

NEWBreed

FEBRUARY 1974 30k

AFRICA'S FIRST QUALITY MAGAZINE FOR NEW BREED PEOPLE



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*GENTLEMAN MBU SPEAKS ON
CONTROVERSIAL ETON COLLEGE
AND HIS FUTURE IN POLITICS.

*WHAT MARRIED COUPLES DON'T
KNOW ABOUT SEX.

*THE POP GENERATION.

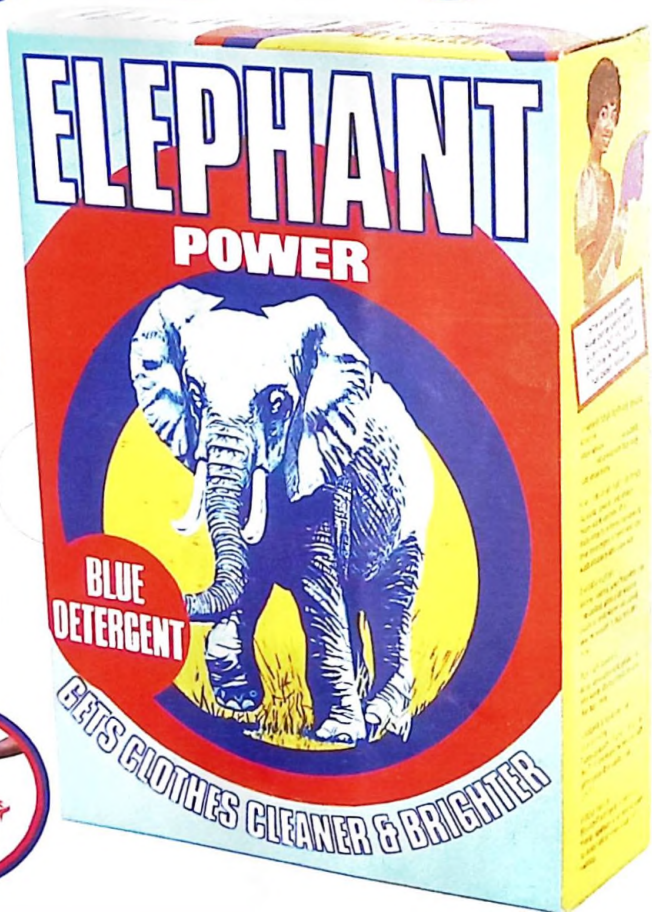
*THE DROUGHT SAMA BITING

*THE WAR FOR ECONOMIC
JUSTICE IN NIGERIA

*PAN AFRICANISM, SOME RECENT
DEVELOPMENT.

*POLITICS SHOULD NOT DELAY
THE IRON & STEEL COMPLEX.

SUPER FIGHT II OF THE CENTURY
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NEWBREAD

AFRICA'S FIRST QUALITY MAGAZINE FOR NEWBREED PEOPLE

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NEXT MONTH

INTERVIEW:
Mrs. Ekpo disagree with
Gowon: She also says:-
"I was only close
politically with Zik. I
was never his Mistress".

SEX FORUM:
The crisis of surplus
Women, no Husbands.

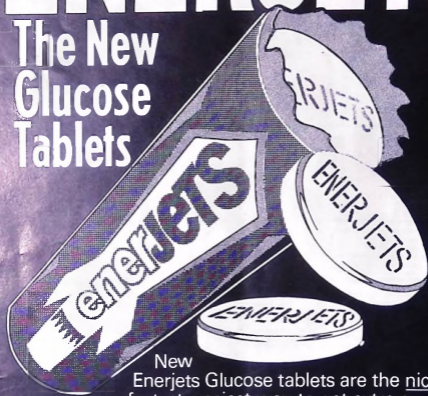
ENTERTAINMENT:
A review of B.B. King
Concert.

All these and more in

NEWBREAD

ENERJETS

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TOP OF THE MONTH

POLITICS: THE WAR FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN NIGERIA:

The Nigerian masses have been used to poverty in the midst of affluence and the oil boom.

But recently "what surprises the poor masses is why at this stage in the career of the military regime, some Nigerians whose credentials entitle them to the club of super-tycoons have taken it upon themselves to advocate a fairer economic deal for the Nigerian poor".

Olu Akaraogun dismisses all the wolf cry on indigenisation and the rich-poor gap conflict and asserts "Wealthy representatives of the professional-merchant class should stop parading themselves as the spokesmen of the poor. They are not speaking for the masses.

"When the time comes, those who are directly affected will speak up or do something about their poverty.

"If the governments have made up their minds NOT to buy-up alien shares on behalf of the people, then nobody should harass the few Nigerians who have the money to play the stock exchange game.

"They are only playing a game in which our government has agreed to play the role of an umpire". Page..... 15



THE DROUGHT SAMARITANS:

As Nigeria witnesses her worst drought in the Northern States, the giant Daily Times waded in with an appeal to "fellow countrymen" to donate generously to help those affected by the drought.

The Editor-in-Chief, *Chris Okolie* while acknowledging the generosity of some anonymous donors dismisses the so called charitable donations as a public relations stunt and a stampede and quest for cheap publicity by some donors.

He regrets that the government also blundered in granting tax concession to donors on Page..... the Editor advises that government should tax our drought samaritans: Page..... 8

THE POLITICS OF IRON AND STEEL COMPLEX:

As far back as 1962, we were told in concrete terms that the Iron and Steel Complex will be commissioned in a few months time. According to the 1962-1968, National Development Plan the federal government had set aside the full expected cost of 60 million Naira for the Steel Complex and a decision on its location was to be taken in a few months time.

We know for a fact today that in spite of what appeared like the well cut and dried plans of the federal government, Nigeria still has no Iron and Steel Complex.

The projected third plan frankly admitted politics as a factor in the delay of this project yet in some recent announcements political considerations have been dismissed and we are assured of this pivotal project.

When and where now are we going to have this Steel project?

Alhaji Ishola Akindele-Eleku warns that ethnic politics should not decide location. Location must be decided by strict economic criteria. He concludes: A misguided attempt to achieve a balance in the geographical location of industries should not prolong ad infinitum the Steel project. Page..... 45

WHAT MARRIED WOMEN DON'T KNOW ABOUT SEX:

The amount of adultery daily committed is escalating.

Marriages crash and people walk out of matrimonial homes in search of sexual gratification.

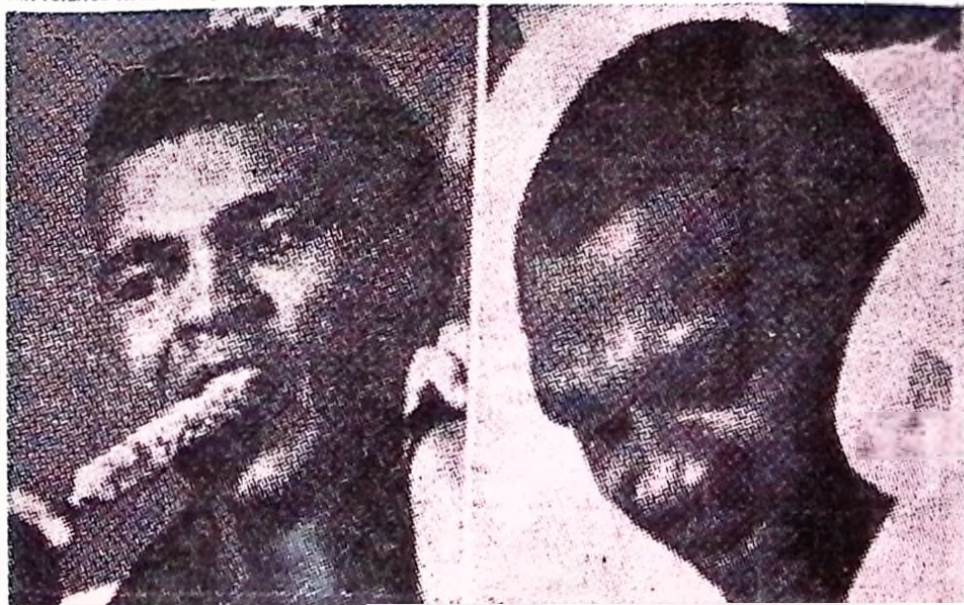
Miss Febisola Akintelure a College Tutor investigates the above cases and reports that the root of these dissatisfactions have sexual origins and a great majority of married couples do not still know enough about sex!

She points out that an exciting sex life adds to the happiness of a marriage and makes such a marriage more successful. If this is lacking, it results in nervous tension which as Sigmund Freud, warned leads to neurosis, an extreme form of which is psychosis. Page..... 27





Ali relaxes with a lolly after the fight



INTERVIEW: GENTLEMAN MBU:

Recently Mr. Mathew Mbu, Politician, Di-
mat, Solicitor, gentleman made history as
he became the first blackman to produce a
child that became the first black boy to be
member of the controversial Eton College
governing Council, the Pop, and Head boy
Carter House, which gives him wide power to
discipline and punish the students, 99.9% who
are white boys.

In this interview Mr. Mbu discusses Eton and
his motivations in sending his son John there.

Speaking on 1976 and his role in Biafra
Gentleman Mbu said "we have been promised
a constituent assembly and what the consti-
tution of Nigeria will be nobody knows. There-
fore, I cannot play a game I do not understand
the rules. My future plan is to continue as a
solicitor and retire as a farmer. If Nigeria
to avoid turning the country into a laboratory
of political experiment and noxious tests, we
must all refrain from the absolute delight of
picking labels because of our obsession for
change.

"I don't believe that any group of people
are specially qualified to rule.

"What Nigeria needs is a content of leader-
ship, responsive and accountable".

On the Nigerian crisis: he said "But for some
of us at the ad-hoc constitutional conference
in 1966, there could have been separate states
like ODUDUWA STATE in the West and the
REPUBLIC OF THE NORTH".

Comparing civilian and military leadership
he said: I cannot defend our record but as
a politician if you are responsible for a minist-
erial woe betide you if you endorse everything that
goes through your hands. This is because you
are answerable to Parliament.

"But the same cannot be said of the military.
The military by itself decide every action and
account to themselves". Page..... 52

**ALI READY TO REGAIN WORLD
CHAMPIONSHIP?:**

Mohammed Ali fulfilled his promise to put
Joe Frazier's light out as part of his contribution
to the energy crisis when he outscored *Frazier*
in the second-super fight of the century at the
Madison Square Garden New York last January
28.

If *Ali* had lost in the historic collision it
could have been the prospect of a dignified
retirement.

Rex Bellamy London Times Sports Analyst
says: although *Ali* won the fight, "*Ali* has not
provided conclusive proof that he is a better
man than *Frazier*, a fighter *Foreman* knocked
down six times and put away in two rounds".

But *Ali* thought super fight II was a better
fight.

Now, he hopes to meet *George Foreman* for
the world championship bout early next year.

From various files and reports from our
Correspondents we present an in-depth review
of the fight of the century. Page.....22

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

***PAN AFRICANISM:**

Some Recent Development: Page.....37

***THE POP GENERATION: Page.....60**

***CRITIC OF BLUES KING—B.B. King
Concert in Nigeria.**

***PACE SETTERS: Dayo Abatan launches
"Talking About 76"; Miss Patricia Oluwalope
gets MBE and Victoria Okoh returns from
tour of Europe.**

***READERS' COMMENTS: Page.....6
(Reactions to Godfatherism and
Delibe's Dilemma).**

NEWBREED

READER'S COMMENT

REACTIONS TO OUR ARTICLE ON GODFATHERISM:

When we say "Godfather" we refer mainly to the Senior Service set of people. A right thinking fellow should by all means secure a better home for his wife. Some good-for-nothing Godfathers tend to satisfy their so-called mistresses outside the matrimonial home. Since Godfatherism/Sugar-daddy has come to stay, what can we do? Some top people will prefer keeping flats for girls outside their homes to going to call-girls in the brothel. But are they not prostitutes too?

OBRANCE VALLEY
Ministry of Works,
ILORIN.

YOUR EFFORT IS COMMENDABLE:

I read an article on godfatherism in your September issue, which has given the clear idea of what is going on in all parts of our society.

I highly commend your effort and your willingness to remove the stain from the eyes of the dog and show the stain back to the dog! The practitioners of godfatherism by now I think would have seen themselves in that mirror.

Godfatherism has been used to rob many of their rights, with it they victimise people who have not got godfathers.

I thank the NEWBREED for bringing out the evils in our society. What interested me most is the category of the practitioners that was mentioned. It's very true. They are the sources of shame in Nigeria today.

Please try more, yours is number one in the globe and it is very educative. Every reasonable Nigerian must praise your effort. But if the self-centred people yield not, their days are numbered.

F. O. Johnson, LAGOS.

THIS COUNTRY IS BAD:

Please give this a space in your NEWBREED Magazine.

It can be seen from the general point of view that the Military take over in this country has not done much good for the common man rather, it appears to be maintaining the status quo. That is, the rich gets richer, the poor gets poorer. The military regime we thought would bring big changes in both our social and economic lives had not fully met our aspirations.

It is too appalling to see some boys with West African School Certificate doing the work of motor park touts with others as mere dock workers. Some highly

educated people are working twenty four hours daily while those less educated have secured easy jobs through their godfathers.

Oh God! our country is bad, I wonder if it will ever become good again!! I remember a man telling his friend how they went for an interview where most of them passed but ask me what happened next, a group of different people who never attended the interview was employed to work, what about that?

The fact is that their Godfathers brought them appointment papers in their houses. This type of tragedy takes place even in Government Ministries. These days you don't hope to get a job if you try to go to a State Employment Bureau and they find out that you originate from another state. Believe you me they are, surely going to drive you away.

I had a friend who bribed his way into one of the big firms with sixty Naira. He rejected my advice of giving the corrupt Personnel Office marked notes on the grounds that a Senior Police Officer had earlier paid Seventy Naira to get his brother a job of ₦35 a month. In fact this country is becoming the devil's workshop. Take your child in the evening with a bottle of whisky or its equivalent to a principal's house and you make a quick admission for him. Take a sum of money with you to the examination body, all you have to do is look for an agent of a 'Big Brother' working there and you obtain a certificate over night.

Oh Godfatherism is ruining our country.

Poor P.A. Gentle,
Port-Harcourt.

GODFATHERISM!

Your article on Godfatherism (Sept.— issue) gives a vivid picture of life in our present day society. Merit or progress is no longer achieved through distinctive performance. I know of a girl in Class III whose very poor performance in class work and exam prompted her Principal to comment in her report card that—if she failed to make a remarkable improvement in the next term, she would be demoted or expelled. Of-course, she did not go back to the school to improve on her past performance. Instead, a Godfather pushed her into one of our Advanced Teachers' Colleges. And with the Godfathers' setting and marking her papers, she will certainly come out with the Grade I Certificate.

Perhaps she will be back to teach again that KANO is in East Central State. That's the phenomenon of our society!!!

PAT. OLISA OKWUCHUKWU
Box 527, PORT-HARCOURT.

DILIBE'S DILEMMA RE-ECHOES: WHAT MR. MATHEW IMBU, FATHER OF JOHN MBU SAYS:

In the September edition of NEWBREED, your contributing Editor Mr. Ok Akaraogun made the following statement at page 45 of para 1 paragraphs 2 and 3: "There was the famous case of a Nigerian who was supposed to be at Eton. He was not there, but was later found to be working in the kitchen of a London restaurant.

To persuade him to go back to school, his father gave him a flat in London and a sports car. Such a child will give ordinary Nigerian parents hypertension. And in any case, the question is: 'What is wrong with Nigerian education?'

I assume that Mr. Akaraogun was referring to the case of my son John Mbu who, following a minor misunderstanding with his Nigerian guardian and my childhood friend, left College for a few days without the permission of the school authorities. I will concede to Mr. Akaraogun the right to air his views on Dilibe Onyeama's dilemma. Unfortunately, Mr. Akaraogun allowed his rather lucid article on Dilibe to be marred by sheer extravagance of language and unpardonable inaccuracy when dealing with the part that I was supposed to have played in persuading John to return to Eton. John had no misunderstanding with the school authorities and did not need any persuasion to return to school.

There is therefore no iota of truth whatsoever in Mr. Akaraogun's statement that I gave John a flat in London and a sports car.

Like any responsible father, the duty I owe my son is parental care. This obligation which parents owe their children is not synonymous with indulging a child in luxury. John's case is not an exception. As a father, I will drown at the very thought of indulging my son in luxuries of the type described in Mr. Akaraogun's article even if such luxuries were gifts from a good Samaritan. Every parent owes his child a sacred duty of care and responsible upbringing. I can do without any sermon from the amount on what duty I owe my child.

It might help to dispel some cynicism—

about Dilibe's experience at Eton if you would be kind enough to publish the enclosed copy of the letter published in Eton College Chronicle of May 1972 by John. John wrote in the school chronicle to give his own views about life at Eton and his experience generally about schooling in England.

Mr. Akaraogun may be right in advocating a total ban on youngsters going abroad for their education. It is my contention that many will beg to differ from his views.

Nehru the nationalist and renowned statesman did not become less Indian in nature simply because his father sent him to Harrow and Cambridge at an early age. Dilibe Onyeama's dilemma in many respects might be unique.

M. T. Mbu, Lagos.

WHAT JOHN MBU, A NIGERIAN STUDENT AT ETON SAYS:

Dear Sir,

In response to the publication of Mr. Onyeama's book 'Nigger at Eton', I would like to raise a few points. I have experienced a similar upbringing to his. I was born in England, but went to primary school in Nigeria, as Mr. Onyeama did, and then went to a preparatory school in England. He talks at some length about his experiences at his primary school, and of the sensitivity of the Nigerian as a person. I would agree with him that the Nigerian is aroused and disturbed by verbal insults much more than the Englishman, and that violence is used a great deal more in that country. But my experiences were a little different at my primary school. There are much tougher places than the English equivalent, but the cruelties to which Mr. Onyeama refers never took place in my life.

I came to England, as I have said, for my preparatory school education and I went to a somewhat larger school than Mr. Onyeama's, where there was an emphasis on accepting a multi-racial intake. I never had any difficulties or perceived any racial prejudice for or against me.

On coming to Eton, I never suffered or even considered the worries that Mr. Onyeama seems to have had. I was immediately accepted, and treated no differently by all my contemporaries, and found myself fairly popular, so it seemed. Two boys disliked me for the first half, but this was because they felt I was conceited and bumptious, and not for any racial reason. My friends told them to stop behaving so ridiculously, and I am

the greatest of friends with these two now. I have never suffered any racial insult from boys at the School, even from those who dislike me. Again, I have never noticed any conspicuous avoidance by anybody which Mr. Onyeama seems to have experienced.

When I arrived at the School, the masters did show a certain amount of friendly interest, but I consider this to be because of my own character rather than any so-called colour prejudice. They certainly never showed me the favours of letting me off rips or not punishing me in the same way as the other boys. Perhaps it was Mr. Onyeama's lack of brightness that caused allowances to be made. As for the misconception that Africans are not as clever as whites, I have had absolutely no reason to suspect this and it has never even entered my mind. I have never experienced any instances of unfair treatment by masters, boys, staff or anybody.

Mr. Onyeama shows himself to be rather an exhibitionist in the realms of his



Mr. Dilibe Onyeama (Niger at Eton)

sporting achievement. I have not noticed any crowd-pulling tendency because of my colour, much as I like spectators. I think I would agree with Mr. Onyeama's admirers that Africans are, in general, better at games. I don't consider this a misconception that, Africans in general have a much finer physique than the average English man and so naturally are slightly better at games.

Mr. Onyeama discusses his own conspicuousness in the street. Tourists, I have found, do photograph me perhaps more than other boys, but I have never been accosted on racial grounds and I'm afraid I don't feel the same pride as Mr. Onyeama in walking down the street in School uniform.

Generally, in my experiences at Eton, I find that the unfortunate occurrences

that Mr. Onyeama claims to have taken place have never happened to me in any form.

JOHN MBU,
Eton, College, London.

DILIBE ONYEAMA—EXAMPLE OF FELA'S SHEN-SHEMA:

I need not spin the usual yarn of telling you how ardent or keen I am on your up-to-date magazine. I bet there'll never be another like yours for years.

I read with great interest your Sept. '73 issue which was very rich in content. The Dilibe's dilemma by Olu Akaraogun really attracted my attention. It was good and thought provoking.

I had earlier read about Dilibe in one of our local weeklies, sometime earlier last year. In that article, the writer seemed to be cajoling, or envying Dilibe. He didn't go as far as to condemn Dilibe for his bad impression of the black race. Rather, he seemed to have supported Dilibe. I made my feelings known to the editor that I didn't support his views, hoping that it would be published, but it was not. In the former, I wrote that to me, Dilibe is an example of Fela's SHEN SHEMA: BLACK MAN WHEY HE DEY DO LIKE WHITEMAN EVERYDAY.

How can he feel like that for his fellow blacks and still condemn the way he was treated at Eton? But Mr. Olu Akaraogun enlightened me better when he wrote in the NEWBREED version that "what probably galled them was the sickening falsehood of a black man trying desperately to become a white man". No doubt Dilibe has really been brain washed and this fact does not sink to him. He deserves no mercy as there are others who had gone through the same process and still didn't lose their head.

As for his description of African girls, I think he's got an eye-defect, for he couldn't have failed to see real black chicks flopping the streets of London or any other country in Europe. I think the fact is that he is too tied to the whitey's apron that he is incapable of realising that a 'black is beautiful'.

One must congratulate Olu Akaraogun for his commendable article and must praise the magazine for past good articles.

I also wish that the magazine should portray classical beauties as of past. The only snag is its lateness but I think it has nearly bridged the gap.

One can say confidently that NEWBREED is really Africa's first quality—magazine. For this, I say bravo for job well done.

Idris Tayo Takuro
KADUNA, N. C.S.

CHAT WITH THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

DROUGHT AND THE SAMARITANS



On Monday November 12 1973 the Daily Times of Nigeria launched a dramatic "SOS" to "fellow country men" to donate money and food in aid of drought sufferers in parts of the Northern States.

About 24 hours later, a cheque for ₦10,000 was handed in. This ceremony was lavishly reported in the front page of the Daily Times of November 13, 1973. What followed next was a flood of corporate cheques which were sent in as donations to the drought relief fund. The Daily Times reported each ceremony in which corporation chieftains handed in their cheques.

We saw the broad capitalist smiles of Boardmen as they stingily wrote out their cheques. Anyway what is amusing about a national disaster to warrant the broad smiles that were beamed out in our newspaper. The presentation ceremony of "CHEQUES GIVERS" looked like a party for the well fed.

This disgraceful demonstration of stinginess became so noticeable that the New Nigerian was provoked to run a front page editorial condemning several peanut donations in their issue of December 19, 1973 headlined—"A Duty to Do". Part of the editorial reads: "While individuals have on the whole been generous, the same cannot be said about the commercial sector. The leading culprits have been oil companies and banks whose donations became yardsticks by which other firms decided theirs.

"One of the leading oil companies which is absolutely dripping with money gave a miserable 20,000 Naira to the drought appeal fund. Another Bank with declared profit of ₦10 million contributed a measly 15,000 Naira. There seems to be going on a kind of silent dutch action as if to see who will contribute least. This is the disgraceful and unacceptable face of capitalism.

"We can only hope that more substantial allocations to state relief funds are being considered by the major companies and banks. In case they need reminding, this is an emergency; in other countries there would have been a slight levy on all commercial undertakings".

OUR MILLIONAIRES:

I took a very keen interest in keeping a record of individuals who donated. The names of our flamboyant super tycoons and leaders of thought were conspicuously missing.

Yet this group of people propagate the concept of self sacrifice and service to the nation.

This was a good case for our Nigerian millionaires and capitalists who preach "pragmatic socialism" to have donated privately without seeking the present wave of cheap publicity.

Another interesting fact is that while most of the big names that handed in company money, seem personally to have enjoyed the publicity, fame and philanthropy associated with charity, it has no bearing with their personal sacrifice. I mean, it was not their own money, yet they pretended that they were messiahs of charity.

My worry is that the general public may not see through the clever tricks interwoven in this public relations bungle.

When publicity obsessed companies and tycoons gave their small contribution, one of my worst fears was that the donation could lead to claim for concessions from their income tax assessment as this could be classified under "Allowable donations".

Then came the shock announcement in the Press (December 28, 1973 Daily Times) that:-

"Companies which contribute to the Federal Government approved drought relief funds will now be granted necessary income tax relief.

"Those that donated to other public funds established by the Federal or State Governments for the relief of drought or any other national disaster in any part of the country are also to enjoy tax relief.

"This follows the decision of the Federal Government to amend the Companies Income Tax Act of 1961 to enable firms which contribute to such funds to be granted tax relief".

I do not think that this is a clever way by our government to arrest the drought or to generate income/food and to aid our drought victims.

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TASTES RIGHT



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CHAT WITH THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

DROUGHT & THE SAMARITANS

The idea of charity donation is an expression of concern and personal sacrifice. Now if government provides for a scheme for companies and tycoons to evade tax through donations into a publicity campaign for their companies, how can we know whether they are making corporate sacrifice or they are merely engaging in a publicity stunt.

I believe it is not too late for government to withdraw this tax concessions. The old rigid law which was amended by Decree No.10 of April 1, 1971 is best for our country. (See box for comments by our Tax analyst in residence).

This brings us to the role of drought had always been with year's drought was rather severe. was spotlighted in most of the 1973. If anything it was more than to gird their loins for difficult governments in the affected areas red for a crucial war with the

Governments have actually given affected areas, but when did it about the present drought situation newspapers. Governments never They seem to have been indifferent

Not until the Daily Times began of State did not visit and see for and ravages of the drought. tries were reported affected by the Adamu of the Daily Times, "Nigeria these countries that it dispatched these countries with its handsome led the missions were some militarily terribly from the drought".

per capita income is about ₦70,000 Nigeria must stop acting like a rich, design of her international or African

To put the message straight—on the plank of international diplo—the crisis of poverty. Nigerian merit could afford to be inward home.

the Daily Times of "launching the Rejecting this suggestion, Chairman entirely my idea and my aim was that his aim was humanitarian but organisation like the Daily Times that the right spirit of donation is—"when you offer a gift, let not left hand is doing.

on sack cloth and ashes but anoint not appear to people to be fasting will know these and reward you". if lavish publicity is given to donate.

There were some anonymous donors. These anonymous donors were just as helpful as those who gave their own donation with fanfare, regardless of the amount of donation given.

Those who are attracted to donate because of other donors and the glare of publicity given are not sincere charity givers.

They are only using this occasion to keep up with the rich Jones in our acquisitive society.

Again while people in the drought affected areas were suffering, some people in this very drought



Gen. Gowon

Chairman Jose



government since the drought. The us. The difference now is that last

The drifting sands of the Sahara major dailies late in 1972 and early enough warning for the sand and sundry times ahead. Most especially, the had ample opportunity to get ge-lements.

some financial assistance to the happen? We found with grief tion initially through foreign based acted or made any major plan. initially.

their massive campaign, our Head himself on the spot the severity,

Yet when other African coun- drought disaster, writes Haroun ria was so moved by the plight of missions to present the leaders of contributions. Among those who ry governors whose states now su-

Nigeria is a poor country. Our one of the lowest in the world. powerful industrial nation in the can diplomacy.

Nigeria should not dash out money lomacy when we are saddled with at her present stage of develop- looking. Charity should begin at

Some people have also accused scheme to boost their image".

man Babatunde Jose said "It is humanitarian". There is no doubt the argument continues that an of Nigeria would have known better according to the biblical dogma, your right hand know what your

"And when you fast do not put your forehead so that you may but your father who sees in secret

I have listened to argument that nors, it would influence others to

region were busy collecting their new Rolls Royce cars and did not even haggle over paying #57,000 customs duty on a limousine. This goes to show how ridiculous our country is.

Haroun Adamu again was not wrong when he wrote in the Sunday Times of December 2, 1973; "there are still some sections of this country—an important section at that—who still would not believe either their ears or their eyes as to what they hear or see about the drought. Some of the reports on the drought this section claims is exaggerated".

This section of the country argues that the drought has been turned to a political and poverty campaign. But drought is certainly not the only national disaster Nigeria has experienced. They continued, "there is grinding poverty in every part of Nigeria". Some of them argue that: "with all the publicity and hullabaloo being raised on the drought issue, one is tempted to wonder if this seemingly phenomenal situation has had any parity elsewhere in Nigeria—especially—in recent times. At once one finds a near parallel—the war torn areas of Eastern States and the Benin disaster of some years ago.

In the case of the war affected areas there were known extreme scarcities of basic living essentials. We heard about the kwashiorkor children who pleaded with the world for aid to cope with starvation.

Pursuing the situation further, whereas wars or drought situations are rather unhappy times yielding some of the most bitter and painful experiences any set of human beings are exposed to, it is, indeed, a glorious thing for the cries of the afflicted to be heard.

Thanks to the Daily Times for launching the campaign, however it looks as if the Daily Times who championed the campaign was too busy collecting other peoples cheques that they almost forgot to hand in their own cheque, and thanks too to the people of this country for their generous donations, despite the fact that some donors were motivated by the hunger for cheap publicity. Perhaps too, there's another angle to the donor's stampede for publicity which was disguised as humanitarianism.

An expert opinion does not see the situation normalising with the coming of the rains some three or four months hence because "the land is so caked and baked that whatever amount of moisture that descends on the land will only flow at the surface, not permeating deep enough to the required level for crops survival.

It is a good thing that both governments, commercial firms and individuals have shown concern and sympathy for the victims of the present drought. That is how it should be. Whenever there is a natural disaster anywhere in the country, the same spirit of sympathy all round should be evinced. In this regard it is significant that the Benin flood victims and the three Eastern States, shortly after the civil war ended in 1970, were perhaps in equally desperate circumstances as the drought affected areas. But at that time there was no similar effort by our giant oligopolies to alleviate suffering in a practical manner through donations. No newspapers crusaded for appeal funds. The people were virtually abandoned to their fate. The saving grace was the generosity of the Yakubu Gowon Administration completed with the aid of International Relief Organisations.

Let us hope that Nigerians from all works of life, the mass media and the large industrial and commercial concerns have learnt a big lesson from the recent drought in that every national disaster should be handled with similar expediency.

Finally, it is our fervent hope that the money donated will get to the affected peasants they are meant for. Chairman Jose deserves the unstinted praise of all Nigerians. He demonstrated sympathy, courage and initiative in a serious situation when our governments seemed to be unaware of what to do about the drought victims. It is his duty as well as that of his colleagues on the drought relief committee to see to it that the donations safely get home to their intended destination.

NOTES ON CHARITABLE DONATIONS UNDER THE COMPANIES INCOME TAX ACT: By our Tax Analyst in residence (O.N. George)

The General Rule for determining whether any item of expenditure is deductible or not when one is computing the profit or loss of a company for the purposes of Income Tax is to be found under Sections 27 and 28 of the Companies Income Tax Act, 1961 (C.I.T.A. 1961). Certain expenses are strictly forbidden as allowable deductions, e.g. expenses incurred in acquiring a capital asset etc. Others are allowable deductions if the Inland Revenue Department is generally of the opinion that, having regard to the generally accepted accounting principles and commercial practice in regard to the particular expenses, they ought to be allowed as deduction also for Income Tax purposes. We may regard this second category as "permissible" deductions and they include a wide variety of expenses such as Repairs/Renewals, Bad Debts, Donations to Charities, Subscriptions to certain Associations or Clubs etc.

The "permissible" category of deductible expenses is not exhaustively defined anywhere in the Income Tax Laws.

Therefore, particular expenses may have to be negotiated with the Inland Revenue Department from time to time before they are passed for deduction in any particular situation. As men-

tioned earlier, the Inland Revenue Department usually follow the generally accepted accounting and commercial practice of the time in regard to the bulk of these expenses and allow or disallow such items in the Income tax computations. However, with regard to "Donations and Subscriptions" the Inland Revenue Department have always found it necessary to restrict the extent of the allowable items.

Until fairly recently, a company having to make any gift or grant towards charity was not in a position to enjoy any tax advantage by claiming such a gift as deductible expenditure when the donor company's profits are being computed for Income Tax purposes. The usual standard for determining whether a company was able to claim such an amount as a deduction in the tax arithmetic was not judged by the amount of the social or economic benefit which the society had derived or was likely to derive from the gift, but whether the gift had directly contributed to the profit earning capacity of the donor. Thus a gift to a hospital to subsidize its finances or to set up a Research Unit was not by itself allowable deduction, unless there was evidence that the particular hospital was often used by the workers of the donor company for

their treatment.

This somewhat rigid position was modified when Decree No.10 of 1st April 1971 was promulgated. Under that decree certain type of donations e.g. donations to certain educational institutions, donations to the Armed Force Welfare Fund etc. were specifically allowed to be deductible expenses subject to the condition that the donor company must have earned sufficient profit out of which the donation was in fact made. In any event, the allowable donation cannot exceed an amount which is 10% of the total taxable profit of the company for that year before allowing for the deduction. Under the decree therefore a company showing tax losses cannot claim these donations as allowable expenses although another company showing profits may be able to claim identical expenses as allowable deductions for tax purposes.

This amendment may therefore be seen as a deliberate Government Policy to encourage companies to make generous contributions directly to socially worthwhile causes. Consequently, the extension of the decree to the current contributions to the Drought Relief Fund is not altogether unexpected.

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MISS VICTORIA OKOH:

Miss Victoria Okoh, Secretary to the Solicitor General of Lagos State, returned recently from a one-week whistling tour of Europe and the Middle-East which included venues like Athens, Cairo, Lebanon, Barbados and Barbeque. She visited ancient ruins, usually identified with these places and her comment on the Restaurants and Hotels was "there are really first class hotels and restaurants but there are low grade ones as well".

Miss Okoh who left Nigeria for England in 1958, attended St. Francis College Birmingham, and later attended St. Gordores College Hamstead in London. She returned to Nigeria finally in 1971 and took up her present post which she described as "very interesting".

Commenting on men in general, she said "they are like babies, one should try to overlook and ignore many things they do".

She thinks "A man should have a conscience and not be self-centered. Among the things he should possess are self-respect and a high taste for quality".

Vicky, a combination of old and new is quite fashionable but she holds a restricted outlook to music, she prefers classical instruments.

Talking about the social life in Lagos she said "I don't really welcome the so called high society in Lagos, I don't think I can go into it at all".

Her main interest include travelling and-cooking, she loves cooking both native and foreign dishes.



MRS. PATRICIA OLUWOLE:

Mrs. Patricia Oluwole, Personal Assistant to the Managing Director of the Barclays Bank who was recently awarded "Member of the most Excellent Order of the British Empire" is travelling to England shortly to receive the honour from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II of England. The award will be presented to her at the Buckingham Palace, London.

Asked about what impact the M.B.E., an order associated with the old aristocratic England, has on her, she said "the honour hasn't any effect on me personally, but I think it is just a recognition of my services to the Commonwealth".

She thinks one of her greatest achievements was working as Personal Assistant at the State House in Tanzania; "that was the first time the Tanzanian government employed a black at such a post, I feel this was a breakthrough, since it happened in 1962 right at the threshold of Tanzania's Independence".

Patricia, a West Indian who was born in Trinidad, came to Nigeria in 1965. Asked how she adapted herself to the Nigerian Society, she said, "Nigeria is like Trinidad. The people, food and weather are similar. Anywhere one goes, one has to adapt very quickly".

Patricia, who prefers "quiet elegance" in fashion, studied Secretaryship at Oxford Commercial College in Trinidad and attended Hillcroft College in Surrey, England to broaden her outlook generally.

She was married to the late *Chief (Dr.) Taiwo Oluwole*. She has no plan yet to re-marry. When asked about her "ideal man" she said: "You can't put people in categories, when you meet somebody and you find his characteristics acceptable, you like him. I like people because of their qualities".



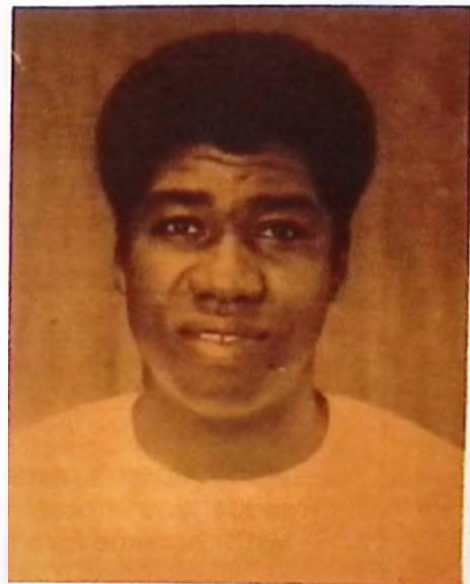
MR. DAYO ABATAN:

"Talking about '76" a pamphlet written by *Mr. Dayo Abatan* was launched at the University of Lagos on January 11, 1974.

Dayo said the pamphlet which discusses important issues in the 1976 dateline debate, "is my own humble contribution to the great debate which the Head of State called for at the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, that those who have ideas which may be helpfully given to the public might do so".

He thinks he inherited political inclination from his father, a former Action Group Councillor at Abeokuta. "I am not an heir to political history. Although I inherited this inclination from my father, I developed political ideologies of my own" he said.

Mr. Abatan, a Political Scientist, former Student Leader and activist, holds the opinion that youth participation in moulding the future of this country is negligible. "Youths have def-



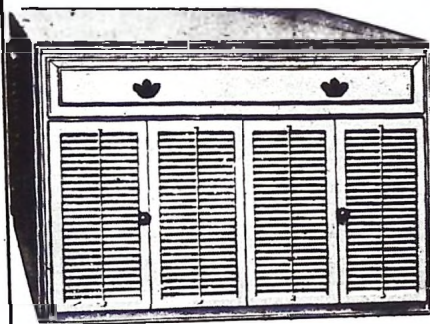
cated most of their time to criticizing the old political regime, when a member of the old regime talks, they will be the first to criticize. This is a negative contribution, I hope this is going to be the beginning of positive contribution".

Talking about the participation of old political leaders in the new government, he said "there should be no ban on old political leaders in running for the election, but they should not be allowed to resuscitate under their old political groups or structure".

About his probability of going into politics *Dayo*, currently a dealer in textiles and home delivery cars said, "that is not yet on my diary. It depends on the climate, I wouldn't go into politics under the climate threaded with military men".

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the war for economic justice in nigeria

By Olu Akaraogun.

If the utterances of certain members of the Nigerian plutocratic elite are to be believed, there may be a change for the better, in the indeterminate future, for the poor and dispossessed Nigerian masses.

Suddenly, a number of eminent and wealthy Nigerians have taken it upon themselves to advocate for an improvement in the economic status of ordinary Nigerians. The conflict between the rich and the poor classes is neither new nor peculiar to our country.

Many thoughtful Nigerians, since independence, have warned that unless we narrow the economic gap between the rich and the poor, we should get ready for a grim and ruthless class warfare.

All through the first republic, the businessmen-politicians who bartered and traded in our parliaments pretended that the problem did not exist.

What is surprising to the poor masses is why at this stage in the career of the military regime, some Nigerians whose credentials entitle them to the club of super-tycoons have taken it upon themselves to advocate a fairer economic deal for the Nigerian poor.

Not that the rich are unanimous in what should be done to better the economic status of 99 per cent of Nigerians who live in abject poverty.

As soon as Chief Obafemi Awolowo made his famous speech at Ife University complaining about the widening gap between the rich and poor classes in Nigeria, a heavyweight member of the ruling class, Major-General Usman Katsina declared, apparently in earnest, that there was no gap between the rich and the poor in our country.

As far as the General was concerned, the social classes in Nigeria have always enjoyed economic equality.

The poor masses had hardly recovered from the shock of the Awolowo-Katsina exchanges when some members of the Nigerian elite started on the pages of newspapers, a verbal warfare on the danger of the rich-poor conflict.

This controversy was sparked off by the implementation of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion decree which is to come into effect in April 1974.

The Chief "antagonists" in this debate are Alhaji Femi Okunnu, who is Federal Commissioner for Works and Housing and Chief Henry Fajemirokun who is a very successful businessman and the President of the Association of Nigerian Chambers of Commerce, Industries and Mines.

Before going into the Federal Cabinet, Alhaji Femi Okunnu was a student activist in London; he was a member of the famous Committee of Ten and a practising barrister in Lagos. I don't know if Alhaji Okunnu claims to be a committed socialist, but before joining the federal cabinet the impression got around that he was one of a group of young intellectuals who had a radical approach to the country's problems.

Chief Fajemirokun has always been a businessman, except for the brief period when he flirted with trade unionism when he was a civil servant in the Ministry of Communications way back in the 1950's.

Alhaji Okunnu, sometime ago delivered an address to the Association of Advertising Practitioners in Nigeria wherein he expressed fears about the way the indigenisation decree is being implemented.

The substance of his message was that if care was not taken, when aliens move out of certain areas of business (those listed in schedules 1 and 2 of the Nigerian

Enterprises Promotion decree) their place will be taken by a handful of fabulously rich Nigerians to the exclusion of millions of ordinary Nigerians.

In other words, at the end of the day, we will find that the practical effect of the indigenisation decree is to create a new class of Nigerian millionaires—just a handful of them.

According to Alhaji Okunnu this was not the intention of the Federal Government which passed the indigenisation decree.

There are other soul-stirring passages in Alhaji Okunnu's famous article published in the Sunday Times issue of December 2, 1973 in which he continued his debate on the rich-poor conflict.

I quote some of them:

"A distributive equity is therefore, an important cornerstone in the set of national objectives for the government's programme of reconstruction and social reform".

In another passage, Alhaji Okunnu said:

"It should be clearly understood that this government is not a rich man's government; it is a government of all the people. It aims at making Nigeria a just and egalitarian society and a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens, not a few."

Major Gen. Hassan



Barrister Awolowo



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THE WAR FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN NIGERIA

Finally, Alhaji Okunnu asserted.

"It is the duty of government to prevent a class war now or in the near future".

For his part, in an address to some indigenous businessmen, Chief Fajemirokun declared:

"The Commissioner's (Okunnu) argument that a limit should be set to the number of the sale of equity capital of all the businesses in Schedule Two (curiously, he did not mention the value of shares which a Nigerian citizen can buy) is tantamount to advocating that it was better that the decree failed, than to allow Nigerian citizens—or associations" with the required resources to purchase those shares. This is more of an anti-thesis to patriotism".

In other words, since there is no prescribed upper limit to the wealth a Nigerian citizen can acquire, every citizen should be free to buy as many company shares and businesses which his financial resources allow.

To push the matter to its logical extreme (although Chief Fajemirokun did not say so) it is perfectly alright if one or two Nigerians bought all the alien businesses—they are perfectly within their legal rights.

This was how the battle line was drawn before other Nigerians waded into the newspaper controversy about the conflict of the rich and poor Nigerians.

Now, what are the masses of poor Nigerians who are directly affected to make of this debate among members of the plutocratic elite?

The first thing to note is that the poor masses are baffled, disillusioned and disenchanted. They are tired of being used as convenient ladders by demagogues and self-appointed advocates who whip up the social question in their aspiration to join the charmed circle of the rich elite.

There is a feeling that they have heard

.....MEMBERS OF THE NIGERIAN ELITE WITH AN EYE TO 1976 AND AFTER SHOULD STOP PLAYING GAMES WITH THE GRINDING POVERTY OF THE MASSES..... ARE WE GOING TO FIND OUT WHAT THE POOR MASSES ARE THINKING OR ARE WE WAITING FOR THAT TIME WHEN THEY WILL FORCE US TO LISTEN?

all of this before without any change for the better in their lot.

When the British colonialists left and Nigerian ministers took their place, the poor had hoped their own brothers would look after their welfare. What really happened?

Ministers and sundry politicians periodically descended on the rural areas at election times. They promised heaven on earth provided they were voted into power. After the elections, they all disappeared into Lagos and the former regional capitals where they immediately engaged in all kinds of business, both straight and shady.

All through the first republic, politics became synonymous with big business. And the poor are still where they were before the British left.

The masses have a short memory, it is true, but not where the matter at hand concerns their very livelihood.

So, in this day and age, the credentials and bona fides of whoever sets himself up as the champion of the masses are very much in question.

It is plain commonsense; members of the educated and rich elite can never be sincere advocates for economic justice in any society, let alone in Nigeria.

The emancipation of the Nigerian masses from economic serfdom has to be the act of the masses, not that of wealthy "sympathisers" who in reality do not want genuine economic justice, but only wish to pass more crumbs to the masses from the overstuffed table of the rich.

I think we should not attach undue importance to the rich-poor debate in which Chief Awolowo, General Katsina, Chief Fajemirokun, Alhaji F. Okunnu and Mr. Ademola Thomas have featured prominently.

It does not become a significant issue until it is raised and debated by members of the poor masses who daily wear the shoes of grinding poverty and know where they pinch.

At this stage I should like to remind the Nigerian elite of the attitude adopted by Jesus Christ towards the poor.

The Christian bible relates that when an admiring woman poured a jar of costly ointment on Jesus' feet, some of those around rebuked her for wasting the costly ointment. They thought she should have sold it and used the proceeds to help the poor.

Jesus Christ, the bible tells us, approved of the action of the woman, saying that he should not be denied a little luxury since the poor are always around and anybody who wished to help them could do so, if and when he liked.

So, if the wealthy few in Nigeria stopped worrying their heads unduly about the condition of the poor majority, they

(the wealthy few) will be in the good company of Jesus Christ!

It is a pity that the questions of glaring inequalities and economic justice in Nigeria have been lumped with the implementation of the indigenisation decree. I think they are two different things entire and should be quickly separated.

The scope of the indigenisation decree is a very narrow one dealing with a tiny segment of the private sector of our economy.

The question of economic justice between the different social classes is all embracing and goes to the root of all our politics and economic arrangements.

Given the economic philosophy of our governments since independence, it looks like trying to cross our bridge before we reach it, if at this stage we fritter away all our energy on discussing the fabulous wealth of a few Nigerian super-tycoons.

Mr. Kanmi Isola-Osobo, contributing to the debate, made the point that even if the indigenisation decree were effectively implemented, the share of Nigerians in the private sector of the economy will still be minuscule.

That is due to the peculiar nature of our country's economy which at this stage is neither capitalist, nor socialist but is in fact neo-colonialist. All the golden eggs of the private sector are in the hands of the expatriate firms in those areas of businesses which are not touched by the indigenisation decree.

In all fairness, the present military regime has taken some measures which if pushed further can eliminate the neo-colonial features of the Nigerian economy in future.

But for the present, the primary contradiction is between the few expatriate firms which dominate our economy on the one hand and all Nigerians including Awolowo, Katsina, Ademola Thomas, Femi Okunnu; their drivers and stewards; the farmers in the rural areas, market women, Nigerian labourers and the unemployed who roam the streets of Lagos and other state capitals, on the other hand.

Why should anybody crucify Chief Fajemirokun and other successful Nigerian businessmen when with all their reputed wealth, the scope of their business activities related to the economy is tiny and insignificant compared with the share of certain expatriate companies which have come to assume the status of economic sacred cows?

For the very good reason that it is unwise to fight simultaneously on two fronts, I think it is better if we indigenise the important sector of our economy completely and successfully.

Thereafter, we shall have enough time and energy to resolve the conflict between the rich and poor classes in Nigeria.

In fairness, it must be said that given

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the past economic policy statements and practices of our government, particularly during the first republic, Chief Fajemirokun's stand on the indigenisation decree is unassailable.

Nigerian businessmen have been told that they would be given maximum encouragement in their businesses. There is no government statement or law saying that there is a limit to the amount of wealth a Nigerian can amass.

It is not Chief Fajemirokun's fault that millions of ordinary Nigerians cannot find the money to buy alien businesses or to speculate on the stock exchange.

And even if such a law were passed with regard to the indigenisation decree, it would look like penalising the initiative and enterprise of a few Nigerian super-tycoons and that would be unfair.

The tragic paradox is that Alhaji Okunnu and all Nigerians who have warned about the danger of class warfare arising from growing economic inequalities are also right. Where do we go from there?

If the options open to us were between handing over alien business to a few wealthy Nigerians and not indigenising at all, I have no hesitation in saying that the rich Nigerians should have their way.

Even if they are the only group (super-tycoons) who can raise the necessary capital from banks and other financial institutions—so be it.

There is an unhealthy air of artificiality about a group of Nigerians who are educated, rich and privileged, setting themselves up in the newspapers as the devils' advocate on behalf of the poor.

The truth is that the poor masses of this country are not wildly enthusiastic about speculating on the stock exchange. For most of them, all they want at this stage is to afford three square meals a day for their families, decent houses; a good education for their children and other basic needs.

Considering their present levels of income and the current standard of living, having discharged their obligations to their families, the poor Nigerians are likely to have little left for investment in company shares.

The point was forcefully and painfully brought home to us in the Sunday Times issue of December 2, 1973.

It was the issue in which Alhaji Okunnu wrote an article in reply to Chief Fajemirokun on the indigenisation debate.

Elsewhere in the same issue of the Sunday Times, the Editor, Malam Haroun Adamu, wrote a piece reporting what he saw in the drought affected areas of the Northern States.

After talking to some farmers who had lost all their crops, Adamu was told by the farmers that not only do they have nothing to eat then, but for next year the prospect was bleak because they had no seedlings to plant a fresh crop.

The poor farmers asked Adamu to tell the authorities that all they wanted was food and that very quickly too. So, there we have it.

A few members of the elite were splitting hairs over how much shares poor Nigerians should buy, whereas all these poor peasants were worried about was where the next meal would come from, both for them and members of their families.

This dramatises the fact that those who set themselves up as the champions of the masses hardly appreciate the real problems facing these poor Nigerians in their villages from Sokoto to Calabar.

As far as these poor Nigerians are concerned, this indigenisation debate going on in Lagos is a phoney issue. This brings us to the significance of the rich versus poor debate.

I have always known that one day, the chickens will come home to roost. And social and economic forces are surely bringing them home. What I mean is this.

All through the first republic, the politicians who were mainly bankers, merchants, contractors, landlords and men in the professions felt that there was no need to define a set of social and economic goals. They were satisfied with our free-for-all economy which was dominated by the agents of international monopoly capital.

At a stage in the life of the first republic, to advocate socialism for Nigeria could open one to the charge of being a subversive element.

Later on, the politicians made a joke of socialism—that was when Nigerians invented various brands of socialism—

African socialism, pragmatic socialism, christian communism and capito-socialism.

Even when the banned Action Group launched their own brand of democratic socialism in 1960, the party split into two leading to the fight in the chamber of the former Western House of Assembly in May 1962 and the subsequent declaration of a state of emergency in the former Western Region.

Perhaps the fear of the old-political class about socialism was due in part to the activities of a handful of benighted but dogmatic, bearded Nigerians who kept telling us that our salvation lay in the adoption of the Russian, Chinese or Cuban variant of socialism.

Of course, these so-called Nigerian socialists should be swept to where the rightly belong—the dung heap of history. I am the first to admit that the kind of socialism that worked in Russia and China is not necessarily an answer to our problems in Nigeria.

But that is not a reason why we should sweep the social question under the carpet and blithely pretend that it does not exist. Which is what we have done so far.

The social question will definitely arise in any society which is set on the road to rapid economic development. That is why Nigerians cannot escape the duty of defining what kind of society they want to set up; the relations of the social classes; and the issue of economic justice between the various classes.

This problem will crop up again and will have to be tackled one way or the other even in a society where they have never heard of people like Karl Marx, Chairman Mao, Ho Chin Minh or Che Guevera.

As it is, the problem has arisen in an



Dr. H. Fajemirokun



Alhaji Okunnu

THE WAR FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN NIGERIA

acute form for us in Nigeria and we have to find an indigenous solution to it. If we can do it without reference to the experience of other societies, nobody will shed tears.

The important thing is that we should be clear in our minds the kind of society we want to create in Nigeria. We should be careful to define in what direction we want our society to develop.

That is the usefulness of some kind of ideology. If that sounds frightening to some members of the ruling class, then let us call it a set of national objectives. But these objectives should be clearly defined so that we can judge government measures and policies with reference to our agreed objectives.

I am aware that the 1970-74 Plan contains a set of national objectives which taken together the authors of the Plan (at least Mr. Allison Ayida) believe constitute an ideology without really calling it that. But it is not enough to spell out a set of national objectives and do nothing more.

Government measure should reflect their determination to be guided by these objectives. For example, Alhaji Okunnu says that the Federal Government wants Nigeria to become a just and egalitarian society. He also says further that it is the duty of the government to prevent a class war both now or in the near future. Fine. But in what decisive way has the government managed the economy and our society in order to achieve a "just and egalitarian society"?

I do not want to anticipate the federal government's strategy and tactics on economic and social policy. I only hope that they are fully aware of the implications of some of their measures.

Let us take for example, the sale of company shares on the stock exchange. To use that mechanism (of the stock exchange) for indigenisation is another way of institutionalising a kind of western capitalism.

China and Russia have no stock exchange; they have no shareholders. Yet nobody can say that these super-powers have not indigenised their economies which are genuinely self-reliant.

I am asking here whether we are giving sufficient thought to the various options open to us in the process of economic development, assuming we are serious about the national objective of a just and egalitarian society.

The Federal Government is now in partnership with a few expatriate oil companies and foreign banks. There is talk of the possibility of the federal government going into partnership with a few foreign construction firms. So far, most of these foreign companies operating here are from Western Europe.

Government participation in their enterprises gives them greater security here and what is more, it institutionalises their system of capitalism which they imported from their respective countries.

Some years ago, we were told that Nigerian cities should have gambling casinos. The reason given was that foreign investors who are here would need to gamble in order to make their stay here pleasant. Lagos and some of the state capitals now have gambling casinos.

In addition, Lagos is full of all sorts of coin machines for gambling. Who are those who patronise these gambling houses? The rich Nigerian elite gamble on the casinos; while the poor—labourers, touts and the unemployed fritter away their hard earned Naira and Kobo on the coin machines. The hope is that through gambling, they could acquire sudden wealth.

Nobody had told them that the only way to wealth which Nigerian will tolerate is hard and honest work. The United States, Britain, France and other West European countries each does a substantial trade with China and Russia.

None of these countries insisted that before they did any trade, gambling casinos should be established in Moscow and Peking. If they did they know what answer to expect from the authorities of those countries.

The nucleus of a Directorate of national guidance has been established in the Cabinet Office in Lagos. We have been told that this may later be upgraded to become a Ministry of National guidance in future.

We can only hope that after agreeing on some kind of ideology or a set of national objectives, the ministry of national

guidance will see to it that these objectives are respected and adhered to by government and private citizens.

To recapitulate, I am saying that members of the Nigerian elite with an eye 1976 and after, should stop playing games with the grinding poverty of the masses.

After all the sanctionomious articles the elite about the poverty of the masses what we know is that in Nigeria today the rich are getting richer; while the poor are getting poorer.

Wealthy representatives of the professional-managerial class should stop parading themselves as the spokesmen of poor Nigerians. They are not speaking for the masses.

When the time comes, the masses will be directly affected will speak up or do something about their poverty.

Secondly, out of 60 million Nigerians (1963 Census figures) less than 100,000 Nigerians have the education, inclination or financial resources to engage in the game of stocks and shares.

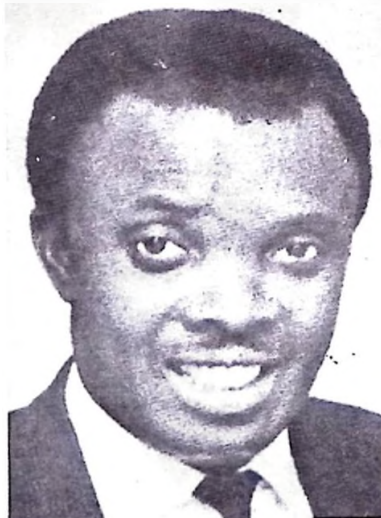
'It is the duty of the government to prevent a class war now or in the near future...'
ALHAJI F. OKUNU

If the governments have made up their minds not to buy up alien shares on behalf of the people, then nobody should harass the few Nigerians who have the money to play the stock exchange game. If they become super-millionaires in the process it is good luck to them.

They are only playing a game in which our government has agreed to play the role of an umpire.

Finally, the conflict between the rich and poor classes in Nigeria has reared its ugly head; we have to make up our minds whether we shall resolve it courageously and satisfactorily or whether we shall let things drift and calmly wait for the outcome.

The trouble is that the voice of the poor masses have not been heard through this debate. Are we going to find out what the poor masses are thinking or are we waiting for that time when they will force us to listen?



Mr. Allison Ayida

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ALI DEFEATS FRAZIER IN

Before the superfight II, the contest of the century (Ali Vs. Frazier), Ali promised that he was going to put Joe Frazier's (smoking Joe) light out as part of his contribution to the energy crisis.

Mohammed Ali fulfilled this promise when he outpointed Joe Frazier last January 28, at the Madison Square Garden, New York City, U.S.A. Ali won the fight by the unanimous decision of the three officials: Referee Tony Perez voted Ali the winner six rounds to five with one even; Judge Tony Castellano scored it 7-4-1; while Judge Jack Gordon had it 8-4 for Ali.

Rex Bellamy London Times Sports Analyst says: Although Ali won the fight, he has not provided conclusive proof that he is a better man than Frazier, a fighter FOREMAN knocked down six times and put away in two rounds".

But Boxing is not a game in which if Boxer A is able to knockout Boxer B it necessarily follows that Boxer C who can defeat Boxer B but does not knock him out is necessarily inferior to Boxer A.

Circumstances such as physical form on a particular night or differences in temperament and style may preclude Boxer C, from knocking out Boxer B, even though

he is superior to Boxer B and A.

Mohammed is one of the greatest Black pugilists in the world today and he is a very great sports man, a courageous and intelligent individual. These attributes him as the greatest heavy weight champion of all times.

Mohammed Ali said after the fight that lined-up to its publicity build-up and surpassed it: "This fight was one of the greatest event in the records of the earth.

I think we should go again because we draw more people to an event than anybody in the recorded history of records.

"I would give him all the chances he wants.

He's not like Foreman, who fights out the country once every two years.

He left himself open for a lot of right hands. But he's a much better fighter than I thought he was, he had me out on my feet twice. Any other fighter would have been finished. But I was skillful enough to get out of the way. I am a master boxer, a scientific fighter. Can you look at my face and tell me how it came out of a three million dollar fight?"

Frazier replied: "I thought it was very close.

"I got hit a couple of good shots, but then I hit him pretty good, too. I thought it could go either way" he said of the decision.

"But I think I won".

Frazier felt that he was clearly the aggressor in the fight, but that Ali's holding tactics took away some of his momentum. "I fought the full 3 minutes for all 12 rounds" he said.

"He was holding throughout the fight. I kept complaining to the referee and he kept warning him but nothing was really done about it".

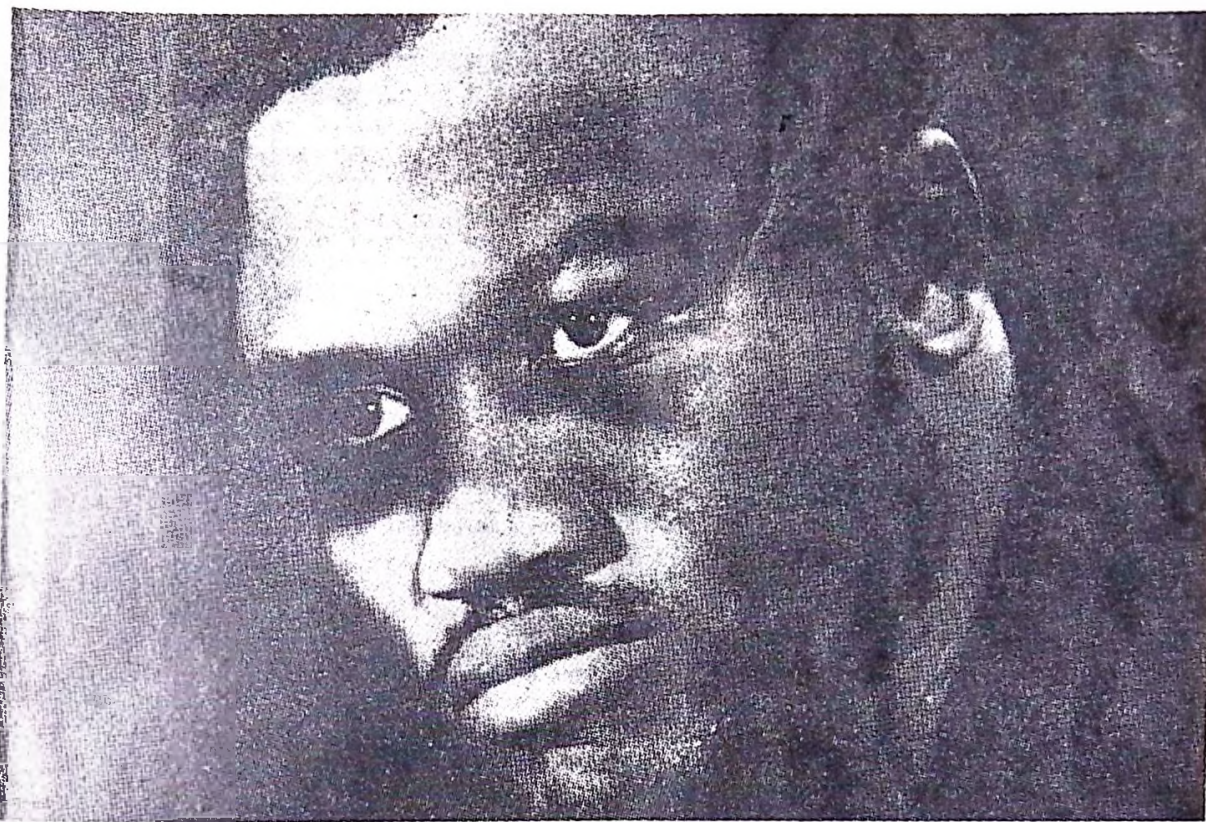
Frazier spoke to Ali a couple of times during the fight. I told him there was nothing in his punches and that he wasn't hurting me" Frazier said.

Ali also spoke to Frazier during the collision. Said Ali: "I am gonna hit you and hold you, hit and hold".

The total gross takings of the fight was not available at the time of going to Press but our financial analyst states: Three years ago, 20,455 clients paid \$1,352,951 at \$150 tops, but that was for the heavy weight championship of the world.

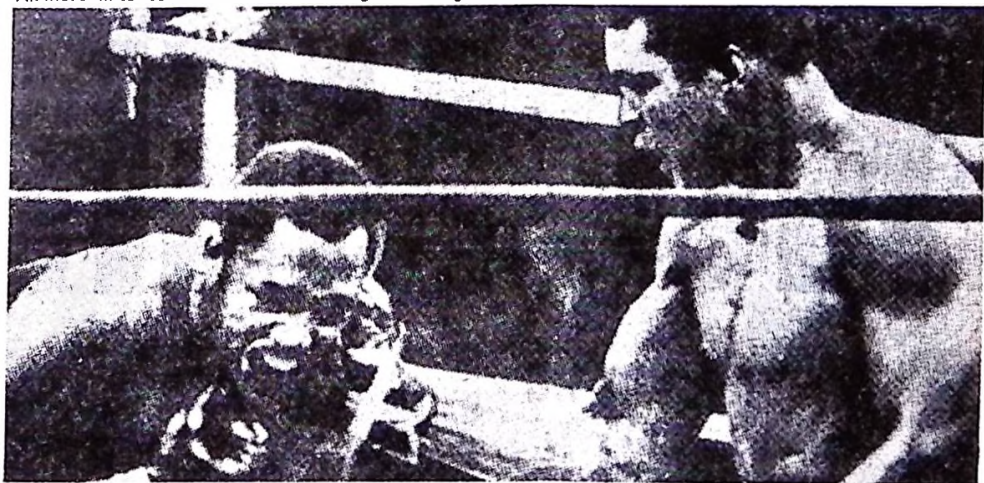
Then, they were undefeated heavy

INTERNATIONAL SCENE



FIGHT OF THE CENTURY

Ali moves in to rock Frazier's head with a right in the eighth round.



weights in the prime of youths and strength with equally valid claims to the championship of the world.

Nobody will know how much money until closed circuit television accounts are in, but it will be a marvel if the gross approaches the 20 million dollar produc-

tion of 1971.

In the first fight, Frazier knocked Ali down and punched his face out of shape. This time it was Joe's face that was beginning to look like the west side highway when they finished.

Even though some newsmen felt that

Ali failed to prove that he was the greatest and that it was not as devastating and savage as they wanted, they agreed that the super fight II attracted one of the best and bizzare fashion scenes dominated by the blacks in New York. Even the Times of London report admits:

INTERNATIONAL SCENE

ALI DEFEATS FRAZIER IN FIGHT OF THE CENTURY:

"At least the bout rose to the expectation of its vast public. There was a traffic jam in the drizzling rain on Broadway. Outside "The Garden" the milling masses were so predominantly black that the rest of us (whites) almost felt like intruders.

"Inside—beyond the kiosks offering "fruits" and "burgers" peanuts and popcorn—there was a fashion parade that borrowed something from Damon Runyon and a lot from Porgy and Bess; seldom has black been so manifestly beautiful—Both sexes wore their brightest plumage. The hats, fascinating amid a glitter of robes were often garishly bizarre, (when Frazier appeared; wearing voluminous shorts that made him look like an old-time footballer he seemed oddly out of place, like a figure from some remote but remembered era).

"It seems incidentally appropriate that, succeeding an illuminated advertisement for a natural "antique show" a group of former champions in bulging suits were introduced from the ring. It was good to see them on stage again.

The spectators included John and Caroline Kennedy, children of late President John Kennedy and Mrs. Jackie Kennedy now Mrs. Onassis; George Foreman who took the world title from Frazier, and Ken Norton who has broken even in two bouts with Ali. Norton will try to take Foreman's championship from him on March 26 and the winner will probably take a date with Ali.

Before the historic superfight, Michael Parkinson of Sunday Times London reported:

"There is nothing like the atmosphere and tension that surrounded the first fight. Which is no bad thing since that event was the most pretentiously oversold product of our time. Some claimed it was a religious contest. Crescent (Ali) against cross (Frazier); others said it was a political fight with Mr. Okay (Frazier); taking on the draft dodger (Ali); while others of a more romantic frame of mind visualized it as a collision of apostles Poet (Ali) versus Peasant (Frazier).

Infact what happened was that two super-trained, splendidly fit, heavy weight prize-fighters did their best to inflict maximum hurt on each other for the 15 rounds, and stuck to their task so well that they both ended in hospital".

JOINT BIRTHDAY PARTY:

Ali and Frazier two weeks to the fight became 32 and 30 respectively. Both agreed to honour a television invitation to mark their birthday and tape the "wide world of sporting show". But the plot was for Ali and Frazier to view for the first time together, the film of their \$20 million extravaganza known as super fight I in anticipation and promotion of the super fight II at Madison Square Garden

last January 28.

Before the arrival of Frazier for the television taping Ali burst: "I want Joe Frazier!

I want Joe Frazier!

In Indonesia, all I heard was Joe Frazier In Cairo, Egypt, Joe Frazier!

I never wanted to whip a man so badly in my life.

When Frazier arrived and took a seat two chairs removed from Ali, somebody asked what he had brought for Ali's birthday?

"happy birthday" he said to Ali, not warmly. That's all? That's all, on the 28th, I'll give him another present, but that's all now. You 32?

"That's right" Ali said "we're getting old, Joe".

How do you feel about Ali's claim that he really won the first fight?. Frazier was asked.

"He said that?". Joe said.

"It is just my opinion", Ali said.

"He is always dreaming, "Joe said".

You took a look at the films a few times.

"I have looked at it a hundred times" said Ali.

"Learn anything?".

"You took a terrible beat, Joe".

"For a guy that was down you talk a lot.

For nearly an hour as the two gladiators watched and mildly insulted each other, the atmosphere was tense but somewhat playful. Suddenly as they were watching the 10th round, the mood changed. Frazier and his trainer were discussing how the right side of Ali's jaw had swollen.

"That's what he went to hospital for", Frazier said.

"I went to the hospital for 10 minutes "Ali snapped, alluding to having had X rays of his jaw that night. "You went for a month.

"Be quiet" Frazier said. I was in and out.

Ali countered: "Why bring something like the hospital up. That shows how dumb you are."

The word "ignorant" angered Frazier. He got up quickly and shouted: "Who are you calling ignorant? Frazier growled I'm tired of you calling me ignorant all the time. I am not ignorant".

Frazier's face flashing with anger, he threw his ear plugs to the floor and jumped to his feet.

Throughout the years, Ali has often described Frazier as "ignorant" and the word, along with other taunts about his looks had pierced Frazier's pride.

Ali's use of "ignorant" to his face, and in front of an eventual national television audience, ignited Frazier's temper. He was standing over Ali now; his fists clenched, glaring down.

"Why do you think I'm ignorant?", he demanded "stand up, man".

Now as Frazier glared, Ramanathan Ali moved to his brother's side. Frazier's head turned:

He gripped at Mohammed's brother "You in this too?" In a flash Ali stood up and grabbed Frazier's shoulders, pinning his arms. They wrestled each other off the small carpeted platform on to the cement floor as several others tried to separate them. No punches were thrown.

After several seconds, they were pried apart. Their clothes were muffled but neither was marked.

PRE-FIGHT MEDICAL:

A similar war of words dominated the pre-fight medical after Smoking Joe's: "When that bell rings, he is going to be in front of me, and that's for sure".

"And that's all I want" he added.

Ali replied, passing through his repertoire ranging from fool to sage. "He has too many lungs, he must fall on his rump", he rhymed, not just. He then went into a five-tek cross-talk routine with fellow jester Bundini.

Ali. "Are we going to dance?"

Bundini: "Ali what long";

Ali: "Are we going to beat his head".

Bundini: "He knows that too".

Ali "I am going to do something unusual to dat man".

Bundini: "He had better believe it".

If Ali, the only man in the planet who can make billion people hold their breath had lost the clash, it could have spelt for him the prospect of a dignified retirement.

Ali trained extremely hard in the snow mountains of Appel chair, some thirty five minutes plane ride out of New York City.

Ali has since the first collision with Frazier boxed 13 times. Since then he has lost one to Ken Norton on that famous night of the broken jaw as against only four appearances by Frazier, one of which he lost to George Foreman, the current Heavy Weight Champion.

Foreman, an unknown underdog won the title from Frazier in an upset, sending Frazier to the canvas six times and stopping him in 1.35 minute of the second round.

Both Ali and Frazier will get at least 2.6 US dollar each for 36 minutes hard night's work.

It is hoped that Ali will now clash with Foreman for the world championship if Foreman succeeds in keeping his title after his March 26 fight with Ken Norton.

But Ali told the world later, "I'm not looking for a title fight with Foreman. If the Foreman people want a shot, we will give them a shot".



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WHAT MARRIED COUPLES DONT KNOW ABOUT SEX

By Miss Febisola Akintelure.



Much has been written about sex and the role of sex in the lives of a couple that very little is now left to be desired. We all know that to love and to be loved is an essential aspect of human nature. Love making is not only one of the most natural of physical acts but it runs very close in the priority list of other functions like eating, drinking and sleeping. Hence it is one of the basic physiological needs of man according to its (psychologists). Unfortunately however, the majority of people who think they know much about sex are not aware that it is more than mere sexual release, or that it is the basis for a happy marriage between a man and a woman and that the absence of a satisfactory sexual relationship in the lives of a couple usually brings about disastrous results.

As important as sex is in the lives of human beings in general and a couple in particular, we still shirk from the idea of having an open discussion on the subject. Because of the Societal norms, a public discussion on sex is prohibited especially among the middle and upper social classes and among the old folks in primitive societies. Sex play is considered quite wrong outside marriage, and it is something linked with darkness and something meant strictly for procreation. However, it is gratifying to note that young people in their early twenties are becoming less reticent in their attitude towards sex and have very few inhibitions about sex these days. Sex to my mind is something to be discussed generally in public because, regrettably it has been found out from researches that innumerable highly educated and otherwise intelligent people as well as the poor illiterates are still very ignorant about the role of sex in a home.

what married couples don't about SEX



The family as we know it is an important group in the society. It forms the social group and it is on it that our social order is based. What affects the family affects the society at large. When we read about the alarming rate at which marriages break up these days, we tend to put the blame on society. Nobody ever thought that the root cause of all the divorces and the consequences of these originate from the sexual disharmony between husbands and wives in many homes.

Great writers and psychologists have repeatedly shown the importance of sex in the lives of a couple. To D.H. Lawrence, "Sex is the vitality of life". It is an elevated and complex emotion of which the Sexual urge is only one component. It is something which partakes of the spirit as well as the body. Once there is Sexual satisfaction between a husband and wife, a fundamental harmony will be created in the home. This harmony has influence on every other aspects in the lives of the couple. All the trivial quarrels in the home are often made up and are not allowed to have any great impact on the fundamental adjustment in the home. A great harmony in the home will have a desirable effect on the children. But what happens when sexual love deserts the home? Love itself flies out through the window and with the breakdown in the sexual relationship comes a corresponding breakdown in every other aspect of love.

A research carried out reveals this. Mr. & Mrs. X have been married for over 50 years. We often see them happy together and their children are well married and have left the home. Yet Mr. & Mrs. X are still getting on fine right through old age. When I questioned them the other day on why their marriage is considered 'blessed' from heaven, Mr. X has this to say, "You see, my wife is the most obedient woman, She is faithful, She is loving, a good cook etc. Mrs. X on her part told that Mr. X loves her, he takes care of her and has been the only man who can dominate her. When I asked them if they still engage in sexual love in their old age, they unanimously answered "Yes". I then discovered that these two people are well adjusted to each other but neither of them can relate this adjustment to their intimate sexual relation whether consciously or unconsciously.

The love life of Mr. & Mrs. X is only one of the very few ones in this country. How many couples can boast of a happy marriage in Nigeria today? They are so few that one wonders if the marriage institution has not failed altogether in our society.

Most marriages break up in Nigeria as a result of sexual disharmony in the lives of a couple. Sexual harmony is the corner stone for a happy and successful marriage. Sexual disharmony, on the other hand, brings about untold misery, separation and even divorces.

An example is the University lecturer who wrote to one of our newspapers recently. This is a man who cannot derive sexual satisfaction from his wife. He has in due course devoted all his energies to his work or hobbies, and has been spending more time outside with a more responsive and willing girl. This is how a home gradually breaks up. This lecturer is still to be praised because he is a man of conscience though with a confused personality. Here is a man who still recognises the other good qualities in his wife and is not prepared to hurt her further. At the same time, he is a man who cannot afford to sacrifice his joy by forcing himself on a cold, withdrawn and reluctant wife. Since he has been able to find solace with a 'soul sister', your guess is as good as mine about what will happen to the marriage eventually.

This is just one case. In other cases, nothing can hold the marriage together once there is sexual disharmony. In all the daily papers we read how women sue their husbands for divorce because of lack of sexual satisfaction or vice versa. Generally, these people asking for divorce against the other make random complaints which have no bearing with the basic problem in court. But a few of them have come out frankly to sue for divorce because they are suffering from nervous tension which arise from sexual frustration.

It is when there is no sexual harmony in a home that minor incidents assume greater proportions, usually huge mountains are made out of molehills. This is when wives complain about this and that about their husbands and they indulge in such things like over-mothering their children, they become naggers and pretend that there is nothing like love in the dictionary; that love is an illusion. Some of them over eat and grow fatter; some develop great nervous illness like fatigue, headache

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WHAT MARRIED COUPLES DON'T KNOW ABOUT SEX

and general psychosomatic diseases.

On the other hand, a sexually dissatisfied husband becomes unnecessarily difficult, finds faults with his wife often, is rarely seen in the home, engages in excessive drinking and reckless flirting and justifies himself in doing all these on the excuse that his wife doesn't care for him. As a result, there is usually no peace in such a home. The marital discord resulting from this has grave consequences on the children in the home. Their children will not be happy, they will know no love and the importance of it. Such children are often aggressive, restless, disobedient and some times unintelligent in the Schools and they show one or two deviant behaviours as well and pose problems for their teachers. If all couples who think they know much about sex through their experience are able to have an idea of the disastrous effect of sexual disharmony in the home, many more marriages will be saved.

This brings us to the cause of sexual disharmony in the home and how we can rectify it. Basically there is a great difference in the attitude of man and woman towards sex. A research carried out reveals that most men consider sex as something natural and something to be enjoyed. A lot of these men view sex as something which is spontaneous and can be enjoyed equally with anything in skirt. These are men who think that 'a hole is a hole' and will not mind having 'it' with their house-girls provided she has a 'hole'.

There are a few of the men however who consider sex as a means of showing their great love for their wives. These still have a standard set of values for themselves and are not prepared to deviate from those set values. This type of men will not have sex with just any woman and they are those who are usually hurt the more if they are unfortunate to marry women who don't satisfy them sexually. They suffer quietly and their manhood may even be challenged. They generally lose confidence in themselves.

Among the numerous women I interviewed however, only very few see Sex as something to be enjoyed and something delightful. The majority of women see sexual love as the chief passport for procreation and some view it as a means of showing the extreme love they have for their husbands. Those who consider sex mainly for procreation are mostly within the illiterate set. These are women who put the wall of barrier between themselves and their husbands from having a satisfactory sexual relationship. These are people who have sex with their husbands once in a blue moon and will still demand presents from these husbands on these rare occasions.

Generally speaking, Nigerian women are still woefully ignorant of the importance of sex in the home. Many women still identify sex with the night only and will not have it with their husbands during the day. Some have a fixed time table for sex and will do all they can to prevent having it except at the time laid down for it. There is a great danger in laying down a fixed time table for sex because, in most cases, sexual urge is really spontaneous and one may not have the urge at the stipulated time. Ideally sex should be done at any time of the day but in privacy.

It is therefore essential that children should be kept out of the place when playing sexual love. For apart from disturbing the couple and interrupting the act and preventing the couple from making the exquisite experience perfect, it may have serious psychological effect on the adventurous instincts of modern children.

Since a man can afford to change wives and a woman cannot afford to change husbands in our society, it is the duty of every woman to try to save her marriage from collapsing. A woman can do this by getting her priorities right. She must first recognise the vital role of sex in a happy marriage. She should then leave no stone unturned in contributing to the sexual harmony in the home.

As in all other spheres of living, women believe that men should take the lead in sexual act and are only contented with playing the secondary role because they don't know that they are equally important in contributing to its success. Sexual expression of love like any other art is something which requires knowledge, skill and practice. It involves learning and understanding on both parts. It is a matter of give and take. A husband should not be adventurous, prepared to experiment with all methods while his wife is dormant and exhibiting one type of inhibition or the other towards sex.

Women are usually more guilty of sexual disharmony in the home. Among the reasons why women fail to enjoy sex are the effect of their Victorian teaching that sex is sinful. Women who have been brought up from Strict Christian homes where it is wrong to mention sex often develop negative attitudes towards sex when they grow older. Another reason why women have inhibitions towards sex may be the result of a sense of guilt from premarital sexual intercourse or as a result of infidelity after marriages poor health, diseases of all sorts, fear of pregnancy; lack of the right technique on the part of the husband and great eagerness to have children in an



WHAT MARRIED COUPLES DON'T KNOW ABOUT SEX



infertile marriage. In all these cases, the important thing to do on the part of a couple is for both of them to sit down and have a frank discussion on the problems confronting them which prevents them from having an ecstasy of sexual enjoyment. They should be able to identify the cause and then remedy it. If the cause for lack of sexual satisfaction is physiological, then both husband and wife should go to the doctor, and confide in him. They should not hide anything. The doctor will be prepared to help them. On the other hand, if their problems are psychological (as it is in most cases), they should be able to identify their problem and rectify it.

A husband and wife should be able to engage in frank discussion on their sex lives and find out the best ways by which they can seek to have a perfect sexual harmony in their home. In doing this, the wife should be able to discuss freely with her husband letting him know which parts of her body stimulate her the more and which are less stimulating. She should not be shy to let him know how she feels after each sexual act; after all, what is greater than marital relations? A wife must welcome sexual activity as something to be enjoyed. She should in fact have open mind and an adventurous spirit to try anything that might make the relationship gratifying to both of them. To do this, a wife must have a positive idea about sexual love.

One of the ways of enjoying sexual act is to remove boredom by trying new methods and techniques. Some women think that anything outside the acceptable popular position in love making is a form of perversion. This is wrong. Constant use of the same method and techniques is itself a perversion when a couple cannot derive pleasure from any other method except the one they know. We see an example from a woman who asked for advice because she is frightened by the strange methods suggested by her husband.

Actually there is no fixed method or technique in sexual act. The commonest method and position is much a product of the mores of a society. And a position that is permissible in one culture may be a taboo in another. Variety of technique is gratifying because it removes monotony, helps to maintain mutual interest and a high pitch and adds to the fun. Two positions are popular all over the world in sexual love making. One is for both the man and woman to lie facing each other. Another one is that in which the wife lies on her back while the husband lies on top of her. But there are other innumerable positions which our women are still ignorant of and which because they are unfamiliar with them, seem repugnant and alarming. Every wife who desires to enjoy sex should be able to welcome and adapt to any new position suggested by her husband. No new method should be considered degrading or disgusting to a couple until they have tried it.

As I said earlier, variety of positions adds to the gaiety of the sexual act. Making love at unexpected time and place also has a desirable effect on a couple's sexual life. A change now and then in the sexual pattern in the home has its own psychological value. It is permissible to make love at times outside the bedroom (provided you are in privacy e.g. on the sofa during TV programme at night). You are not alone in this. Millions of women are also doing so all over the world.

It is generally believed that as people advance in years their sexual impulses slow down due to the general physical wearing out of the human body. This is true to some extent but given normal health, the average man and woman should be capable of sexual activity well into their late sixties and seventies. So good health is vital in ensuring satisfactory sexual life in the home and it is the duty of the wife to promote a normal healthy living. This can be done through practice of simple health rules, and the supply of balanced diet in the home.

Wives should not forget that it is their duty to make themselves sexually attractive to their husbands always. To do this, they must not rely on the ownership of the marriage ring as the passport to owning their husband forever. They must try and do all those things which they were used to doing in their courtship days, and which gave much pleasure to their boyfriends (now their husbands) even after marriage. — Among these are expressions of love by occasional dining out, giving of love cards, occasional dressing of hair and all other things that make a woman look prettier.

When one does all these, the husband will appreciate the willing co-operation from his wife and will love her the more. When a rich healthy sexual relationship is present in the lives of a couple, all the trivial quarrels which constitute dangers to marriages will not have a place in the home of that couple, because every misunderstanding will be patched up in the bed.

The point is that an exciting sex life adds to the happiness of a marriage and makes such a marriage more successful. If this is lacking, it results in nervous tension which, as Sigmund Freud, the learned psychologist warned, leads to neurosis, an extreme form of which is psychosis.

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The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) as it emerged in 1963 was a child of compromise. Before 1963, two broad political divisions were evident on the African scene.

There was the Casablanca group which included socialist, revolutionary regimes like Ghana, Algeria, Morocco, Guinea and Mali. Some of the leaders of the Casablanca group included the late President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea and Ben Bella of Algeria.

African states of the Casablanca group had a revolutionary and socialist approach to African problems. They diagnosed imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism as the chief enemies of Africa which must be eliminated.

To achieve this objective, the late President Nkrumah suggested that Africa must unite and that Africa should immediately form a continental political union. He stressed also that all Africa should join the African High Command in the military field. The chief aim of the African Military High Command was to liberate the remaining pockets of colonialism in Africa; to free those enclaves in Southern Africa which were enslaved by white racist regimes and generally to safeguard the newly won sovereignty of several African states.

For some years these differences on basic approach to African problems led to a polarisation within the OAU. This continued until January 1966 when the late President Nkrumah was ousted by the Armed Forces of Ghana.

President Houphouet Boigny for example did not attend a single summit of the OAU until President Nkrumah was ousted from power. Since the OAU tacitly adopted the gradualist approach of the Monrovia group, how well had it worked in practice. In other words, through the gradualist, pragmatic approach, to what extent have African states achieved co-operation in the economic and technical fields?

When the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) was signed in 1957, provision was made to associate certain African states with the EEC. These African states belonged to the former French colonial empire.

When Britain applied to join the EEC in 1961, the question was raised, how the interests of Britain's colonies and former colonies which were then in the Commonwealth, were to be safeguarded.

About 18 African states were associated with the EEC through the Yaounde Convention of Association. During Britain's negotiations with the EEC in

However, after the establishment of OAU, African states began to see appreciate the danger which neo-colonialism and European international monopoly capital posed to their fragile, hard-won independence.

France for example did not relax her stranglehold on her former colonial empire in Africa. At the inspiration of Elysee Palace in Paris, the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (OCAM) was formed as a regional grouping in Africa. The peculiar feature of this organisation was that it embraced ONLY francophone states in Africa. It was widely felt in Africa that this was a clever attempt in Paris to disrupt the unity of the OAU.

In May 1973 the OAU celebrated its tenth anniversary of its founding. African states took the opportunity of a special summit meeting in Addis Ababa to take stock of the achievements of the OAU during the first decade of its existence. The summit was attended by 21 African Heads of States; 4 heads of government and 16 High-level ministerial delegates.

One of the notable personalities at the Addis Ababa summit was President Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast who was attending his first summit meeting with his brother African heads of States.

PAN-AFRICANISM SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

By Olu Akaraogun.

The other broad political tendency in Africa before 1963 was the Monrovia group. This included the so-called moderate regimes of Africa. The leaders of this group included the late Alhaji Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria; the late President Tubman of Liberia and Mr. Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

The Monrovia group did not believe that a political Union of Africa was possible in the short-term. The group thought ideas of an African High Command in the military field were unrealistic and felt that these were objectives which could be achieved in the distant future.

In the meantime, they thought that African states should adopt a gradualist approach to solve her problems. The Monrovia group felt that concrete inter-African Co-operation in the economic and technical fields should precede any move towards the political union of Africa.

When the OAU was established in 1963, countries which were in the Monrovia group were in a majority and their views permeated and dominated the organisation.

Brussels, she made some feeble efforts to see that African members of the Commonwealth were not less well treated than other African countries that France had managed to associate with the EEC.

Since the Associated African countries enjoyed some illusory advantages by the fact of association, they did not want other African countries to share in their supposed advantages.

Thus, through the formula of Association, the EEC succeeded in perpetuating the partition of Africa into hostile economic blocs which was one of the evil effects of European colonialism in Africa.

At the Commonwealth Finance Ministers meeting held in September 1961 in Accra, Ghana, Commonwealth African countries saw the danger posed to their economies by Britain's efforts to join the EEC—the club of rich and powerful white European nations.

African states in Accra flirted with the idea of forming an African Common Market. But nothing came of it and the issue lost its urgency because Britain's application to join EEC was turned down then.

The tenth anniversary celebration of the OAU was pervaded by a spirit of self-criticism. Many delegates complained that through the OAU, very little had so far been achieved in the field of economic and technical co-operation among African countries. What is worse, the Liberation Committee of the OAU had not achieved much in freeing certain parts of Africa—(Angola and Mozambique) from the barbarism of Portuguese colonialism.

The minority white settler regimes in Africa are still oppressing African majority populations in Zimbabwe, Namibia and in the Republic of South Africa (Azania).

It appeared that the major positive achievements of the OAU was in its efforts to settle intra-African disputes such as those between Algeria and Morocco; Ethiopia and Somalia; and the conflict between Burundi and Rwanda.

Before the OAU's tenth anniversary summit in Addis Ababa in May 1973, these major problems of Africa had given great concern to African statesmen. That was why at the OAU summit in Rabat last year, there was a unanimous OAU declaration.

PAN-AFRICANISM SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

tion on "African co-operation development and economic independence."

Before the May summit in Addis Ababa OAU trade Ministers met in Abidjan, Ivory Coast in order to draw up an African economic charter for the next decade 1973-83. The need for such a charter by all African countries acting together became acute after the hopes of the Third World were dashed at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which was held at Santiago in Chile.

Since more European countries including Britain were joining an enlarged EEC, the discriminatory economic policies of this rich nations' club were becoming ruinous to OAU MEMBER states. The OAU decided in the circumstances that Africa should evolve a common approach to the EEC.

Already, some 19 African states were associated with the EEC through the Yaounde Convention. The East African countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda had a special kind of relationship with the EEC through the Arusha agreement. Both the Yaounde Convention and the Arusha agreement were due soon for revision.

Commonwealth African countries which are not associated with the EEC were seeking a suitable basis of relationship with the European Common Market monster. This was the setting when the OAU took the historic and significant decision that Africa should talk to the EEC with one voice.

The significance of this is that African states which were already Associated with the EEC were prepared to give up their illusory advantages in the European Common Market in the interests of a fairer deal for the whole of Africa.

If this united, continental African approach was successful it means that the artificial and hostile economic blocs created in Africa by neo-colonialism and international monopoly capital would be eliminated.

In other words, if African economic co-operation and African economic independence become concrete realities, then the objectives of Pan-Africanism, at least in the economic sphere, would be realised and that could lead to eventual political union. That accords with the blueprint of the Monrovia Group and it offered a crucial test to the Pan-African aspirations of the OAU.

A confrontation of Africa and the EEC was scheduled to be held in Brussels in the third week of July 1973. In order to

hammer out a common African approach before the Brussels meeting, African states held a preliminary meeting in Lagos between July 9 through July 11, 1973.

The Lagos meeting was to be attended by the 19 African states already associated with the EEC; and the "associables". The associables are the OAU countries which are also members of the Commonwealth, some countries in the Caribbean and the Pacific; also invited were five North African states which already had their own special agreement with the EEC. In all, 48 countries were eligible to attend the Lagos meeting; in actual fact, 42 states attended.

Earlier in May, at Addis, the OAU Heads of States had set out certain guiding principles for Africa's negotiations with the EEC. These were as follows:

1. Non-reciprocity for trade and tariff concessions given by the EEC.
2. Extension on a non-discriminatory basis towards third countries of the provisions on "the right of establishment".
3. Revision of "rules of origin" to facilitate the industrial development of Africa.
4. Revision of the provisions concerning the movement of payments and capital to take account of the objective of monetary independence in African countries.
5. The dissociation of EEC financial and technical aid from any particular form of relationship with the EEC.
6. Free and assured access to EEC markets for all African products including processed and semi-processed agricultural products, whether or not they are subject to the common agricultural policy of the EEC.
7. The guaranteeing to African countries of stable, equitable and remunerative prices in EEC markets for their main products.
8. Any agreement made with the EEC should not adversely affect intra-African co-operation.

These then were the guidelines which OAU Heads of states laid down as the basis for negotiations with the EEC. The details were to be worked out by African technical experts.

This meeting of experts was attended by 42 African states in Lagos from July 9 to July 11, 1973.

In his opening address, General Gowon in his capacity as Chairman of the OAU said among other things.

"Africa's COLLECTIVE relationship with such a regional system should therefore be conceived as one of co-operation

between Africa and Europe on agreed contractual terms of equality, sovereignty and mutual interest".

The Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. Nzo Ekangaki, suggested some points which should guide Africa's negotiations with the EEC.

Among his suggestions are the following:

1. That Africa offers to negotiate with Europe as one block. The block should include all those wishing to establish a relationship with the EEC.
2. The type of arrangement considered appropriate is a co-operation agreement on trade and development.
3. Associable states should refuse to offer reciprocal preferences or to establish free trade areas with Europe for the purpose of justifying acceptance of European preferential tariffs.
4. Remunerative prices for raw material should be assured through conclusion of special protocols on individual products, as in the case of sugar.

As a second safety valve, particularly for countries depending on one crop, there should be guaranteed minimum earnings under conditions to be negotiated.

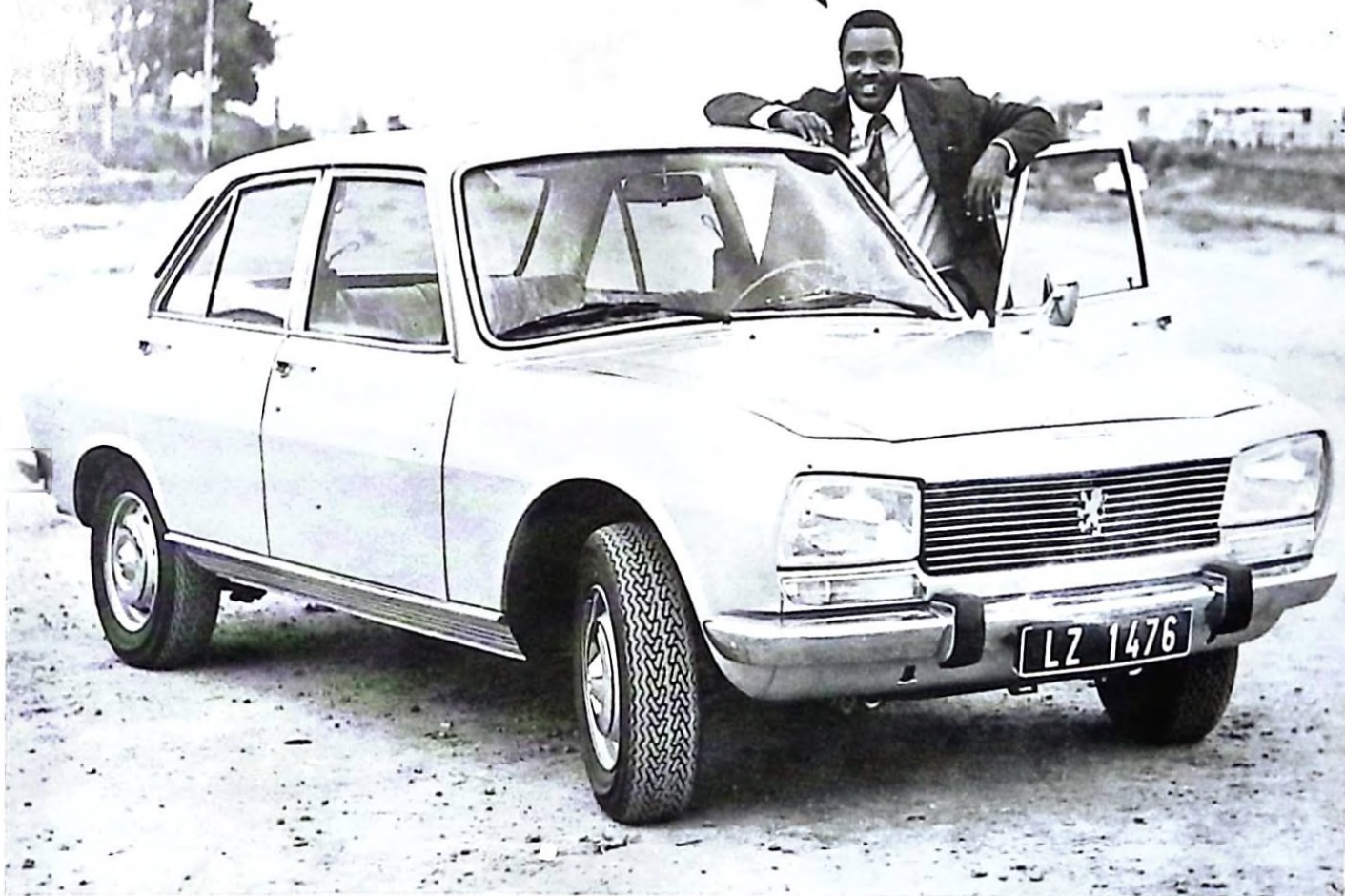
These conditions spelt out by the OAU Secretary-General apparently earned him the hostility of EEC technocrats in Brussels. When the Africa-Europe meeting took place in Brussels in July, the EEC officials were not going to accept his accreditation. This was in spite of the fact that General Gowon, Chairman of the OAU, had given him a special letter of accreditation. However, after some diplomatic manoeuvres, Mr. Ekangaki sat at the discussions in Brussels.

The preliminary meeting in Lagos went very well. All the 42 states represented, unanimously elected Mr. Wenike Briggs, Nigeria's Federal Commissioner for Trade, to act as the spokesman for the group. In effect, Mr. Wenike Briggs spoke in Brussels for 34 African countries; five countries from the Caribbean—(Guyana, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Bahamas); and three countries of the South Pacific—Tonga, Western Samoa and Fiji.

Also invited to Brussels were Ethiopia, Liberia, the Sudan and the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. The Maghreb countries—Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, except Libya were also present.

Before the meeting took place, the council of Ministers of the EEC met on July 24 and worked out a common European position. When the Africa-Europe meeting started, the European position was outlined by the current President of the EEC Council of Ministers—Mr. Ivar Morgaard, who is also the Danish Minister for Economic Affairs

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504

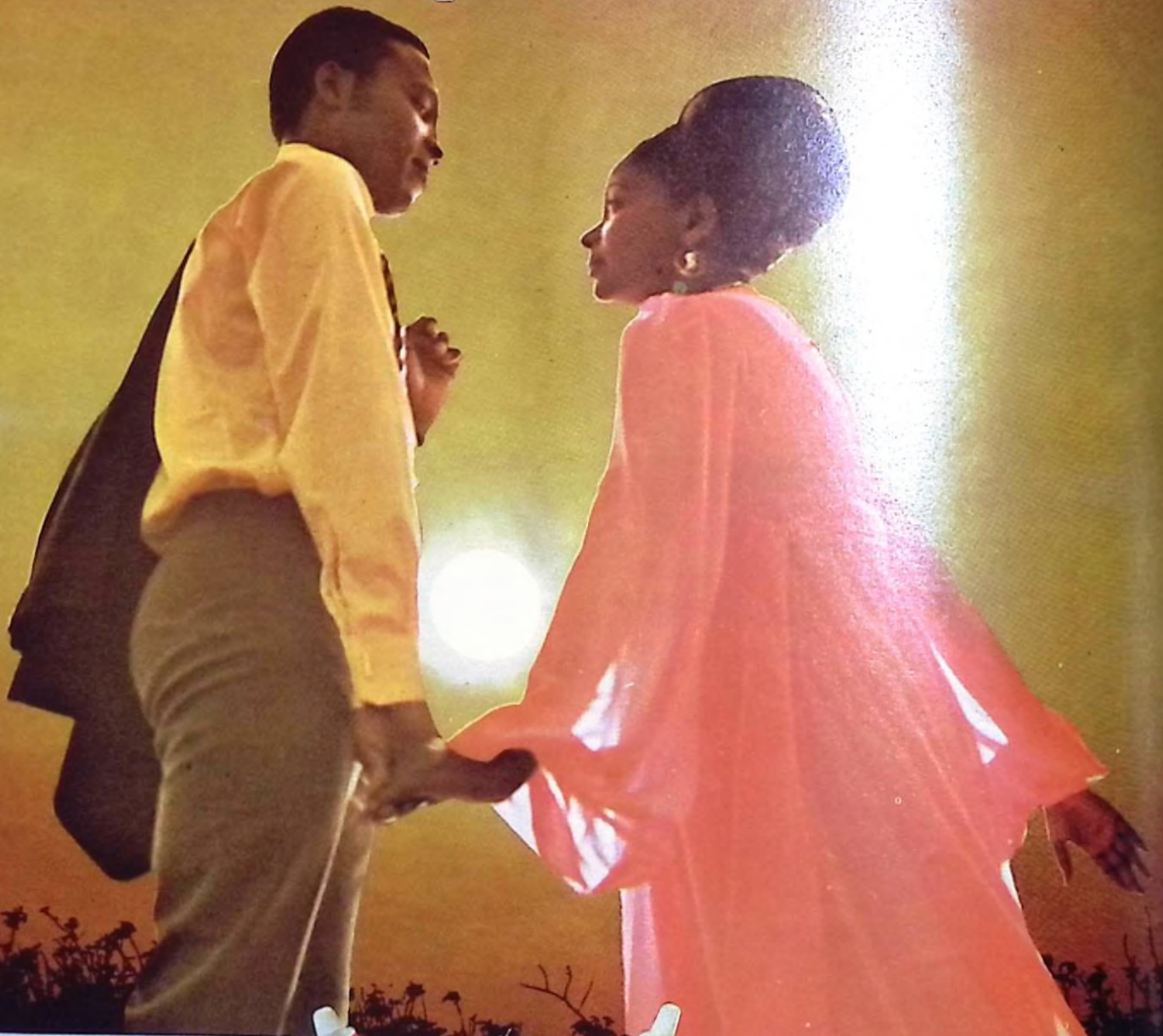
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PAN-AFRICANISM

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

In his opening speech, Mr. Norgaard reviewed Africa's relations with Europe since the EEC was established in 1957. He reviewed the Yaounde Conventions of Association of 1964 and 1969, as well as the Arusha agreement with the East African Economic Community.

He remarked that Protocol 22 to the Treaty of Rome which established the EEC offered three options on relationship to Africa.

The first option was full associate status under the Yaounde Convention.

The second option was a limited form of association such as that which Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have under the Arusha agreement.

The third option was a straight forward trade agreement.

between Africa and the EEC was a preliminary skirmish which enabled each side to know the outlines of their respective negotiating positions.

The African states held another meeting in Dares Salaam, Tanzania on September 20, 1973. The purpose of that meeting was to further consolidate Africa's common position in the negotiations with the EEC. The actual business of detailed negotiations with the EEC started in mid-October. The negotiation is expected to last 18 months and it is hoped that a final agreement could be reached by January 31, 1975.

In fact, it is a major milestone on the road to Pan-Africanism that African states have decided to adopt a common approach and speak with one voice, in their negotia-

tion. When the treaty establishing the exclusively francophone West African Economic Community was signed in Abidjan, Ivory Coast in April 1973, Mr. Deniau was also present.

Mr. Deniau has since left the EEC Commission in Brussels. He is now the French Secretary of state for co-operation, a post in which he would no doubt attempt to nurture the francophone West African Economic Community.

On the other hand, Nigeria has lately been trying to translate the ideals of the late President Tubman of Liberia into action. That is to form a genuinely West African Economic Community, in which the francophones and anglophones would co-operate. The neo-colonial manoeuvres over the formation of a West African Economic Community indicate what have to be surmounted before economic co-operation on a Pan-African scale becomes a reality.

African problems to achieve unity in the economic sphere are many. They include the existence of diverse currencies; different trade blocs; different payment systems; and competitive industries. All these are problems created and bequeathed by departing European colonialism.

The question is whether African states will be true to their Pan-African aspirations and take concerted effort to wipe off these vestiges of colonialism.

Another current topic of debate in Africa generated by these recent events is the relative merits of the approaches advocated by the pre-1963 Casablanca and Monrovia groups.

Is the gradualist, pragmatic approach advocated by the Monrovia group likely to achieve the Pan-African ideal faster and genuinely?

Or was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah correct in saying that we should first seek the political Kingdom of an African continental Union and that other things shall then be added unto it (like economic, technical, and cultural co-operation)?

Pan-Africanists all over the world would be happy to learn that the OAU is not wasting time engaging in academic debates over its pre-1963 differences. Rather, it has adopted the Pan-African approach as a unanimous mode of procedure whose major test is Africa's current negotiations with the EEC.

One thing is clear from all these facts. After ten years of uncertainty, the OAU has given Pan-Africanism a new lease of life. Du Bois, Garvey, Padmore and Nkrumah can now sleep well in their graves. The idea for which they lived and died is becoming a reality.

It is a million thanks to the present generation of African leaders and black peoples all around the world who have kept the torch of Pan-Africanism burning and very much alive.

Late Dr. Nkrumah

EKANGAKI



The European position as outlined by Mr. Norgaard was vague on most issues which were crucial to the economies of African countries. Such issues include international commodity price stabilisation on which the 9 member states of the EEC failed to agree. The EEC was unable to indicate the amount of financial aid to be offered to African in future.

Speaking for all African countries, Mr. Wenike Briggs of Nigeria said among other things:

"Because African states were calling into question the present pattern of international economics, commercial and financial relations between developed and developing countries, they called on the EEC to adopt special measures to contribute to development.

Mr. Briggs said further that—"future Africa-EEC relations should facilitate economic diversification; stimulation of exports; improvement of economic and social structures and stimulation of inter-African co-operation."

"The African states have decided to negotiate with the EEC a global agreement in the economic, technical and financial fields incorporating the fundamental principles adopted by the African Heads of States.

"It is further the view of African states that it is possible to have a legal framework to accommodate their wishes within existing international obligations".

The July 25, meeting in Brussels bet-

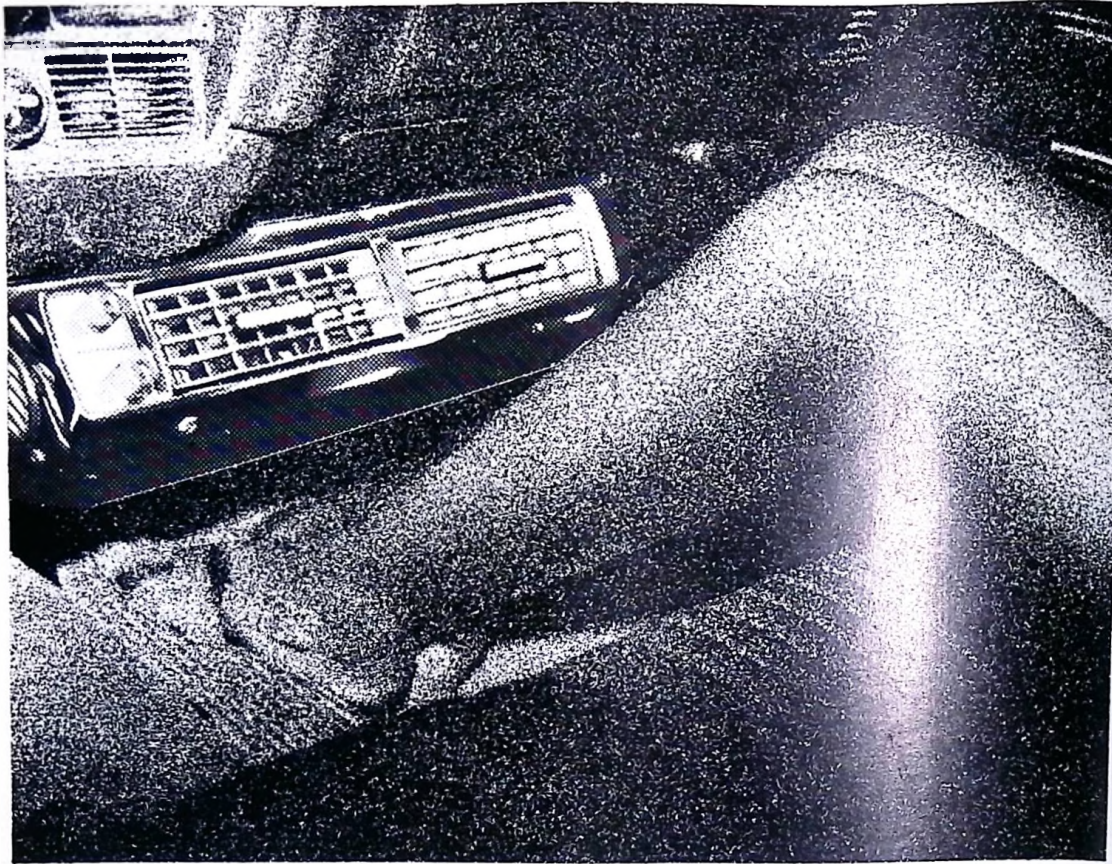
ween Africa and the EEC was a preliminary skirmish which enabled each side to know the outlines of their respective negotiating positions.

But the EEC and some former European powers, notably France, have been doing their worst to perpetuate the economic division of Africa along neo-colonialist lines. This is evident from the manoeuvres over the formation of a small regional grouping—the West African Economic Community. The idea was mooted by the late President Tubman of Liberia and by Ghana. The West African Economic Community (WAEC) was expected to group together 14 West African states.

It was to include both Francophone and anglophone African countries in the West African sub-region. Then the same external forces which set up the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (OCAM) as a rival to the OAU swung into action.

It is known that both the EEC and the French government went to work to inspire the formation of a West African Economic Community (CEAO) which consisted of francophone African states to the total exclusion of their English speaking brothers.

The EEC in 1972 gave aid worth 338,000 US dollars to the CEAO and in January 1973, gave it further aid worth 220,000 US dollars. It is ominous that an EEC technocrat, Mr. Jean-Francois Deniau was present at Bamako in 1972 when the idea of an exclusive francophone WAEC



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HUMOUR

During a Sunday church service, the pastor sermonized to the congregation, enumerating some social vices such as drunkness, gambling, corruption, bribery, immorality and so on. He said such vices should be regarded with abhorrence and should be fought as great enemies on the path of christian rectitude and salvation.

Seven days later, he preached a difference sermon on "love". He told the congregation that a christian should not only love his friends but his enemies as well.

Later in the day the village Reverend Pastor, enjoying a bicycle ride to another side of the village, came across one of his church congregationalists staggering out of a palm wine shed, obviously drunk.

Pastor: Was it not last Sunday I told you to desist from drinking and regard it as your enemy?

Drunk Man: Was it not today you told us to love our enemies like ourselves?

A passenger lorry was involved in a ghastly accident on the outskirts of a town resulting in the death of all the seven passengers including the driver.

One of the two boys, coming to the scene when the victims were being taken out of the wreck, pointed to the other.

1st boy: (gently touching the shoulder of the other). But notice what is written at the side of the lorry.....

2nd boy: What is it?

1st boy: Deliver me from horrible death, O God.

2nd boy: But why are you notifying me?

1st boy: Because I am wondering whether prayers are answered nowadays.

A hungry officer walked into a restaurant, sat down and asked the waiter who came to serve him "Have you got any nice looking dishes"? The waiter smiled and replied "well, yes sir, but the management does not like them flirting with customers".

Employer: Agreed that you possess the necessary qualifications for employment with us. But my boy, you know nothing goes for nothing in this country again. You have to bring some kola to qualify you finally. And quickly too.

Employment Seeker: Okay Sir. That is no problem. Tomorrow I

shall be here.

Next day he came with a bag-load of Kola nuts and was about to step into the office apartment of the employer when a messenger prevented him.

Messenger: What do you want with this big load here?

Employment Seeker: Your boss told me yesterday to bring him Kola which I am now taking to him.

Messenger: (Confused). Let me ring up my master. (He telephones).

Employer: (Coming out to see the employment seeker and the small crowd already gathered). What is the purpose of the bag here Mr. Man?

Employment Seeker: You said yesterday that I should bring you Kola before you can offer me an appointment. The Kolanuts are in the bag (pointing to it on the ground).

A fella told me that his girlfriend's name is comfort and all she ever wants him to do is make her comfortable.

Do you know why men who keep having daughters born for them cry?

Oh no! It is not because they are not male children. It is because of the high costs and supervision involved in bringing up girl.

MARRIAGE IS A FUNNY THING BUT THE MARRIED DO NOT LAUGH OVER IT.

A man met his friend on the road and his friend said to him—"I hear that you want to divorce your wife. On what grounds are you divorcing her?"

The man replied—"On the grounds of the courtroom of course".

THE NEWSPAPER HEADLINE READ "DANGEROUS WOMEN ON THE LOSE". AH, AH, THIS IS NO NEWS. WE KNOW THAT ALL LOSE WOMEN ARE DANGEROUS.

It was a cold rainy day two pedestrians were about to cross a road when a car came out of a corner close to them at a top speed. The pedestrians jumped back on the sidewalk just in time to avoid an accident.

1st pedestrian: My, my, where in t name of all that is holy is that dr hurrying to?

2nd pedestrian: I think he does not li this cold weather, so he is in a hurry be warmed by hell fire.

WE SAY HERE IN OUR OFFICE TH WHEN A MAN MARRIED A WIFE W, IS NOT WELL BRED HE SHOULD TA, HEART. AFTERALL, HALF BRED BETTER THAN NONE.

The father said to his daughters' be friend, "You have been seeing much my daughter. Have you not?"

The boyfriend replied: "No sir I have on seen her face, hands and legs—that is n much..... Is it?"

The fat secretary went to her boss an said, "Excuse me sir, but I think it is high time I got a raise from you".

The boss looked her fat frame over an said "well miss x, I would very much lik to raise you but you are much too fat fo one to lift".

One man said to the other—"For the past forty years I have lived in this world I have achieved nothing. I feel like putting an end to my miserable life".

"Well, said his friend phylosophically—"If you end your life you would have agitated man.

One man said to the other—"For the past forty years I have lived in this world. I have achieved nothing. I feel like putting an end to my miserable life".

"Well said his friend phylosophically—"If you end your life you would have achieved something".

"What is it I will achieve?" asked the agitated man.

"You would have taken one step towards easing the population explosion".

"You know that wife I married last year", said one husband to another. "She has changed drastically".

"For better or for worse"? asked the other. "For better only—She is only good when things are better".

"I CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY YOUR MARRIED THAT WEAK LOOKING MAN", SAID ONE SWEET THING TO THE OTHER—"WHAT DID YOU SEE IN HIM"? "MONEY CAME THE SHORT AND SIMPLE REPLY .

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DEPARTMENT STORES
THROUGHOUT NIGERIA

POLITICS OF THE NIGERIAN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

As far back as 1952, Nigeria had been making preparations for the establishment of an Iron and Steel Industry. 21 years later, we are still told that feasibility reports for its establishment are now in progress. Yet in 1971, an Iron and Steel Secretariat staffed by top Nigerian steel executives was established at 136 Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos. The Authority recently annexed offices at 90 Norman Williams Street Keffi Ikoyi, Lagos, thereby, giving the impression that we are ready to start.

The decision to build an iron and steel complex in Nigeria was an important effort to utilise some mineral resources which exist in abundant quantities in the country.

There are a few other African countries which have iron ore. These include Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Republic of Guinea. None of these African countries has embarked upon the building of a steel complex to process their crude iron ore.

What ordinarily happens is that some foreign interests extract the iron ore which is later processed in steel mills in the US, Western Europe and Japan.

Sometime ago, the federal government of Nigeria invested about ₦65,000 in the Mifergui-Nimba and Simandou Company of Conakry, in Guinea. This company includes a consortium of foreign companies from Japan, Spain, the USA and Britain. Algeria and Zaire are other African countries which have been invited to become shareholders in the company.

The Guinean iron ore consortium is only to extract iron ore—the company is not expected as yet to engage in the making of steel.

At the moment, only Egypt, Algeria and South Africa have steel mills in the whole of Africa. Hence in black Africa, Nigeria is pioneering the construction, design and running of a steel complex which is to use available raw materials.

The successful operation of a Steel project in Nigeria will not only create more wealth, but will also usher Nigeria into an era of a number of technology-

based industries. In other words, with successful operation of a Steel complex in Nigeria will be taking definite steps towards the road to becoming an industrial nation.

For all these reasons, it is clear that the Iron and Steel project plays a pivotal role in our development efforts.

A decision has been taken to establish two passenger car assembly plants at Kaduna and Lagos. The construction industry in Nigeria is booming. These areas where a Nigerian Steel Industry comes useful and can further reduce foreign exchange costs.

That is why it is worrying most Nigerians that despite 21 long years of intensive preparation, it is not likely that construction on the Steel project will start during the 1970-74 development period.

The Guidelines to the third development plan (1975-80) have some relevant things to say about the delay in implementing the Iron and Steel project.

The Guidelines say among other things "It is important to emphasize that not much has been gained by the delay in implementing the Iron and Steel project. For as well as for most major planned projects the problems have been the shortfalls in the implementation of federal government programmes.

"These projects have major socio-economic consequences and as a result decisions on their location are HEAVILY POLITICALLY charged and this leads to delays. It is desirable to work out a location strategy which will eliminate at least reduce the agonising delay in implementing major federal government industrial projects .

"The strategy will be built around a decision process which enables the location decision on a number of projects to be taken simultaneously. This approach to the problem will take into consideration not only techno-economic factor but also social and political factors which impinge on locational decisions for important projects".

The foregoing allegation of political



Dr. Adedeji,



Dr. Adetoro

NIGERIAN NOTES

POLITICS OF THE NIGERIAN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

factors affecting economic projects, coming as it did from the federal ministry of economic development, has led to speculation among ordinary Nigerians about what kind of political factors are delaying urgent economic projects in this military era in Nigeria.

I intend to look at the tortuous history of the Nigerian Iron and Steel project in two different phases—the civilian, pre-1966 phase; and the project during the current military regime.

The first national development Plan (1962-68) gives the impression that preliminary and other feasibility studies connected with the Iron and Steel project had been completed and that the federal (civilian) government only had to take a decision about the location of the Steel complex for actual construction work on it to begin.

The relevant passage of the 1962-68 Development Plan states as follows:

"Substantial progress has been made—on the formulation of the establishment of a viable Iron and Steel complex which will use Nigerian ores, limestones, coal and electric power.

"Government has invited international competition for a viable project and several proposals have been received. While it is not possible at this time (1962) to specify the project which may be finally selected, sufficient progress has been made to be CERTAIN that a decision may be made within A FEW MONTHS .

"To ensure the minimum possible delay in commissioning the steel mill, the federal government has set aside the full expected cost of £30 million (₦60 million) for this purpose.

"The earliest year in which the steel mill can come into operation will be 1966, and it will reach the full capacity output in 1970-71".

The 1962-68 Plan gave some technical details about the proposed steel mill.

It was expected to have a capacity between 125,000 tons to 250,000 tons. It was to concentrate on the manufacture of black and corrugated sheets, rods, and bents, angles and channels and other structural steel.

According to the 1962-68, Plan, the production of 125,000 tons of steel will require no less than 242,400 tons of iron ore; 75,200 tons of limestone and 110,000 tons of coal.

The Plan adds further: "If the steel complex is located in the Onitsha or Lokoja areas, it would add about 53 million tons to river traffic".

The steel mill will require about 13 per

cent of the installed generating capacity of the Kainji dam and will add about 27 per cent to the electricity demand expected in 1971-72 and was expected to provide direct employment to about 1,500 persons.

The 1962-68 Plan concluded as follows: "The size of the steel complex and its repercussions throughout the economy make it essential that the greatest care is taken in evaluating the proposals submitted with a view to selecting the steel mill most suitable to Nigerian conditions".

It is reasonable to infer from what was written about the Iron and Steel project in the 1962-68 Plan that the federal civilian government in 1962 were quite clear in their minds about the kind of steel project Nigeria was going to have. It is reasonable to infer further that the federal civilian government had satisfied itself that necessary geological survey and economic feasibility studies had been done and they both favour the establishment of a steel mill in Nigeria.

That was probably why the federal civilian government in 1962 set aside ₦60 million for the project; that was why the authors of the 1962-68 Plan, writing at the beginning of the Plan period, were sure that the federal government would select the kind of steel mill best suited to Nigerian conditions "within a few months".

They were also sure that the proposed steel mill would reach its capacity output between 1970-71; they were sure what kind of products would come out of the proposed steel mill.

Apparently everything had been decided on, at least on paper, except the location of the proposed steel mill. The 1962-68 Plan merely made an oblique reference to the fact that it could be sited either in Onitsha or in Lokoja.

In the feverish political atmosphere of Nigeria's First Republic, nobody would be surprised if the different political factions that made up the federal government reached a stalemate in their haggling over the location of the proposed steel mill.

We know for a fact today that in spite of what appeared like the well cut and dried plans of the federal civilian government, Nigeria still has no iron and steel complex.

We can only speculate why the Iron and Steel mill blueprint never got translated into reality, by the pre-1966 federal government. Politics must have been a serious factor.

Shortly after the 1962-68 Development Plan was launched, the crisis of the banned Action Group Party erupted in the former Western Region. A state of emergency was declared throughout the former western region which was lifted in January, 1963. From then on, Nigeria lurched from one political crisis to another until the Armed Forces disbanded the profes-

sional civilian politicians of the First Republic on January 15, 1966.

A religious minded person reading the 1962-68 Plan on Nigeria's proposed steel mill might well conclude that indeed—"Man proposes; but God disposes".

This is because the decision on the selection of the suitable steel mill which was expected to be made "within a few months" in 1962 has so far not been made eleven whole years later.

This brings us to the Iron and Steel project in the military era in Nigeria. After assuming power in January 1966 the Nigerian Armed Forces were preoccupied with a number of vital public issues, the most important of which was the question of the unity of Nigeria.

In any case a civil war broke out in Nigeria in 1967 and it ended in January 1970. During the 30-month civil war, nobody gave priority to the proposed Iron and Steel project.

Under the present federal military government, public discussion of the proposed Iron and Steel project was resumed after the 1970-74, second development Plan was launched. The Plan made specific references to the Iron and Steel project.

Among other things the 1970-74 Development Plan said:

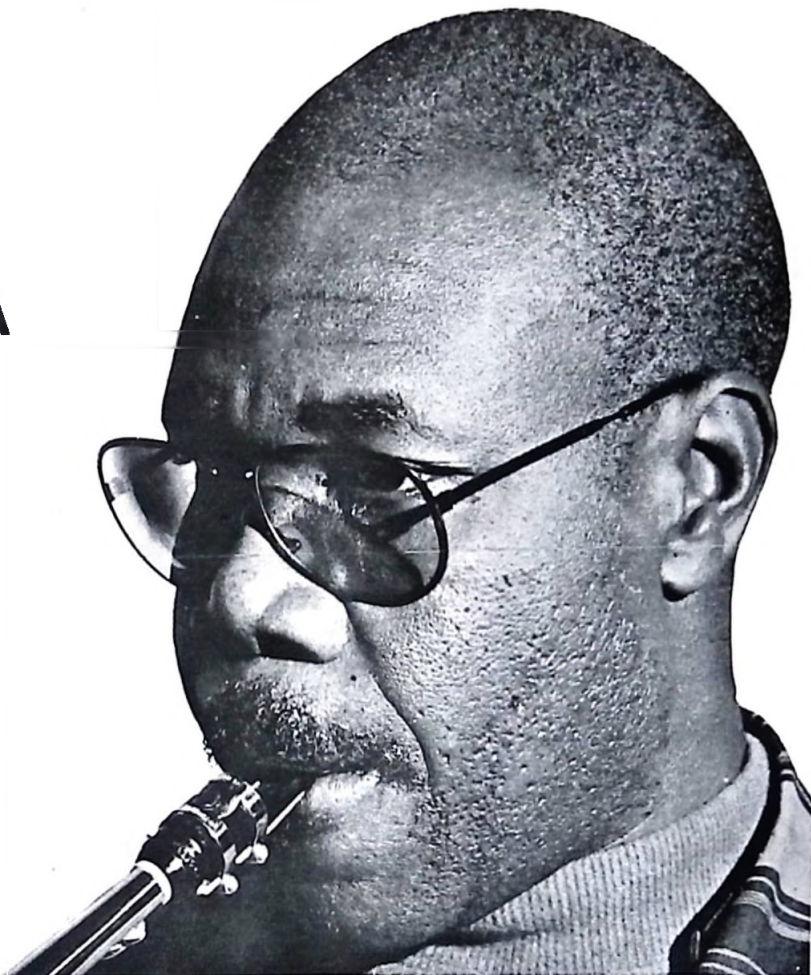
"Based on the conclusion of market studies carried out in 1967 with the assistance of the United National Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) and on other feasibility surveys, the completed capacity of the proposed integrated Iron and Steel mill will be 750,000 tons a year.

"Technical investigations on old and newly discovered ore and coal deposits as well as designing of the project will be completed during the current (1970-74) Plan period. Construction of the basic iron and steel making plant is expected to commence by the beginning of 1974. The estimated cost of the whole project by completion date is about £120 million (₦240 million).

"Within the over-all programme of building an integrated Iron and Steel Complex, the construction of the rolling mill and other finishing workshops may be phased in, earlier during the Plan period, to supply needed intermediate products for projects in the metal working sector. This will be in accord with national industrial priorities of stimulating production of building construction materials agricultural implements, metal tools, components for the motor assembly plants construction of vehicle bodies, pipes cables, wires and nails".

NEWS FROM DECCA

SOUL MAKOSSA IS SELLING FAST



No other West African artist has made such a devastating impact on the international entertainment scene with one single hit than Manu Dibango from Cameroon whose current best seller "Soul Makossa" had upset critics by its astounding success on the international market. Besides a complete sell-out of the record in Europe, some 30,000 copies of it imported into the United States sold for as high as \$10 a 45 r.p.m. disc while latest reports had placed the record on the top of the charts in the United States.

To meet the demands of the increasingly sophisticated Nigerian audience, Decca has acquired distribution rights of "Soul Makossa" as well as other recordings of Manu Dibango.

'Soul Makossa' released last month and fast selling out, is the brain child of 39-year-old, Cameroon-born Manu Dibango. Unlike other African superstars like Hugh Masekela and African Songstress, Miriam Makeba whose inspirations had some native grounding, Manu derived his inspiration from the church where he sang as a choir boy—like the black American Soul exponents. Perhaps this would account for that full soul feeling in "Soul Makossa".

It was an unexpected gift of a saxophone that was to revolutionize Manu's life. Saxophones became an obsession with him and today, "Dibbs" cannot only blow the sax with the dexterity and virtuosity of a Junior Walker but can also arrange and conduct an orchestra as well as play with expertise, the bass and the piano.

After a brief spell doing various stints in Europe including philosophy studies in between playing at dances and jazz clubs, Manu decided to return to Africa to rediscover the roots of his musical heritage. But this time, Manu made Zaire, a watershed of African jazz music his base of operations. It was while doing gigs with top Congolese musicians that Manu evolved his sound which combines elements of Jazz and intricate native African rhythms and is also influenced by dances of modern Africa—his "Black Ivory Soul".

"Soul Makossa" is by arrangement and composition made for dancing. The sheer heavy rhythm characteristic of African music is well augmented by the jerky pulsating bass while Manu's saxophone blazes the trail, intricately weaving in and out as you dance along. 'Soul Makossa' has all the dancing appeal of a James Brown's "Get on the good Foot" or a Temptation's "Masterpiece".

ASK YOUR RECORD SHOP FOR MANU DIBANGO SOUL MAKOSSA
LP OR SINGLE SOUL MAKOSSA DWA 30

DECCA

POLITICS OF THE NIGERIAN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

A few points are remarkable in the reference to the Iron and Steel project in the 1970-74 Development Plan.

The first is that it talked of market studies and feasibility surveys carried out in 1967. In the tense political atmosphere of 1967, whatever market studies and feasibility survey were carried out could not have included the three eastern states which constituted the former eastern region of Nigeria.

Secondly, the capacity of the steel mill which was formerly estimated at a maximum of 250,000 tons of steel a year, has been revised to a maximum capacity of 750,000 tons of steel a year. In other words, Nigeria is to have a bigger steel mill and the estimated cost of the mill has been revised upward to ₦240 million.

From the relevant passages in the 1970-74 Development Plan, it appears that everything is going on smoothly with the planning of Nigeria's proposed steel mill. At least, actual construction work is not expected to begin until sometime in 1974.

But since the second development Plan was launched in 1970, a number of things had happened which have aroused public curiosity about what is really happening to Nigeria's proposed steel mill.

The first of such happenings was the establishment by decree in 1971 of a Nigerian Steel Development Authority. This Authority among other things, is empowered to construct, maintain and run steel mills in the place or places specified by the federal military government.

This Authority, like the National Oil Corporation in petroleum matters, is the federal government's technical arm in the matter of developing a Nigerian Iron and Steel industry.

Apparently, the federal government will depend upon the technical advice offered to it by the Authority before taking decisions on the Nigerian Steel project.

Secondly, pages 20-21 of the Guidelines to the Third Development Plan published by the Federal Ministry of Economic Development suggested that the delay over taking a decision on the location of Nigeria's proposed Iron and Steel mill is due to some political factors.

Thirdly, some federal commissioners and officials of the Nigerian Steel Development Authority have made statements which have hardly cleared the air about what is really happening to Nigeria's proposed steel mill.

It is known that between 1967 and 68, some Soviet experts undertook feasibility studies with regard to the Steel project. Later in 1969, the Soviet Authorities offered Nigeria about ₦100 million to assist in the development of the Steel Project.

In 1970, a Nigerian delegation visited the Soviet Union to discuss technical aspects of the proposed steel mill.

On October 9, 1972, the New Nigerian newspaper carried a report about a visit to Nigeria of Mr. Smeljakov Nikolai, the Russian Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade.

The Russian minister referred to a team of Russian geological experts who were carrying out detailed geological survey in Nigeria to determine the extent of the mineral deposits in the country.

It is believed that these Russian experts are still working in the country in close collaboration with Nigerian experts.

On October 11, 1972, the Daily Times reported Dr. Adebayo Adedeji, Federal Commissioner for Economic Development, as saying in Kano that the Federal government had earmarked ₦20 million to start off the proposed Iron and Steel Industry.

Dr. Adedeji said that a final decision on the siting of the Iron and Steel complex would not be taken until the report of experts was received.

Later, on January 26, 1973, the Nigerian Observer, reported Dr. Adedeji as saying that Russian experts were already in the country to carry out a feasibility study on the establishment of an Iron and Steel Industry in Nigeria.

The Federal Commissioner for Industry, Dr. Eytayo Adetoro, disclosed in Enugu (Daily Times, February 7, 1973) that a preliminary survey report on the proposed Iron and Steel Industry in Nigeria had been submitted to the Federal Government.

The Daily Times reported Dr. Adetoro as saying that "two of such industries (Iron and Steel) might be set up in the country".

The New Nigerian newspaper of May 30, 1973 quoting undisclosed sources said at least two iron and steel complexes will be established in different parts of the country in the next few years it added that the first Steel Complex will offer employment to about 10,000 workers.

According to the New Nigerian of May 30, 1973, the project manager of the Nigerian Steel Development Authority, Mr. Akin Adegboye, said that Nigerian steel complex would not be erected within the 1970-74 Plan period as originally planned.

He attributed the departure from the date originally envisaged in the 1970-74 plan to some "economic and technical factors that are still being considered".

According to the project manager, one

of the outstanding problems being considered is whether iron ore or coking coal would be available in good quantity in the country.

Technically, Mr. Adegboye said that the availability of adequate infrastructure base for the iron and steel complex was being looked into.

He disclosed that the Nigerian Steel Authority was looking into whether the Nigerian Railway Corporation and the National Electrical Power Authority (NEPA) would be able to cope with the expansion schemes which the project would demand. The Nigerian Steel Development Authority was also looking into whether there would be adequate water supply, road and water transport for the production of iron and steel.

One overall impression emerges from the reported statements of Dr. Adedeji, Dr. Adetoro and Mr. Akin Adegboye—that Steel project has not progressed much from where the Russians left off.

Besides the steel mill's production capacity has been increased from 250,000 tons to 750,000 tons a year.

Secondly, it appears that the federal government (civilian and military) have been inundated with a lot of reports surveys and feasibility studies. Some of them are probably conflicting and this does not make the decision-making process any easier.

But it appears that in the present circumstances, the Nigerian Steel Development Authority (NSDA) will be mainly responsible for the technical data on which the federal government will base its decision on the location of a steel complex.

At the time of writing—(mid-October 1973) the NSDA project manager, who had earlier spoken to the New Nigerian newspaper was away in Brazil.

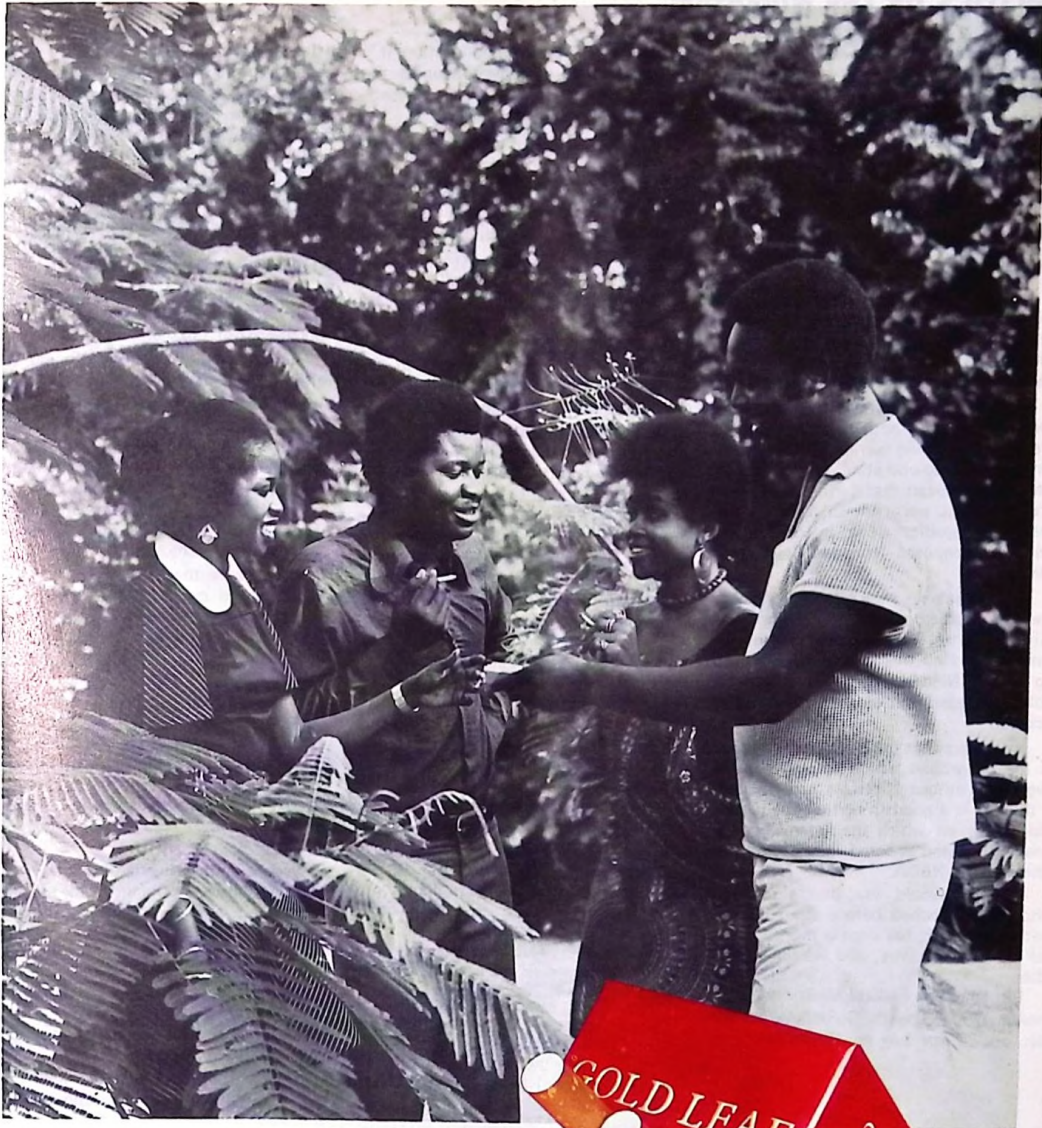
I spoke to the Secretary to the NSDA, Alhaji Ahmadu Ali Negeda. According to him:

"There is no quarrel over the location of the steel complex as far as I know. We are currently investigating certain raw materials like iron ore, coal for cooking around Lokoja and Lafía".

Alhaji Negeda was definite that the federal government had not yet taken decision on location because the Nigerian Steel Development Authority has not yet completed studies and data on which such a decision should be based.

The Secretary to the NSDA emphasized that this was a project on which the federal government was expected to spend about ₦240 million. It is only prudent that careful studies are made before the design for a suitable steel mill is selected.

All this sounds quite reasonable, yet the impression persists that starting from the civilian regime, there has been too



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GOLD LEAF FOR GOOD TASTE!

POLITICS OF THE NIGERIAN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

much foot-dragging over Nigeria's iron and Steel project.

So, when the Federal Ministry of Economic Development's Guidelines to the Third Plan talks about delay due to political factors, Nigerians naturally wonder what such political factors could be in this military era.

It is reasonable to presume that whoever wrote that passage in the Guidelines wrote it with a sense of responsibility and a full awareness of the implications of that statement in a country like Nigeria.

From our investigation, it appears that geological surveys and feasibility studies are currently being carried out by Nigerian experts co-operating with Russian experts. It appears that during the civilian era, Nigerians were not involved in the feasibility studies done in connection with the proposed Iron and Steel complex.

Foreign experts were solely responsible for the studies carried out. Since the Nigerian Steel Development Authority was established there had been attempts to involve Nigerians deeply in all aspects of the preparation of the Iron and Steel project.

It appears that the NSDA is going over a lot of ground which foreign experts working without Nigerians had covered. I think it is a good thing that the technical advice on which the federal government's decision is based should be furnished by the NSDA.

Nobody would say that a decision should be reached before the NSDA is satisfied that it has done a thorough job of geological survey, and feasibility studies.

But since the Federal Ministry of Economic Development's Guidelines let the cat out of the bag on alleged political

factors affecting decision on location, it is no use sweeping the question under the carpet and pretending that it does not exist or that it could never arise.

To do so would be to run away from the realities of our country.

Since 1962 when the federal government talked definitely about an Iron and Steel complex for Nigeria, a decision had never been taken on its location. It is well-known that the two areas being considered are Lokoja and Onitsha.

"A significant portion of the 1962-68 Development Plan states:

"If the complex is located in the Onitsha or Lokoja areas, it would add about 53 million tons to river traffic".

That was the nearest the federal civilian government got to talking about the probable location of the proposed Steel complex.

The 1962-68 Plan talked about the government taking a decision on the most suitable steel mill "within a few months". This meant that at the latest a decision about the most suitable mill and its location should have been taken in 1963.

The tense political atmosphere which prevailed as from 1962 apart, it could not have been easy for a federal civilian government to take a decision on the location of the steel complex.

The government of the former Northern Region and that of the former Eastern Region would have canvassed vigorously for siting the steel complex in Lokoja and Onitsha respectively.

The economic advantages of sitting a steel complex in an area are enormous. Apart from offering increased employment opportunities, the steel mill will give rise to a whole series of ancillary industries and create a tremendous demand for services which will benefit its immediate locality.

These are some of the reasons why under a civilian regime, there should be a silent but nevertheless vigorous contest for the location of the steel mill in either Onitsha or Lokoja.

Whether such a struggle is currently going on, in the present military era is an open question on which I have no facts to base even an informed guess.

Those who in their naivety imagine that politics should not interfere in the decision to locate a steel mill argue that there are definite economic criteria which should guide such a decision.

Such economic determinants include, among others, sources of abundant raw materials of the right quality; availability of power; availability of cheap transport to move the raw materials and finished products; and finally, nearness to markets.

All these factors sound impressive in economic text-books, but what happens in the real world is quite different. In

Britain for example, the British Steel Corporation faced a competitive claim for location of steel mills as between Scotland and Wales and up till now, the conflict has not been resolved to the general satisfaction of everybody.

What makes the conflict difficult in Nigeria is that, at least to this writer, the balance of advantage for siting Nigeria's steel mill is not clear cut as between Onitsha and Lokoja.

There are deposits of iron ore near Onitsha and at Agbajo plateau—17 miles north-west of Lokoja.

Coking coal is available at Enugu; it is also available at Okaba, 20 miles south of Lokoja. Electric power is to come from Kainji Dam.

Limestone is known to exist at Jakura and at Ikorodu near Lokoja. It also exists north of Onitsha.

So, it is really difficult to decide on where to locate the steel mill as between Lokoja and Onitsha.

I am aware that the technical studies being carried out by the Nigerian Steel Authority and the Russians will concern itself with such things as the QUANTITY and QUALITY of the necessary raw materials available in the areas around Lokoja and Onitsha.

Their findings may tilt the balance of advantage in favour of one location or the other. But the construction of the proposed steel mill is so pivotal to Nigeria's industrial progress that politics in any form should not be allowed to delay it unduly.

Secondly, the Nigerian Steel Development Authority should do a thorough job of market studies, geological surveys feasibility studies and the like so that Nigeria can have a suitable steel mill. There are in operation a number of white elephant projects which are dead losses to this country. These projects were started without adequate preliminary economic and technical investigations.

The country cannot afford such mistakes with regard to the proposed Iron and Steel complex.

From my investigations into the history of our Iron and Steel project, perhaps should hazard one or two guesses. And want to make it quite clear that this is my PERSONAL speculation.

First, work may start on the steel mill towards the end of 1974.

Secondly, I shall be surprised if the balance of advantage does not turn out in favour of locating the steel mill in Lokoja.

Anyway my guess is as good as that of any other Nigerian man-in-the-street.

The important thing is that Nigerians should have a suitable and well-designed steel complex that will benefit ALL Nigerians no matter in what part of the country they happen to live.

"THE TENSE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE WHICH PREVAILED AS FROM 1962 APART, IT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN EASY FOR A FEDERAL CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE A DECISION ON THE LOCATION OF THE STEEL COMPLEX"

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gentleman

MBU

By Chris Okolie.

Mathew Mbu an Ogoja man in South Eastern State of Nigeria entered politics with only little qualification above Standard Six, the matriculation. At the age 24, he won his first election under the candidacy of N.C.N.C.

As Nigeria's first envoy in the United Kingdom he obtained his L.L.B. degree and Diploma in International Affairs at the University of London with private coaching from Dr. T. Elias, now Chief Justice of the Federation, who was then a Research fellow at Oxford.

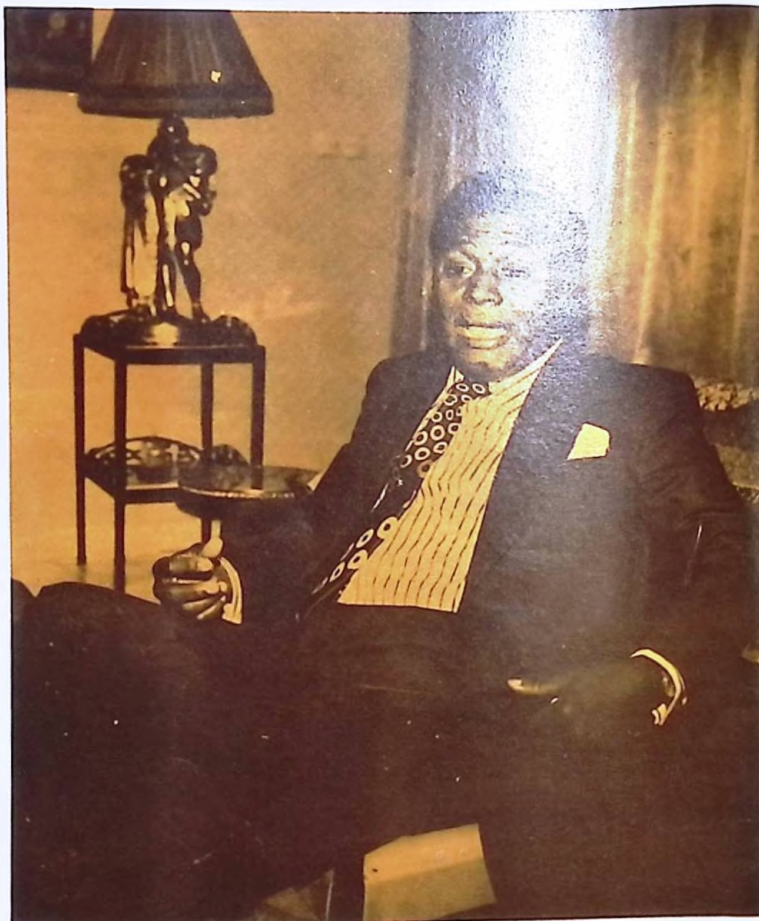
"My becoming a lawyer is in keeping with the wish of my father who wanted me to become one but then I wanted to become a Priest. That perhaps is the reason why I entered politics without a College or University Education. I was very interested in becoming a Priest. When I became the High Commissioner of Nigeria, I realised that I needed further education and I was admitted as a student of Middle Temple and University College of London", says Mr. Mbu.

He continued "I am still attracted by a lot of the wise sayings of my father and further I am very grateful to him".

Mr. Mbu after his law examination in 1959, was posted as Nigeria's first representative to Washington, United States from where he was recalled to fight the 1959 general election. He returned to the United States shortly after the election but was recalled again to become a cabinet Minister under the Balewa Cabinet.

As a Cabinet Minister he wrote and passed his Masters Degree in Law and was working on his Ph.D thesis when the civil war broke out.

Mathew Mbu looks confidently towards the future as a successful solicitor and hopes to retire to his country farm in Ogoja. He is the proud father, the first blackman to produce a child that became



the first black boy to be a member of Eton College governing council, the pop, and Head boy at Carter House, which gives him wide powers to discipline and punish the students, 99.9% of whom are white boys.

Going through his political records, he was not a party fanatic neither was it known that he contributed towards tugging and dirty politics. Mathew Mbu revisited for this interview, qualifies to be styled Gentleman Mbu.

Critics of Mbu say: Mathew Mbu

suffers from too much westernization. His life style is similar to an English Country Duke. Mbu has never seen himself as part of the mob, he is very classy. This is reflected in his custom built suits and his rigid English taste for fixtures and furnishings. All in all, Mbu is so refined that if not for his skin colour he could be mistaken for an English Duke".

NEWBREED: Your eldest son John Mbu is a student at the controversial Eton College. What was your motivation in sending him there?

MBU: No motivation. Eton was not my specific choice, my wish was to give him a sound education in any school.

But then his Headmaster at his English Preparatory School saw the germ of promise in him, and went ahead to place him at the Eton general list.

At the entrance examination, he scored 100% in English language. 90% in General Paper. 75% in Mathematics.

Even though I was sceptical initially, I supported the effort of his Headmaster when he considered the standard of disci-



pline at Eton as second to none. Perhaps it is one of the few schools in England without modern facilities of central heating, hot running baths, modern furnishing and beddings etc. Canning is still in vogue at Eton.

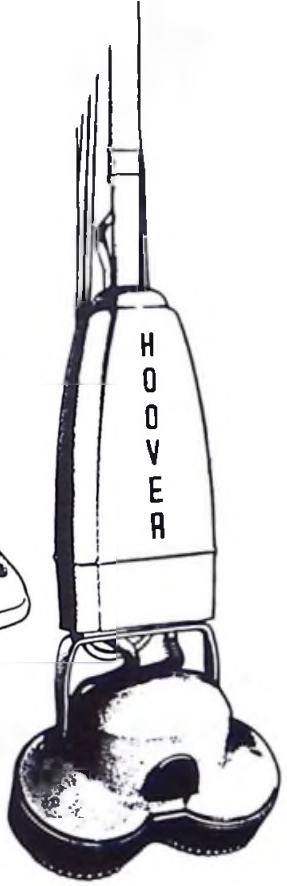
On the whole, he got to Eton on merit and he has certainly done well for himself and even exceeded my expectations.

For example he was first African ever to play at the Lords Cricket Ground in the Eton versus Harrow match.

Recently he became the first African to be elected out of 3,500 candidates as member of Eton governing council the Pop. He has also been elected as Head of



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NEWBREED INTERVIEW

his House, Carter.

NEWBREED: Certainly you must have been impressed and influenced by some hall marks of Eton before you agreed to "pay the piper".

MBU: If anything has influenced me at all it is the success story of ex-Etonians in Business, Politics, Military and other fields. The school prepares a child for the rough and tumble of life.

NEWBREED: What other concrete benefits could you claim for Eton?

MBU: Academic excellence. Example—at 14 my child wrote and passed 6 O.L. papers in General Certificate of Education, At 15 he passed 3 additional O.L. papers bringing all together 9 O.L. GCE at age 15. In 1976 this year at age 17, he will be sitting his Advanced Level papers and the traditional Ox-bridge—(Oxford and Cambridge) University Entrance Examinations.

NEWBREED: Despite all these beautiful scores, there is a general belief that Eton breeds "superior men" and "misfits" in society.

MBU: That might be due to ignorance to some extent. People have been made to feel that the school produces only Prime-Ministers, but Eton produces farmers, Businessmen, Journalists and other Professions.

The character of a child is not only formed by his groupings at school or at play. Parental influence is a critical factor in a child's character formation.

I personally do not only abhor snob-bishness, it is not my nature. Therefore I cannot see my child if he is a true sheep of the old block behaving otherwise.

I have tried to inculcate in him a sense of simplicity and good manners. I don't believe that my son will be a misfit to our society or a spoiled child simply because he went to College in England.

NEWBREED: What is wrong with the Nigerian School?

MBU: Frankly speaking I am not against the Nigerian system. The truth is that the old type of teachers who approach their job with dedication and untrammelled devotion to duty are no more available. The teacher today from the kindergarten to University for various reasons is now a trader, a contractor, a politician etc.

We need reforms that can attract and rediscover teachers of the right calibre and devotion and they should be accorded appropriate recognition since the destiny of our children lies in their hands.

Further it is a general revolution in the world that the standards of education have fallen and there is a progressive trend in youth delinquency. Rigid discipline of the Eton-type of college seems the answer. I would also point out that if parents cannot afford to bring their children in

overseas institutions home at least once a year they should not bother to send them there, otherwise the fear of a child becoming a misfit in the society could be validly laid.

NEWBREED: At a time society is crying for comprehensivisation of schools, you are lobbying for the public school system, some sections of the society regard the public schools as "expensive for African children".

MBU: First of all, let me make it clear I am not a teacher and veteran of educational systems.

But as a father there are many factors that would not commend comprehensive school to my easy acceptance. There should be a choice for every one. The comprehensive system might deter the chances of a child with a very high I.Q. from progressing at a faster pace. For example there is the case of an English boy who entered Oxford University at the age of 14. It is alleged he did his advanced calculus at 12. He took his Bachelor's degree at 16 and is writing his doctoral thesis under 18. The boy will become a Don under 18 years.

In a comprehensive system a boy like that might not be spotted or given the chance to progress as he did. We therefore do not need to abolish the existing system in preference to comprehensivisation.

Mr. Olu Akaraogun talked through his heart when he wrote in your Sept. 1973 edition on the "tragedy of an expensive European education for African children".

Olu Akaraogun did not comprehend the realities of the politics of education. It is not true to say that an expensive education is a national waste. I would say that the type of education a parent would like his child to undergo is the primary responsibility of the parents. Every responsible parent owes his child an obligation to give the child a good education.

I would further say that by far more money is wasted on social functions, pasting currency notes on dancer's foreheads, expensive laces etc.

NEWBREED: How do you feel now as a private citizen as against a public citizen? Do you feel a loss of status?

MBU: Private life is a hard life, you never can be sure where the next meal will come from. The challenges are more rigorous whereas public life is a bit more leisurely and secured. This lack of security in private life accounts for the reluctance of some public servants to quit when required to do so or upon attainment of retiring age.

I don't miss anything as a private citizen. I still enjoy the company of my good friends. They come to see me when they can and of course I call on them also.

NEWBREED: As one of the dismissed

Ministers of the old politics, what would you say was the main factor leading the military revolt?

MBU: That is a 64 million dollar question. Can you get an omelette without breaking an egg? We know the clamour for the civilian government to go. The clamour was so loud and in too many quarters. The number cannot be quantified.



We disappeared from the scene and that is all there is to it.

NEWBREED: So you are looking forward to 1976?

MBU: Anything I say is hypothetical. First and foremost we have been promised a constituent assembly and what the constitution of Nigeria should be nobody knows yet. At least I don't know.

Until the recommendations have been handed down any talk about 1976 is an exercise in futility.

NEWBREED: Who should rule after 1976?

MBU: A wonderful question, if I were a sage and endowed with pre-vision I would have given you the answer.

Let the people decide if there will be a machinery for such decision. Until such a machinery exists to decide who should govern I cannot tell you who my governor will be.

NEWBREED: Some people think the military must go and some people think they must continue after 1976; what do you think?

MBU: If Nigeria is to avoid turning the country into a laboratory of political experiment and noxious tests, we must all refrain from the absolute delight in picking labels because of our obsession for change.

I do not believe that any group of people are specially qualified to rule. We must avoid the doctrine that a group of people have a divine right to rule. The best lawyer is not necessarily the best politician nor is the best soldier necessari-

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NEWBREED

NEWBREED INTERVIEW

ly the best politician and the best politician for that matter may not also be the best ruler.

In general, I can tell you that Nigeria needs a content of leadership. We should be able to examine what a leader has to offer and examine the leader quite dispassionately and come to a total acceptance.

Anybody who has the best quality of understanding the people and is able to—maximise available resources and counsels of the land for their benefit should rule the country.

Finally the military knew how they came to power and they should be left to decide for themselves when to take the exit.

NEWBREED: How can we fight corruption in society and politics?

MBU: I am not in a position to defend our record. *It was generally believed that we were a bunch of corrupt ministers but nobody did anything to remedy the situation. Yet there was a code of conduct and disciplinary procedure which was never enforced against any one.*

We still accept those known to be corruptmen into the most influential circles with open minds. Thus the corruptman is as good and honourable as anyone else where ever he goes.

Today the corrupt can buy chieftaincy titles, spray money at parties, and get their names immortalised in records etc.

If we must fight corruption, the public must act in concert with the law and reject materialism as a major basis for value. The public must shun and despise corruption if we are to be meaningful about fighting it.

NEWBREED: Do you agree with the widespread feeling that the military has performed better than professional politicians?

MBU: Again, I cannot defend our record but as a politician if you are responsible for a ministry woe betide you, if you endorse everything that goes through your hands. This is because you are answerable to Parliament.

But the same cannot be said of the military. A military government is a dictatorship however mild or benevolent.

To whom does the military account or report to? The military by itself decide every action and account to themselves.

In the civilian days one must account to the Cabinet and to Parliament. If you fail to meet expectation you are publicly booed and the repercussion follows.

Again one must not forget the fact that Nigeria has established a very stable and efficient civil service and given the fortunes of Nigeria today plus the patriotism of all Nigerians, the progress of Nigeria cannot be otherwise.

NEWBREED: Would you in view of the fact that lack of political groupings have contributed to the present economic pro-

gress in Nigeria, recommend a one party system?

MBU: Let us look at our political system before our various constitutional reforms.

Under the village or native system, we had a consensus government. It was a consensus government that admitted vocal opposition.

If Nigeria were to adopt a single party system, it should not muzzle opposition because sometimes the consensus will not be the best for the country.

It is no longer true that powers belong

to parliament in modern times. Power today is shared by the press, organised labour or trade union, the industry etc.

The same goes for a virile, articulate and fearless press, they will remind the public servant who sometimes appears to forget the golden saying 'noblesse oblige'. So if a single party represents all the levels of society without killing opposition, it is well and good.

NEWBREED: How true is it that you supported Biafra and appeared not to have supported it?



NEWBREED INTERVIEW

MBU: That is unfair if I am permitted to say so. Biafra was a child of peculiar circumstances which have now become part of our history. Any true blooded Nigerian will regret the existence of those unfortunate circumstances.

Anyone who accuses me of playing an ambivalent role in the crisis is uncharitable to me.

My role in public life is still a confirmation of my belief. But for some of us at the Ad hoc constitutional conference in 1966, there could have been separate states like: ODUDUWA state in the West and THE REPUBLIC OF THE NORTH. It was some of us at the conference who thwarted these devisive tendencies by appealing to all delegations to close ranks and save the nation from disintegration.

NEWBREED: Would you play the political ball of 1976?

MBU: "I cannot play a game I do not know the rules".

NEWBREED: Why did you not join your friends to work with the military?

MBU: I could not join them because I am not a military man, I have only been a civilian minister in the ministry of Defence.

NEWBREED: We think the government blundered to grant "the drought samaritans" tax relief, what is your position?

MBU: I agree with you to some extent that government probably erred in their judgement but charitable contributions

are generally granted relief from taxation. Besides the country is doing well economically. Government may reduce or abolish any form of taxation if it so wishes.

NEWBREED: As an Internationalist and a Diplomat, do you think it was wise for us to sever relationship with Israel?

MBU: The history of Israel and the Middle East is bedevilled with so many complexities.

In the game of diplomacy areas of interests are classified as special, marginal or enlightened self interest. In breaking up relations with Israel, I will like to believe that the umpires of Nigeria's conduct of foreign affairs thought seriously and weighed all the merits of the case before breaking off diplomatic relations.

But as an outsider not knowing the facts, it is difficult to castigate anyone for a particular decision even if such a decision might not meet the wishes of some sectors of the community.

If I was in charge of the foreign policy of an African country I would have to examine in depth the OAU resolution that appears to dictate to a sovereign state.

NEWBREED: What is your opinion about the culture of the blackman?

MBU: I think the blackman has a lot of history. It is not a thing to be discussed without any insight into his long history.

The revolution of the blackman has been on for a very long time. The

blackman under conditions of slavery by the white merchants of Europe and America was made to feel that he had no culture let alone history. This is of course is not true. The blackman has a proud history and has made outstanding contributions to civilization.

Records have proved that the black race has provided scholars long before Shakespeare and Julius Caesar. Othello was reputed to be a blackman. Historical records show that the black man has military power. Ethiopia defeated the best Army in Europe in mediaeval times.

Peter the great of Russia had a blackman as a General who was one of the best in his days.

On scholarship there are records to show that a black man was a contemporary of Beethoven. Records show Beethoven's quarrels with his black contemporary. Still on scholarship. Records further reveal that a black man (a Ghanaian) Antonio A. M. ... had a double doctorate in philosophy. He later taught Kant the famous philosopher, 300 years ago.

Another black man got a Ph.D. in the famous Liden University as early as 1692.

In Haiti the Black leader of the struggle against slavery and imperialism defeated the imperial might of France, Spain, etc.

The blackman has never accepted conditions of slavery. He has made it and has abundant history and culture to be proud of.

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THE POP GENERATION

CONCLUSION OF THE COUNTER-CULTURE SERIAL

James Brown



Otis Redding



The pop revolution in music is a fairly recent phenomenon. If I were asked to put an arbitrary date on when the revolution erupted, I would say the middle 1950's. This is a very personal assessment.

It is my judgement of when the pop mood and idiom definitely took grip of the imagination of sophisticated youths around the world and pop music became an essential part of a whole way of life for youths.

Let me quickly explain, perhaps for the benefit of the uninitiated that pop refers to popular music. This is a classification that has a built-in class bias and is indeed loaded with value judgement.

In Europe and America, any kind of music which does not belong to the tradition of the European classical music is regarded as popular music. Symphony, opera, chamber music belong to the classical tradition.

Dance music especially belongs to the popular, street tradition. Now, pop itself is an offshoot of popular music. The evolution of pop marked a definite shift of sensibility and life style among modern youths.

Before the advent of pop music as we know it today, the two previous generations had been dominated in Europe and America by the swing era in jazz and by the pop revolution.

I am talking of popular music as far as youths were concerned. The 1930's and the 1940's were the years of the big dance bands in the seeing era.



Paul McCartney one of the driving force of the Legendary Beatle.



Pino

Those were the years when the massive bands of Duke Ellington, Bennie Goodman, Paul Whiteman, Guy Lombardo, Glenn Miller dominated the dance halls and the airwaves.

Then about 1941, the seeds of the pop revolution in jazz were being sowed at Minton's Playhouse, a night club in 118th Street in Harlem, New York.

It was at Minton's Playhouse that the immortals of modern jazz, particularly in its pop phase, met to exchange musical ideas and to shape their technique and on the whole to evolve a whole new idiom for jazz.

They all went to Minton's Playhouse in Harlem, such great names as Charlie Parker, Kenny Clarke, Charlie Christian

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THE POP GENERATION ...CONCLUSION

Dizzie Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Lester Young, Ben Webster and Coleman Hawkins to name only a few.

Parallel with the development of pop and a little after it came the era of the great crooners.

These are typified by such names as Bing Crosby and the black American—Nat King Cole. This was the immediate musical background of the pop generation.

During the era of the big bands—the swing era; and in the great days of the who listened to the big musicians perform. Those who felt like it danced or cuddled their sweethearts in dim-lit night clubs.

At the early fifties, this musical life style no longer appealed to youths. Their elders were talking a musical language which did not get across to youths. Their boredom was almost tangible.

What happened later was that youths decided to make their own music, but that was much later.

Before then, Bill Hayley and his Rockets erupted on the musical scene. His eruption signalled the arrival of the pop generation.

In 1956, Bill Hayley and his Rockets were shown in a film titled: "Rock around the Clock". I remembered seeing this film at a cinema theatre in Ibadan. By the time we saw this film for ten minutes, my friends who were undergraduates at Ibadan University, were up from their chairs and they were dancing in the aisles of the cinema theatre. They joined a crowd of other youths from the city of Ibadan.

Many of these undergraduates are now diplomats, and high corporation executives. Such was the electric impact of the early rock bands. Youths received Bill Haley with similar enthusiasm the world over.

In London, Paris, New York, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Tokyo, youths received the message of Bill Haley with the enthusiasm or they would accord the gospel a long awaited musical messiah.

The film "Rock Around the Clock" showed that the pop revolution was a world-wide phenomenon. Pop musicians had a wholly different approach to their work.

The typical group is small, usually about four. The basis unit was a drummer and about three guitarists. Members of the group composed their own tunes and wrote their own lyrics.

The music reflected the mood of the youths and their immediate concerns. These moods and concerns varied slightly

from, band to band. But on the whole they were a radical departure from those of their elders in the previous generation.

Modern youths then entered upon a phase of do-it-yourself musicianship. One of the interesting characteristics of the pop generation was a proliferation of pop groups. As soon as any group of four boys could beg, borrow or steal money, they bought themselves the standard pop equipment—a drum kit and three guitars. With only this meagre capital, they were in the music business.

This happened to all the pop groups including famous ones like the Beatles. Along, with evolution of rock groups, came the prominence of soul music.

Soul is typically the music of urban black Americans. It was not entirely new, but it only came into prominence after pop dominated the musical scene of youths.

Otis Redding, Wilson Pickett, Percy Sledge and James Brown did not happen yesterday. The tradition of soul music had been with urban black Americans for a long time, but people took this kind of music serious only from the middle 1950s.

One other thing that launched the pop revolution on its present course was the phenomenal progress made in the field of electronic technology, especially as applied to music. Amplifiers, public address systems and other vital equipment of musicians were being made better than ever.

This electronic revolution also affected the recording business. Stereophonic recording was achieving ultra-fidelity effects. Record players were achieving effects that were as close as possible to live performances. The general effect of all this was that the great pop artists were speaking almost directly to youths wherever they were in the world; distance was no longer a barrier.

This convulsion that took place in the European and American musical scene had its fall out effect on Nigerian youths.

As from the late 1950's and all through the early 1960's, Nigerian youths caught, the pop fever and they too started to spread the message. As in most things, youths in Lagos set the pace.

In the early 1960s, Nigerian newspapers started to notice and take the pop revolution serious. The Daily Times took the pop message serious. It ran a weekly column $\frac{3}{4}$ "Saturday Highlife". This was intended to survey the musical scene generally.

It commented on highlife music and on the music of juju bands. But as time went on, the youths who ran the Saturday High Column started to place special emphasis on the kind of pop music emanating from Europe and America.

In this crusade for pop, the pioneer was a certain Victor Dorge, who has been called the father of Nigerian hepcats. Victor Dorge, in his informed and brilliant writing on pop music did more than anybody else to spread the message of pop through Nigerian newspapers.

In the early 1960's a number of pop groups had started their career in Lagos. They were rather amateurish and unsure of themselves like most pioneers, but they knew what they wanted and they persisted. There are youths today who might never have heard of the names of the early pop groups in Lagos.

The reason is that the mortality rate among these early pop groups was very high. They are here today and gone tomorrow.

This was due to various reasons. Among these are the fact that the personnel of these groups consisted mainly of school-boys who had to get on with the main business of reading their books. So many of them dropped their guitars and went on to universities.

Money was another serious problem with the early Lagos pop groups. They had nobody to back them financially. Usually, they only scrapped together their pocket allowances in order to buy expensive musical instruments.

They had no management whatever, the boys were only carried on by their enthusiasm and love of music. What is more, the general public were not yet prepared to pay in order to listen to these pop gossellers.

Let me mention some of the early Nigerian Pop groups so that they can be given their due praise for their pioneering role. They included the Hykkers; the Cyclops; the Junkers, the Juleps; the Clusters; and the Rhythm 'n' Five to name a few.

Many of them only played at school gigs from which they made very little money. Anyway, they marched on regardless of various difficulties.

At this stage, I will skip the early history of Nigeria's early pop groups and merely sketch in the highlights.

One of these was the visit to Nigeria in 1965 of West Indian Singer—Millicent Small. This little girl of 17 had become

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world famous with her recording of "My Girl Lollipop". During her tour of Nigeria, she was backed by Fela Ransome-Kuti's Koola Lobitos band.

It was a very successful tour whose chief effect was that it linked the Nigerian pop groups with the international pop scene.

Nigerian pop musicians saw in action for the first time, the performance of a successful international pop artist. After that, the pop groups in Nigeria went on their own course.

Another group that made a terrific impact was Mike Nelson-Cole's "Soul Assembly". This was one of the groups that really made a big splash and nearly achieved professional standards. The Clusters too were a very heavy pop group. The stars in that group were the Akinrele brothers. The Clusters later became known as the Clusters International under which name they made a hit record—"Black Goddess". Among the stars that played with Clusters International were Joni Haastrop, Laolu Akins, Berkely Jones, Odumusu and their lady member—Bridget Douglas.

By the middle 1960's, pop was becoming professional. A number of promotions were mounted in various venues and youths were paying reasonable gate fees.

One of the most successful and hard-working promoters at this phase of pop development was Mr. Chris Okolie of Chris Okolie Promotions. He mounted his promotions with a professional touch with the result that fans had value for their money.

It was this promoter who brought to Nigeria in 1969—Geraldo Pino and the Heartbeats. All through 1969 and 1970, Geraldo Pino had tremendous success all over Nigeria.

The contribution of this group to the pop scene was that they showed the importance of first-class musical equipment to good music making. It was not that members of the Heartbeats were better musicians than their Nigerian counterparts, but their excellent musical equipment and sound system projected their sound effectively and beautifully.

The Heartbeats had been playing along the West Coast of Africa—first in Sierra Leone, then in Ghana and finally in Nigeria.

Another pop group from Ghana that brought beautiful instruments to Nigeria were the Black Santiagos. They were not original in their musical ideas, but they were beautiful players who were greatly helped by their first-class equipment.

At this stage, pop groups in Nigeria had come of age. They all managed to buy themselves first-class equipment and generally improved their performances.

Another landmark in the development of pop music in Nigeria was the visit to the Country by Mr. Soul—James Brown. After the death of Otis Redding, James Brown was contending for the title of Soul Brother No.1 in the world.

Before he came to Nigeria, he had recorded about 18 hit tunes each of which had sold millions of records. His visit was anticipated with great excitement throughout Nigeria.

When he came, Nigerian pop groups had the benefit of seeing live the performance of an artiste who had made it big in the highly competitive American market.

After the performances of James Brown, in about five Nigerian cities, Nigerian pop groups became convinced that given good equipment and a bit of professional management, they could perform as well as any group in the world.

At the time of James Brown's visit to Nigeria, our pop groups had reached maturity. This was also time of the pop scene in West Africa generally.

This fact is evidenced by the special programme—Soul to Soul—which was mounted in Accra, Ghana last year. It was a programme in which American soul groups jammed with their West African counterparts.

Present at this programme were Wilson Pickett, Ike and Tina Turner from the United States. It has a soul festival which lasted 24 hours and the entire programme was filmed.

On the Nigerian scene, further successes were scored by pop groups. After the civil war, the Strangers of Owerri emerged and in a short time gained national prominence. This was helped by the sensational success of their single record—"Love Rock" which was recorded by the E.M.I. studio in Lagos.

Another successful group from the East Central State of Nigeria, are the Funkees who played gigs to Nigerian audiences in Britain in the summer of 1973. This meant that some Nigerian pop groups had reached such maturity and professionalism that they could take the pop message to Europe.

When the Clusters International split after their Black Goddess recording, some of their personnel teamed up with British musician Ginger Baker to form the SALT.

This group toured the United States late last year. The significance of this is that things have come full circle. The pop message came from the US and Europe in the late 1950s and early 1960s. By the early 1970s, Nigerian pop groups had matured and had achieved enough confidence to take their own brand of the message back to the US and Europe.

At the moment, pop is an important segment of the Nigerian musical scene. What is the social background of Nigerian youths who have matured and sustained this brand of music which is the common property of modern youths, the world over?

In Nigeria, the pop message was taken over by children from predominantly middle-class background. Invariably, their parents are educated and they are fairly comfortable materially.

Such parents include civil servants, uni-

versity lecturers, and successful businessmen who are educated.

Among the gadgets which such children grew up with are radio sets, high fidelity stereophonic record players. Whenever such children turn on the radio, they are interested in pop music programmes coming from the US, Europe or Japan. The parents can afford and actually buy expensive record albums of pop musicians like the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Jimi Cliff, James Brown, Wilson Pickett, Percy Sledge, Otis Redding to name only a few.

The Nigerian youths of the pop generation are themselves mostly students attending some of the best grammar schools in Nigeria. Their fairly comfortable background is reflected in the fact that they have enough money to pay their fees, buy their necessaries and have enough left to invest on expensive musical instruments.

These economic and social factors are more important than others like say religion. Youths who belong to the Pop generation are not terribly hot on politics—although a few of them toy with the idea of Black Power, but generally they do not take politics serious.

They are from a socio-economic class which is affluent enough to take occasional summer holidays in Europe.

Although they are disaffiliated from their parental generation, yet these parents tolerate their youthful rebellion with benign amusement in the hope that when these youths reach the age of discretion they will discard their wild ways.

The pop generation are slightly bohemian in their dresses, and up to the moment drugs are not very important with them.

The main thing is that their life style is totally different from that of their parents. While they are young, they mean to enjoy life to the fullest.

They see themselves as an integral part of the world-wide youth movement that has evolved the counter-culture.

Their parents believe that when they come to face the serious business of earning a living, they may mend their ways. Whether they will or not, only time will tell.



The Strangers