Limited (AOL), Dr. Raymond Dokpesi called a press conference to accuse the company of having trading links with South Africa.

Dr. Dokpesi alerted the nation that NNSL has signed an agreement with Messrs. Rijn Maas En Zee of Belgium (a company partly controlled by South Africans) on August 11 to operate a non-conference break-bulk service on a world-wide basis.

Under the agreement Rijn Maas is to lift 236,000 metric tonnes of fertilizer from the Romanian port of Constanza to Nigeria, at freight rate of US — 25.25 per metric tonne. The total payment due to Rijn Maas shall be US — 6,528,000 (N6.5 million) as freight charges, and the nation also stands to pay another US — 20 million demurrage.

Dr. Dokpesi said the officials of the NNSL signed the agreement for selfish interest, because NNSL being "a member of conference is neither allowed to compete nor lift any cargo outside the percents of the conference."

Initially, the entire 236,000 metric tonne of fertilizer was allocated between the NNSL and other Nigerian Shipping Lines. But in August the government directed that the entire fertilizer be shipped by NNSL.

NNSL not having the capability to carry out the assignment, subcontracted the entire consignment to Rijn Maas on a commission, to the exclusion of all Nigerian shipping companies including the African Ocean Lines.

African Ocean Lines, he said, was prepared to lift the entire consignment at freight rate of US — 24.80, and also assign its entire freight earnings in foreign exchange to the Central Bank of Nigeria. The AOL is only prepared to

collect the naira equivalent of the foreign exchange earning. But Rijn Maas being a foreign company will keep all its earnings outside Nigeria.

Dr. Dokpesi said, his company policy of assigning any operating surplus to Central Bank of Nigeria to be repatriated to Nigeria, is part of AOL's effort geared towards revamping the national economy.

In 1984, the NNSL allocated a consignment of 494,000 metric tonnes of rice from Thailand and Patriot to Messrs. Ashaye Far East Lines (AFAE Lines) with headquarters in Hong Kong, without the appropriate Federal Government approval.

Consequently, a total freight payment of US — 17,370,000 was paid by the Federal Government, in addition to US — 10.5 million as demurrage to Messrs. AFAE Lines, Dokpesi revealed.

The NNSL operations, he said, seriously negate the government objective of conserving foreign exchange.

Dr. Dokpesi, therefore, called on the Federal Government to probe the economic justification of the agreement reached between NNSL and Rijn Maas noting that "it is unfair to the citizens of this nation to be requested to make sacrifices whilst some unscrupulous elements in the government are pursuing their private pockets."

Reacting in Dr. Dokpesi's accusations: the public relation officer of NNSL, Mr. Willie Nwokedi said Dr. Dokpesi's claims have no lot of truth. He said NNSL did not contract out the carriage of the fertilizer to anybody. The NNSL by government directive cannot share project cargo with any foreign company, he added.

NNSL vessels are presently involved in the shipment of the fertilizer from Romania and that one of the company's vessels was discharging the commodity at the Apapa Wharf in Lagos.

— Nimi Wariboko

Hosting the world

Kuule Solaja examines Nigeria's credentials for hosting the World Youth Soccer Championships in 1989. After extensive investigation and discussion with relevant authorities and experts, he scores Nigeria's chances as just good.

THE count down to the Seventh World Youth Football Tournament has begun. FIFA's searchlight is now beaming on Nigeria's facilities to ascertain eligibility as possible host. Three officials of the world soccer body arrived in Nigeria this week. And their mission's an on-the-spot assessment of, at least, nine stadia in the country.

However, final pronouncement is not expected until the 20-man Executive Committee of FIFA (CAF) deliberates on the issue. In conformity with FIFA's article 39, a complete dossier still has to get to the Executive Council before the candidacy is upheld or rejected.

Last year, while in Nigeria during the final of the African Cup of Nations, CAF president, Ydrakathas Tassene, seized the opportunity to get briefed on Nigeria's bid to host the rest of the world.

Nigeria Football Association chairman, Tony Ikazoboh and the secretary, Patrick Oloromo, were in Mexico during the World Cup to table Nigeria's proposal before FIFA. When in September last year, FIFA boss, Joao Havelange pronounced Africa as the last year, FIFA boss, Joao Havelange pronounced Africa as the host for the 1989 championship, he requested CAF to submit a list of possible host nations.

The ending of the tournament to Africa is almost by right. The championship kicked off in the continent in 1977 with Tunisia as host. Japan, Australia, Mexico and Soviet Union have staged the competition. With the 1987 finals taking place in Chile, South America, a complete cycle of all the continents would have been made.

The major threat to Nigeria's application is South Korea, whose capital city, Seoul, is hosting the next Olympic Games. Although, the world soccer body will want the 1989 championship in Africa, the Koreans are unfolding in their pressure to host the competition. The Seoul Olympic complex has been completed and opened as far back as September 29, 1984 — four years to the olympics.

The olympic games come up a year before the football tournament. That apart, the Koreans are hosts of this year's Asian Games. But other factors are likely to work in Nigeria's favour. Prime among these is the 'Joao Havelange's Third World policy.' That apart, an NFA member argues, "Japan

and Australia, the 1979 and 1981 hosts are virtually within the same region with South Korea".

In Africa, Morocco and Nigeria did bid for the 1989 championship. Morocco apart from the application, also informed the CAF congress at the 1985



Hosting, FIFA president

October Cairo meeting of the country's intention to host the FIFA World Cup in 1994. The intention has now been put to FIFA for consideration.

But in the bid for the 1989 FIFA/Coca-cola World Cup, Nigeria gained the upper hand. At the CAF meeting where the fixtures for the last African Nations Cup were fixed, Nigeria got the approval of the continent body. This is due, partly to the country's exploits in the last youths' tournament.

Having got CAF's approval, Nigeria now faces an acid test from FIFA. Unlike in the past tournaments, FIFA now tables a staggering ten stadia conditions. Havelange was asked on the eve of the World Youth Football Championship at Motel Camino Real, Mexico-City in 1983 whether the world cup was not becoming too gigantic. The FIFA president had said that people were always talking about 'gigantism' in world sports events. "Yet the event doesn't stop growing".

Oyo Orok Oyo, Nigeria's Vice President of CAF and one of the three Africans in FIFA's Executive Council first put forward the suggestion that

Nigeria should host the world. In the euphoria that greeted Nigeria's success in the 1980 Nations Cup he asked, "What stops us from applying to stage the fourth World Youth Football Tournament in 1989?"

To add weight to his proposal, Mr. Oyo declared that Africa has to receive the rest of the world in our continent in our clamour for more than two places in the FIFA world cup and more than four places in the executive committee of FIFA can be received by the rest of the world with any seriousness.

The ailing economy provided a formidable opposition to Nigeria's application. Brazil and Colombia withdrew their candidature as hosts of the 1989 World Cup for this reason. For the NFA secretary explained that while the FIFA World Cup, the youths' championship is heavily subsidised by Brazil, Coca-cola. He argued that hosting the tournament is a way of reducing foreign exchange on Nigeria since teams are spending a lot to take part.

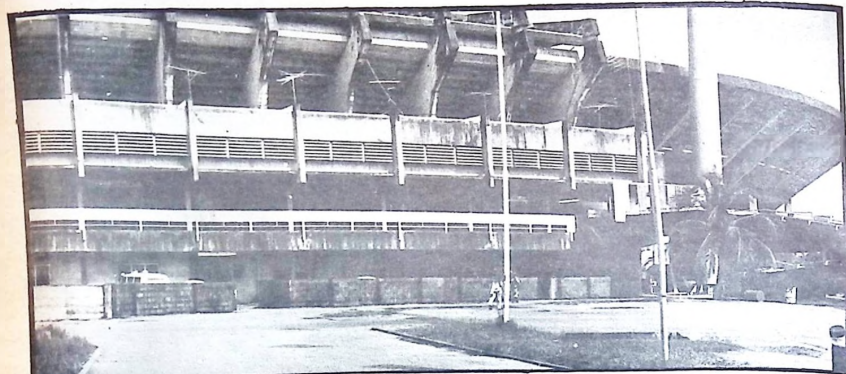
"On the average, each team will spend about 20,000 US dollars," the NFA secretary professed. Still on the possible advantages, Patrick Oloromo says the tournament will make Nigeria a world of international attention. Mr. Oyo had argued in a similar vein when he was last January on the publicity Nigeria can get when the rest of the world comes here.

"The tournament is a good advertisement. On top of all this, we will have a lot of foreign exchange. It is a good time for the period of economic difficulty would have ended and money flow that it is for the economic reasons that a former NFA chairman, Stanley Dankoro disagreed with some of the conditions. He told an airport correspondent that if he were still in the NFA, Nigeria would not have applied to host the 1989 championship. The economy is too bad and we don't have facilities for such tournament," he argued.

Facilities in nine stadia are scheduled for inspection by the FIFA panel. The facilities expected in them include electronic score board, well laid turf, press centre equipped with telex, telegraph and telephone services. Apart from these the stadia must be sited in cities with four or five star hotels to accommodate the competitors and officials including journalists.

All the nine cities have standard hotels to accommodate competitors and officials. No problems are also envisaged in communication network. All the proposed venues are well served by network of roads and eight of the cities have airports. Bauchi, the only venue without an airport is served by the Jos Airport which is only an hour drive away.

Other requirements are that there



Nigerian national stadium

should not be more than one hour delay of players and officials at airports. And that the host nation must have foreign exchange facilities.

The FIFA team, led by Harry Cavan, a senior vice president of the football body, include Omar Sey, the Gambian chairman of CAF Referee Committee and Walter Gagg, the chairman, Technical Department of FIFA.

Nine stadia — National Stadium, Lagos; Ijery Stadium, Ibadan; Ogbé Stadium, Benin; Nnamdi Azikiwe Stadium, Enugu; Calabar Township Stadium; Liberation Stadium, Port-Harcourt; Tafawa Balewa Stadium, Bauchi; Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna and the Ilorin Township Stadium are scheduled for inspection. Of these, the Ilorin Stadium least meets the FIFA's specification of 45,000 spectator capacity. Over a decade after laying the foundation, and all the attendant controversies over the initial staggering \$31.5 million budget for the project, the complex is still a mini-stadium. Only half of the terraces have been completed.

Patrick Okpomo countered: "Nigeria still has four years ahead to update whatever facility that is lacking. He explained that FIFA needs four stadia for the tournament. Each is to host four teams for the first round matches. "What we are trying to do is to spread the event to many parts of the country," said the NFA secretary. He is optimistic that facilities which are found wanting, even by the time FIFA team visits Nigeria could be provided before 1989.

To back his claim, Okpomo said that the Aztec Stadium which hosted the 1970 World Cup was reconducted within a short time for the 1986 World Cup. If the Mexicans can build a new

stadium within a short time, he wonders why Nigeria will be unable to perform a similar feat.

Various state governments are getting interested in the 1989 championship. Colonel Oladayo Popoola, the former Ogun State Governor, in the 1986 budget announced that the state will raise the facilities in Asero Stadium, Abeokuta, to meet CAF standard and also, arrangements were in progress to build, with the support of sports-loving philanthropists, a modern and benefitting stadium which is suitable for international competition.

"We hope this will be ready to host FIFA Under-21 competition in 1989," Colonel Popoola said. Since the speech only a minor structural adjustment to the Asero Stadium has been made. The other plan for a new stadium has apparently been discarded.

Of the designated nine stadia, the National Stadium, Lagos and Liberty Stadium are almost certain to pass the FIFA test. Both are equipped with electronic scoreboard and flood light facilities. The two stadia are complete with internal and communication facilities for administration and broadcasting.

National Stadium which is likely to be the venue for the opening and final matches has sitting capacity of 60,000 and when fully stretched, it takes up to 80,000. The stadium has fully air-conditioned press box, modern radio/Television centres and broadcasting room with more than six booths for separate commentaries. It also has international circuits link, providing satellite connections for radio and television.

The 27-year-old Liberty Stadium has a capacity for 45,000. Its special attributes include the velvet-like turf with efficient drainage system. Another stadium likely to scale through the FIFA test is the

newly commissioned Nnamdi Azikiwe Stadium. FIFA Technical Adviser Heinz Maritzke said most of its facilities meet FIFA specifications. The NFA recently introduced the stadium management and that of others whose stadia need electronic scoreboard to Omega score board manufacturers' representatives.

At another proposed venue, the Ogbé Stadium, Benin, Governor John Ijengor told an NFA advance team that Bendel State Government will ensure that all FIFA requirements for hosting the competition are met. Towards that, an interministerial committee comprising the commissioners of Information, Social Development, Youths, Sports and Culture; Commerce and Industry; and Works and Transport, has been set up to facilitate the renovation work at Ogbé Stadium.

The governor disclosed that the provision of electronic score-board and flood light was being discussed with contractors. Other construction works needed at the stadium are press gallery, extension of the spectators stands and planting grass on the balding pitch.

Former Governor Fidelis Oyakhilome admitted that a lot still needed to be done on the newly commissioned Liberation Stadium, Port Harcourt. The project being handled by an Italian firm, Michelite, had been abandoned for years and had to be reactivated at a cost of N10 million. The main bowl now under construction, is designed to seat 50,000 spectators.

In its master plan, the complex will have a VIP stand, cloak room, restaurant and press centre. At the commissioning in June, Mr. Oyakhilome disclosed that all necessary equipment: flood light, electronic timing and measuring device would be installed before the next football season begins in January 1987.

Matching the challenge

Although the basic qualifications exist for hosting the FIFA-Coca-Cola Cup a lot needs to be done.

THE major problem Nigeria may face in meeting FIFA's requirements is that of telecommunication facilities. At the moment, NITEL only has facilities to transmit to the outside world from Lagos. This indicates that transmission is only possible from the National Stadium. But NITEL's public relations manager, Alhaji Umaru Galadanci has given an assurance that transmission from the stadium at Ibadan, Benin City, Calabar, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Kaduna, Ilorin and Bauchi will be possible by middle of 1988 and by which time, the Domestic Satellite (DOMSAT) upgrade activities would have been completed.

The upgrade activities will consist of



Yinka: Poor communication facilities

installation of transmission and reception equipment for both video and audio programmes at those locations. Yinka Craig, NTA sports commentator, holds the view that most of the transmission facilities are not existing in the country. He suggests that the DOMSAT will have to link the other venues with Lagos where an international broadcasting centre (IBC) will be sited.

The IBC is required to have facilities for at least 50 nations to broadcast simultaneously. In bigger events like the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cup, the capacity of the IBC could be bigger. A total of 166 nations including Nigeria took the events at the last World Cup from Mexico's IBC. At the IBC, each nation that has television rights will be allocated a suite. The suites are equipped with telex and television pictures of all the events from all venues.

The IBC also present avenue for com-

mon press conferences at the end of matches. Information on players and officials are obtained from the centre. Yinka Craig was at the Mexico championship of 1983. He noted the organisational structure of the IBC and suggests, 20 commentator positions for radio and television in each stadium. A minimum of eight cameras, television experts claim, would be required at every stadium for good picture shots. The distribution is such that two cameras are positioned behind the goal posts. These provide play back in slow motion. Additional two are placed parallel to each goal line for side line slow motion pictures. With these, four slow motion shots, are taken from different points. That



Ayuba: Communication boss

was the situation during the last world cup in Mexico. Two other cameras, one on each of the field are positioned a little distance into the covered terrace. Another two on a higher elevation, give over-head and wide angle shots. With these, says Yinka Craig, cameramen will do less focussing. Each camera is already focused to specific sections of the field. At the moment, the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), uses three camera for matches at the National Stadium. For the 'Match-of-the-week,' only one camera is used. This accounts for the poor picture quality of the programme.

NTA's Mamman Jimoh, who shoots the match-of-the-week, watches a 90-minute match with one eye closed — having to focus and pan the camera to the direction of play. With the use of eight cameras, Craig contends that manpower training programmes for directors would be necessary. Two directors are

required for each match. "They have to plan every match and give instructions to the cameramen."

Another constraint the NTA faces is the dearth of outside broadcasting vans for all the proposed venues. The NTA would require about N56 million to acquire most of the equipment for effective transmission of events. But the staggering amount could be a form of investment, if an aggressive drive is embarked upon.

The chance comes next year during the tournament in Chile. For good planning and aggressive campaign, Yinka Craig suggest that a Nigerian contingent has to be in Chile. The reasons are two fold. To understudy the organisers of the next finals and also to campaign to the world on what Nigeria would offer in 1989. South Korean officials were in Los Angeles during the last olympics to give elaborate programme of the Seoul Olympic Games.

Such campaigns, argues Yinka Craig, helps to sell television rights for the championship. Television rights enable events to be beamed to countries that obtained such. It is here that most of the investments on the tournament could be recouped.

The price of television rights depend on such factors as the volume of viewership in the receiving nations and commercial viability of sports programmes in such countries. "Nigeria could acquire all the necessary equipment within six months of making the decision," contends Yinka Craig.

With regards to satellite communication, NITEL officials claim they are already improving on the existing facilities. But it will cost about 30 million US dollars to upgrade the present system for the 1989 football fiesta.

Although NITEL officials claim that the company has not received any request from either the NTA or the sports ministry in connection with the FIFA/Cocacola World Cup, the upgrade exercise is part of NITEL's plan to improve the network distribution programmes on DOMSAT services as well as introduce new digital business services over DOMSAT in order to improve NITEL revenue generation base.

Multilateral transmission in Nigeria is in PAL. But the recent acquisition of standard TV converter to transcode to other systems such as NTSC and Secam, has removed the problem Nigeria encountered last year. It was not possible to receive live transmission from USSR during last year's FIFA/Cocacola Junior World Cup because Nigeria had no standard converter to receive the transmitted NTSC system.

NITEL has assured that other countries will not have the same problem receiving from Nigeria since "we will be able to transmit NTSC or PAL system separately or simultaneously using our TV converter."

Nigeria's analogue telephone system would have been obsolete by 1989, reasoned Yinka Craig. Computerised telex and digital telephone are fast making inroad into the telecommunication world. NITEL engineers assert that the digital telephone system is faster, smaller and less vulnerable to interference and degradation. The system also permits the integration of voice, data, text and fixed images over the same network.

Adoption of the digital telephone, argues its proponents, will enhance the transmission of news to various countries by the foreign pressmen Nigeria is likely to host during the football fiesta.

By 1984, in Los Angeles Olympics, the computerised telephone system had been in use. "We can attempt to match the system", said Yinka Craig who was one of the electronic media men that used the facilities.

Nigeria intends to join the countries that have computerised the entire network of their communication systems. The plan to change to digital system was discussed during the seminar on digital system organised by NITEL in March this year. However, the actual implementation will depend on what the country's economy is in future and the age of the present equipment vis-a-vis life expectancy.

A NITEL official said that the complete change will be a gradual process, but may be of the order of 10 to five years depending on the serviceability of the present installed equipment. With this defeatist stance, Nigeria has to depend on the use of telex machines in all the stadia. Yinka Craig suggests that the International Direct Dialling (IDD) should be made available to reporters.

In the present circumstances, Nigeria can hang on promises an NFA insider said. But he admits that the three-man FIFA team would have been delighted to see all the necessary facilities in operation. The optimism laced in Patrick Okpomo's assertion that facilities that are not yet ready would be updated before 1989 could be the saving grace.

The NFA secretary also said that various committees and sub-committees would be set up from the moment FIFA accepts Nigeria's candidacy. In the argument of Mr. Paulinus Nzerem, an assistant director of sports, Imo State, Nigeria's success would depend mainly on personnel to run the affairs. He argued that playing two matches at the same time in one city for instance, reduces money that could be realised from gate taking.

But for the poor transport system, a match could commence in Lagos about two hours after the end of another in Ibadan. The two hour gap in the reasoning of Mr. Nzerem would enable fans from one venue move to the other to watch a second match.

— Kunle Solaja

Moments of glory

In her 26 years of nationhood, there had been occasions when Nigerians did their country proud; of course, there were dull moments.

PERHAPS outside Nigeria's role in world political affairs, no other sphere had brought honours and international recognition to the nation like sports. Although, the nation may not easily fit among the very bests in the world, Nigeria has come among the newly emerging sporting nations. In the past 26 years, Nigerian sportsmen and women had strived to carve an identity for the nation. The glorious moment came in August last year.

Within the month, Nigeria had become the focus of international attention — emerging over-all champion at the fourth All-African Athletics Championship in Cairo, and winning the inaugural Kodak/FIFA World Cup in Beijing, China. The euphoria of the latter feat was overwhelming. No other team outside Europe and South America had won any FIFA organised tournament.

Much against all predictions, the Nigerian Under-17 team proved

bookmakers wrong. With victory, "the gap between Europe and South Africa on one hand, and Africa and Asia on the other, is closing," remarked Mr. Peter Vellappanni, Secretary General of the Asian Football Confederation.

The reception accorded the victorious team was unprecedented in the annals of sports in Nigeria.

Although the epoch-making team has out-grown the stipulated age of 17, a new team built around Fatai Atere and Duere Tonworimi have started another march to glory. With the Starlites of Ghana already disposed off, a win over Zambia in January will see Nigeria through into yet another final.

In recent times, Nigeria's successes, especially in football, have hinged more on the youth teams. Youths Sports Federation of Nigeria (YSFON) teams, although most often unheralded, has consistently brought honours to the country. This year, YSFON won for keeps, the Dana Cup.

Just before the Los Angeles Olympic Games, a pre-olympic soccer championships was organised. Nigerian youths swept the stakes — winning the cup presented by Pele and also, the fair play trophy. Nigeria's Niyi Adeleye got the "Most Valuable Player" award after Nigeria had beaten Argentina 5-1 in the final match.

The upward trend in Nigerian football, especially in the youth category is well acknowledged by FIFA. In a post tournament publication, the world soccer governing body commenting on Nigeria's victory over the Soviet Union in a group D match at the 1983 World Youths Football Championship in Mexico remarked: "The competition's big surprise. No one had expected the USSR, a traditionally strong youth team, to lose. Not only did Nigeria merit their victory, but this can also be seen as a genuine advance in the footballing performance in that African country."

The Andrew Uwe-led squad which succeeded the 1983 team proved that the win of 1983 was not fluke. After losing 1-2 in an earlier group match, Nigeria eventually beat hosts, Soviet Union 3-0 on penalties in the third place match. From ranking among the last five in the previous championship, Nigeria placed third in 1985.

Today, Nigeria leads the continent in youths football. For two consecutive years, Nigeria won the Ydnewkatchew Tessaema Cup. The nation is still contending for a record three-time win. But the apparent-high footballing standard has



Lawal, Sports minister



Golden eagles: Moment of joy

not manifested in the senior category where fortunes have been fluctuating.

In the early 60s the country's performance was dismal. Nigeria fell badly 6-3 to Egypt and 4-0 to Sudan in the African Cup of Nation. Then a tremendous rise, first starting with qualification for Olympics in 1968 and culminating in winning the gold medal in the Second All Africa Games in 1973.

Then another state of doldrum commenced until 1976 when Nigeria featured for the second-time in the final rounds of the Cup of Nations. It appeared that a lot of lessons had been gleaned from the 1963 attempt in Accra. But 13 years later, the country had a better result beating the defending champion Zaire 4-2. Situation was the same in the next tournament. The Eagles made away with bronze medal before landing the cup in Lagos 1980. With the silver medal from 1984 tournament, Nigeria is the only team to have won the top three positions in the Cup of Nations. However, since the cup winning team of 1980, there has been a marked decline in the national team.

NFA chairman, Tony Ikaroboh, lamented

this at the launching of the challenge cup mascot. The gold, silver, bronze wins in the Nations Cup is not comparable to four times win of the cup by Nigeria's traditional rival, Ghana. Besides, while some countries have won all the continental trophies, Nigeria still craves for the coveted African Cup of Champions. The annual championship has been evasive in the past 18 years.

With the scale of organisation, the popular support and the over 400 clubsides in the country, Nigeria has the potentials to lead in African football. Unlike the neighbouring Cameroon, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Zaire, Nigeria has never qualified for the FIFA World Cup. But on three occasions, the nation got to the last qualifying stage.

In 1969, Nigeria narrowly missed 1970 world cup finals — losing on points to Morocco in a round robin duel that also involved Ethiopia, Morocco with two wins and a drawn match qualified with five points ahead of Nigeria which had four.

In 1977, Nigeria was a losing finalist to Tunisia and Egypt. In yet another final quali-

fying match in 1981, Nigeria fell miserably, 1-4, to Algeria — Nigeria had twelve months earlier beaten 3-0 to lift the African Nations Cup. But when viewed against the performances of other African nations, Nigeria has a modest record.

This is also reflected in some other multi-national games. Although Nigeria has only four medals — one silver and three bronze medals to show for the Olympics there are indications that the country has potentials to conquer the world. Chidi Imoh of late, has been commanding world attention. He recently outran the Olympic four-medal sensation, Carl Lewis, at an international athletic meeting. His other feats include setting a new African record in the 100 metres dash and becoming the world eighth fastest man of all times.

In Africa, Nigeria ranks top among the athletics nations. The nation's contingent has commanding stature in the last three Africa Games placing second on the medals table. Last year, Nigeria emerged overall winners at the Fourth All African Athletic Championship in Cairo with a medal haul of 11 gold, nine silver, and four bronze medals. Nigerian athletes hit spectacular form at the close of the championship, winning six gold and seven silver medals on the very last day. Maria Usifo, who had a bad outing in Los Angeles Olympic Games pved the gold winning spree by outrunning Cote d'Ivoire of Cameroon and Albir line Koutouon of Cote d'Ivoire in the 100 metres hurdles final.

Nigeria had produced two world boxing champions in the professional category. Hogan Bassey was a former heavyweight champion, while in the 60s the late Dick Tiger ruled the middleweight class. Davidson Andeh won the world amateur lightweight boxing title in 1978. With the exit of some of these pugilists, other Nigerians are making their ways into stardom. At the moment, the most promising Nigerian boxer around is Joe Lasisi, African Boxing Union light heavyweight champion.

— **Kunle Solaja**



YSFON: Brought honour



Musa Abba-Aji

AS Head of Publications and Features in the Borno State Ministry of Information, sober looking, soft-spoken Musa Abba-Aji, 33, goes extra mile in performing his job. In his modest office adorned with self-created maxims that offer penetrating insight into his person, Musa's major concern seems to be how to improve the lot of the ordinary Nigerian.

But Musa has another serious worry: The scarcity of reading materials in the country, being himself a man whose main hobby is reading. He had devoted his M.Sc. thesis at Leicester University on this problem.

Musa derives tremendous joy attending to other people's problems and would not take even thanks for his pains. It is a pleasure, he says, to render service. He worries that part of the problem with the nation today is that many people no longer believe that a good name is better than riches.

If you call Musa a socialist you are not far off the mark. With framed bust photographs of Karl Marx and Che Guevara adorning his modest sitting room in the GRA part of Maiduguri, Musa puts his philosophy in one crisp line: "Give it to us." He then explains: The country belongs to the people and so the exploiters and parasites must give it back to them for there to be justice.

"NIGERIANS are free, and sometimes I think too free," said the retiring Information Officer of the United States Information Service at N.S. Ismael Rivera, 58. The man has worked in every corner of the earth except Australia, in his 29 years of service to the USA, so he should know. In Nigeria, he has been in the northern, central and western parts. In particular, all areas in the east except Calabar. And he discovered that human aspirations were the same everywhere: "everybody



Ismael Rivera

wants better lives for themselves and for their families; and the opportunities to pursue that goal," he said. But Nigerians have gone off the mark somehow in doing so, it seems to him. The country is blessed with dynamic people and a good press, he said, yet the vital ingredient: the willingness to sacrifice themselves for the country is missing. However, he hopes that the situation will be rectified sometime before he dies. In America, he will take up lecturing political science (his major at the university) and languages at the Campbell University in North Carolina. This will be a continuation of his stint at the Ecole Normale in Togo and a university in the Republic du Benin. A truly diverse career.

DOES art imitate life? Justus Esiri the village headmaster — Cosmos Aderibigbe Ali — in NTA's popular New Village Headmaster series and star playing Obierika in the mini-series.



Justus Esiri

'Things Fall Apart,' actually fell apart. His grouse is with the government on performing artistes' poor pay. As Ali in the Headmaster series, he plays a parallel role, sticking to his guns for one cause or the other. "If the government does not do something about it now, I will go into politics in 1990 to do something about it," he said. He suggests making the payment of television licences rates go directly to television stations so they will be well funded. For now, he is taking up fish farming to augment his pay. But this would give him little time for acting. Actually his only other popular role was the doctor in 'Caravan of Live,' which he acted for two years before leaving the sets. "A drama is like a football team," he said. "If any member is unskilled it affects the whole team. So, I carefully select before joining any proposed production." Art imitates life. And it imitates sport too.

A WOMAN's place is in the home. Nay, a woman's work is not done until she steps into home matters. **Francia Afegbua's** career as a senator in the Second Republic came to an abrupt end in December 1983. Since then, she has taken time out to look after her children James and David, in Benin. They are in secondary and primary schools respectively. Now she has found boarding schools for them, so she is back in Lagos, "hustling." Recently, Afegbua, an international hair styling award-winner, opened a hair dressing salon at the Federal Palace Hotels. She says she has an eye on other businesses too. But the eagle does not catch flies, so what particular areas of business? "Well, I intend to go into show business. Beauty contest, in particular," she said. "And public relations too." Meanwhile, she is still flat-hunting.

Adenola Oguntayo



Francia Afegbua

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