

African

Concord

Review

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The Premier Pan-African WEEKLY

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Nobel laureate
Wole Soyinka

Exclusive

from Stockholm—

Wole's moment of honor

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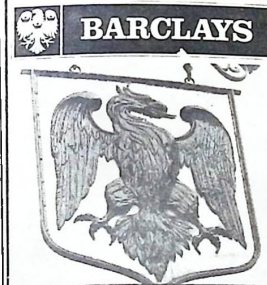


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TOP OF THE WEEK

Nigeria's Nobel Prize Winner, Professor Wole Soyinka, last week in Stockholm, Sweden made history as he received the prestigious Nobel prize award for Literature. *African Concord* gives an in-depth report of the epoch-making event in that Scandinavian country P6



The announcement by Barclays Bank that it would be withdrawing from South Africa has put apartheid once again in the spotlight. It follows a steady exodus of multinational firms as the sustained black revolt against the racist regime gathers momentum. But most of the firms that have left are American. *African Concord* examines why Europe, for the most part, is content to stay in South Africa and looks into the whole background of disinvestment. 43

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Some former politicians may be freed before the end of the year.



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Letters to the Editor

Malawi's treachery

Sir,

There is a saying that there can never be smoke without fire. Many past and recent Africa's subversion in Mozambique, South of these reports have been denied by Malawian officials but, from all indications, it seems that these reports are true.

As an African, I can't help wondering what goes on in the minds of old men like so old that he cannot see the treachery in All evidence suggests that these MNR rebels indulge in nothing but arson, rape, cold-blooded murder and plunder.

They are not motivated by any other motive than treachery. It is therefore equally treacherous of Malawi, the only African country that has diplomatic relations with South Africa, to support the rebels.

Zimbabwe and other frontline states should recognise that it is in their national interest to get the old man toppled.

Julian Kediani
London
UK

Credibility gap

Sir,

The parcel bomb murder of Dele Giwa and the hand grenade attempt on the life of Alozie Ogugbuaja could make one weep. A huge cloud hangs over our nation, and if the Babangida government is to retain its credibility it must bring those behind these crimes to justice.

Toyin Laguda
London
UK

Promises, promises . . .

Sir,

On 29 November 1985, when Major General Joseph Momoh became president, most people anticipated a complete destruction of the "old order."

This was confirmed by the president himself on several of his speeches to the nation. But his pledges have not borne fruit.

To mark his first anniversary in power, he has made yet more promises. There is a local proverb which says: "When an egg falls in the sand and breaks, it could be gathered but its purity is questionable."

Robert Koroma
Kenema
Sierra Leone

Farewell to Dele Giwa

*He is the subject of my story.
I cannot tell what you and other men
Actually think of this life: but for my single
self, I say,
Dele, farewell, a long farewell, to all your
greatness!*

*This is the state of man: today he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow
he blossoms
And bears his honours thick upon him.
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
And when Dele thinks, good easy man, full
surely
His greatness is a-repining, rips his root,
And then Dele fell.*

*But Alas, I want you journalists to know
that
There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to
fortune.
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and miseries.
On such a full sea are we now floating
And we must take the current when it serves
Or lose our ventures.*

*No doubt, Dele Giwa, you were a great
journalist.
All the conspirators killed only you
Did that they did in envy of the greatness in
you.
Dele, your life was gentle: and the elements
So mixed in you that Nature has stooped up
And said to all the world: "Dele was a great
journalist!"*

*So wise so young, they say, do never live
long.
But Dele, you lived in deed, not in years,
For ever, and for ever farewell Dele Giwa.
Surely, I believe we'll meet again
When we'll have cause to laugh
And laugh without end.*

*Sleep well, all is well, but not as you left it.
News watch is still watching, and the
outcome you'll
Know soonest.
Adieu Dele, journalist of journalists.*

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Maiduguri
Nigeria

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DO Efontoye
Maiduguri
Nigeria

World. He called into question the cosy arrangements through which the North continues the subordination of the South. His Government pursued a policy of solidarity with liberation struggles in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. He did not just talk about an equitable world order — he acted to realise this objective.

His opponents in the British media think they can drag his memory down to the world they inhabit in the gutters. But Olof Palme's reputation will survive the sordid tricks of Fleet Street hacks. The Third World Information Centre asks all those concerned with Third World interests to firmly unite against this offensive by the gutter press to defame the name of a true friend.

Kofi Buenor Hadjor
Director General
Third World Information Centre
London
UK

Man of no integrity

Sir,

The current scandal of lies, deceptions and treachery by the Reagan Administration in the United States has more than justified my view that President Reagan is a man without any moral integrity. The world is governed by definite moral laws, violation of which brings inescapable and consequential penalties.

While bleating vengeance on terrorists, he himself has been engaged in acts of terrorism by sending bombs and missiles to rebels in Nicaragua and faraway Angola, to overthrow by force the democratically elected governments of those countries. I ask, in God's name, what threat does faraway Angola pose to the United States?

When I was in secular employment, I was transferred for three years to a Portuguese colony, where I saw man's inhumanity to man at its worst. I was therefore not surprised that when these colonies gained their independence, they rejected the brand of Western democracy under which they had lived.

The Rev M G M Cole
London
UK

Work or quit

Sir,

Something must be done about the wave of hired assassins in Nigeria. If the police and the Government are not prepared to defend the defenceless masses, then the masses have got to defend themselves.

And they have to put so much pressure on the Government that the police will be given an ultimatum to do their job or quit.

Lemmy Akinsoji
London
UK

IBB's quiet revolution

We are all living witnesses to an amazing process of social transformation. It is a process so far-reaching in its effects and implications that it is the source of a considerable degree of fear and trepidation. It is a process which promises to change, for the better, the rules of the economic game in Nigeria, but which might perhaps even change the very nature of the game altogether by re-defining the way we live and work, including our consumption habits, our expenditure patterns and our production structures. Today, Nigeria can be appropriately described as a country undergoing the strains and stresses of the Babangida revolution, a revolution whose main catalyst was the inauguration of the SFEM (Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market) in September, 1986.

One of the key attributes of the emergent Babangida revolution is the body-blows it has inflicted on the distributive trade, hitherto the towering height of the Nigerian economy. Clearly, as a result of the operation of the SFEM, the distributive trade is no longer as attractive and lucrative as it once was. The reason for this is simple. The Babangida revolution has brought in its wake a shift in the Nigerian economy from a seller's, to a buyer's market. Past fallacies about the immunity of the economy to the tried and tested rules of classical economic theory have been stood on their heads. We now know that, under certain circumstances, the demands of the Nigerian consumer is not price inelastic, and that the domestic price-mechanism cannot but respond ultimately to the stimuli of supply and demand.

Thanks to SFEM, the expenditure of the Nigerian consumer is now going to be more realistically tied, not only to his level of productivity and legitimate earnings, but also to the productivity of the national economy as a whole. We now have no choice but to buy only that which we can afford as a result of the products of our labour, and not because we happen to be endowed with oil. Even the pampered rich will now have to pay a more realistic price for their pleasures.

If, as a result, private car-ownership is now out, mass transit systems will have to be in. (Already, the President himself has intimated the public about an imaginative new scheme to introduce motorised tricycles in the rural areas). If it is now no longer feasible for the middle-classes to send their children to school abroad (the cost of the average school fees abroad is now in excess of £25,000, exclusive of room and board), then we will have no choice but to build and sustain excellent educational facilities at home. If it is now unaffordable to seek medical attention abroad, then you can be sure that the Nigerian elite will soon establish world-standard hospitals in Lagos and Kaduna, in order to ensure that they and their children do not die of the common cold, or indeed of AIDS.

The Babangida revolution ensures that Nigerians will have no choice but to be born in Nigeria, live in Nigeria, work in Nigeria and die in Nigeria. With the new cost of airline tickets exceeding the average yearly income, apart from new immigration controls in the West, we cannot even afford to emigrate. Since the foreign option is now largely beyond the reach of the average Nigerian pocket, and with imported consumer durables now far too expensive, we have no other option but to build in Nigeria our own holiday resorts, and to produce and patronise our own affordable made-in-Nigeria goods.

If the introduction of SFEM has effectively taken the shine off the distributive trade, the emphasis has been replaced on the more productive sectors of the company. This is because,

Femi Aribisala's

OPINION

Contributing editor, Dr. Femi Aribisala looks at the falls-out of the structural adjustment programme and says they are elements of an emergent revolution, although not trumpeted.



for the very first time in a very long time, the Babangida revolution poses great challenges to the innate productivity of the Nigerian. No longer is the light of that productivity hidden under a bushel, for the simple reason that productivity is now, without a doubt, one of the surest avenues to wealth.

The capacity to accumulate the gold of foreign exchange in Nigeria is now intimately linked to the capacity to produce for export, whereby it is now possible for a business or manufacturing concern to keep, in-toto, its foreign exchange export proceeds. In addition, the capacity to procure the hard-earned petro-dollars of the government is no longer a function of political connection. Since scarce foreign exchange is now auctioned at rates more reflective of its true market value, the capacity to buy is now based on the capacity to produce domestic goods and services, and, thereby, to generate the requisite naira.

This message has clearly gone home. There is a new productive ferment in the air today which confirms the Nigerian as an inherently enterprising and imaginative economic animal. Fabled Nigerian importer-exporters, who normally export nothing and import virtually everything, are now beginning to speculate in the export market with a vengeance. The new list of exportables is as endless as it is amazing. From the export of fresh onions to Taiwan, to the export of health foods and diabetic meals to Pakistan. Soon, the groundnut pyramids will, once again, grace the Nigerian post-card.

The brooms of change also promise to sweep clean the hitherto inefficient banking sector. With the introduction of SFEM, the government has cleverly withdrawn some £3 billion of advance import deposits from the banks, while the operation of the market itself has mopped up another £2 billion. This tight monetary control has ensured that, instead of the much-heralded inflationary spiral, the creation of SFEM has actually witnessed the downward movement of prices. But in addition, it has plunged the banks into a liquidity crisis which promises to bring in its wake, a more efficient and service-oriented banking system, more receptive to modern techniques and methods.

The new liquidity shortage of the banks is the mirror-image of the new liquidity surplus of the government. The Babangida revolution has engineered a massive transfer of wealth from the business and corporate elite, to the people and government of Nigeria.

Suddenly, the government can now pay teachers, build rural roads, rejuvenate our health facilities, repay its domestic debts, and promote gainful employment. What it must resist at all costs, however, is the demand for a new Udoji of wage and allowance increases, which can only stoke up inflation, and negate the benefits of our new-fangled economic discipline.

The most incredible feature of the Babangida revolution has been the pacific way and manner by which it has been achieved. The Babangida revolution has been launched without the agony of social upheaval.

The introduction of the Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market is the most important and monumental economic decision ever taken in the history of independent Nigeria.



Design of the great Prize Nobel 1986.

Kongi's bounteous harvest

At last, Nigeria's Professor Wole Soyinka gets the \$290,000 Nobel Prize for Literature.

King Kongi's grand harvest finally happened. The carpenters brigade, the farm hands, the cooks, the brigade of guards, ambitious coup plotters and aspirants to the throne, all came for the festival.

The King received a gift. But it was not a human head presented in a covered dish. The gift looked too common for a king, especially for a King of Kongi's fame. It comprised of two packages. One contained a scroll apparently made of goat skin, the other a medal. Both emblazoned with the image of Alfred Wilhelm Nobel, a man of many parts, a man who prided himself as the "richest vagabond in Europe", a man who could not get on well with women, who did as much for war as for peace.

But King Kongi too, is a man of many parts. In his country Nigeria, where he is known as Wole Soyinka, everyone thinks he is a man of many parts. Learned people say he is a poet, playwright, novelist, social critic, actor, film director, producer and so on. Not-too-learned Nigerians know him as a trouble maker to oppressors but who, when

push comes to shove, might equally be a distinguished trouble shooter.

When King Kongi, well, Wole Soyinka, stepped out to receive his prize, something happened to the 1,700 persons who watched. He was the ninth of

the 10 recipients. Yet he was different. He looked different. He was black. The rest were white. He wore Ass Oke. The rest, except the charming 77-year old Miss Levi Montalcini, were in tails.

After the rituals — oration and "I

Buchanan, (right), Soyinka and Rita Montalcini.



Cover Story

have the pleasure of presenting.", King Gustaf XIV approached, Soyinka approached, the audience watched, in dead silence. The cameras readied, Nigerians held their breath and the King handed over the two packets, shook hands and retired to his seat.

The actor in Kongi came to him. He bowed thrice. To the King and Queen of Sweden, to the board of the Nobel Foundation and the Swedish Academy and finally to the audience, the world. He did more. He presented his prize to the audience as if to say "it is our prize, all of us won it. I am only a trustee." He was the only one to do that. And it was appreciated. Soyinka went to his seat, the applause went on.

Recipients of the Nobel Prize do not shed tears at least not last Wednesday. The secret of facing the world in a moment of monumental triumph and keep back watery eyes is simple. The ceremony is delicately and elaborately rehearsed. It took place at 11 o'clock, five and a half hours before the actual event. All the major actors were present, except the Swedish Royal family and the audience. Journalists, cameramen were told not to take pictures of the rehearsals. Everything is acted out. The Swedish philharmonic orchestra had had their instruments set. The stage had been set and ringed with blooming carnations. The sitting arrangements of the laureates, where to stand, how to enter, order of procession, where to place the medal and the diploma had been determined.

For instance, the man who 'taught' the rehearsal spoke of the necessity of laureates not mixing up their prizes. He related how some time ago, two laureates inadvertently swapped prizes—ended up in Siberia, another in North America. It took two years of intensive diplomatic negotiation to resolve.

Thus, the laureates entered at 4.30 p.m. and the audience rose to listen to Beethoven's "Congratulation Minuet" for two minutes. Then, everyone sat and Professor Sune Bergstrom, chairman of the Board of the Nobel Foundation read his speech which lasted five minutes in which he explained the Nobel Prize and the processes of selecting the winners.

Every year, he said, the committees invite nominations from numerous universities and academics. For the Nobel Peace Prize, all parliamentarians of the world are qualified to make nominations. Every year, each committee receives several hundreds of pro-

posals which are studied in depth for eight months by experts until selection is made in October.

He said that the founder of the Nobel Prize, Alfred Nobel, did not have a high opinion of the money-making abilities of scientists: "He therefore intended his prizes to make it possible for the laureates to continue their work and it represented about 20 annual salaries of professors at the beginning of the century."

The role of the Nobel Prize has changed, he said, for it has catalysed a dozen other prizes for the study of science and the prize should help remind political authorities to support research as a way of decreasing the glaring inequalities in the world.

taciturn as the ceremony went on. He managed a smile or two.

But it was at the banquet given by the King of Sweden that he appeared really thrilled. In an after dinner speech, he laughed and put the 1,400 audience to laughter. In the speech, Soyinka remarked that it must have appeared to the Swedes that half of the Nigerian population was brought to Sweden. It was not entirely an overstatement.

Indeed at the presidential wing of the Murtala Mohammed Airport from where the Nigerian delegation departed on December 6, it appeared everyone wanted to go to Stockholm including a former wife and a couple of Soyinka's relations who had to be manipulated out of the trip. It led to a little unfortunate



Soyinka, Buchanan, browsing through the programme.

After the speech, prizes were presented; first to the Physics Prize laureate, Ernest Ruska who will be 80 years on Christmas day, Gerd Binnig and Heinrich Rohrer, then to the Chemistry Prize winners, Dudley Herschbach, Yuan T. Lee and John C. Polanyi. Then it became the turn of Stanley Cohen and Rita Levi-Montalcini, Medicine Prize laureates. Then Soyinka and finally, the Bank of Sweden Prize in Economics Sciences in memory of Alfred Nobel which went to an American, James Buchanan.

The Swedish national anthem was then played, bringing the prize-presentation ceremony to a close.

Wole Soyinka dropped a tear or two as his citation was being read in Dodan Barracks, Lagos, for the national award of the Commander of the Federal Republic. Last Wednesday, he looked quite natural occasionally almost

incident which forced Professor J.P. Clark out of the aircraft and ultimately out of the trip. Professor Clark, like most others, apparently was unaware of the mild drama about who should be left out of the trip, and having been announced as a first class passenger, he refused to settle for less even after persuasion by Information and Culture Minister, Mr. Tony Momoh, who led the delegation.

There was to be another unhappy incident by which many members of the delegation were unable to attend the prize-presentation ceremony. The cause was traced to Sweden's deadline which was three weeks ahead of the ceremony. But for spirited efforts of Mr. Momoh and Nigerian embassy in Stockholm, only very few Nigerians would have witnessed Soyinka's investiture with the Nobel prize. The ceremonies were, however, televised live.



Faces of other Nobel laureates: Kuska (left), Birning, Kohrer, Herschback.



Soyinka

In the end the Nobel Prize ceremony was watched by Nigerian personages like Col. Tunde Akogan, cultural director, Mr. Justice Candide Johnson, Chief Judge of Lagos State, Chief M.K.O. Abiola, Concord's publisher, Mr. Alex Ibru, Guardian publisher, Professor (Mrs.) Bimpe Aboyade, Professor Ogburn, former Communications Minister, Aihaja Ibrahim Sanusi, Chief Bola Ige, former governor of Oyo State, Prof. Adiola Irele, Dr. Amosun Jayoto, Mr. Salinu Bappa, Mrs. Francesca Emmanuel, Miss. Jaiyesola Aikaka, Nigeria's ambassador to Sweden, Mr. Frank Aigimouknuede and many other Nigerians including 14 media men.

Soyinka had on December 8 delivered his Nobel lecture which many had felt was eminently qualified for a peace prize owing to its heavy political undertones.

Soyinka had used the lecture to underscore that literature encompasses the entire realm of human existence. As he stood beside the statue of Gustav III, the assassinated Swedish 18th century king whose humaneness is a Swedish legend, he made his feelings known about the assault on humanity by the apartheid regime and the "desperate last ditch guardians of the theory of racial superiority. He spoke of the "Terror epidemic that feeds on shock not reason, and how the "authentic conscience of the white tribe has been stilled". He took well aimed shots at Margaret Thatcher who had said: "Personally, I find sanctions morally repugnant." He took on America's Ronald Reagan. All in all, he said, his intention was not to speak to Africa and other oppressed peoples of the world but to address "those who are on the fringes of conscience." He

Ogun, Nobel at crossroad

A short speech by Wole Soyinka at a banquet in his honour on December 10.

Your Majesties, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It was inevitable that the Nordic world and the African, especially that part of it which constitutes the Yoruba world — should meet at the crossroads of Sweden. That I am the agent of such a symbolic encounter is due very simply that my creative Muse is Ogun, the god of creativity and destruction, of the lyric and metallurgy. This deity anticipated your scientist Alfred Nobel at the very beginning of time by clearing a path through primordial chaos, dynamiting his way through the core of earth to open a route for his fellow deities who sought to be reunited with us,

mortals. I covered that event for my publishers — well, taking a few poetic licences, naturally — under the title IDANRE. You may have run into that reportage which has been translated into Swedish under the title: OGUN SKUGGA. If you have not, I recommend that you proceed to the nearest bookseller for this piece of pre-history which makes Ogun, very definitely, the progenitor of your great inventor, Alfred Nobel.

I urge this especially because, if you happened to take a casual walk through the streets, or peer into the hotel lobbies of Stockholm, you might get the impression that my nation, Nigeria

has tried to solve some of its many problems by shifting half its population surreptitiously to Sweden. I assure you however that they have merely come to satisfy a natural curiosity about the true nationality of this inventor. For they cannot understand why their Ogun should have transferred such a potent secret to a Swede rather than to his Yoruba descendants. The mountains of Swedish winter and long midnights are hardly congenial to his temperament. And while the local acquavit might help to infuse some warmth into his tropical joints, we do know that he tends to stick to his favourite

palmwine.

Some day, I suppose, we will unravel this mystery. In the meantime however, we will content ourselves with saluting the vision which made our presence here today a positive event, since it was Alfred Nobel's hope that the humanistic conversion, even of the most terrible knowledge, can improve the quality of life for mankind. That also is the lesson of Ogun, that essence of the warring duality of human nature. And we join in the endeavour that the lyric face of that demiurge will triumph in our time, snaring for all time that elusive bird — peace — on our planet earth.

observed in conclusion that apartheid. South Africa "does not belong in this modern world, and that "the black race has no choice but to prepare itself and volunteeer the supreme sacrifice.

Soyinka thus once again devoted his Nobel lecture to man's inhumanity to man, the oppression of the weak by the strong which has been a consistent theme in his works.

In a reissued edition of his prison notes. *The Man Died*, he has added a 17-page preface composed after the 1983 Nigeria's general elections. Titled: "Ten Years After" he narrates instances in Nigeria where men in authority have utilised state power to commit all kinds of crime, including murder and assassination. He wrote of the death of Gogo Nzeribe, Dr. Adeyemi Ademola whose murder could not be unravelled by the Gowon regime. He came down heavily on the Nigerian intelligentsia whose silence, he argues often was collaborative in the perpetuation of oppression. He observed that such collaboration often conclude that power abuse is a natural condition. But he asks: suppose we begin accounting all arbitrary power — that is, all forms of dictatorship — as innately and potentially obscene.

He suggested solutions. The moment that power is deemed culpable in anyway, each Nigerian family unit should, in place of or after its regular morning prayers, make a ritual of throwing their breakfast sloop on a pinned up photograph of the symbol of power before going out to earn a living under an insupportable system. Every morning, religiously. Or maybe, as the last thing at night." Such rituals would serve as a reminder that the very act of going out to earn a living under that system or studying under the system is in itself an act of collaboration, a species of legitimization."

The preface was dated October 1983. Apparently, Soyinka was disturbed that the Shagari — NPN-led government might last longer than it did.

Soyinka was received in Sweden with a great deal of enthusiasm, mixed with curiosity. Swedish papers have devoted a great deal of space to him while on television, he has been interviewed at least once. Book stores display posters of his photograph with the loud announcement of his being a Nobel laureate in literature. The book stores are abuzz with his works, several of which had been translated into the Swedish language.

Publishers swarm him from all over the world. And there is the case of one

The Ruska saga

He was 25, when he did the research. He was so young he thought it was nothing. So, when Heinrich Rohrer and his colleague developed their scanning tunneling microscope, the Nobel people began asking questions, looking for the origin of their knowledge and whether they had per chance made use of some materials.

Professor Ernest Ruska will be 80 years old on December 25, Christmas day. For the anniversary, the University is planning a big day for him.

Willy-nilly, the Nobel people especially Johansson, combed through the entire work of Rohrer and company and he traced the origin of the work to Ruska. They knew developing a microscope, capable of enlarging objects a hundred million times was a Nobel prize enterprise. But the man who originated the theory that it could be done, and did

substantial part of that project could not be left out. That is how the Nobel prize was given to Professor Ruska. When it was announced, he was for days excited beyond words. Few weeks before the prize presentation, he was hospitalised. He was so depressed, but three days later, he rose, shook himself and said he was not going to die. Thousands of letters had flooded his office, filling scores of files—a mountain of letters from all over the world. He said he was not going to die, that the Almighty God should provide him, at least, two more years to enable him personally reply all those letters.

He has a big family—a German. The size: three children, eight grand children, all of them he carried to Stockholm, including his charming fortyish secretary Miss Lotte Lambert who has been with him for many years. A man who almost forgot his achievements — inventing the electron microscope — but Nobel remembered and honoured an honourable man.

of his publishers who sold his (publisher's) rights to another two weeks before Soyinka was nominated a Nobel laureate. It is causing a great deal of amusement in publishing circles, for the publishers on learning of Soyinka's Nobel Prize award went back to the one to whom he sold the rights to see if he could retrieve the rights or amend the deed of sale. He got "no" for an answer.

At the Nobel Prize award ceremony at the Concert Hall of the City Hall of Stockholm, Soyinka's work was presented to the audience by Professor Lars Gyllensten, chairman of the Nobel committee for Literature.

Said he: "The way in which Soyinka makes use of the mythical material (the African) and the literary schooling (the European) is very independent. He (Soyinka) says he uses the myths as 'the aesthetic matrix' for his writing. It is thus not a question of folkloristic reproduction, a kind of exoticism, but an independent and co-operative work. The myths, traditions and rites are integrated as nourishment for his writing, not a masquerade costume."

Prof. Gyllensten went on to pay tribute to Soyinka's poems saying the imagery of the poems was compact and rather hard to penetrate. It takes time, he said, to know the poems intimately but when known they could be a moving testimony to courage and artistic strength.

He observed that although it is chiefly

the dramas that stand out as Wole Soyinka's most significant achievement his plays nonetheless are important fascinating literary works which are fruits of Soyinka's richly endowed imagination, and a culture with a wealth of artistically inspiring traditions.

Soyinka, Gyllensten acknowledged, was a man who in a wide cultural perspective and with poetic overtones fashions the drama of existence.

For the first time in the 84 years history of the Nobel Prize ceremony, African music, nay Nigerian music was played. The tune 'Akinia' was taken from Fela Sowande's 'African suite' composed in the 1930s.

One of the winners of the Chemistry Prize, Professor John Polanyi from Canada, said he was a great admirer of Soyinka. He was particularly happy over Soyinka's prize as Nobel Prize is a rarity in Canada as it is in Africa and Nigeria. Polanyi is the fourth Canadian to get the prize. The first two recipients were in 1923 for discovering insulin.

As the 1986 Nobel Prize winner for Literature, Soyinka has thus joined a list of 82 winners of the Nobel Literature Prize that include such popular and respected writers like Rudyard Kipling (1907), Anatole France (1921), W. B. Yeats (1923), George Bernard Shaw (1926), Thomas Mann (1929), Sinclair Lewis (1930), Thomas Eliot (1948), William Faulkner (1950), Betram Russel (1950), Winston Churchill (1953).

— Lewis Obi in Stockholm



The many faces and moods of the Nobel laureate.

Soyinka's socio-political ideas

Critics of the works of Wole Soyinka, this year's Nobel laureate in literature have generally accused them of prescribing no definite political-ideology in the context of which society's problems could be solved. For instance, a running motif in most critiques of Soyinka's *'The Man Died'* — his most undisguised political document so far — is the author's lack of commitment to any political ideology. "Wole Soyinka's book," noted Dr. Ikechukwu Madunagu, "was not guided by any

What is Soyinka's political philosophy? Democratic liberalism, Marxism, Capitalism or Humanism?

ideology. He was a democratic liberal not ideologically committed."

"Although, Soyinka had implied in *'The Man Died'* that the question of political ideology may ultimately not be as impor-

tant as the commitment to the dispensation of justice ("For me," he wrote in the book, "justice is the first condition of humanity"). Many of his critics disagree with him and have rather argued that every commitment must be rooted in a particular ideological framework.

Professor Abiola Irele, one of Nigeria's most respected literary critics in his review of *'The Man Died'* observed that one important weakness of the book in its political aspect is its general

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lack of concreteness. He wrote: "His (Soyinka's) disregard for the concrete framework of events, and his refusal of a clear sociological or ideological conception of the forces present in the Nigerian conflict leave one with the impression of insubstantiality."

Still commenting on the political aspect of "The Man Died" another critic takes the author to task for failing to suggest an alternative to existing political frameworks. "Nowhere in his book," observed Chief Sobo Sowemimo "did he attempt to formulate alternative policies to Gowon's military government which he could advance as capable of laying a firmer basis for unity, mutual trust and social justice in the country."

However, as with every book and every writer, there are also critics who say that Soyinka need not dissipate energy on such abstracts as ideology. Commending Soyinka's 'The Man Died,' for example, Allan Richard observed that the author "does not fight ideas and abstractions such as imperialism and puppets." This tribute, unintendedly perhaps, again reaffirms the accusation of ideological vacuity levelled against Soyinka by other critics.

Although, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, the notable Kenyan leftist writer identifies Wole Soyinka as a liberal humanist, he chastised

him for often failing to offer an alternative social model for the salvation of society. "Soyinka's good man", notes Ngugi, "is the uncorrupted individual. His liberal humanism leads him to admire an individual's lone act of courage, and thus often he ignores the creative struggle of the masses. The ordinary people, workers and peasants, in his plays, remain passive watchers on the shore or pitiful comedians on the road."

Wole's reply

Soyinka's reply to those who accuse him of lack of ideological commitment has been a stubborn restatement of his resentment of what he called the 'parrots of ideology.' He told John Agetua, a Benin-based publisher in 1975 that a direct activist programme is to be preferred to facile ideological programme, adding that he eschews the latter.

Soyinka said that he believed in an egalitarian society uncompromisingly characterised by equal justice, economic welfare and the right of each individual to achieve maximum fulfilment. He declared: "I believe in the legal robbery of the exploiters and the acquisitive monopolists in society; I believe in retaining the means of production and material benefits of production by the masses of the people. But I would rather not be bracketed with those pseudo-socialists-leninists and maoists who are totally unproductive and merely protect themselves behind a whole barrage of terminologies which bear no relation to the immediate needs of society."

Soyinka said his political models in Africa were Guinea Bissau's and Tan-

zania's. He could be very impatient with mediocres and is an undying advocate of meritocracy even when it seems most ineptitude. He could be very impatient with mediocres and is an undying advocate of meritocracy even when it seems most ineptitude.

zania's. He could be very impatient with mediocres and is an undying advocate of meritocracy even when it seems most ineptitude. He could be very impatient with mediocres and is an undying advocate of meritocracy even when it seems most ineptitude.

Soyinka is well known for his savage condemnation of corruption especially in public office and his ringing denunciation of political high-handedness and

ineptitude. He could be very impatient with mediocres and is an undying advocate of meritocracy even when it seems most ineptitude.

His earliest involvement in partisan politics dates back to the early 1960s when he was accused of allying with the Obafemi Awolowo — led side of the fractious Action Group. One observer and a member of the defunct Action Group accused Wole Soyinka of being a fanatical ally of Chief Awolowo.

Soyinka was also charged in 1965 with the reasonable offence of burgling the then Western Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation and unlawfully announcing the Action Group (AG) as the winner of the 1965

Western region election as opposed to the NNDP led by Chief Samuel Akintola. Soyinka pleaded an alibi of absence from the city of Ibadan on the day in question and was largely on account of that, discharged and acquitted. But this was just the beginning of his meddling into partisan politics.

Soyinka confessed in 'The Man Died' that he was quite close to the first military governor of the West, Lt. Colonel Adekunle Fajuyi and even reproduced some of his private discussions with the military governor which clearly showed the extent of his influence on the governor. He undertook official missions within the country for Fajuyi and as one critic of Soyinka put it, he acted as Fajuyi's 'intellectual storm trooper and snooper.'

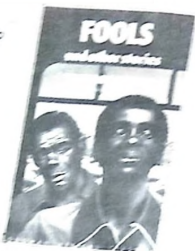
Soyinka: "Justice is the first condition of humanity."

zania's. Guinea Bissau, he said, was an example of a kind of potentially ideal society for a continent like Africa. Tanzania, he added, was another example. But all these, he said more than a decade ago and whether he still holds this view today is another thing.

If Soyinka's ideological commitment has been a subject of intense controversy, his commitment to social justice is indisputable. One critic once described Soyinka as one of Africa's most strident advocates of social and economic justice. Soyinka himself confesses that as far as he is concerned justice is the first condition of humanity. He has expressed this noble vision in virtually all his works — poems, plays and novels alike. His earliest plays were pervaded

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If Soyinka's actions did not prove him as a partisan Action Group supporter, his subsequent attendance nearly gave him away as a Westerner first and foremost. He opposed the rigged resignation of government in 1966 and in defending its position at its friend Forum, he explained: "Of course the deal is like it is in principle. But not yet. We [Westerners] have had a long run of it—like it is understood and now we have you [Forum] for a change. Who is going to come here? That ceremonial for the East [Ojuwalu] or the polo-playing drunk from the North [Kamara]? And I don't care much for your Win-West man either."

If Soyinka did not like a person a thing, he said it without much reservation. His contemptible people whose ideas and ways were usually at cross purposes with his own ideas. He did not like some key figures in the Gowon administration and did not hide that in his private notes. This attitude of the famous playwright has drawn out a lot of criticism. But Soyinka has proved that he is not a career politician, versed in the art of speaking tongue-in-cheese.

While Soyinka's social activism dates back to his undergraduate days at the University of Ibadan. He almost single-handedly founded the Pirates Confraternity which in those days served as the ombudsman for mostly maltreated students. Thus, even as a stu-

dent, Soyinka had been bitten by the social justice bug and he would go to any length to fight injustice using whatever legitimate means at his disposal. What must have then began to brew soon to become terminal goals and became something of a Transatlantic moniker. Soyinka was not become a target of the state's repressive hand and threatened to withdraw his membership and percentage from the party of the great fighter for social justice that he would not hesitate to condemn a state that did not create a fund for the living up to the original vow and idea.

Soyinka played a major role in the early days of the Nigerian civil war. At the outbreak of hostilities, he sought to achieve understanding between the Federal and Biafran sides by forming what he called the "Third Force." The Third Force, in principle, was supposed to be Soyinka's own words, to find a third ground for the resolution of the civil war. But he was misunderstood by General Yakubu Gowon's military government which accused him of complicity with the rebel forces and incarcerated him for nearly two years without trial.

When he was set free in 1969, Soyinka went on self-exile. He lived in Ghana where he edited *Transition* now renamed *Chinadea*. It was while in exile that his prison notes "The Man Died" was published. Asked by a reporter in 1975 whether he intended to return to

political activism, Soyinka gave an answer which despite its ambiguity, suggested that if it was to be would, it will be at the participatory level. He did:

In 1979 when the country returned to plural politics, Soyinka did not sit on the fence. He joined the People's Redemption Party, PDP led by the late progressive politician, Murtala Annabi Abacha. Some observers believe that Soyinka made this choice probably to testify the notion that he was an incommensurate Abacha. During that period, Soyinka frequently criticised the policies of the ruling National Party of Nigeria, NPN, but he maintained that his criticisms were in good faith, not partisan.

Soyinka's concern about the human condition is a deep-seated one. Not only has that trait seeped into virtually all his works, it has been demonstrated in practical ways to prove, perhaps, that he is not simply quibbling. In the late 1970s, he initiated the establishment of the Oyo State Road Safety Corps and became its first marshal. The corps, under him, fought and campaigned vigorously against reckless driving which accounted for nearly all the automobile mishaps of Nigerian roads.

The corps, commonly called "Majamaja" at that time, merited its existence as driving became more sane on the roads its operation covered. It maintained such potency until it was scrapped by a Federal Government order in 1983.

Against all hazards to his life,

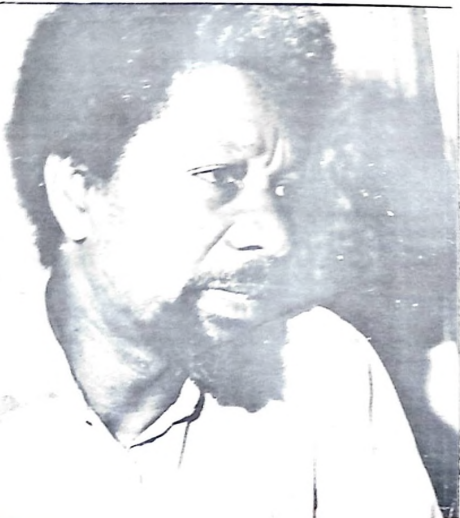
Soyinka, at that time embarked on a one-man demonstration against the killing of unarmed students.

That action was just typical of Soyinka who in his condemnation of tyranny and sign-hoodlessness, has often demonstrated the boldness of a lion and the impetuosity of the poet that he is. He has used the medium of drama, prose, poetry, song and film to lambast society's evil doers. His music album "Unlimited Liability Company" and his film "Blues for a Prodigal" are, for instance, devastating satires on the Second Republic and its major actors.

Although, Soyinka was married and has two grown-up daughters, he no longer lives with his wife, Laiye Soyinka, who is the chief librarian of the Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye.

In all, whether Soyinka is a democratic liberal or marxist, or a capitalist or just a free thinker, he has by and large proved himself to be a humanist of the first order.

— Okechukwu Ifionu



Soyinka: Fought against reckless driving.



Soyinka: African literary artist.

Essence of Soyinka's drama

The theatre yields its attributes of and ultimately pays its tributes to literature through the merits of the play's stagecraft during performance. African literature has been given the premium of Soyinka's laureateship, not African theatre. This is a pity because the best platform for appreciating Soyinka's literary genius as an African, albeit, as an African literary artist, is the theatre, not in the closet of a study or reading rooms. Those of us who are very close to him and work with him know very well that Soyinka's better-half, as it were, is the theatre.

This is to say that Soyinka is first and foremost an artist of the theatre because it is in this viscus that he manifests the undiminished wealth and corporeal beauty of African art, its varieties of expression, and its profound scope. A close scrutiny of his writings, be it poetry or the novel, or any of their other fine distinctions, bears out the infinite poetics of the theatre. The distinction can be found in his art of composition in which he weaves words through the

Although, Soyinka got his Nobel Prize on the basis of his dramatic works, not many people catch the essence or significance, observes a Professor of Dramatic Arts.

labyrinths of form, essentially dramatic form, to carry forward the functional attributes of their content.

Soyinka's theatre is a world of art and he is himself aware of this heritage and its promise to the extent that he encompasses his career as a writer with the roomful zest and undying zeal of a theatre director. Towards a recognition of this significance, Soyinka has consigned to word drama, a record of twenty published plays and a treasury of sketches and revues which he has directed and which he continues to direct around and on the various stages or theatres of the world. This implies that he is conscious of the far-reaching significance

and uniqueness of the theatre particularly with due deference to its means and methods of communication and his own anxiety to give expression to his thoughts and the predicaments of man, concretely the African, in his cosmopolitan culture.

Soyinka has given the theatre, world theatre, a meaningful future. Like the questing *Dead Woman in A Dance of the Forests*, are we ready to carry its burden? In content and form, Soyinka's theatre is the African's legacy to the world of art which, sadly, the Africans are yet to appreciate and regard. It is without gainsaying that the best of Soyinka's theatre is yet to be seen by Africans. His own seasonal efforts at establishing the base (he directs most of his plays in Nigeria using woefully inadequate available resources) for the truthful and concrete manifestation of the ramifications and dynamics of African aesthetics which his varied and various stage plays encompass, have not yielded up to much, especially in Nigeria, where the theatre of English language expression is still crying out for audience. A close examination of the degree of success attendant upon Soyinka's plays could be gleaned from reviews and comments of their performances in theatres largely outside Nigeria.

Beginning with *The Road* which was performed for the 1965 Commonwealth Festival of the Arts and the Theatre Royal, Stratford East, London (the only and best ever production of this play in Nigeria was by John Derek Bullock with cast of the Federal Government College, Kano in 1978), and by David Rubadiri with Theatre Limited, Kampala, Uganda in 1969; *Kongi's Harvest* performed for the First Negro Arts Festival in Dakar, Senegal, in 1966 and produced by the Negro Ensemble Company, New York, United States, in 1968 and later Accra, Ghana, in 1970 by George Wilson of the Ghana O'Neil Theatre, Waterford, Connecticut and at St. Mark's Place Theatre, New York, United States, in 1970; *The Bacchae* of Euripides produced for the National Theatre of Great Britain, London (which commissioned it) in 1973 and ending with *Death* and the *King's Horseman* produced for the Goodman Theatre, Chicago and later at the Dwight Eisenhower Theatre at the John F. Kennedy Centre for the performing Arts, Washington, D.C. in the United States in 1980. These great theatres amongst others, of Soyinka's repertory of plays are his best credentials as "a

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man of the theatre" and the literary dramatist who has created the world's window on African theatre.

Soyinka's position in the theatre seems to have won the World Bank for Literature. According to the advice of the institution, Soyinka is a wide cultural perspective, and was given regional, national, the status of chairman. "There is no doubt that it is a role that has been done in appropriate and regular Soyinka's art of the theatre, the

achievement of the literature that have accompanied him. Those who are privileged to see Soyinka's theatre and have the advantage of its insights as a place which mirrors Africa's socio-cultural world with its African myth and traditional culture as a projection and present consciousness and its externalities are the ones who ever find its theatre commensurate with the advantage of art in retaining the living link of Africa's past systems and its extending effect by automatically providing the inner reality of instant systems with a higher aesthetic principle. To automatically provide the capturing spirit of the unwritten and challenging art that react out into the unknown for the facts of the meaning and substance of his writing like by using the selection of language.

communicate the essence of African theatre and by reflecting the profound consciousness of its audience. Soyinka emphasizes the theatre as a place of intellectualism — of words, of passion, art of vision.

Soyinka's critics African in particular, charge him with the case of obscurity. Indeed, the problem of obscurity stems from the fact of Soyinka's mistaken identity. The theatre, which in its form is also the best platform where the problem of obscurity is clarified in speech and action, movement and characterization, mise-en-scene and scenography. The theatre (of English language expression) is still an unknown quantity to most educated and westernised Africans who imagine of their avowed acquisitions do not, as yet, see the theatre as a veritable pastime and a valuable tonic for refreshment of the

mind with a covering emerging effect on the student.

There are two issues which emerge from and revolve around the problem of obscurity in Soyinka's literary corpus. There are no religion and art. The first is an art with language and the second with literature. But both are interpreted with the common art of the theatre particularly in the audio-visual art of entertainment. How African are Soyinka's

Literature? Soyinka's theatre is an *ethnopoetics*. This is a *totalitarian* form of the theatre in school. It is not doubtful if Shakespeare's theatre is not lost on it in spite of the picture of the Globe Theatre (Shakespeare's Play-house) which serve as frontpiece in most of the Shakespearean texts that we read. How far-fetched was Shakespeare's

theatre to the learning audience? How obscure was he in his use of the English language? Don't we, at school, "plough through volumes of critical essays and glossaries to arrive at the content of Shakespeare's form and meaning? Yet Shakespeare's theatre was popular in his own time and age despite of these conditions. What makes a theatre popular? Good productions, of course. Quite a number of those who appreciate Soyinka's theatre believe there is something to be valued in the acronym W.S., and that perhaps, rightly too. Perhaps, Soyinka also fancies himself in the image of William Shakespeare, this is doubtful.



Soyinka receiving a national award from President Babangida.

critic! It seems that these critics have never bothered to examine the context of language in the indigenous theatres of Africa where the felicities of expression are a combination of classicism and romanticism in content and form. It is true, of course, that these indigenous theatres are largely improvisational and did not produce the kind of literatures which Soyinka's critics are familiar with. Literary art presupposes the existence of literacy but what kind of literacy are we talking about in the context of good theatre? Art is a design with form and language as its attributes, be it linguistic or otherwise. In the theatre, even the language of conversation is imbued with poetic perceptions and implicit connotations. It is through these "poetic runes" that our "drama of existence" are exemplified on the stage and communicated through audio-visual means.

But be that as it may, there is a common denominator that relates the two of them. Soyinka is as much "a man of the theatre" as William Shakespeare. Shakespeare wrote for and staged his plays in the Wooden O' or the Globe Theatre of Elizabeth London. He used language with the attributes of a poet. His language was as classical in its elevated elegance as much as it was romantic in its fancifulness. Inasmuch as best Shakespeare used language to transport his audience from place to place and from one plane of existence to another through the vehicle of words and sound, movement and the sheer gusto of his music, all in line to reflect the sensibilities of the Elizabethan elite. But in spite of his classicism, did not the



Soyinka, (right) accompanied by Achebe (left): Answering a reporter's question.

wretched of his society, the groundlings, flock to his theatre in order to partake of the fare and be swung along in their flat-footed roomspace? Of course, they occasionally got their fair share of the pudding! But which theatre is Soyinka writing for? Which audience?

The best of Soyinka's theatre has not been produced or even contemplated by African theatre practitioners beyond the raving receptions of *The Lion and the Jewel* and *The Trials of Brother Jero* both of which in spite of their comic features and witty overtones impose a tragic vision which take them through the frontiers of language to the obvious realities of good theatre, if so produced. The best of Soyinka's African theatre is yet to reach fruition on a stage peculiar to Africans.

The hopelessness of our feeble attempts at make-shifts using the concoctions of the European proscenium stage or its prototype are grave issues that are yet to be confronted by his African armchair critics. Soyinka's maiden thesis play — *A Dance of the Forests*, was first staged on a rig of a platform at the Federal Palace Hotel in Lagos to mark Nigeria's independence celebrations in

1960. Of course, the curious educated audience missed the whole point of the play, its ritual and symbolic import and the enrapturing flavour of its festival theatrical layout. According to him, only the "cooks and stewards of the hotel" (the groundlings!) kept coming night after night to have communion with the play's essence.

Soyinka's book of essays, *Myth, Literature and the African World* spells out the extent to which his African World is dominated by his own consciousness of the Yoruba universe and its cosmology as well as its point of departure. Because Soyinka is an adroit experimentalist with variegated forms which derive from his vast treasury of literary and practical experiences, the originality of these forms cannot be doubted because in spite of their focus and angles of transformation or mediations (as he calls them), they traverse the African World which give them life and significance and project universal relations and applicability.

Soyinka's plays and dramatic art breathe with hope for a long-suffering African theatre which is yet to concretise. It is still awaiting the preference

of a preponderance of Africans who with tired minds and frayed hearts still labour on and some of whom drudgedly run the affairs of governments, the public service, and the private sector — the elite class — who do not, as yet, see the theatre as an avenue of recreations and replenishment for their increasing and debilitating malady — myriads of hypertensions and effluvia.

It is not a mere co-incidence that at the time of his laureateship, Soyinka is the current President of the International Theatre Institute of UNESCO. He is the first Black and African to occupy a position which is the exclusive preserve of distinguished theatre artists and practitioners. The time is now most appropriate for us, Africans, to grab the significance of Soyinka's theatre with a new outlook and freshness because it embodies the essentials of the goodies that can relieve us from the rigours of the humdrum African life.

— Joel Adeyinka Adedeji

● Professor Adedeji of the University of Ibadan is on sabbatical for a year with the Concord Press of Nigeria.

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Blodun Jeyifo



Wole



Niyi Osundare

The legion of critics

Since the early days when he started writing, critics have dissected his works. Many have said they are mostly unreadable. While others maintained that they are enduring works of beauty. Others opined that he wrote to appease the Western world. Still, a good number argued that his works are deeply rooted in African beliefs, and that he paid little focus on white people. Last year, the controversy raged that he was anxiously awaiting the Nobel Prize in literature. Yet, his utterances were to the effect that the Nobel award had lost a lot of its dignity. Naturally, controversy besets a man in his position, whose works have as many interpretations as there are readers. Whatever were the critics' reactions however, it was either they loved him or hated him, but they could definitely not ignore him.

In spite of the prolific number of his works, critics have tried to categorise them. Some were said to be confrontational, as typified by his film 'Blues for the Prodigal' and the record 'Unlimited Liability Company' which were indictments of the Second Republic. Others such as 'The Interpreters,' a book, in which he tried to look at the problems in the post-colonial Nigerian society, were resolutional. A critic Eldred Jones, saw his works as carrying a sombre pattern. Martyrdom was a recurrent feature and 'Strong Breed,' a play, and 'The Dreamer' clearly showed these. In Jones' view, perhaps the singular book as a

As a writer and social critic, Soyinka continues to draw to himself mixed reactions. His critics are found at the extremes of the spectrum — they either love him or hate him as they dissect his many works.

guide to his works is 'Idanre and other poems', especially 'Idanre.' In it, he showed concern about man's nature of self-destruction.

Then, there emerged Ugün, the Yoruba god of war and iron, as one god being often presented in Soyinka's works. In an essay titled 'And after the Narcissist,' written for African Forum in 1968, the author, playwright and poet explained why: "Ogun is the

primogenitor" of the artist as the creative human. Ogun is also the antithesis of cowardice and philistinism, yet, within him is contained the complement of the creative essence — a blood-thirsty destructiveness.

Wole Soyinka's works pit together these two polarising forces of creation and destruction. 'Idanre' captures this union of death and growth:

*"Growth is greener where
Rich blood has spilt; brain and marrow
mace
Fat manure with sheep's excrement.
Burrowing deep into Yoruba tradi-*

tion, particularly its pantheon of gods, and yet emerging with prose acceptable to sundry was no mean task. For Eldred Jones, a Western critic, a suitable new ethic whose validity is not confined to Africa was successfully achieved. Moreover, Soyinka "imbues English with a verve and expansiveness which springs from the imagic nature of Yoruba speech," said Jones. An example of such speech is where a king dies. The common saying would be 'Oba W'aja', literally meaning the king has entered the recesses of the house. To the uninitiated, this would simply be construed to mean the same. There lies the problem. The uninitiated might not have understood Soyinka's symbolism. So, whilst Adebayo Williams, a Literature-in-English teacher at the University of Ife, and a Yoruba, thought Soyinka's obscurity derives from an attempt to delve into the roots of the Yoruba language, and "is deliberate", Naiwu Osahon who is non-Yoruba simply thought the man was "unreadable." Niyi Osundare, a writer, summed up the notch of the problem: "it would be no use if the greater majority of people who constitute the author's audience could not reach the author as a result of obscurity." Critic Rex Collings shares this same view.

For instance, a typical inscrutable passage from his book 'The Interpreters':

"Sekoni, qualified engineer looked



Ngugi Wa Thiong'o



Nurruddin Farah



Chinua Achebe

The modern African writer

Stockholm, Sweden where Wole Soyinka received the Nobel Prize last Wednesday is not a new place to him. Nineteen years ago, Soyinka was there to attend a World Conference of Writers. In a speech, he reflected on the modern African writer and the immensity of his problems. As part of the celebration for Soyinka's award, the African Concord hereby reproduces the text of the speech, still acutely relevant to our times.

Does he exist at all, the writer in a contemporary Africa? If it were possible to suggest an opposite background to the student of African literature or at least to create an entirely different background, would a stranger to the literary creations of African writers find any discrepancy between subject matter and environment or be any more deeply puzzled than he is today at the lack of vital relevance between the literary concerns of writers and the pattern of reality that has overwhelmed even the writers themselves in the majority of the modern African states? I do not concern myself now with the exceptions, which are in any case so few and without any impact. And certainly exclude the South African situation for the moment, since I do not, alas, possess the superior complacency of a fellow writer from Africa who uttered sentiments

more or less in the following words: "One is tempted to ask," he says, "what is the South African writer doing for himself? A little less talking and protest and a bit more action, especially from the so-called exiles, might be more to the point ..." I regret very much that I have not the exact quotation here, for it is the kind of remark which proves very clearly that the easiest solution to any problem is to maintain complete ignorance of it.

One opposite temptation is to simplify the task by refusing to consider South Africa as an African state, and this certainly has some validity for is the South African population not legitimately a white one in its entirety, since the black Africans within it have not the status of human beings? The situation in which the South African writer finds himself is quite simply out of this world, and many people who do not possess divine omniscience and do not contain in themselves a one-man verbal guerilla force, like the writer I have just quoted, are beginning to feel that the solutions are literally out of his world. The experience of the South African writer is approached by that of other Africans only remotely, that is to say, wholly inadequately.

My concern in this talk is primarily with the non-South African writer and why, before very long, he may begin to envy the South African, the bleak immensity of his problems. For the South African has still the right to hope, and

this prospect of a future yet uncompromised by failure on his own part, in his own right, is something which has lately ceased to exist for other African writers.

While we may debate what constitutes an African writer and what does not, one breed of humanity which we cannot comfortably deny is that of the writer. In new societies which begin the seductive experiment in authoritarianism, it has become a familiar experience to watch society crush the writer under a load of guilt for his daring to express a sensibility and an outlook apart from, and independent of, the mass direction. The revolutionary mood in society is a particularly potent tyrant in this respect, and since the writer is at the very least sensitive to mood, he respects the demand of the moment and effaces his definition as a writer by an act of choice. And in the modern African state especially, the position of the writer has been such that he is in fact the very prop of the state machinery. Independence in every instance has meant an emergency pooling of every mental resource. The writer must, for the moment at least (he persuades himself), postpone that unique reflection on experience and events which is what makes a writer — and constitute himself into a part of that machinery that will actually shape events. Let this impulse be clearly understood and valued for itself; the

not the writer, who in any case belonged to the same or a superior intellectual class, rationalised the situation and refused to deny himself the rewards of joining the writers in safety and comfort. He was in any case still blinded to the present by the resuscitated splendours of the past. When he is purged from the long deception and has begun to express new wisdoms, the gates of the preventive-detention fortresses open up and close on him. He becomes an exile impeccable in his dark suit in the offices of the UNO or UNESCO, or resorts to new weapons of violence. Poets have lately taken to gun-running and writers are heard of holding up radio stations. In several independent states the writer is part of some underground movement; one coup at least in Africa is reputed to have involved a novelist and a poet.

Perhaps it is time to move away from generalities and remark briefly on one situation with which I am at least very familiar and in whose details I have naturally been involved, since it happens to be in my own country. Details are, when we look at them, quite pointless, for I am certain that, whatever developments of the situation are as yet unechoed by other African states, will, before long, be duplicated in the same disheartening details and senselessness. I say this with the sense of obviousness with which I am able, for instance, to look at America today and understand very clearly that here is one society which is on the very edge of collapse. Now, Nigeria was at least one African state where, from the beginning, the writers made an effort to protect their own existence by remaining articulately watchful. At no stage was a level of suppression reached comparable to what existed in Ghana before Nkrumah's fall or exists now in Malawi, where a paranoid has successfully muzzled any hope of free expression. Yet, in spite of this, irrational events have so far deranged the course of basic human intercourse that it is impossible, physically impossible, at the moment for the writers of the country even to come together. And a pattern of this appears to me to be establishing itself over the continent. The African writer needs an urgent release from the fascination of the past. Of course, the past exists, the real African consciousness establishes this — the past exists now, this moment, it is co-existent in present awareness. It clarified the present and explains the future, but it is not a fleshpot for escapist indulgence, and it is vitally dependent on the sensibility that recalls it. This is not to deny the dangers which attend the development

of this historic vision — a convenient term for the total acceptance of the human heritage. A historic vision is of necessity universal and any pretence to it must first accept the demand for a total re-examination of the whole phenomenon of humanity. I regard it as dangerous, because of what else can it lead but to the destruction of the will to action? What we are observing in our own time is the total collapse of ideals, the collapse of humanity itself. Action therefore becomes meaningless, the writer is pushed deeper and deeper into self-insulation and withdrawal; his commitment accepts its own hopelessness from the very beginning.

The consideration which brings me, personally, down to earth is the thought of the Angolan or South African writer, either in exile or making his last feeble twiches before the inexorable maul of a

capably as Vorster or Governor Wallace. This fact has been ever-present, this knowledge is not new, and the only wonder is that the romancer, the intellectual myth-maker, has successfully deleted this black portion of a common human equation. And the intermittent European exercises in genocide have been duplicated on the African continent admittedly on a lower scale, but only because of the temporary lack of scientific organisation. We, whose humanity the poets celebrated before the proof, whose lyric innocence was daily questioned by the very pages of the newspapers, are now being forced by disaster, not foresight, to a reconsideration of our relationship to the outer world. It seems to me that the time has now come when the African writer must have the courage to determine what



Ben Okri



Ali Mazrui



Odia Ojeimun



Femi Osofisan

desperate regime ends him. It is the exercise of trying to read his mind when he is confronted by the operation of the human factor in black states in which he had fixed his rights and which always represented, at the very last, a temporary haven. And he sees, and he understands for the first time that, given equal opportunity, the black tin-god a few thousand miles north of him would degrade and dehumanise his victim as

alone can be salvaged from the recurrent cycle of human stupidity.

The myth of irrational nobility, of a racial essence that must come to the rescue of the white depravity, has run its full course. It never in fact existed, for this was not the problem but the camouflage. And it has become important to state this because the old camouflage has begun lately to take on a new camouflage of fresh understanding.

The movement which began with the way-of-of cultural separatism, modified itself with an acknowledgement of the historical expediency of the revolt — I refer of course to negritude — and found a after-day succor in a call to be the bridge to bring about the salvation of the world by a marriage of affinities. It is a remarkable fact that the European writer, who had both the means and the long history of introspection to ascertain his spiritual needs, had not yet sent out a call to the black writer for rescue. Surely the game has become transparent by now: the writer's philology does not preclude for his own society, his engagement of commitment conveniently ignores his own in-

adequacy, overlooking the well-worn adage which cautions very simply, "Physician, heal thyself."

This reconciliation of cultures, this leaven of black contribution to the metallic loaf of European culture, is only another evasion of the inward eye. The despair and anguish which is spreading a miasma over the continent must sooner or later engage the attention of the writer in his own society or else be solidly ignored. For both attitudes are equally valid: only let there be no pretence to a concern which falls foul of the undeclared, approved provisions of the European world. When the writer in his own society can no longer function as conscience, he must recognise that his

choice lies between denying himself totally or withdrawing to the position of chronicler and post-mortem surgeon. But there can be no further distractions with universal concerns whose pain is spread on abstract wounds, not on the gaping jaws of black humanity. A concern with culture strengthens society, but not a concern with mythology. The artist has always functioned in African society as the record of the mores and experience of his society and as the voice of protest in his own time. It is time for him to respond to this essence of himself.

— Wole Soyinka

NAMES: Akinwande Oluwole Soyinka
BIRTH: July 13, 1934

PLACES: Ibadan, Ogun State
EDUCATION: St. Peter's Primary School, Abeokuta.

Government College, Ibadan
University College, Ibadan (1953-57)
Leeds University, England (1957-61)

CAREER: Royal Court Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, London (1951-60)
Lecturer, University of Ibadan (1962)
Senior Lecturer, University of Ibadan (1963)

Director, School of Drama, University of Ibadan (1970)
Head, Department of Theatre Arts, University of Ibadan (1969-71)

Professor of Dramatic Literature, University of Ife (1972)

Visiting Professor in Drama, Legos University, Ghana (1971)

Editor, *Outcasts* (formerly *Transition*) June 1974

Secretary General, Union of Writers of the African Peoples (February 1974)

Fellow, Churchill College, University of Cambridge, England.

Visiting Professor in Drama, University of Bedford, June 1984

Professor of Comparative Literature and Head, Department of Dramatic Arts, University of Ife (1975-85)

Fellow, Cornell University, U.S.A. (1985-86)

Head, International Theatre Institute (ITI), Paris (1986 to date)

LITERARY WORKS: *A Dazzle of the Forests*.....1963

— *The Lion and the Jewel*.....1963

— *The Strong Breed*.....1963

— *The Swamp Dwellers*.....1965

Soyinka's biodata

- *The Road*.....1965
- *The Interpreters (Novel)*.....1965
- *The Train of Brother Jerro*.....1965
- *The Kropi Harvest*.....1966
- *Idanso Poem*.....1967
- *Ogun Abidiman Poem*.....1967
- *The Forest of A Thousand Daemons*, a translation of Fagunwa's *Ogboju Ode Nini Igbo Iruwole*.....1968



SOYINKA

- *Before the Blackout*.....1971
- *Madmen and Specialists*.....1971
- *A Shrine in the Crypt*.....1972
- *Sawwood on the Leaves*.....1972
- *The Sacrifice of Euripides*.....1972
- *The Man Died (Prison Notes)*.....1972
- *Detention of Anthony (A novel)*.....1973
- *Jero's Metamorphosis*.....1974
- *Selected Poems of Black Africa*.....1975
- *Death and the King's Horseman*.....1975
- *Myth, Literature and The African World*.....1976
- *Request for a Futurologist (Not yet published)*
- *Blues for the Prodigal (Film)*.....1984
- *Ethical Revolution (Epepe)*.....1983
- *Ake: The Years of Childhood*.....1983

AWARDS: — Honorary Doctor of Literature, Leeds University, England

— American Le Roi Jones prize in drama at the First World Festival of Negro Arts, The winning play: *Kongi's Harvest*.

— First Winner of Agip Prize for Humanities (July, 1988)

— Member of the Academy of Arts and Letters of the German Democratic Republic (August, 1988)

— Honorary Fellow, American Institute of Arts and Letters (September, 1988)

— Nobel Prize for Literature (October, 1988)

— Commander of the Federal Republic, CFR, (October, 1988)

OUTSTANDING QUALITIES: Polemicist, Political activist, Social critic and a real patriot.

EXTRAS: Formed the Pyrate Confederacy with six other friends in his undergraduate days at the University of Ibadan.

— Founded 'The 1960 Masks' — a theatre group on return from England in 1960.

— Launched 'Horizon Theatre Company' in 1964.

— A Special Marshal in the Oyo State Road Safety Corps.....1979-81

— Member of the People's Redemption Party of Late Amun Kano and later switched to Imoudu's faction of the same political party between 1980 and 1983.

— A connoisseur of wines

— A hunter of games

— Funso Ogunlade

Anini. the straw man

By last weekend, the approximation of Lawrence Anini to a fearless, compassionate hoodlum who stole, in the style of Robin Hood, in order to give the down and out, had begun to collapse. Emerging facts, many of them self-confessed, show Anini as a timid, misguided felon, a straw man who was simply motivated by kleptomania and buoyed by the protection he enjoyed from senior police officers in the Bendel State Police Command.

A dishevelled and quivering Anini admitted last week that he had no ability to vanish and that he is just an ordinary robber who had to apply violence to execute his nefarious operations. He named some police officers as the source of his arms and told reporters why his gang crass at policemen with unrestrained brutality. The notorious robber confirmed that a Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. Sam Iyamu had asked his (Anini's) gang to exterminate Assistant Inspector-General of Police, Christopher Omeben.

From his Military Base Hospital bed in Benin, where he has been receiving treatment following the amputation of his left leg, Anini has ted the nation with a diet of the gory and the incredible. Some of his confessions sounded strange, while others were thoroughly revealing.

Anini claimed that he did not kill during his robbery operations, adding that his colleague in crime, Monday Osunbor did all the killings. But last Tuesday Mr. Parry Osayande, the Commissioner of Police on Special Assignment in Bendel State showed newsmen a gun said to have been impounded from the armed robber.

Anini told the Nigerian Television Authority that he was afraid of dying; he said he couldn't contemplate suicide because he is the only child of his mother. Anini would not trace his disposition to robbery to his upbringing. His late father, he told the NTA was such a strict disciplinarian, that he flogged him frequently in a bid to make him (Anini) a respectable member of the family. But he seemed to be destined to go the wrong way.

Somehow it seems convenient for the suspected criminal to protest his innocence. He has repeatedly done so since his arrest. He told newsmen last week that he had never killed in his life. "If I ever killed, anybody in my life," he

Notorious armed robber Lawrence Anini arrested two weeks ago has been giving revealing accounts about his exploits.

said, "let the head of everybody here catch me." Anini pleaded that his life be spared and promised to contribute to the long-drawn out war against armed robbery. "If the country will help me, I can do something to stop robbery in the 19 states of the federation."



Anini

One of the most striking confessions by Anini since his arrest two weeks ago is that in which he alleged that he gave N50,000 to DSP Iyamu so that the latter would provide cover to his robbery gang. Anini said the police officer received the said amount in the house of late Kingsley Eweka, his friend who was earlier executed for armed robbery.

Anini further stunned observers when he alleged that Mr. Iyamu supplied arms to his gang. He confessed that the police officer had once arrested him but released him later. These confessions have reopened the quiet speculation about police complicity in armed robbery.

While Nigerians have applauded the brave police officers who arrested Anini, questions have been raised also about the role of the police in the several armed robbery cases reported in the country.

Meanwhile police authorities have stopped Anini and other arrested members of his gang from talking publicly. This action came after a team of police sleuths left Lagos for Bendel to investigate the suspected armed robbery king-pin and members of his gang already in police net.

Police Commissioner, Parry Osayande who is moving to Cross River State as his new command base, told newsmen last week that no further press comment would be allowed Anini or indeed any member of his gang. The commissioner said interrogation of the suspects had commenced and that continued public statements by the robbery

"Police Commissioner Parry Osayande who is moving to Cross River State as his new command base, told newsmen last week that no further press comment would be allowed Anini or indeed any member of his gang."

suspects could mar smooth investigation.

Last Thursday the police also announced the arrest of two persons described as 'business magnates' for buying and selling stolen goods to Anini and his gang. The arrest followed confessions by Anini and other members of his notorious syndicate. The on-going investigations into the operations of the gang is expected to lead to the arrest of other possible accomplices in the four month-old robbery rampage in Bendel State.

Anini and members of his gang are expected to face trial before the end of this year. What this means is that police investigations into their case must be rounded off soon so that the special tribunal on armed robbery can commence proceedings on the matter. If the suspects are eventually convicted only one face awaits them — execution by firing squad, the very thing Anini says he is scared of.

— Okechukwu Ifionu

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tober about the disaster that had enveloped Adum, Adum had buried 40 of its people. Most died in July and traditional doctors who found their potions disgraced, were frustrated.

At first, it was thought that the gods were wreaking vengeance on the villagers. The local priests got together and offered sacrifices and prayers, but there was no abatement.

It was later that that people started invading Bethesda Hospital in Ikachi village, run by the Dutch Reformed Church. It is about 15 kilometres away from Adum East, but it was a burden they had to bear, for they had run short of alternatives. However, Doctor Anne Smith, the resident doctor was just as baffled by the symptoms as everybody else. The patients being brought in showed signs of malaria infections, but when treated accordingly, they died.

Richard Imeje was her first patient, and died on October 14 after being sick for only six days. In fact, all the first patients, numbering five, died of the disease. She knew she had a big problem on hand.

Adiyama Clinic, Onyike, near the Oju local government headquarters is headed by David Amara. He and his staff too, soon knew they had an epidemic on hand when in late September, a patient was brought in for treatment. He had yellowish eyes, finger nails and tongue. He had also been vomiting a lot. These are the classic symptoms of the advancing stage of yellow fever. But it could also have been hepatitis, a liver inflammation. He diagnosed it as hepatitis, but the treatment was in vain. The man died, and others who came after him died. Something had to be done urgently as the death toll increased.

Patric O. Okpabi, chairman of the local government service commission was a son of the soil. He came home to Adum East, regularly. On one of such visits, he learnt that some of his own — two young relatives — had died of an unidentified ailment. He was spurred to investigate further and found that it was dangerously widespread and even getting worse. He alerted the state through Nadjò Benue, Makurdi. That was the first alarm against the invader. Steven Ikurior, the state health commissioner heard the news and drew an emergency battle plan. But all was not yet lost although the disease had spread its tentacles into Ijege, Ohuma, Ehuwo, Ojua, Ikriye, Udebo, Odajwu, Itogo among other villages.

Alitokpa district in Ogoja local government, Cross River State, abuts



Madam Atani: Lost one, another on the verge.

Itò district, Oju local government in Benue State where the disease first broke out. In fact the only natural barrier between them is the River Okilo. At this time of the year, it is usually shallow — shallow enough for people to wade through. It was probably through this movement of human traffic that a yellow fever carrier unwittingly took the virus there.

In Alitokpa, there are three villages, i.e. Ipuete and Alitokpa. In all, the people number ten thousand. "Ayakure,"

as the people call yellow fever in the local, Yache, dialect was first suspected in June. The symptoms were the same with yellow fever. Patients were treated with local herb. Some were cured. Many were not.

Isidore A. Anyogo, Justice of the Peace (JP), a retired primary school superintendent, is the community leader of the district. A literate man, he recorded happenings as they occurred. He said that it was when some of the unsuccessfully treated cases by the traditional

SPECIAL REPORT

innoculation just in case. Too late. He got worse—started having stomach cramps and vomiting. With time, his skin, eyes and tongue grew very yellow. On November 26, Okam died. He was buried alongside ten other members of the family, all victims of the disease ravage.

Another son of the soil was Odu Oyibo. He was a bricklayer, and caught the yellow fever when it was yet undiagnosed. He was among the first set wiped out at an alarming rate. Oyibo left behind ten children, two wives and an aged mother.

Moses Otee's two sons, both aged three years, became ill on the 18th and 19th of November. He rushed them to the sick bay. There, they seemed to improve slightly. But on November 22, both just gave up the ghost, a few hours

after each other. He claimed that they had been inoculated along with the other nine children that survived. He has since been so downcast that he has been unable to continue his job as a trader.

On the other side of River Okilo, particular in Gabo and Alifokpa districts of Ogoja local government area, stories of the ravage were likewise.

Late one night in November, Felicia Okwo, 38, woke up suddenly from her slumber. She felt an acute belly ache. So, she took a local concoction to cure it. A few hours later, she vomited. In the sputum were traces of blood. In the morning she went to the Lutheran-run quarantine centre where she was for two days. But as she grew worse, her relatives brought back her back home for treatment with traditional herbs. Four days later, she died.

Immediately after the funeral, all members of the household were vaccinated. Cosmos, her 20 years old son had just completed school in Benue. He was among them. In fact it was he who had been trying to motivate his sisters, brothers and aged grandmother out of their despondency. In fact it was he who insisted that everyone should take the vaccination in good time. Six days later, he started having the same complaints that his later mother had had. However, he felt secure in the knowledge that he had been vaccinated. So, when he went to the Lutheran clinic, it was to collect chloroquine tablets. The next day, there was no improvement. In fact any food he ate was regurgitated with traces of blood in it. He became bed-ridden and was spitting frequently. That was the state in which *African Concord* found him. On their return to Ogoja urban General Hospital, they took him along to get appropriate treatment.

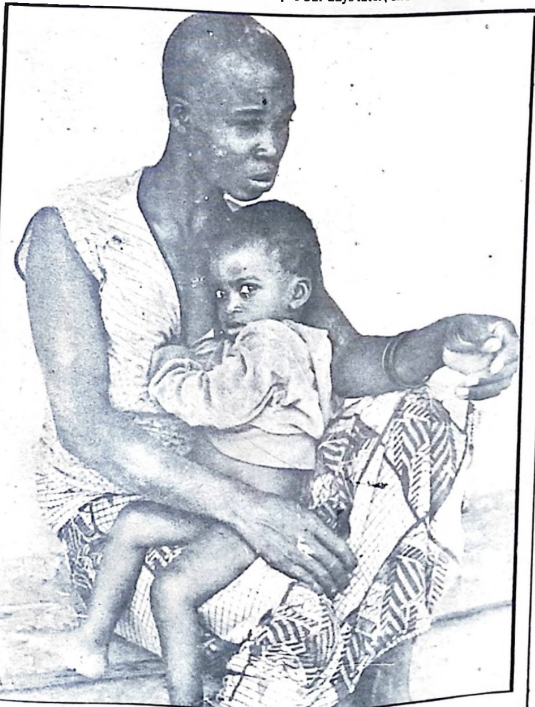
At the hospital, the *African Concord* team learnt that patients could only be treated after a deposit of 50 naira was made. But after pleading with the officials, they allowed Cosmos to be admitted whilst his sister went back to Alitokpa to get the family prepared to foot the bill. However, she told *African Concord* that it might be impossible for the family to meet the obligation.

Doctors at the hospital, while pleading anonymity, explained that there had been no exigency plans by the government for a long-term battle with the epidemic. Apart from the initial aid given by Elizabeth Ekong, the former commissioner for health, their supply of drugs had not increased.

When *African Concord* visited the vaccination centres, both at the General Hospital, the MC Hospital next door, and at Alitokpa village, nobody was being vaccinated. Officials in charge said that they had run short of drugs and were still expecting the 250,000 doses of vaccine sent by the minister.

The total number of people inoculated up till last week was 37,299. Alitokpa got the bulk of the vaccines, some 4,000, but all the districts, even those only remotely affected, shared the total amount. Thus, by last week, only three-quarters of the inhabitants of Alitokpa had been inoculated.

A bereaved, Regina Izor Anyor, for example, was in a deep state of shock when the inoculation exercise was in full swing at Alitokpa. She had just lost her husband, a farmer. Now that she is in a better state of mind, together with her sister-in-law, Comfort, the vaccinators have declared their stock ex-



Regina Izor Anyor: "Some people are yet to be vaccinated."

hausted, barely four weeks after they started.

One official of the Ogoja General Hospital complained by saying that the distribution of vaccines was made irregularly to all the local governments in the state, irrespective of whether a single patient had died there or not from yellow fever.

The death toll among the districts in Abitokpa, comprised by the rural health superintendants. Mr. E.O. Okim, indicated that Abitokpa had the highest figure of 159 people dead. Other districts followed with ten: Wabangwa with 7; Ogoja urban, 4; and Ibeju Ibeju, two persons.

By last week, state and federal agencies reduced their campaigns, while voluntary groups more or less closed up due to lack of funds. Lutheran Hospital had by the time been at the forefront in helping to ease the scourge of the disease. They had hoped that by now the state and federal governments would recompense their efforts. With dwindling resources and the disease slowing down in the hardest area, they, as the second largest medical outfit in the affected zone, Ogoja, had to bar patients from coming in to receive treatment. The quarantine day established in Mbua village during the heat of the ravage had to be closed down. Dr. Bassey explained that their drug supply had dwindled to the lowest ebb for years. Thus Lutheran Hospital would not take in any more yellow fever victims.

Costs

Breaking down costs for the treatment of each patient, Bassey said that on a daily basis, each patient would need three bags of one-litre drips, each costing nine naira; a dose of Novalgin for pain, at five naira; Sobrosan sachet (a liver stimulant), thrice a day, each costing two naira; Neomycin, 85 kobo; Phenegaz, 25k, and vitamin B complex, 15k. These and other costs like drip connections, plasters, brought the total to about 40 naira per day for each patient. Most patients spent seven or ten days for recuperation before being treated at out patients.

Figures representing those treated by the Lutheran establishments were 43 at the hospital and 143 at the quarantine centre at Mbua. Of these, five people died at the hospital, with the hospital authorities having to foot the burial of three of them. At the quarantine centre, 50 deaths were recorded.

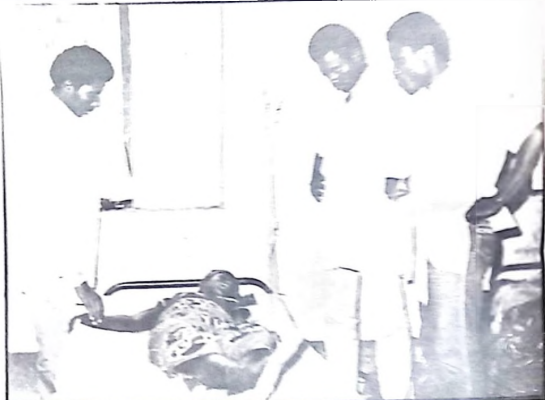
Bassey said that the state government provided enough support for the

affected districts when a patient would be getting 2,775 naira bag, which were adequate enough to remove all the patients before the heat of the yellow fever pandemic. Since then, and had been slow at coming, and the hospital staff were overstretching their facilities and staff. Up till last week, the hospital workers were yet to receive their October salaries.

For private operators like O'Dey, things had been worse, his RIA clinic had treated patients on humanitarian grounds, but was becoming more and more reluctant to do so. For while

used to be reluctant against the disease especially in the rural, but said that the state, not however in the all patients treated at the Lutheran Hospital were not satisfied with the way.

Many doctors had at least of the complete abandonment of the disease. Government and parastatal organisations have given the affected areas both moral and financial support. The Federal basic government donated 30,000 vaccines at Benue, Nkwana, 20k, Lagos, 10k, and the Linn Club donated 10,000 naira and 2,000 naira respectively at all private hos-



Medical staff attend to the sick at Adam Meliods (Ibeju) Hospital.

O'Dey had hoped that the government would sort out their dilemma in a short while, it seemed that that would be much later than sooner, or perhaps never at all.

Yet patients seemed to repose more confidence in him than the government hospital. In one instance, when a patient Cosmos Okwo had been taken to the Ogoja General Hospital and they had demanded 30 naira before he could be registered, his sister subtly hinted that it might be better to take him to RIA Clinic, but she failed to explain why.

One reason could have been the high expectancy level that RIA Clinic maintained. O'Dey claimed to have treated 82 patients, and only the first five died (at the time of their deaths, the nature of the illness was still a mystery).

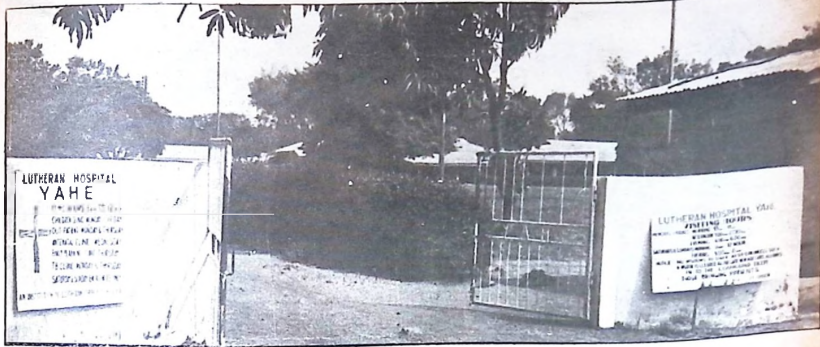
Another doctor made mention of a drug, Gamma Globulin, a high protein mixture which creates artificial immunity, as a possible hope for patients in the

tributions amounted to N15,000. This when Governor Ismail Saka, the Benue State governor gave the Oja local government 25,000 naira, government alone did not bear the cost.

By last week, the total amount of vaccine in the hands of the Benue State government was 431,000. By now, Oja, which contains some 200,000 inhabitants had vaccinated 127,000 people. Governor Bakur told Governor Concorde. Other contiguous local governments had been dowed with 187,000 vaccinations. This explained the slowing of the death toll which was 150 in November 23, to 161 on December 1 and 163 on December 4.

Federal action 188 was in no short supply. The affected states had each got 200,000 vaccines, and all the states were distributed with their share of some 1.5 million vaccines donated by UNICEF. Contiguous states to the affected ones, namely Anambra and Imo States received additional doses of 80,000 vaccines

SPECIAL REPORT



Lutheran Hospital: Provides succour to victims.



Dr. Bassey. "We ran out of drugs."



Peter Icheme at Adumu Guinea worm, another scourge.

each.

The World Health Organisation, WHO assisted government with a donation of half a million vaccines. Gottlieb Lobe Monekosso, its African regional director said that epidemiologists from the organisation would also be made available to render professional services.

In the long term, the federal government has drawn up a national immunization programme. The desired effect would be to eradicate yellow fever, just as small pox had been so tackled.

The good news for those remote areas where the yellow fever disease had first

reared its head, is that the government is now listening to them. As Silas I. Ode, the chief of Adunt East told *African Concord*, "we are like a pool of stagnant water. We lack electricity; there is no drinking water — during the dry season, we have to trek up to 15 kilometres to fetch water from pools that are infested with guinea worm; and the nearest hospital is 20 kilometres away."

If the Minister of Health makes good, his promise and extends the government's 450 millionaira rural health programme to them; if he talks to

the President about their deplorable road conditions, may be the epidemic outbreak could be, in their memories, just a bad dream that was better forgotten, in ten years' time or so. If not, nothing will change. This government will be, to them, just another phase in their "governments come, governments go" attitude to the powers that be; if not, there will no perceptible difference between this and the last government.

— Ademola Oguntayo in Adum, Benue and Alifokpa, Cross River States.



Mr. Isidore Anyogu, Allfakpa community leader showing African Concord man, Ademola Oguntayo the death records.

Yellow fever is caused by a little, beastly bug, the *Aedes Aegypti*, a domestic mosquito. When it bites, it transfers the deadly yellow fever virus from a person who has it to an erstwhile healthy person. This mosquito is a sister specie to the anopheles, the malaria carrier, and it inhabits domestic surroundings. But unlike the anopheles, a notorious spoiler of sleep, it bites in the day time.

Primarily, the infection of a settlement starts when an inhabitant is bitten by another specie of mosquito, *Aedes Symptoni*. This brand of insect bites both man and monkeys. After the insect bites an infected monkey, it takes the virus ten days to propagate inside the mosquito before its bite becomes deadly to man. It is only after that that the infected person carries the disease with him or her to the settlement, and the disease is spread by the *Aedes Aegypti*. However, for the monkeys, the disease is spread by yet another bug, the *Aedes Africanus* mosquito which sucks their blood.

Transference of the disease is essentially the fault of man. The infected mosquito itself can only move as far as an area of 60 metres radius. The rest is

The beastly bug

A beastly bug is the main carrier of the fatal yellow fever.

done by man. He moves about unwittingly, or wittingly, with the virus in his blood. This gives other mosquitoes the opportunity to bite him and transfer the virus to other people. The mosquito's lifespan is seven months, and once infected it continues to transmit the disease to man until it dies.

When a healthy, uninnoculated victim is bitten, it takes six days for the virus to incubate and for him to show the symptoms. After that, fever and headache develop. Then there is observed yellowness of the patient's eyes, tongue, skin and fingernails. This is the jaundice stage and it is an indication that the liver is failing to metabolise the bile, green fluid secreted near the liver, in the alimentary canal.

Outwardly, the patient feels pain on the right side of the stomach where the liver is located. Patients may also start to vomit blood, feel delirious as the virus attacks the brain, and urinate blood, indicating kidney failure. In the last stages

of the disease, patients spew blood from all outer openings — the mouth, nose, anus, ears and urine ducts.

Like all viral conditions, there is no cure. The only help that can be administered is to relieve the body from pain, and stimulate the affected organs. Medications like drops, antibiotics, vitamin tablets, analgesics, tranquilizers and liver stimulants achieve this aim. It is then up to the body to perfect recovery for itself.

For many patients, after five to six days of illness, the critical stage of the illness would have passed, and if recovery would come, it would take weeks. If not, the patient would die then.

Prevention of the disease could be effected through vaccination. The drug, 17D, is the type prepared in Dakar, Senegal from a preparation of infected mice's brain cells, according to Dr. P.S. O'Dey. These antigens stimulate the bodies' antibodies, fight cells in the blood, to a state of combat-readiness in preparation for any infiltration into the body of the yellow fever virus proper. This state of readiness lasts for ten years. But it takes 8 — 10 days after inoculation before the body becomes combat-ready. During that time, the newly inoculated person may feel weak, as

SPECIAL REPORT



Some clean-shaven villagers mourning the dead.

though he or she has malaria or yellow fever. An inoculated person, bitten by an infected mosquito, could become a healthy carrier, allowing other mosquitoes to spread the disease through him.

Some people took two, three or even four doses of vaccination, as was discovered in Ogoja. Their reason was that if one dose was good, then two or even three doses were better. O'Dey revealed that a single dose was enough for the body needs. Any additional dose subjected the body to shock and could ultimately lead to death.

However, for those who took it "sometime" in the past, and their yellow cards, a document showing the dates of the three vital vaccinations — yellow fever, cholera and small pox — the good news is that even an overdose cannot bring on the dreaded disease.

To prevent the disease, mosquito larvae should not be allowed to grow; stagnant water should be allowed to run. Anyone with symptoms should be quarantined even in the day time. An enclosure like the mosquito net would be appropriate. Like other tropical diseases, a clean environment keeps it at bay.

— Ademola Oguntayo



Dr. O'Dey: "We had a high success rate."

Africa's unenviable tasks

The hall was filled to the brim, with ambassadors, elder statesmen, ministers and other men of substance from all walks of life. Those who could not get seats, leant by the wall, others crouched by the aisles. Yet, many others filled an adjacent room where a live video recording of the event in the hall was being relayed. At no time in the history of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs has it played host to such a large crowd as it did last week Monday.

The event for which the motley crowd gathered was the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the NIIA. For it, the Institute had invited the former Tanzanian leader, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere to give a speech in commemoration.

Nyerere's presence, in fact, must have been the factor that lured the crowd to



Ngueso, OAU Chairman

the Institute and his reflections on Africa and its future-gave the audience more than a meal for thought. He drew attention to the forlorn hopes of political independence in Africa; the derailed hopes for freedom and human dignity for the 400 million Africans; the lingering dependence and vestiges of colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism and the unenviable tasks before Africans — to finally claim the much cherished independence and attain the lofty ideals of Uhuru.

Africans, Nyerere said, would have to complete the task of political liberation, begun 25 years ago, by breaking the last bastions of colonialism and racism in South Africa and Namibia. But he admitted the task would not be easy as apartheid is ruthless and the costs in

Africans have two great tasks to perform to wriggle themselves out of the shackles of colonialism, says Julius Nyerere.

fighting it, huge. Conservative estimates put this at about \$10 billion yearly.

Africans, Nyerere added, would also need to work out in concert a long term strategy for dealing with the increasing per capita poverty. "Singly, we are each so weak—even Nigeria, that we cannot negotiate on terms of equality with anyone of the countries of Europe or North America. But they have learned the lesson of unity and act in concert; separately we therefore find ourselves



Julius Nyerere

dealing with not one of those states, but with a group or part of a group of developed nations."

Julius Nyerere repeatedly drew the attention of the audience — over two thousand to what he described as the "neo-colonial status" in Africa. According to him, it was not until African countries had recognised their status as "colonies of external powers" that they could begin to struggle for advancement.

He said Africans are yet to admit the truth about their post-independence status in the world. The truth, he argued is that many African states operate under the indirect and economic control of foreign powers. To achieve economic liberation African states have to reject the neo-colonial status, and begin to

struggle against it.

Nyerere said that since 1981 sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) has experienced average yearly decline of 4.4% in its per capita income and massive deficits in international balance of payment. And that these reverses are largely responsible for an African debt problem— which is worse in proportion to Africa's productive capacity and Gross Domestic Product than the debt problem of any other region of the world.

According to the World Bank Development Report of 1986, between 1974 and 1984, sub-Saharan Africa's long term and short term debt liabilities increased from \$38.5 billion American dollars to 80 billion American dollars — or from 30% to 50% of the area's combined Gross National Product.

Nyerere said Africa's present economic condition of falling living standards and huge external debts were caused by four major factors. First, African countries have not been able to shake off the neo-colonial hold of industrialised nations over their economies as about 70% of African exports are directed to the industrial market economies, and similar or greater proportion of Africa's manufactured imports come from them. Besides, a large part of Africa's industrial production and the modern sector of her agriculture is controlled by transnational corporations from the industrial market economies.

According to Nyerere, African states depend on the industrial market economies and international organisations they control for credit and capital injection to develop their economies of maintain their urban sectors.

Second, the prices of commodities produced by African states have been declining for the last six years. "Since 1980 non-oil commodity prices have fallen by 26% in dollar terms, or 23% relative to the prices of manufactures. "At the same time, average interest rates on Africa's constantly increasing debt rose considerably in nominal terms during the last six years, and very greatly in real terms; the average period before maturity shortened. And credit at any price becomes increasingly difficult to get."

Nyerere also noted the decline in the net capital flow to sub-Saharan Africa from 7.1 billion American dollars in 1980 to 2.7 billion dollars in 1984. Of

Africa

this amount private creditors accounted for 3.3 billion dollars in 1980, but that slumped to 0.3 billion in 1984.

All indications are thus that during the last few years of most desperate crisis, Africa has paid more to the Economic North than it has received in any form — even disregarding the transfers inherent in the adverse movements in terms of trade," Nyerere argued.

On the political sphere, he said the people's hope for democracy and human rights are yet to be fulfilled. "There have been 69 successful military coups in Africa since independence. There have been massacres of Africans by Africans — sometimes even by African governments. There have been murderous regimes which retained power for years because of the ruthlessness of their oppression."

To fulfil the two tasks — that of completing Africa's political liberation and that of beginning the struggle for economic liberation — African states need "seriousness in united action, and

in economic co-operation, Nyerere emphasised.

The advantage of co-ordinated African economic management and development planning, according to him is that African states will be stronger in dealings with the Economic North.

Although, he described political unity as the best way of achieving the co-ordinated economic and political action, he was quick to point out his reservations about this. "Political unity of Africa is not a realistic possibility in the near future," he said.

He therefore suggested that: intra-African co-operation and in particular economic co-operation, could, for the time being, be a more realistic alternative. But experience shows that this is not an alternative to a political commitment, it is a method of action not a replacement for action. Arrangements or institutions for co-operation can only be effective if they are founded on a recognition of the need for — and the responsibilities involved — United African activity.

Mwalimu's speech was thought-provoking and drew a spree of applause from his listeners — for its seriousness and unsparing critique of the African environment.

The speech, the sombre picture and future of Africa it painted, the sober-mindedness it caused the audience — were all a contrast to what preceded it, the atmosphere of light hearted jokes, rendered in the main, by Nigeria's former Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo.

It was his lot to introduce Julius Nyerere to the audience — a superlative task as Nyerere, in fact, needed no introduction. But Obasanjo carried out his assignment so well, interjecting his brief speech with anecdotes here and there and well oiled jokes. After extolling Nyerere for his contributions to the liberation struggle, an honour Obasanjo himself shared, Obasanjo added: "What I don't have in common with him is his grey hair." The hall rocked with laughter.

— Nimi Wariboko

African Concord Crossword Puzzle

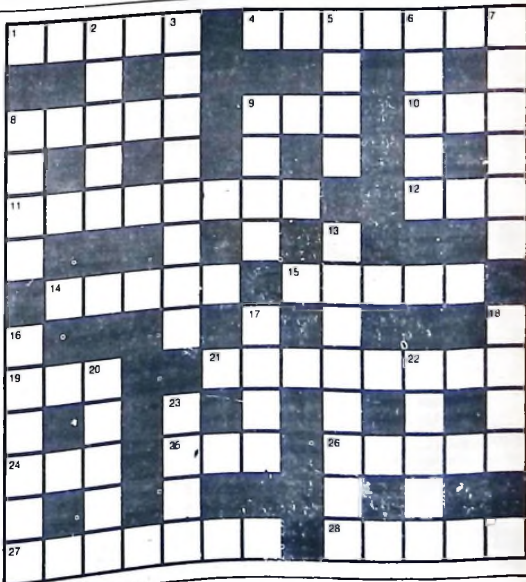
* NOTE: Every week, the first three winning entries received at our London Office will receive complimentary copies of African Concord for six months. Those already subscribing will get a six-month extension. Send your entries with our subscription form.

ACROSS

1. Mozambique port (5)
4. Former President of Nigeria (7)
8. Vigilant (5)
9. Offence against divine law (3)
10. Direct (3)
11. Delayed in progress (8)
12. Woman in convent (3)
14. A drink (5)
15. Savimbi's group (5)
19. Defeat (3)
21. Lake in E. Africa (8)
24. Implement used in fishing (3)
25. Lubricate (3)
26. Combine (5)
27. Partake (7)
28. Capital of Tunisia

DOWN

2. Slow (5)
3. Prior to (8)
5. A relative (4)
6. Once more (5)
7. Not liable to infection (6)
8. Breezy (4)
9. Not hidden (4)
13. Teach (8)
16. President of Tanzania (6)
17. Small mountain (4)
18. Tie (4)
20. Shining (5)
22. Period of rule (5)
23. Dirty (4)



UNIBEN: Alele Williams' stewardship

None of Nigeria's universities is problem-free, but UNIBEN's vice chancellor, Professor Grace Alele Williams is squaring up with those problems she inherited on assumption of office. A report by Chief E. O. Egbide of Prime Publications.

THE problems of University administration and development in Nigeria in recent years have become increasingly difficult to tackle because of the complex nature of its environmental factors which constantly cause volcanic eruption in the academic programmes of the various universities across the nation because of students unrest.

Indeed, a careful study of this ugly social phenomenon revealed that the social life of our universities are presently growing under the influence of conflicting foreign ideological orientations which operate under the cover of students' unionism, a situation which should be critically examined and checked in order to create the much needed atmosphere of stability to foster the objectives for which the universities are established.

As a matter of fact, the much talked about "University system" in Nigeria cannot be treated in isolation of our national policy objectives since the university environment itself is also an integral part of the entire socio-political system of the country.

According to Professor Alele-Williams, the "University system," like any democratic establishment, such as a house of parliament, is a committee system in which delegated responsibility is vested on all the members of special committees or sub-committees set up by the University senate.

Frankly, if the nation must continue to solve the manpower problems which are so badly needed for the advancement and implementation of our economic and industrialisation programmes, then university administrators should be given a chance to run their institutions without external interference or threat from any quarter because there can never be any meaningful change or

growth in any field without stability.

Evidently, every university in Nigeria has experienced one form of student crisis or another either directly or indirectly as a result of "crude" campus politics largely influenced by some unscrupulous



Prof. Alele-Williams, V.C.
UNIBEN
university lecturers.

Alele's problems

Therefore, the genesis of Professor Grace Alele-Williams' problems at the University of Benin which she merely inherited by virtue of her appointment is not an isolated phenomenon in the history of university administration in this country.

Instead, the prevailing circumstances which bedeviled our university environment today are typically Nigerian problems which deserve tough disciplinary measures aimed at bringing the reactionary forces under reasonable control, irrespective of the so-called fundamental human right, a privilege which most Nigerians abuse in the attempt to achieve their personal ambitions.

However, it is interesting to observe that, in spite of the

prevailing atmosphere of interpersonal squabbles and character assassination which is prevalent among the academic staff of the university concerning appointments, promotions, general welfare and campus politics, Professor Grace Alele-Williams strongly believes that, being the first woman vice chancellor in the history of this country, no sacrifice is too great for her to ensure that the programmes and aspirations of the institution must be allowed to succeed under her administration by restoring peace through the unification of the different factions.

She is prepared to make any sacrifice in order to achieve this central objective because she is aware that the public regards her appointment as a test case. There is no point to pretend that Professor Alele-Williams does not have serious administrative set-back on her present university seat since her appointment by the Babangida administration.

Public opinion

However, the Nigerian public is aware that whatever these problems may appear to be, the "Iron Lady of Benin" as she is profoundly referred to by the press, was only called upon to inherit them by virtue of her appointment. Most of the problems had long existed during the tenure of office of her predecessor.

Certainly, as the woman of the hour, she is very much at the centre of the problems which have long been undermining the speedy development of the university.

Contrary to press speculations around the university, visitors to Mrs. Alele-Williams will observe that the punches from these problems are in no way doing any effective damage on her as she broadly smiles to welcome her guests with warm hand-shakes. Indeed, this is a credit to her as a

public figure because such quality is one of the attributes of good leadership.

Plans

Highlighting the blueprint of development plans for the university during an exclusive interview with the editorial director of the *Business World Journal* in her office, Professor Grace Alele-Williams spoke on a number of academic and national issues of great importance.

Commenting on the development of the university, she stated that the University of Benin has no room for sectional interest or partisan politics, adding that the institution could not be used as a platform by anybody to promote his or her personal ambition or as an instrument to destabilise the government.

Emphasizing the role of the university in the present dispensation, Professor Alele-Williams said that University of Benin is fully endowed with all the necessary intellectual and material resources to transform its land resources into various agro-allied and other viable commercial ventures which she said will make the institution more self-reliant and productive.

She said that the university will be in a position to offer more employment opportunities to its graduates when these plans actually materialise in the near future.

In order to utilize the university farm land which is separated by River Ikpoba, a bridge which is estimated to cost about N4 million naira will be built to link the permanent site of the university with the undeveloped portion of the land for industrial purposes. The university is already working out the modalities for the establishment of limited liability companies as well as a housing estate for staff, and other

SPECIAL MESSAGE

commercial ventures, including hotel complex, and production of large quantity of medals for commercial purpose have been proposed as potential sources of revenue.

Financial aid

As a strategy for public relations, the vice chancellor used the occasion of the visit of President Babangida and the Minister of Education, Professor Jubril Arimu on two separate occasions to appeal for financial assistance to help realise her dreams for the university.

The highlight of the president's maiden visit to the university was the foundation laying and unveiling the plague of the administration and Senate Building which was described as a land-mark in the history of the institution.

Today, the University of Benin can be proud of having successfully installed a new telephone system called Private Automatic Branch Exchange (PABX) which was commissioned by the Minister of Education during his visit to the institution. This system now provides telephone services to serve more than ten

thousand people of the university community.

Role of women

Commenting on the role of the Nigerian woman both in national and international scene, Professor Alele-Williams appealed to government to involve more women in the decision making process of nation building so that they should be in a position to determine the type of laws they would like to introduce concerning themselves in particular and the nation at large.

For example, she cited the laws concerning pregnancy, maternity leave, abortion and other discriminatory laws which do not conform with civilised practice and therefore said such laws should be reviewed because they are inadequate.

The vice chancellor said the Nigerian women have been making great contribution towards world peace and progress through many national and international bodies and some of them have been elected to leadership position; she asserted.

She noted that the role of women, particularly the activities of women organisations

in general are usually not given due publicity as their male counterpart, hence it appears that the women usually play dull role in society. She therefore advised the press to show more interest in the affairs of women.

Asked to comment on whether she considers her appointment as a right or privilege in the context of women's liberation? The vice chancellor stated that she considered her appointment as a privilege and not as a right, adding that nobody has a right to a particular job no matter the qualification unless the opportunity is given.

Open varsity

Commenting on the cancellation of the National Open University system which was introduced in the country by the defunct civilian administration, Professor Alele-Williams said that the concept of the National Open University system was not bad, but she explained that there were certain aspects of the programme which required nationalisation to make them more acceptable to all sections of the country. "I know the problems which came

up during the planning of the programme because I took part in writing some of the subjects," she stated.

On the question of the visitation panel which looked into the activities of the university, the vice chancellor said that the exercise was normal practice within the law establishing the institution which empowers the visitor to the university to set up a visitation panel to examine its activities periodically and recommend solutions aimed at improving on the general performance of the institution as a family.

Professor Alele-Williams however, stated that it was a very unfortunate experience that the appointment of visitation panels in this country always coincides with the advent of military administration.

Before we draw the curtain down, we strongly expect all the members of the university community, the press and the public to ensure stability and continuity at the University of Benin because no institution or nation can achieve greatness or academic excellence when the much talked about university system is being destroyed by the enemies of progress.

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Chad: Behind the blood and tears

This is the third instalment of the four-part analysis of the Chadian conflict. The writer, Stephen Tebid, former editor of the *Cameroon Times* traces the how and the why of foreign interventions in the local affairs of Chad.

What began as a local rebellion in 1965 has today been transformed into a full fledged international conflict with cold war connotations. In effect, armies from several nations are now fully engaged in battles in Chad. French and Zairean troops are there to bolster the forces of the Ndjameca government of Hissene Habre while Libyan troops are helping the GUNT forces to the north of the French established red line partitioning Chad into two republics. Other countries have been active in the crisis without sending in troops, but in a manner that has influenced political developments in Chad.

The Chadian conflict in the process has been transformed into an arena of the big power rivalry with France heading the Western alliance and Libya apparently standing in for the progressive forces. But beyond this simplistic classification, the individual countries meddling in Chad have their particular and peculiar interests to de-

pend. Thus a better understanding of the foreign interventions in Chad can only be attained through an analysis of the individual interventions.

France for example has been active in Chad since 1890 long before the bipolar power confrontation of recent years. In 1960 when Chad attained titular independence, various unequal operation agreements were imposed on her. One of these agreements — the Security and Military Assistance records now serve as the legal springboard for French intervention in Chad.

In reality these accords did not and do not justify France's intervention in Chad's internal affairs, for they were meant solely to provide protection against foreign intervention for the nascent Republic of Chad. When France moved in troops in the sixties to Chad, the Chadian conflict was then a problem of a local rebellion sans any external interference. The French intervention was a blatant attempt to rescue a subservient

and puppet regime that had lost popular support. In March 1970, General Corradellas who was then Commander of French forces emphatically relayed in a report to Paris the following message: "So far we have not found any modern weapons with the rebels other than old guns of the Second World War and those seized from Chadian government troops prior to our arrival. Consequently, we strongly believe that the rebellion here does not receive any external support."

The real objective of French intervention in Chad is further betrayed by the fact that it did not only involve the sending of combat troops but also included security officials who set up detention and torture camps under the supervision of the sinister and callous Commander Galopin who was executed by Habre in 1975 for crimes against the people of Chad.

Besides, the French intervention in Chad has been characterised by double

Central Africa

dealing, with French aid going to both the government and opposition forces—a divide and rule tactics aimed at weakening the Central Government thereby ensuring its increasing dependence on France.

The question that readily comes to mind is why should a poor country such as France be involved in such a wasteful neo-colonial expedition? In 1984, the daily cost of the Manta expedition was estimated at one million U.S. dollars.

The first explanation is that France is in Chad playing the quixotic role of the flag bearer of the Western alliance. This fits in very well with the Gaullist illusion of grandeur and rates France as a major world power.

Secondly, the French authorities have been coerced by its lackies in Francophone Africa into believing that Libyan expansionism may eventually reach the Atlantic Coast should Chad be ruled by a pro-Libyan government. A case of the dominoes theory.

The ridicule of the reasoning notwithstanding, the French are aware that any hesitation to act would be interpreted as weakness and may result in such countries as Cameroon, Gabon, Cote D'Ivoire losing faith in them and turning to other powers for protection. The French thus perceive their presence in Chad as a show of their force and as a personal favour to their African lackies who are scared by the supposed Libyan hydra.

Chad, contrary to popular thinking, is not a barren desert land. American companies led by the Continental Oil Company long ago established the presence of rich oil deposits around the Lake Chad and Northern Chadian regions. The Aouzou strip is also reputed to have rich uranium deposits. Southern Chad with its many rivers and rich tauna reserves has immense agricultural potential with French interests already dominant in the cotton trade. Thus, with good reason they see their expenses in Chad as a good investment that would bring fabulous returns in the future.

Unfortunately, France's Chadian policies are not likely to help bring peace to Chad nor bring any financial returns. This is for the simple reason that French policies there have been based more on sentiment than on cool headed analysis. As a result, the French have always been caught backing the wrong horse. In the sixties and early seventies, they were behind Tombalbaye who was totally discredited and unpopular. Today they are behind Hissene Habre who is not only discredited but is unacceptable to the overwhelming majority of Chadian pro-

vinces and people.

Also, it should be remembered that Habre being an intelligent and calculating politician, has realised the limitation of French power, and is increasingly turning to the U.S. and Israel for tutelage. He is not known to keep any agreement that did not serve his purpose. And thus, he may not keep his promise.

Libya is the second most important player on the Chadian political scene, and this activism has grown gradually since the Libyan revolution of Muammar Khaddafi. Libyan intervention in Chadian affairs has been noticeable in two ways. It has consistently supported Chadian opposition movements and since 1972 has occupied the Aouzou which it claims was formerly Libyan territory unjustly ceded to France through the Laval-Mussolini accords — which indeed is a verifiable historical fact.

But Libyan designs in Chad are not limited to a legitimate desire to recover lost territory. They include a desire to prevent its encirclement by hostile governments. It should be recalled that Libya is already surrounded on its Eastern and Western borders by Egypt and Tunisia — two pro-Western regimes that do not wish the Libyan revolution good. Should Chad fall into the Western orbit, then the Libyan regime will only have the Mediterranean sea to jump into when attacked, which is not much in view of the omnipresence of the U.S. sixth fleet.

Another explanation for Libya's Chadian policy is the presence in Chad of a large Libyan population. Because of their common boundaries, populations have moved across borders for many centuries and mixed marriages have resulted in very close relations between the northern populations of Chad and the Southern Libyans. Today, many of the northern political leaders of Chad are partly of Libyan parentage. Likewise, in the ruling circles of Tripoli it is not uncommon to find leading members with Chadian blood flowing in their veins. These leaders on both sides of the border would invariably fight to maintain some special relationship between the two countries.

It is pertinent to conclude by pointing out that Libya like France, was invited into Chad by the Chadians, that both Goukouni and Hissene Habre were together and accepted Libyan occupation of the Aouzou strip when they belonged to the Frolinat.

No matter one's opinion of the Libyan regime, one cannot escape the recognition that Libya has stronger



Paul Biya



Hounhouet-Bolony



Jaafar El-Nime

SPECIAL MESSAGE

Food supply: Niger Delta's scorecard

Since its inception, the Niger Delta Basin and Rural Development Authority has been working assiduously to boost the production of food and offer services in other related areas. Quite a lot has been achieved by the authority, writes Chief E. O. Egbide in this special report.

THE Niger Delta covers 36269 sq. kilometres of land which is very suitable for rice production. To augment the production of the small scale farmers, a large Rice Scheme is being developed at Peremabri with a Korean Technical Assistance Protocol Agreement.

Dynamic and deliberate efforts are made to meet with the planting needs of the farmers. Seed multiplication is carried out in the Authority's major production centres at Kpong, Peremabri, Opu-Oko, Isokpo, Ebedebiri, Yenango, Igbogene.

Erosion

In the Delta area, no meaningful agricultural project can be embarked upon without Erosion and Flood Control. This is because three-quarters of land is inundated for most part of the year.

In order to make more land available for agricultural development, the authority embarks on flood and erosion control measures. This project also pre-supposes that when the towns are protected, there will be more land for agricultural projects.

Rural roads

Most food is produced in rural areas and experience has shown that most of it is lost as a result of lack of transportation facilities. The Authority therefore, embarks on rural road construction to open up rural areas to ease evacuation of farm produce.

Food processing

About 20% of food produced in this country is lost as a result of poor handling, processing and storage. The Authority has therefore, em-

barked on establishing processing and storage facilities. At the moment, such facilities exist at the Coastal Fishing Terminal, Bortikiri. Broiler processing and abattoir projects, are at advanced stages of completion at Trans-Amadi, Port Harcourt.

Day-old chicks

It is Federal Government's

established a five ton²hour poultry and pig farmers.

Forestry

Afforestation is one of the major activities of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Water Resources and Rural Development. In order to encourage tree planting programme of the

definite policy of the authority to eliminate this constraint to the farmer by assisting him to clear the bush and prepare his land. This has been an on-going project under the authority.

Irrigation

The major operations at the moment are at Peremabri Rice Polder and Kpong Fruit² Vegetable demonstration farm.

Training

The authority organises short training courses for farmers and fishermen in all fields such as seed multiplication, fertilizer²herbicide application, fish feed formulation and pelleting, sex determination in fishes, fish pond design and construction, poultry keeping etc.

Fish fingerlings

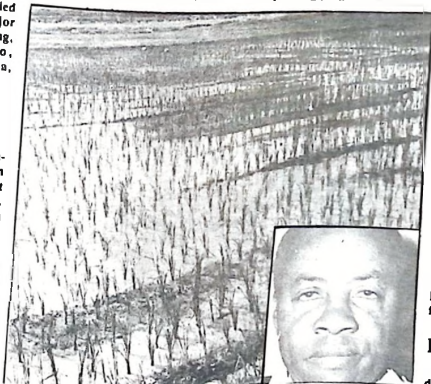
Fish fingerlings are raised in the authority's Fish Farm at Bodo, Buguma and Yenango for distribution to fish farmers.

Fertilizers

The authority is the custodian of the Federal Government Fertilizers for the state. These are sold to farmers at prices recommended by the Federal Department of Agriculture.

Co-operation

The Niger Delta Basin and Rural Development Authority and the State Ministry of Agriculture have established an Inter-Departmental Co-operation Committee so as to avoid duplication of efforts in the state's agricultural programmes and to pool resources together. All chiefs in the various departments are members of that committee.



Peremabri rice farm. Inset is Mr. Amadi-Nnma, GM, Niger Delta Basin

policy that Basin Authorities should not engage in direct production but to confine themselves to extension services.

One of the contributions of the Authority towards this is the production of started pullets for sale to farmers, in addition to raising them to point of lay and selling thereafter to farmers.

Feeds supply

One of the greatest handicaps for the livestock industry is that of feed. The Authority has therefore

State Government, the Authority raises seedlings and budded rice crops for sale to farmers. Ornamentals are also available for sale to the public.

Veterinary

The authority offers veterinary services to livestock farmers. Vaccines are obtained from Vom, Plateau State.

Bush clearing

In the Rain Forest Belt, one of the major handicaps of the farmer is bush clearing and land preparation. There is a

Small scale industries: Prospects and problems

Delta Palmwine experience

The Nigerian economy is depressed, but small scale industries are emerging. Do they have any scope or even prospects to conquer the external market? Chief E. E. Odogwu writes on Delta Palmwine experience.

TUNING in our radio sets often, we hear programmes of interest to encourage the growth of the indigenous economy of Nigeria. In the context of a very depressed and a problem-ridden economy, to small scale industries in the country.

There is a Business World magazine in the Delta Palmwine industry which is based in the Lareston City — Port Harcourt.

The great success Delta Palmwine Limited is Mr. E. E. Odogwu, a former marketing manager of FZ who resigned in 1965 to start in the production sector of the palm wine industry.

Mr. Odogwu was took a Master Degree in electrical engineering from the United State of America and the Business World Journal that to promote education in technical, among other things, is a great commitment opportunity for the less privileged classes in the country as that they should be able to make their living without becoming a liability to the nation.

Established in September, 1962, the Delta Palmwine Ltd. produces first class bottled palm wine from Delta Palmwine farms manufactured under hygienic conditions.

Every bottle of Delta Palmwine comes made from natural fresh palm combats natural sugar, salt, alcohol, 0.5-1.0 carbohydrates, vitamin A, B and C either bottled or unadulterated.

Delta Palmwine does not contain any artificial flavouring sweetener, containing no preservative. It is bottled in two brands. The Delta Regular brand contains no that 1% alcohol while the Delta special contains about 4% alcoholic content.

In 1974 National, when s

the main palmwine liquid is collected directly from the company's own rappa plantation located at Mbiana, Ika, Anua and Egbema, all in Rivers State by specially trained palmwine tappers employed by the company.

Summery laboratory equipment are used for testing the wine before bottling to avoid adulteration. In order to eliminate the presence of bacteria, effective processes are used to prevent contamination.

The Managing Director of the company, Mr. Odogwu states that the department of Food and Drugs Administra-

tion of September, 1965 and two years after, the company had produced over 25 million bottles and distributed throughout the country.

Commenting on problems affecting the growth of small scale industries in the country, the Managing Director of Delta Palmwine Limited, said that government can assist small scale industries by allocating land for industrial development purposes, introducing policies to liberalise bank loans, easing process of issuance of Certificate of Occupancy, provision of utilities such as light, water, road network, and communication facilities which will help in reducing the high cost of production.

He suggested that government should embark upon public enlightenment programme to educate the general public on the importance of food preservation, adding that preservation of perishable food items would result in increase food production in the country, as well as reduce cost of essential food items for consumers.

The corporate image of the palmwine industry has been given proper recognition by government because of the important role it is playing in re-empowering the nation's underdeveloped economy.

Labour statistics showed that 11% of the total work force in the private sector between March, 1981 and March, 1982 are presently engaged in different categories of employment in the palmwine industry. The increase in the number of employment in the palmwine industry in recent times was mainly attributed to the increasing number of retrenchment and compulsory retirement by the present military government between 1974 and 1981.

Thus, the palmwine industry

has shown its capacity to take place and take its own small scale business, not least it occupies a strategic position in the economic and social life of the nation. The Delta Palmwine is a great contact with local and international markets which assist in export the national foreign exchange.

The company's Managing Director indicated an intention in encouraging customers to buy and export the product to the foreign market.

Reviewing the national development of palmwine, Mr. Odogwu said that the product was first introduced in a new beverage which was first produced in 1950. He said palmwine is available throughout the world except in the communist region. The international market that was a new in palmwine now is the bottling aspect of the drink.

The Chief Executive of the company, Mr. Odogwu said that government policy on privatisation and nationalisation of industries in the country is in the interest of the public because the aim is to encourage Nigerians to participate in the private sector of the economy.

Commenting on the recently concluded Lagos International Trade Fair in which he took part, he said among those who represented Rivers State, Chief Odogwu said that the performance of small scale industries was remarkable, adding that it was a great challenge for manufacturers to demonstrate their skill and satisfy the expectations of consumers by maintaining prescribed standards.

However, he said that his company plans to diversify its operations in future as soon as the economy improves.

Delta Palmwine Ltd. has a network — wide distribution network with greater concentration in the Northern States of the country. The delivery directly to our agents across is equally wide where the demand is very high, alternative arrangements are made," the Managing Director said.

A public opinion poll conducted by Business World Marketing experts on the quality and presence of Delta Palmwine indicates that the product has a favourable market potential both locally and internationally.



E. E. Odogwu
M.D. Delta Palmwine Ltd.,
tion of the Federal Ministry
Health (F.D.A.) confirmed
that Delta Palmwine is free
from any kind of adulteration
and it is fit for human consumption.

Before now, the consumption habit of consumers of palmwine left much to be desired and the condition under which the drink was produced for use in the country particularly in the rural areas did not favour the product as a food drink, because it was mainly used by local producers of distilled gin and recently when modern industrialised immediate scientific methods to conform with FDA standards for commercial purpose.

The first bottle of Delta Palmwine was produced on the

Southern Africa

South Africa

The pressure builds up

The withdrawal of Western companies from South Africa is affecting national confidence, writes Kelly McParland.

The harsh economic realities that face South Africa were laid bare when Gerhard de Kock, governor of the South African Reserve Bank, addressed the British Trade Association in Cape Town. South Africa's economy, he insisted, is basically sound. But "politically-induced pressure" is keeping it from performing the way it should.

De Kock was speaking before a clutch of South Africa's biggest foreign investors announced plans to pull out. But even without that shock the future looked anything but happy.

He said the flood of money leaving the country since international lenders announced restrictions a year ago "poses a greater threat to the South African economy than the kinds of trade sanctions that are likely to be imposed."

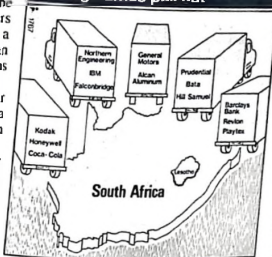
"It has already resulted in a weaker exchange rate, a higher inflation rate and a lower rate of real economic growth than would otherwise have been the case."

South Africa is experiencing the steady drip-drip-drip of confidence sapping economic pressures that can do more than any other influence to isolate the country and undermine its determination to go its own way.

"business failures are occurring at an alarming rate, and political violence is underpinned by the economy's sluggish performance."

South Africa has repaid more than £3 billion in foreign debt since 1984, but the measures needed at home to maintain the flow, said de Kock, "mean fewer goods available in South Africa for public and private investment and consumption, and therefore a lower long-term growth rate than would otherwise have been possible."

The big names pull out



Sanctions

Sanctions approved by the Commonwealth, the European Economic Community and the US Congress are moving into place. Japan has voluntarily joined in the moves. Countries like New Zealand, Canada and Australia have gone beyond the sanctions to introduce additional measures.

South Africa remains cut off from normal access to credit from the world's major lenders. Trade restrictions, though yet to cause serious hardship, have prompted the government to set up a special agency to evade them. It is becoming harder for South Africans to visit other countries, and fewer outsiders are coming to see them.

In its most recent guide to investors, the British Overseas Trade Board advises: "Unless South Africa can regain entry to world markets, it faces steep rises in electricity, railway, steel and telecommunications prices, giving yet another lift to the inflation rate."

While inflation has plummeted in other industrial countries, in South Africa it still hovers near 20 per cent. According to the Standard Bank, the largest in the country since Barclays announced its departure,

Whether South Africans are willing to endure this gradual decline in living standards could determine the shape of the country's future. Already, many people are voting with their feet: the number of immigrants in the first four months of this year was down 60 per cent on 1985, which had already suffered a decline of 40 per cent from the year before.

More serious than the net loss of people, which turned against South Africa some time ago, is the type of people "taking the gap." In the first quarter of the year, 350 more professionals left the country than arrived. It is professionals that the country will need most if it is to prosper in its increasing isolation.

Although it is the most technologically advanced country on the continent, South Africa relies overwhelmingly on imports and has not developed its own replacements. South Africans say the danger of lost expertise has not materialised, but as more and more brains leave the country the difficulty of keeping up is likely to increase.

The departure of multinationals like IBM, General Motors and Barclays mean the country also stands to lose the easy access to international connections and world-class business talent that the pre-

sence of the giant corporations provided.

As part of GM's world-wide network, South African executives were plugged in to a corporation that sold \$94 billion in cars last year. On its own, GM South Africa is a \$230 million giant, but plays in a decidedly lesser league.

Smaller firms can read the same signs as the big names. At least 75 US companies have disposed of their South African assets. A host of others are considering following suit. Some of Canada's biggest corporations, including the shoe giant Bata and the Falconbridge mining group, say they will also pull out.

Canada earlier ordered South Africa to close its tourist and airline offices by 1 November. Adding to the annoyance factor, Canada said it will no longer issue visas from its embassy in Pretoria, forcing visitors to apply directly to Ottawa or through a third country.

Japan too will no longer issue visas, and will discourage Japanese tourism to South Africa. Japan, Pretoria's third largest trading partner, is voluntarily following sanctions similar to those adopted by the European Economic Community.

Air routes cancelled

At least four international air carriers have cancelled routes to South Africa. Australia informed Pretoria it will terminate landing rights for South African Airways planes next November. Zambia and Zimbabwe, two of the country's nearest neighbours, say they will introduce sanctions soon, one of which may be the loss of landing rights.

Such pinpricks have yet to cause serious long-term damage. But the nervousness with which Pretoria views their increasing numbers is evident in the ferocity with which it has tried to prevent them.

De Kock pointed out that South Africa is fighting a battle in which realises come second to impressions. And foreign impressions are clear: 37,000 fewer businessmen visited the country last year than the year before, a decline which accelerated this year.

Overall, 50,000 fewer visitors arrived in the first quarter than did in 1985, a body blow to the tourism industry. The biggest drop was in visitors from Britain, by far the biggest source of tourists.

De Kock said the rise in gold prices means the second half of the year will likely prove more promising than the first. But long-term improvement depends on several "basic requirements."

Among them: "law and order must be maintained," and "there must be comprehensive further political and constitutional reform." The financial world is indicating its lack of optimism in either event coming about.

Will Europe follow Barclays' lead?

Nnamdi Azikiwe examines whether Barclays' recent withdrawal from South Africa will be followed by other UK and European firms.

The pull-out from South Africa by Barclays Bank, announced on 24 November but decided long ago in May, has provoked the burning question: is this the start of a trend towards major disinvestment from the South African economy by British and European companies after the US pattern, or will Barclays' withdrawal be merely a one-off event.

The answer to the answer will be revealed when the other major UK bank in South Africa, Standard Chartered, decides its future plans. As far there are

Barclays Bank decisions, some of those factors are obvious and well known. For a start, there is the increasing campaign waged against the bank by anti-apartheid groups and the National Union of Students (NUS) in Britain. This has resulted in the company losing out on the strategically important student market.

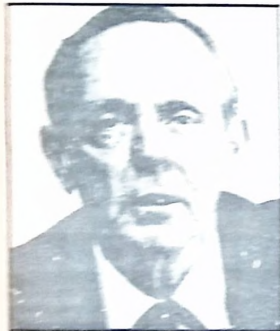
In the 1970s before the anti-apartheid campaign started, the bank gained 50 per cent of all UK student accounts. But by last year the figure had fallen to less than 17 per cent. Whereas rival banks such as National Westminster and Lloyds could offer accounts to attract students and other first-time account holders, Barclays were unable to do so. According to a secret document made available in the *UK Sunday Times*, Barclays admitted that the anti-apartheid campaign had hit them hard. The main aim, they were the only major bank not to offer any form of account opening incentives.

Far from the student market, Barclays were also faced with rising opposition from labour-controlled councils throughout Britain. Radical councils such as Brent and Islington in London, which have high black populations, have decided to remove their accounts from Barclays.

But perhaps the major factor in the commercial equation is the bank's future US hopes. Britain has set himself the target of radically reforming Barclays' area of interest, and one of those areas is the US where in less than \$1 billion has been invested in the past decade. According to firm Barclays, though at one time the largest international bank in the world, were slow to wake up to the challenge presented by other banking institutions. In

his words, until the 1960s, the bank had become little more than a retail chain, while rival banks had gone from strength to strength. Part of the new judgement lay in deciding commercial building blocks for the bank's future operations. These areas increasingly became Europe, the Far East, Australia, and, above all, the US.

But investing in the US meant cultivating American domestic opinion which in the past year has been moving away from maintaining economic links with Pretoria. Efforts by black Congressmen in the US to



Sir Timothy Benson, Barclays chairman

mean to win more students, which are considerable markets throughout South Africa, but were left to fend for it. The Barclays decision to terminate a further seven anti-apartheid groups and discontinue the larger of anti-apartheid pressure in the West might be surprising. However, it is true that four major banks were contacted last month when the withdrawal that would not be taking off.

The Barclays Bank decided to sell its local subsidiary, Barclays National Bank South Africa, to South African business interests, namely Anglo-American and De Beers, despite its prominent losses. For behind the moral dilemma is justified as transparent to Sir Timothy Benson, the current company chairman, is a vital business approach in the situation in South Africa. Benson himself put it succinctly: "There is nothing to a situation where a business man says all his business on moral considerations. Equally, you can't put a business without morality."

When the facilities is weighed, the strong likelihood is that financial factors will be seen to have played the greater part in the



Lord Barber, chairman of Standard Chartered Bank

publicise the cause of disinvestment from the South African economy, have led to the initial trickle of companies pulling out of South Africa turning into a flood. There was a serious danger that Barclays might be isolated by the American public as a consequence of the bank's unsavoury links with a regime increasingly out of favour with a large section of American opinion. By pulling out now, the bank has allowed itself greater room for manoeuvre to concentrate on the lucrative US market as well as to take advantage of opportunities provided on the London Stock Exchange after the 'Big Bang' in October.

The pressure is now on other UK companies to follow Barclays' example, and should they decide to pull out, the consequences for Pretoria will be considerable. UK companies, with \$12.5 billion invested in the country, account for half of all South African foreign investment, and Barclays with an estimated 10,488 million rank closely followed by Standard Chartered with \$10,133 million, were by far the largest. Standard Chartered, South Africa's second largest banking group, has



Bishop Trevor Baileston, leader of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Southern Africa

reduced its stake in the local subsidiary, Standard Bank Investment Corporation (Stanbic) to 39 per cent. Though a spokesman has said that the bank has no immediate further plans to reduce its stake in the country, cynics will remember it was only a year ago that Barclays said the same thing.

Like Barclays, Standard Chartered is under growing pressure to make a clear decision about whether to remain in South Africa at the expense of other future lucrative areas, or withdraw now. The same decision will need to be made by all the UK companies currently holding major shares in subsidiaries in South Africa. The Royal Dutch Shell group has been subject to intense anti-apartheid pressure, and in October they felt sufficiently alarmed for the Chairman to issue a letter circulated to all the company's directors, outlining its anti-apartheid stance. However, they also made it clear that they were not about to change their decision regarding divestment, even though other UK companies, such as Prudential Assurance, Northern Engineering, and the merchant bank, Hill Samuel, have all announced plans to divest this year.

Profitable relationship with apartheid system

But the stalwarts of British industry with substantial assets tied up in South Africa like British Petroleum (BP), Consolidated Goldfields, Courtaulds, and Consolidated Chemical Industries (ICI), seem unlikely to pull out of South Africa, at least in the near future. Companies like Consolidated Goldfields, which has a 40 per cent stake in a very profitable relationship with the apartheid system and rely heavily on the large reservoir of black labour from within the neighbouring countries.

A recent documentary on British television showed how the UK parent company paid lower wages to their miners than their main competitors, including the wholly South African owned Anglo-American. At a labour dispute earlier this year, four miners were killed, and in the course of the documentary it was revealed that the company has a private army of 6,000 well armed men, equivalent to ten full battalions, to keep law and order on mine property. This is almost larger than some national armies in southern Africa.

A recent study by the Swiss-based Institute for Research and Information on Multinationals called 'European Multinationals in South Africa', argues that most European multinationals are unwilling to pull out of South Africa. The author, Dr Geoffrey Hamilton, said one of the main reasons for their reluctance was that



From left, General Joseph Garba, chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, Mr Bob Hughes, MP, chairperson of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and Mr Mike Terry, an executive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

Standard is next target, says Garba

At a news conference in London last week, Maj General Joseph Garba, Nigeria's permanent representative to the United Nations, said Barclays Bank's decision to pull out of South Africa represented the final blow to South Africa's engagement policy.

"If a bank, which plays such a central role in the economy concludes that it has no prospects for genuine change, then no other company or Western government can now claim they are 'constructively engaged'."

He added that Barclays' decision was "real evidence that the policy of the British Government towards South Africa does not reflect the sentiments of the British people."

"The logic of this decision is that Barclays should cease their involvement in South Africa's efforts to renegotiate its massive international debt and also refuse to provide any special facilities and services to the new bank being formed in South Africa."

General Garba was in London for discussions with leaders of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and other campaigning organisations. He recalled how in 1978 the Federal Government had tried to restrict Barclays operations in Nigeria because of his South African connections. Earlier this year he had also met Sir Timothy Bevan, the Barclays chairman, to press the case for withdrawal.

Another anti-apartheid target, he told newsmen, was the other major British bank in South Africa, Standard Chartered. This is one bank, he explained, which could have no excuse since its chairman, Lord Barber, served as a member of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group. General Garba

expressed his surprise at Lord Barber's move. However if a new approach is required, the UN Special Committee will give it its full backing," he declared. He said that the UN Special Committee, recognising the strategic importance of oil for the apartheid regime, was fully behind the campaign against Shell. "It is natural that the major oil companies operating in South Africa should be the key targets for anti-apartheid actions," he stressed.

On wider issues in Southern Africa, Garba expressed deep concern at the growing evidence of South Africa's complicity in the air crash that killed President Samora Machel of Mozambique. He said: "Whatever conclusions are eventually reached as to the cause of the crash, his death has highlighted again the war situation now prevailing in Southern Africa."

This is why we are seeking UN mandatory comprehensive sanctions, and this is why we are so angered by the stand of the British Government, a government which not only vetoes effective sanctions measures, but even boycotts UN seminars and conferences on policies which it claims to be implementing, such as the arms embargo."

He said that the UN had yet to receive a satisfactory explanation as to why Britain had licensed the export of advanced military radar systems by Plessey and Marconi to South Africa which gives her air superiority in the region. "Some searching questions should be asked into what role this equipment played in the crash of President Machel's aircraft," he concluded.

Jon Offel-Ansah

Southern Africa

"Europeans do not have the option of returning to a big enough home market." This, plus historical links with South Africa, compared with more recent US commercial links, means that pulling out of South Africa is likely to be a more traumatic experience for UK companies than for US firms. US investment in South Africa represents 1 per cent of worldwide US investment, and the South African economy remains little more than a backwater for American investors.

A report prepared by the Foreign Commercial Service branch of the US Commerce Department in October, described South Africa (to the fury of the Pretoria Government) as, "just another African state — a chronic debtor, import starved, ridden with ethnic diversities, a repressive regime unable to manage its own domestic constituency in any positive way, whose only leverage is its ability to manipulate foreign governments and attract international attention for better or worse. This assessment of South Africa and its overall importance, is in stark contrast to the view held of South Africa by European and British companies.

British companies, for example, have 10 per cent of all overseas investment in South Africa. Hamilton cites three reasons why he believes that European companies

might not want to leave South Africa. First they still interpret anti-apartheid pressure to leave South Africa as unwarranted interference in their commercial affairs. They argue that to succumb to such pressure, would be to "get involved in the political affairs of another country." Secondly, none of the major European companies has yet realised that the current situation poses a dangerous threat to their future business operations. Until they perceive the situation as threatening, they will not feel disposed to leave South Africa.

Cosy relations mask black resentment

Thirdly, European companies in South Africa, while developing a cosy relationship with their white South African counterparts, hardly come into contact with their black employees at all, most of whom come into the cities merely for work, and then return to the townships before dark. Thus they are incapable of knowing the extent of black resentment which is simmering in the townships. US companies on the other hand, have generally had a better relationship with their black employees and even those companies that have elected to stay, are genuinely trying

to improve the lot of their workers.

But a fourth reason for European reluctance to withdraw is ironically bound up with the fact that so many US firms are leaving. Europeans, according to some sources are secretly delighted that US companies are pulling out and see in it the possibility of new business opportunities. Some European companies, given the chance to take over business from US companies, have allowed short term profit to outweigh the more rational logic of leaving while still ahead.

How long they would be prepared to stay in the event of real social upheaval is difficult to say.

UK INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA:

	(in millions of rand)		
	Assets	Workforce	
Barclays*	R 10,458	26,231	
Standard Bank	R 10,153	22,848	
SAECI	R 1,607	16,503	
BP	R 780	22,880	
Shell	R 650	5,870	
Consolidated Goldfields	R 689	93,851	
Blue Circle	R 410	1,760	
Hill Samuel*	R 226	236	
Courtaulds	R 195	8,198	

disinvestment plans announced
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Bahangida

NIGERIA

An apocalyptic report

Nigeria, Africa's giant and economic hope, is being banded around the world as an area of high economic and political risk.

Doomsday soothsayers of the Economist's Intelligence Unit say Nigeria faces an unstable political future, that political tensions are canalising to boiling point, that tough economic measures are making the populace restless, that the days of the reigning Armed Forces Ruling Council are numbered.

"The current Armed Forces Ruling Council will be displaced either by a group of fellow senior officers or by their juniors," says the report written by an American, Stephen Wright.

The report, sold for £75 in Europe and \$145 in the US predicts that the new leaders may institute anti-Western policies, contrary to the seeming pro-Western stance of the present regime.

Nigerian officials were still silent as at last week over this apocalyptic report — an indiffererence that has become something of a pattern. It was not the first time that the Economist would paint a bad picture of the Babangida regime.

Early this year, it published another diatribe on it drumming how the leadership wore a smiling visage as the nation drives towards disaster.

But the Nigerian government should not be unduly bothered by the Economist's Intelligence

Aquino

Unit report. Political risk reports on countries in developing world is an industry in the West and are usually sponsored and tailored to say what the sponsors would like them to say.

PHILIPPINE

Government assets for sale

Just after being spared from a scary coup plot, Philippine President, Mrs. Corazon Aquino caved in to pressures from her country's creditors to sell government businesses.

Last week, this began in earnest with 108 government companies put under the auctioneers' hammer. Aquino's government was expected to realise N20.7 billion from the three-day sales.

"The sale of government corporations is both a necessary measure to alleviate the very heavy strain on the national budget and an imperative of national economic growth and development based on the private sector," said Mrs. Aquino who presided over the auction.

Depending on the success of this, Mrs. Aquino would follow up with government disinvestment in 369 companies, worth N6.9 billion.

About 400 foreign and local businessmen were in Manila last week to pick up the companies being discarded.

How far can this disinvestment measure impact on the N66 billion debt inherited from Marcos?



Lukman

Diplomatic observers are doubtful. But there is no stopping the privatisation binge that has become the recent resort of Third World countries, in similar debt throes like the Philippines.

It appeared however last week that Aquino's measures were drawing the necessary endorsement from quarters that mattered. The World Bank has approved a \$350 million loan to Philippines.

OPEC

Meeting on quota

Faced with declining sales and a still-uncertain oil market, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) continues efforts to map out a well-oiled strategy to shore up prices, and perhaps push it up a bit.

Crude oil price still hovers around \$15 dollars a barrel, a disturbing low when contrasted with the 40 dollar a barrel in 1981 and 28 dollars at the beginning of this year. Losses in revenue to OPEC countries as a result of the slump was \$50 billion this year, a situation OPEC President, Riwan Lukman described as traumatic.

OPEC countries are no longer under any illusion that oil prices may crawl back to its old glory. But they are concerned all the same to ensure that prices do not fall too low.

The OPEC Quota Committee met in Geneva last week and it is expected to present a final report to the



Chalker

90th Ministerial meeting this week.

"The committee's report is expected to concentrate on an objective and scientific approach to the distribution of total OPEC production among member countries," a source said last week.

NIGERIA-BRITAIN

Cementing ties

Great Britain is further cementing its ties with its erstwhile colony, Nigeria.

On January 4, British Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth office, Mrs. Lynda Chalker will begin a visit to Nigeria. It would be her first visit, since her appointment early this year — and the fifth by British officials.

Chalker, representing Wallace constituency in Parliament will hold talks with Federal Government officials and visit Kano. She will later depart Nigeria for Henin Republic and Ghana.

As Minister of State in the British Foreign Office, Chalker's responsibilities include the EEC and Sub-Saharan Africa.

British-Nigeria relations went cold during the Buhari administration following disagreements over the fate of political fugitives in Britain. Rapprochement began under the Babangida regime with a visit in September last year by British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Since then, Nigeria's Foreign Minister, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi visited Britain in January.

Reagan: the media backlash

Kevin Kelly examines how a once fawning media have turned against President Reagan.

Comparisons are now constantly being drawn here between the scandal that has engulfed Ronald Reagan's White House and the Watergate affair that culminated in Richard Nixon's resignation as President in 1974. Many aspects of the two situations do seem strikingly similar, but on one important respect — the role of the press — there are crucial differences.

It was the most prestigious newspapers, in particular the *Washington Post*, that uncovered much of the illegality associated with Watergate.

Persistent, hard-hitting investigations, spearheaded by the *Post's* Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, gradually revealed a pattern of official misbehaviour beginning with the June 1972 break-in at Democratic Party headquarters in Washington. The mainstream media acted as the primary catalyst then in causing Congress to initiate its own probes.

This time, however, none of the key revelations in the Iran arms uproar originated in the US press. The first report that the Reagan administration had violated its own embargo on shipping weapons to Iran appeared not in the *Washington Post* but in a Beirut magazine. It was only then that US reporters began following the trail that led from the National Security Council to Israel to Tehran.

US press silent

Indeed, American media outlets conspicuously failed to follow up on a study that ran last June in *Foreign Report*, a bulletin published by the London-based *Economist*.

Foreign Report stated nearly six months ago that a significant shift was underway in US policy towards Iran, with Western armaments beginning to reach the fundamentalist regime for the first time since 1983.

The second major facet of the story — that the profits from the arms deals had been diverted to the Nicaraguan contras — came from a most unlikely source: US Attorney-General Edwin Meese.

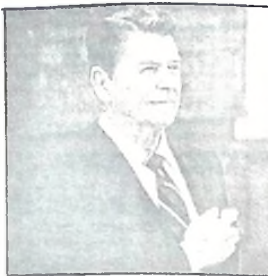
Reports have regularly run in left-wing journals over the years alleging that various countries, including Israel, Saudi Arabia and Argentina, when under military rule, were acting as Washington-sponsored proxies in aiding the contras. Little interest was shown by the mass media in those stories.

Suddenly, however, the newspapers and the airwaves are filled with articles examining the Iran-arms-Contras connection. It is

this furor that seems reminiscent of Watergate, with usually respectful and curious commentators speaking in bitter terms of "White House duplicity" and "the President's appalling performance."

Ronald Reagan described the current scene accurately when he complained in a *Time* magazine interview that "I've never seen the sharks circling like they are now with blood in the water."

Even some of the President's strongest allies in the press have deserted him on this occasion. Widely syndicated conservative columnists like George Will and William Safire have sharply criticised the administration for arming a state that Reagan described not long ago as a part of "a new international Murder, Inc."



Ronald Reagan: the charm has faded

Roland Evans and Richard Novak, right-wing pundits on close terms with the White House, wrote angrily of the "Byzantine twilight of Reagan administration foreign policy," while Charles Krauthammer of the *New Republic*, one of the leading liberal defenders of the "Reagan doctrine," expressed his scorn at this episode.

This turnaround in media treatment of the Reagan presidency, after years of generally supportive coverage, is nothing less than startling. What caused so abrupt and sweeping a change? Partly it is the product of events that simply do not lend themselves to a sympathetic interpretation. Even Vice-President George Bush concedes that serious policy "mistakes" were made. And Reagan himself implicitly acknowledged that a debacle had occurred by dismissing one top aide and accepting another's resignation.

Still, if this were a unique failure on the part of an otherwise unblemished admini-

stration, the press's reaction might not have been quite so vociferous. As it is, the revelations about Iran and the Contras came on top of a long series of gaffes and defeats experienced by Reagan and his aides during the past few months.

The Libya disinformation campaign, the override of the President's veto on South African sanctions, the transparent attempt to portray the failed Iceland summit as a success, the downing of a US cargo plane inside Nicaragua and the Republicans' loss of Senate in last month's elections have all contributed to the cumulative impression of a President who has lost his celebrated Teflon coating.

Reagan's sudden political vulnerability has caused a torrent of pent-up criticisms to be let loose. Some members of the White House press corps have long been sorely frustrated by the President's ability to glide gracefully past what seemed to be damaging stories about his "disengagement" from the doings of his administration.

A few conscientious reporters have repeatedly detailed various presidential lapses and misjudgements, but such stories have seldom had much impact, nor were they doggedly pursued by most established outlets. Reagan's high popularity ratings consistently shielded him from press attacks — to the point where many Washington correspondents plainly decided that it would be easier and more advantageous to their careers to join the chorus singing the President's praises.

Friendly relations

And despite the current stream of condemnations, it is not certain that the media's friendly relations with Reagan have been irreparably ruptured. Some observers note, for example, that the press's mood has not yet reached the level of hostility and blatant disgust that characterised the final stages of both the Nixon and Carter administrations.

Moreover, a few analysts are noticeably reluctant to write a political obituary for the Reagan administration. R W Apple, the *New York Times'* chief White House correspondent, noted that while the President has indeed suffered a precipitous drop of 21 points on his public approval ratings, the same polls contain "evidence that Mr Reagan might be able to regain at least a measure of the public trust he has lost."

CBS reporter Bill Plante has, meanwhile, spoken guardedly of the possibility of a popular backlash against the press should it be perceived as "hounding" Reagan unfairly.

Plante asserted that reporters do have a "duty to do their jobs thoroughly," but that they should also proceed carefully, given the years of rapport with the President that are only now coming to an end — perhaps.



Agony of a child: Malnutrition increasing in many countries.

Saving our children

UNICEF marks its 40th anniversary and draws acute attention to the plight of the world's children.

The fortieth year anniversary of the United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) marked throughout the world last week offered another opportunity for global reflection on the fate of the world's seven million children dying every year. Overall, tremendous progress was reported in the Child Survival Revolution launched by the UNICEF in 1982. The prospect has driven to the back stage the grim pictures of mounting infant mortality rate of previous years.

In the last five years the lives of the over four million children were saved through UNICEF's greatly popularized low-cost preventive methods such as immunization and oral rehydration therapy (ORT). Last week in Lagos, children, mostly under the age of five,

celebrated with UNICEF by putting up thrilling performances at the Eko Holiday Inn, to entertain the anniversary participants. It was a display of beautiful choreography and dance steps. They also rendered the assertive tune of the United Artists "We are the World."

The children, all from Corona School, Victoria Island, had come to add colour to the UNICEF 40th anniversary celebration at which the wife of the President, Mrs. Maryam Babangida was expected. She was to launch a UNICEF publication — "The State of the World's Children 1987." But it was Olikoye Ransome-Kufi the Minister of Health that stood in for the First Lady. The launching of the report itself could not be performed by the minister who

had to leave mid-way into the programme. Mrs. Kanu wife of Navy Commander Ndubuasi Kanu later launched the report.

The anniversary day (December 11) coincided with the arrival of the Torch of Peace back at the United Nations in New York. It began its 86-day journey round the world on September 16 going through 45 countries including Nigeria. A simulation of the Torch's arrival was staged last week in Lagos. Mrs. Kanu received the torch and handed it back to UNICEF for safe-keeping on behalf of children.

Prizes were equally presented to First Earth Run's essay winners. The essay contest was organised for children between the ages of 10 and 12 on one hand, and those between 13 and 15 on the other hand. Busola Fashanu of the Holy Child College won the first prize among the 10 — 12 age set, while Carmen Chukwudolue of the same college also came first in the 13 — 15 age set.

Other winners include Tosin Majeokodunmi from Baptist Boys High School, Abeokuta and Adedotun Sangolana of Ijebu-Ode Grammar School came second and third respectively in the 10 — 12 categories. Regina Ada of New Era College, Benin City came second among the 13 — 15 set, while the third position was shared between Inyang Johnson of Mount Carmel College, Makurdi, and Mary Ibrahim of Government Secondary School Katin Kuru, Niger State. Their prize package included a set of books and money ranging between N60 and N150.

The UNICEF also used the occasion of last week celebration to draw the world's attention to what it called "silent emergency" which it said currently accounted for the death of 280,000 children per week. The UNICEF report in which this revelation was contained identified infection and under nutrition as the greatest unpublicized emergency facing the world's children today, thereby turning the joy of many families into grief.

"No loud emergency, no famine, no drought, no flood, has ever killed 280,000 children in a week. Yet that is what this silent emergency is now doing — every week; according to the report written by Mr. James Grant, Executive Director of UNICEF.

UNICEF refused to accept economic predicaments of nations as rational excuses. It said that infections and malnutrition could still be defeated on a massive scale inspite of economic difficulties.



Both these boys are 4 years old. The problem of undernutrition.

It argues that existing knowledge about low-cost ways of dramatically improving child health — methods such as ORT, immunization, birth spacing, breast-feeding and improved weaning — could make it possible for the lives of seven million children to be saved in one year and to protect normal growth of many millions more — at a price which amounts to, normally, almost all families can afford.

The promotion of ORT and immunization alone saved the lives of 3.5 million children in 1986. UNICEF said it could no longer be seen as "unrealistic" for 14 million world children to die in one year and for millions more to live in

malnutrition and ill-health. "It is therefore time for morality to catch up with capacity," UNICEF said, adding: "We now have the knowledge. We now have the means."

What is now left, according to UNICEF, is for the world to exploit its knowledge and advancement in communication technology and low-cost devices to raise the levels of human health. These devices had helped greatly in advancing the scope of children survival in the developing world in the 80s.

For instance in the '80s fewer than 1 per cent of developing world children were known to have received vaccine against

diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and polio. But today more than 50% are protected against tuberculosis and 36% against measles — a disease which has killed two million children.

The Minister of Health attended to Nigeria's great stride in its child immunization programme last week. He told participants the UNICEF anniversary that about 50 local governments had been motivated to implement primary health systems for their people. He said 30 more local governments would soon join the programme. The minister spoke of brilliant success in UNICEF's programme in Nigeria and said the programme would be integrated into the nation's primary health system.

UNICEF is currently extending three programmes in Nigeria. These include sinking of bore holes, children immunization and oral rehydration therapy. Already substantial progress has been recorded since UNICEF's representative in Nigeria, Mr. Rowland Tuluhungwa, in 20% out of 304 local government areas in the country. About 1,000 bore holes spread over land



James Ghoro

Kwara, Gongola and Cross River States have also been sunk. He said that about one million Nigerian children had been saved largely on account of UNICEF's immunisation campaign.

Mr. Tuluhungwa however regretted the diversion of huge world resources to defence budget at the expense of human health.

"It has been established through recent survey that developing countries with proportionally high expense on defence also witnessed the highest infant mortality rate," Mr. Tuluhungwa observed.

Olumumbo Balogun

Bank workers spoil for war

Bank workers are threatening a Christmas show-down over work conditions.

Following the unresolved impasse between the Management of First Bank and its employees, the members of the National Union of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions (NUBIFI) are on the verge of paralysing the country's economic activities through a nation-wide strike action, starting from December 19.

The union's national executive was not ready to discuss the present state of their grievances but *African Concord* learnt that unlike the present negotiation between the union, government officials and banks' employees association succeeded, the strike would go on. The present crisis has its genesis in the August, 1986 industrial action

by junior workers of the First Bank who kicked against the increase in rent subsidy granted only to senior management staff.

The Industrial Arbitration Panel (IAP) intervened and ordered the workers back to work, allowing the management of the bank to deal with any staff who refused to comply. The decision of the IAP's

ruling appeared to have given the bank's management an elbow room to get rid of its recalcitrant staff. Among the striking junior workers, 31 of them lost their jobs and the management claimed they failed to comply with IAP's ruling.

The sack appears to have given the union members and officials a plausible excuse to vent their anger against their employers. A bank worker who identified himself simply as a union member said their grievances had gone beyond the sack of the 31. He said junior bank workers were agitating for a comprehensive review of their service conditions which tilted only in favour of senior staff. His

Lid put on the naira

The Naira would have continued its upward climb last week but for CBN's intervention.

The Central Bank intervened at the 12th SFEM bidding in Lagos last Thursday to halt the naira from further appreciating against the US dollars. It rejected the marginal rate of N2.9900 to one US dollar which emerged after all bids were recorded.

The ovation from bidders heralding the unprecedented low exchange rate had hardly died down before the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) deputy director of Foreign Operations, Mr. Felix Egwaikide announced that: "The Central Bank is not prepared to sell at less than N3.20. If your rate is below N3.20 and you are ready to buy at N3.20 you are allowed. If you don't want to buy at our rate you will not be penalised."

Dealers whose bid rates were below N3.20 and who may be willing to buy at the CBN determined rate were required to signify their intentions before the close of business hours last Thursday.

That decision cut off 10 banks whose bids fell below N3.20. Initially, 39 banks that submitted bids for the US \$75 million offered for sale were successful. The highest bid rate of N3.5021 to a dollar was quoted by Habib Bank, while Allied Bank quoted the

minimum rate of N2.9900 to a dollar. Thus turned out to be the marginal rate which cleared the market of the sum offered for sale.

In a dramatic move, a representative of the Continental Merchant Bank (CMB) that initially requested for 2.25 million dollars announced that CMB would only buy one million dollars. Other dealers also registered their disapproval but deterred their decision to buy until after consulting their offices.

Later at a press conference, the CBN governor, Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed said that the intervention is justified and consistent with the CBN's role as the regulator of the country's financial system.

The intervention was to ensure he said that the rate did not slip. The Naira must not be appreciated before the economy became responsive to measures enunciated in the Structural Adjustment Programme such as export promotion and inflow of foreign capital. This could not be realised at an exchange rate that is too low, the CBN boss said.

He used the opportunity to debunk the claims of bankers, industrialists, and professionals that the economy was

stilled of cash. He revealed that returns rendered by commercial and merchant banks to CBN indicated that the average liquidity ratio in the banking system was about 50 per cent. This still stood above the minimum liquidity ratio of 25 per cent stipulated by the CBN.

Last Thursday's intervention was the second since the commencement of SFEM 12 weeks ago. The first was in the sixth week when the CBN lowered the marginal rate of N4.2026 to N3.8525 to dollars. The intervention led to an 8.6 per cent appreciation in the external value of the naira.

But the last intervention led to a depreciation of 6.2 per cent against the American dollar, when the naira would have appreciated by 0.33 per cent.

The external value of the naira is now equivalent to 33.25 American Cents compared to 33.33 American Cents last week.

The buying rates fixed for the six other traded currencies last Thursday were N4.5696 (Pound Sterling), N1.5932 (Deutsche Mark), N1.9042 (Swiss Franc), N0.4863 (French Franc), N1.4091 (Dutch Guilder) and N0.0197 (Japanese Yen).

— Nimi Wariboko



Nwachuwa, Labour Minister

argument was in line with one of the protestations in the numerous posters the union had displayed in various financial institutions and its Herbert Macaulay national secretariat in Lagos.

The union argued that the cost of maintaining two management staff in financial institutions exceeded the annual wages of 100 junior workers while "bad debts," which resulted from loans approved by management had gone up to N2 billion. It contended that the amount was enough to create jobs for the country's unemployed graduates and that the millions of naira sent abroad by insurance companies under the guise of spreading risks were never repatriated.

It was the view of the union that the sack of First Bank workers was a direct result of "the patriotic efforts" of

workers who had queried the siphoning of funds abroad and concentrating profits in the hands of senior management staff.

Another union member said First Bank management hid under the junior workers' strike action last August to embark on a massive witch-hunting exercise. The union executive is using the case of a staff at the Ojo Military Cantonment branch of the bank who was sacked even though staff at the branch did not take part in the strike action.

African Concord was informed that the staff, (name withheld) a supervisor, was scheduled to have commenced a senior officers' course in November but had to be sacked. At the IAP, documents were tendered to show that the supervisor worked and in fact balanced his books on August 7, the same day management alleged he was absent from duty. There was also another case of a female secretary at the bank's Agege branch who was allegedly sacked in connection with the strike even though she was on yearly vacation.

A union executive who did not want his name in print told *African Concord* that the IAP had requested First Bank management to go and resolve the issues involved with the affected staff but the management reneged. He was confident that the union executive would muster enough support from its members nation wide if it was forced to embark on the strike.

The National Secretary of the Union, Mr. O. Taiwo — the only member allowed to speak with the press could not be reached for comments. He was said to be "very busy" attending series of meetings with other members of the national executive. Sources at the secretariat said nothing much has happened to make the union change its stand but expressed the hope that current moves might provide solutions.

— Frank Igwebueze

Imminent debt package agreement?

Mid-December is likely to be a crucial period for Nigeria as two important events in Nigeria's debt rescheduling agenda converge.

The first is the meeting on 12 December of Nigeria's commercial bank creditors grouped together under the 'London club'. They will be coming together to assess the agreement negotiated in 20 November between Nigeria and the Barclays Bank-led steering committee which negotiates on their behalf. The agreement was reached only in principle, and has to be ratified by the meeting of all Nigeria's 300 creditor's banks.

The second crucial event is the two day meeting starting on 15 December of Nigeria's official creditors grouped together under the 'Paris Club'. The creditors will be discussing Nigeria's debt rescheduling details with the Western Export credit agencies.

If the two December meetings are successful, then Nigeria will end 1986 with a major debt rescheduling package that includes its two main creditor groups. This will bring to a head a series of negotiations that have been continuing throughout the start of the year. Behind the complex web surrounding the debt talks in Washington and London lies Nigeria's determination not to accept a full IMF loan package. The refusal to take the loan, while at the same time recognising the need for fresh finance from both commercial and official sources, provided one of the main sticking points. First the Paris Club and then, early in the year, the London Club demanded a full IMF agreement before any debt rescheduling could take place. In the end Nigeria took the highly unorthodox step of accepting an IMF loan package in principle, described as a letter of intent. This gives Nigeria costs to \$650 million, however Nigerian officials have stressed they have no intention of drawing on the facility. But the letter of intent and the introduction of a foreign exchange auction in Lagos opened the year for debt

rescheduling talks to begin in earnest with the two clubs. In a memorandum to the creditor banks which met in London during November, the IMF in effect asked 'the banks to treat Nigeria's case sympathetically'.

However, the request fell partly on deaf ears and the commercial banks put stiff conditions in the way before granting any new money and agreeing to reschedule Nigeria's commercial debt. For its part the Nigerian team of negotiators, led by finance minister Dr Chu Okongwu and including the governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Abdulkadir Akmed, other CBN officials, legal advisors and senior staff from the 'troika' of foreign banks that advise Nigeria, SG Warburg, Kuhn Loeb, Lehman Brothers and Lazard Freres, held a tough negotiating stance. At the climax to three weeks of negotiations which produced the draft agreement on 20 November, a banker described discussions as "very strident". Whether the 300 or so creditor banks accept the agreement negotiated on their behalf by the Barclays Bank-led steering committee, cannot be absolutely guaranteed but the strong likelihood is that the banks will accept. Essentially the proposed agreement covers 1987 and the financing gap that without agreement would have meant a debt service equivalent to 72 per cent of exports. This has now been cut to a more manageable 20 per cent. The package is in three parts involving a basic interest margin of 1 1/2 per cent above the London interbank offered rate (LIBOR).

It comprises:

- rescheduling of \$1.5 billion in principle of medium term debt falling due by the end of 1987.

There is a grace period of four years effective from 1 April 1986 with amortisation over six years. Nigeria will have to pay a 1/2 per cent renegotiation fee.

- a restructuring of some \$2 billion in arrears on short term letters of credit, to cover pay-

ments due on or before 26 September 1986. The grace period extends until 1988 after which monthly repayments begin with completion due by December 1990. Nigeria will also have to pay a 1/2 per cent renegotiating fee.

- a \$320 million new loan initially for one year, but with the automatic option of conversion to a medium term loan. There will be a three year grace period followed by amortisation over four years. However there are important provisions 1) Nigeria must provide IMF and World Bank certification that their performance is on the right track and 2) that the agreement will regard to medium term debt and letters of credit is not in default.

All in all, following the December meetings, Nigeria can expect to get roughly \$1 billion in new money, including \$320 million from the commercial banks, and between \$600-700 million from the Paris Club. But the price has been high. Nigerian officials have complained that renegotiation fees are steep, and compare the reluctance of their creditor banks to come-up with a paltry \$320 million, to the US banks which agreed to lend an additional \$6 billion to Mexico. Nigeria has been described by US banks as "the European banks' Mexico". There is evidence that European banks have been more willing to grant Nigeria new money than either the US banks who are less exposed, and the smaller Asian and Middle-East banks.

Whatever the description, the price Nigeria is being asked to pay in return for new money from commercial banks is greater commercially than would have been the case had Nigeria taken the IMF loan. Whether the political advantage

gained by the Nigerian Government refusing to draw on its IMF loan entitlement is worth the exorbitant fees being charged by the commercial banks, is a question the Nigerian public will very soon have to answer.

Nnamdi Anyadike

Africa's contempt for Coca-Cola Cup

The FIFA-Coca-Cola World Cup elicits little interest in Africa and is often marred by withdrawals and disqualifications.

The introduction of the FIFA/Coca-Cola World Cup in 1977 has put more load on FIFA's schedule. With the tournament and the Kodak World Cup, another youth soccer programme, FIFA, whose programme also include the Olympic soccer tournament and the World Cup, holds the final of at least one tournament every year.

Attention has gradually shifted to the youth programmes especially the under 21 tournaments. Enthusiasm is almost matching that of the FIFA World Cup. The first two editions were held in Tunisia and Japan under the title "World Youth Tournament." But as interest and the level of the tournament increased, the FIFA Executive Committee changed the title to FIFA World Youth Championship.

The finals held biennially — usually the year preceding the Olympic Games. While the interest in the youth programmes increases in most continents, Africa, even though has had remarkable successes, still exhibits a low level of participation in such tournaments.

The three representatives in the last year's under 21 tournament; Nigeria, Guinea and Congo played a match each to qualify for the China finals. Confederation of African Football president, Yankelashew Tessema pointed out just before the finals of the Third World Youth Championship in August 1981, that "countries where football has reached a high level have understood that football must be taught at school age."

We structured clubs in the world over, but football programmes for different age groups. Unfortunately, this is not so in Africa," lamented Tessema. He argued that most popular clubs do not possess a seat worth of their names.

"They don't have an infrastructure or trained staff capable of ensuring a rational organisation of football," remarked the CAF president. Tessema further explained that African youths practice football at school age or in the streets. "It is only when a talented young boy is detected by luck that the team starts to have interest in him. Practically speaking, there are no regular championships in most of the African countries."

Perhaps only Egypt presents an exception to the assertion. Most major clubs

such as Ahly National, El-Zamalek, Al-Mugawilum Al-Arab (Arab Contractors) have sport complex and organise competitions in every sport for the youths.

The Union of Europe Football Association (UEFA) organises very popular competitions for the youths at continental level. The summer championships are organised by some clubs and cities for several youth teams of some continents and these attract international participation.

So, African teams from North Africa and Nigeria take part in some of such competitions. Nigerian youth teams, especially the YSFON had won laurels from the competitions.

But there is the dearth of such competitions in Africa. Nigeria and Ghana had about a decade ago organised the Nigerpool Cup for the academics. The West African sub-region recently began to run youth competitions as an after effect of Nigeria's commendable performance in 1983.



Havelange, FIFA president

Only four teams from Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and Cote D'Ivoire took part in the maiden edition in Lagos. The second tournament last year was even beset by more problems. Nigeria, the defending champion withdrew from WAU and its competitors. With problems, ECOWAS youth championship is yet to assume a definite shape. The same applies to the COSAFA Youth tournament in Central Africa.

With the great and unprecedented performance in the under 21 and Kodak World Cup competitions last year, Africa felt the time had come for a separate competition beside the FIFA/Cocacola championship.

Tessema himself promised that CAF would begin a competition for the under 17 in Africa. This appears abandoned on the drawing board. He had five years ago said that the idea of the under 21 competitions was mooted by CAF several years before the World Youth Championship started in 1977.

But this failed because of poor response by African countries. It was only when FIFA got the idea of organising the World Youth Championship and accepted to consider continental championships as qualifying tournament for the final round, that African countries expressed a little interest that the continental competition would be organised.

The apathy for the youth programme is very glaring. The number of those taking part is fewer than that of the senior competition. Seventeen out of 47 member countries of CAF, entered for this on-going tournament. The figure, although shows signs of fluctuation, is an improvement over some of the past competitions.

In 1981, there were 25 entrants, the highest ever recorded with Angola, Congo, Central African Republic and Gabon making their debut. In other years when participation level moves near that of 1981, the competitions were marred by either disqualifications or withdrawals.

Eight countries, Malawi, Madagascar, Senegal, Uganda, Mali, Togo, Cote D'Ivoire and Gambia reduced the competitiveness by their withdrawal in 1979. The same number withdrew in 1983. This year the situation is not better with only 17 entrants.

Mediochre Somalia, winning only the preliminary round match against Uganda may find itself representing Africa. The country scaled through by courtesy of disqualification and withdrawal of Zimbabwe and Mozambique respectively.

Juxtaposed with the spate of withdrawals is the rampant disqualifications. Angola, Ghana and Zimbabwe were culprits. They were thrown out for fielding over aged players. Ghana beat Togo and Zimbabwe Somalia in the first round. Interestingly, both Togo and Somalia are now contenders for places in Chile finals.

— Kuntle Solaja

NIIA's success song

As Nigeria marched towards independence in October 1960, there were great expectations among diplomatic and informed circles about the important role Nigeria will play in African and World affairs by virtue of the country's size, natural and human endowments. However it was also believed that an institution where information about African and world affairs could be collated, analysed and disseminated was needed.

Thus, the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) was established on December 13, 1961 on the basis of this concern. After 25 years of existence, how well has the NIIA justified the hopes and expectations of the founders — especially in terms of fashioning Nigeria's foreign policy? At the NIIA silver jubilee last week, African Concord reporter, Nimi Wariboko talked to the Director-General of the Institute, Professor Gabriel Olusanya.

Q: What will you consider to be the Institute's contribution to the fashioning of Nigeria's foreign policy in the past 25 years.

A: The Institute's major contribution lies in the academic input it has made in foreign policy formulation. The institute was set up to conduct research into every aspect of international relations and to make the results of the research available to government and the Nigerian people for the purpose of foreign policy. Of course in any foreign policy formulation, it is not only the academic input, you have other inputs — practical experience on the field by ambassadors, the general position of the country, the context in which policy is being evolved.

So the basic thing is that the Institute has a responsibility of having an academic input into foreign policy formulation and this has been done beautifully well in the last 25 years.

We have other areas in which indirectly we also contributed to policy formulation. One of the responsibilities we are charged with, is to raise the level of awareness of the Nigerian public in the areas of international relations. And we

have succeeded in doing that by publication of books, journals, monographs, lecture series, with the hope that when you raise the level of consciousness of the Nigerian people in the issues of international relations, they themselves have to influence the direction of foreign policy. As much as we have been able to raise this level of consciousness, this level of awareness, we have also indirectly contributed to the whole process of foreign policy formulation.

Q: What other contributions has the institute made to the Nigerian society?

A: We have published extensively in



Olusanya, D-G, NIIA

the different areas — books, monographs, lecture series — and through this we have been able to disseminate information. We have also been able to get in touch with similar institutions to carry out dialogue so that we have a better understanding of the societies. We had dialogue with the United States, with Soviet Union, with West the Scandinavian countries, with Germany, with China, all these with a Cuba, with Canada. All these with a view to having a deeper insight into their own societies particularly in the areas of policy formulation so that we are better able to understand these societies with which we interact fairly closely, and to which we interact with this knowledge in the whole process of policy formulation.

And we have also used our institute in promoting organisations who are interested in foreign affairs, promoting organisations that are interested in cultural affairs because we regard culture as an essential part of foreign policy.

So all in all I believe that we have been

able to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of our founding fathers. We have done it even when we have financial strains, and perhaps the most potent evidence is that during this celebration we will be launching two publications: "Nigeria's External Relations: The First 25 years," and "Nigeria's External Relations: Agenda for the Future." We have not only contributed in the past, we are contributing even in the present, and we have already taken a peep into the future in order to equip the country much more effectively in dealing with the international world at future dates.

Q: What are the problems confronting the institute?

A: The only problem, which I think is not peculiar to us is finance. I think practically every government organisation is now facing the question of finance given the economic recession. But even then we do not rest on our oars. Only yesterday December 8, at the start of the celebration the president launched an endowment foundation. It is a body of eminent people who have contact at national and international levels. We can use this contact and their influence to generate additional revenue for the institute so that the revenue base can be buoyant. So that we will then be able to pursue effectively our objectives.

We do not believe in endowment fund. Because from our practical experience you call people together, have an endowment fund, you collect a certain amount of money and that is where it ends. The foundation is a permanent foundation. The members will hold offices for four years then about one third or one-half will retire, others will remain to continue and other people will come in.

Q: What is the relationship with the Ministry of External Affairs? Are there any problems?

A: I do not think there is any problem. I think the problem if it exists is not institutional, it is more of personality. We have worked fairly well with the Ministry of External Affairs.

We are not in conflict. We are not part of the Ministry of External Affairs, so that there is no reason why we should be in conflict. We are under the office of the President.

I will say we have good working relations. At times we disagree on policy, and that is what it should be because we are not set up to rubber stamp what they are doing. We are set up to provide when necessary an alternative option to foreign policy of the country. So when we disagree it is mere disagreement and it is expected if we are really to play the function which was assigned to us.

WHEN Samson Amali entered the International School, Ibadan as one of its pioneer students, little did he realize that he was going to be a pioneer in more ways than one.

Later at the University of Ibadan, Samson Amali turned out to be the first Nigerian undergraduate of that institution to have published about five books of plays and poetry while still reading for his first degree. And to cap his list of firsts, he is the pioneer of bi-lingual literary creativity in Nigeria. He writes in Idoma and English simultaneously.

Now an Associate Professor of Theatre Arts at the University of Jos, Dr. Amali says he did not stumble into drama. "I found drama in me and since drama is life, I have no other alternative but to follow the path of life which is drama."

Of his bi-lingual creativity, he says "The Nigerian society is a bi-lingual one and creating works in bi-lingual structure would make room for national understanding and unity" He sees critics as essential to the proper development of creative works. "A writer can learn from a good critic." Until recently, Dr. Samson Amali was the chairman of Benue State Arts Council, Makurdi, and was once on the Federal Government's Arts and Culture delegation to the Peoples Republic of China.

His publications include *ONUGBO MLOKO*, *JOS ORAL HISTORY*, *OHE THE WITCH* and many others. Of the Nobel Award to Wole Soyinka, Amali says, "I am very happy for Wole Soyinka. Very happy indeed."



Adebisin

Amali

Her first name is a mouthful, EGUAYEMIKILECHIMI, but like most things she does, she wouldn't let the unseemingly name drag her back, she simply dipped into the middle of the jaw-breaker and came up with Yemi.

Maria Yemi Adebisin, who teaches Biology at Government Secondary School, Laranto, Jos — says of her vocation. "I love teaching. Being able to impart knowledge thrills me. And reading stimulates me tremendously". A 1979 Zoology graduate of UNIBADAN, she says, during her undergraduate days, if she had had the benefit of career counselling, she would have been in one of the professions. However, she wouldn't let the thought disturb her. Teaching is one thing she says she loves, and not looking back, she went on to acquire a post graduate diploma in Education at UNIJOS "To have a psychology of the students I am teaching and to improve myself."

Perhaps her greatest talent, however, is the still largely unexploited flair for inventing recipes "Cooking is an art" she says with enthusiasm "and I am thinking seriously about writing a book on cookery. I get a lot of pleasure from creating dishes and you need a lot of imagination to achieve success in that

field."

She does not subscribe to the idea of the liberated woman saying "I don't think I am in slavery. So there's no question of liberation". She sees the woman's role as supportive and believes that a man and his wife should live in symbolic existence.

Livestock management appears to be his middle name. Abodunde Sanyaolu, Technical/Product Manager of Pfizer Nigeria Ltd., seem to live and dream animals.

His passion for animal husbandry is palpable, you could almost feel it as he speaks to you about his profession "My ambition is to ensure that the animal health business develops to its limit in Nigeria."

He believes that there is a great potential for the development of animal husbandry and that if these resources are aptly tapped, Nigeria would not only earn increased revenue but feed its teeming population. He is happy at being in Pfizer because it affords him the opportunity to develop his passion. He wants to see a situation where the no-madic cattle rearing would be controlled so that we "can make rapid development".

He says people should not think of agriculture only in the short run, but in the long run which is more important. He sees the promotional aspect of his duties as the "main mission" now that his company is the only one that produces animal drugs in Nigeria.

— Dimeji Popoola



Sanyaolu

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