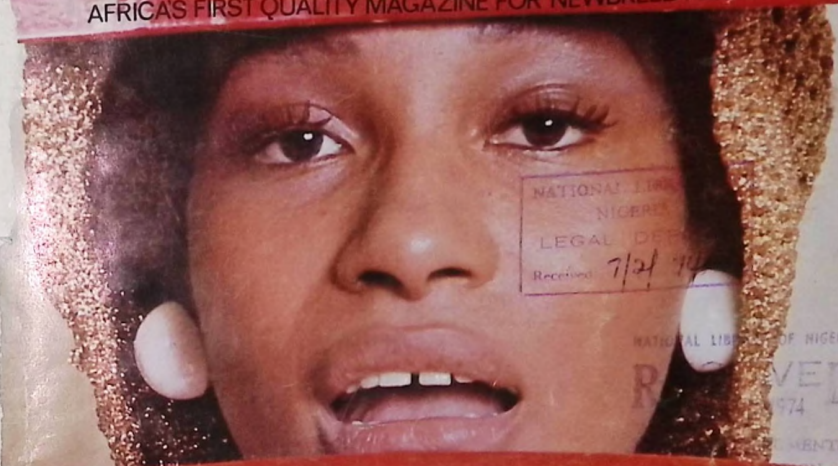


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FOR NEWBREED PEOPLE

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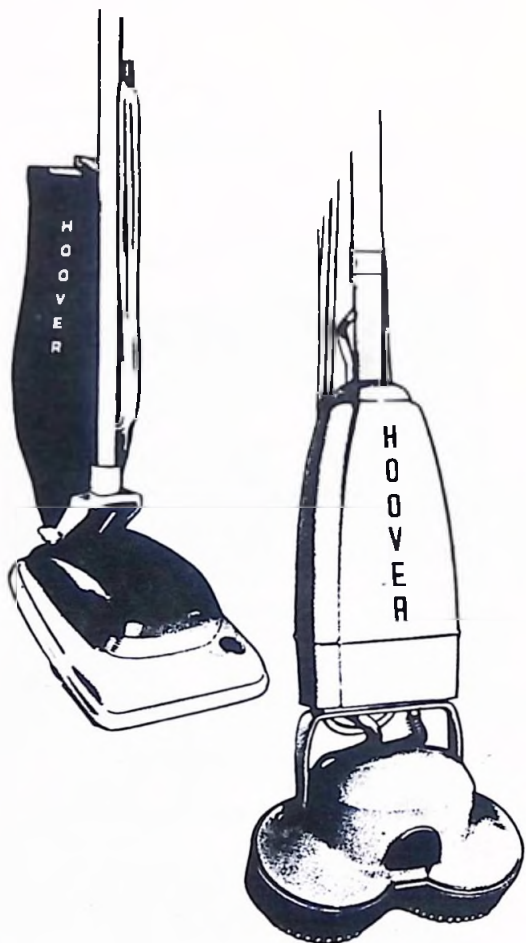
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- INTERVIEW: M. T. MBU
- SPECIAL REPORT ON 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN
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TOP OF THE MONTH



Awo



Katsina

NEWBREED JANUARY 1974

BIG MEN FEAR REVOLUTION: Page 10

Before the hullabaloo of the Press about the Awolowo-Katsina contradiction, NEWBREED had already warned the nation of the possibility of a conflict between the rich and the poor. This prognostication (the rich and poor war) was reflected in the Chris Okolie's thesis on "PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM" published in the NEWBREED issue of July 1973, before the Awo speech. The "Fajemirokun Vs; Okunu" debate was nothing new and does not warrant the present noise and shouting in the Press.

For a genuine Nigerian Revolution, the rich will always stand in the fear of losing their wealth. This cannot be avoided if our ultimate goal is geared towards the WELFARE and PROSPERITY of the NIGERIAN MAJORITY.

The Editor-in-Chief compiled a commendatory programme directed towards the attainment of ideal political, economic and social revolution, using as guideline past revolutions of the same trend in other societies.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF HOUSEWIVES/ MAIDS: A THREAT TO MARRIAGE EQUILIBRIUM:

Our conservative society which had looked disapprovingly on married women engaging in office duties is now permissive. A considerable percentage of the married women now work in government offices or firms. Writing the Sex Forum this month MR. JAMES EGBUCHULAM—(Page...41) says, "the hazards created by the employed married woman overwhelms the financial advantage such a woman and her family enjoy. Such hazards include marriage breakages and conjugal infidelity".

NATIONAL UNITY AND UPLIFTMENT

The October 1st Movement of Nigeria, University of Ife, last October held a symposium on "The Panacea for National Unity and National Upliftment in Post Military Nigeria".

NEWBREED Chris Okolie was one of guest speakers. From the paper he presented, NEWBREED examines on Page.... 14 the path towards the National Unity and Upliftment if and when the military decides to hand over political power.

"It is our political destiny to forge one nation and a harmonious community out of the diverse Nigerian ethnic groups.

"In talking about this homogenization enterprise we are not attempting some thing unique.

"To get the politics and the institution that would lead to national unity in the post military era is asking for a new kind of political leader working among a new kind of mass followership. Our former leaders paid lip service to national unity and practised the politics of ethnic chauvinism".

MIDDLE EAST WAR:

Apart from the usual arms and ammunition, oil has been taken up as an effective weapon in the struggle in the Middle East. This has brought about controversies as to the justification of oil as a weapon of war bearing in mind other wider implications. On page....24 Mr. Olu Akaraogu argues in favour of Arabs using oil as weapon against Israel. And in a separate article (Page...22) our foreign affairs analyst, indicts African States for the lack of diplomacy in breaking diplomatic relations with Israel, while Egypt quietly re-opens relations with America, Israel's mentor.



MRS. FOLA AKINTUNDE-IGHODALO

"All the money in Nigeria put together, is not up to that of a millionaire in USA. One or two people can live comfortably in Nigeria, ride expensive cars, post or spray a lot of Naira on the forehead of dancing girls. But there is no multi-millionaire in Nigeria" says Mrs. Akintunde-Ighodalo, a Permanent Secretary in the West Civil Service, talking to Mr. Biodun Owoseni, a NEWBREED-Correspondent at Ibadan.

Mrs. Ighodalo was born in a farm and brought up in the rural areas, she worked vigorously to hold the highly esteemed post in the civil service. Her convictions portray the dynamism which is necessary in her position.

Commenting on adoption of a National language in Nigeria, she says, "any imposition of a national language can raise political unhappiness..... India for instance has many languages and still exists as a united country".

About the embezzlement of public funds she has this to say "they say it, but nobody has yet been brought to book. There should be courage to bring any corrupt person to book".

Mrs. Fola Akintunde-Ighodalo discusses on Page 50

VERA-CRUISER: reports on Page 42 that though house-maid is a necessity and a symbol of the new woman, the new woman stands a chance of losing her husband.

"The fact is that at the time you brought your house-maid from the village, she was very simple, innocent and rustic. But with time she acquires urban influences and she becomes influenced by her more sophisticated colleagues. She takes good and nourishing foods—bread with butter, eggs, meat, sausages, cheese, bacon, milk, beverages—things she had never tasted before in her rural home. Soon the results begin to show in her fast growth, rosy cheeks, enlarged breasts and protruding buttocks. The 'madam' gives her some of discarded clothes which make her dress more modern. If she is one of the city school leavers, she soon becomes psychadelic and moves with the revolutionary gangs about town. You do not know how many boy friends visit her while you are away in the office.

The youthful and fast developing house-maid soon becomes a threat to the security of the house-wife and becomes the other woman in her man's life".

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

*NOSTALGIA:

The Golden 1950's Page 36

*NUNS Patches up their Quarrel: Page 44

*WHAT KIND OF MAN IS AFRICA

SHRINE CHIEF PRIEST—

Fela Ransome-Kuti: Page 58



Meir.



Sadat

NEWBREED

Readers' Comments

"NEWBREED'S CONSCIENCE"

I have always dismissed with a wave of the hand the claims of our newspapers and magazines that they are the watchdogs of our Society and the defenders of the people's inalienable rights.

And indeed for good reasons too, because, for the most part, our mass media behave as if they are the protectors only of the leaders' rights, a protection which admits of no wrong-doing on the part of these so called, God-sent leaders.

If I am wrong, why, for example, is it that our press has chosen to mortgage its conscience over the continued detention in prison of the young military officers who were hailed by us all in January, 1966, when they rid us of the oppressive yoke of our bungling civilian government.

I am prepared to accept, though their action would seem not to have been flawless, that it had exhibited what some might choose to call tragic omissions or commissions. So did the July 1966 coup, if the truth must be told?

Both actions could be said to have completed our "revolution", as indeed would seem to have been acknowledged by the Federal Military Government itself when in Decree No.28, it traced its origin and unbounded powers to rule—to the "revolution" begun on January 15th, 1966, and carried through, to July 29th, 1966.

Yet, the former set of revolutionaires were clamped into jail, while the latter, were not. This, to say the least, is difficult to justify.

Do our pressmen claim ignorance of the plight of these young men who have been languishing away for years in various prisons? (Note that even the colonialists did not detain our pre-Independence leaders for this long in prison WITHOUT TRIAL).

Gonze of the "Renaissance" and Tai Solarin in the "Nigerian Tribune", have indeed spoken out at various times, pleading that these officers be released. "Africa" magazine also pleaded. But what about the other newspapers and magazines, including "NEWBREED" which wants us to acknowledge that it is possessed of a crusading bent?

Causes indeed there are many for our press to champion. But it never does. This, to my mind, explains to a large extent the seeming indifference of the public to the plight of journalists whenever the powers-that-be descend heavily upon them. Let the press do right by the
NEWBREED JANUARY 1974

masses and see whether the same public would not cry out against any crackdown on journalists in the course of their lawful duties. Today's never builds a nation; on the contrary, it may lay the foundation for dictatorship—"benevolent"! or otherwise.

Let the press begin today by asking—just what has become of the government's promise, as contained in a government statement in November, 1971, that it would soon review the case of these officers. And would "NEWBREED" then like to lead the way?

By way of conclusion, let me state that it will not surprise me if this letter is not published. But then, that will only go to confirm that the "NEWBREED" Magazine is just like the tragically—overwhelming bulk of our newspapers and magazines—Lily-livered!

But, again, I hope not.

GRACE A. AMUCHIENWA,
University of Ife,
ILE-IFE.

The Editor wishes to congratulate Miss Amuchienwa, on her singular courage in writing this pungent letter.

Her interim verdict on NEWBREED is however, premature. Readers' comments are invited on the above letter.

Meanwhile suffice it to say that NEWBREED stands by its policy and has a programme of action.

The various abuses in society are being attacked one after the other. That NEWBREED had not written on the January 1966 detainees within its short span of existence is not co-terminous with saying that it had never intended doing so. Read for instance, our "Peoples Capitalism", "New Dangers of Indigenisation", "The New Class" etc. in our July, October and December 1973 editions of NEWBREED respective. —Editor

FRESHMEN—TRY JESUS!

Tony Uranta's Freshman's Guide was quite interesting but not totally exhaustive. He overlooked one cogent aspect—REFUGEE IN JESUS CHRIST!

To most people this idea of refuge in Jesus Christ would sound naive and a bit freakish. My challenge is—"Try Jesus, He works".

I would go a step further by asserting that this experiment costs NOTHING—not even time. Those who refer to Christianity (not religion or church-going) as the opium of the masses' are guilty of a blatant falsehood.

The complexities of campus life revolve

around the following:—(a) *Socials*—Jam sessions, mind-Wowing sounds, internal and external politics, interaction between the sexes at various levels and on various platforms and group/individual reactions to the aforementioned; (b) *Academics*—Lectures, tutorials, assignments, seminars, projects, dogmas and such other allied pursuits arising therefrom; (c) other factors—Travel, finance, manipulation of personal independence, absorption of various socio academic ideas and most importantly the staying—power of each student in adversity arising from any error of judgement or excesses in pursuance of the multifarious ends that besiege one in a university.

Jesus Christ comes in here because most problems arise from error of judgement or excesses, in other words human frailties. To compound the problem for freshman, one factor—age is manoeuvred into becoming a disadvantage. This could be achieved inadvertently by the freshmen themselves or by other playing upon this weakness. The latter results from the fact that many freshmen come in these days at a very dangerously impressionable age and saddled with flighty ideas about their capabilities and persons.

At this stage, to achieve moderation or abstinence from any thing or act becomes an uphill task or even a full time one.

In all these having Jesus Christ as a constant COMPANION is the best and most efficacious answer in all situations.

However, a word of caution is necessary to those who would be willing. Do not try to compress HIM into the ambit of any human understanding. Secondly, Absolute Faith is a prerequisite.

All the laws and postulates that exist or will ever exist individually, severally and collectively in all fields of learning in conjunction with all the hostile ideologues, emanating right from THALES to RUSSELL are so inadequate they will only constitute a veritable obstacle to achieving the goal—refuge in Christ.

The feeling you get on succeeding passes all understanding. The beneficiaries of the Great Revivals in IFE and IBADAN are living witnesses to this fact.

My recipe,—TRY JESUS. HE IS ABLE AND DEPENDABLE ON CAMPUS AND OFF-CAMPUS.

Emman Emeka Nwankpa,
University of Ife,
Ile-Ife.

MISS NEWBREED:

I am a regular readers of your magazine and praise your effort to bring it to a huge success within so short a period of production. This is reflected in the interesting features of the August issue.

Your criticism of the flamboyant and flattery publication of General Gowon's state visit to Britain by the mass media is highly appreciated because it has 'turned the visit to a child's play'.

The maltreatment of Amakiri, the Nigerian Observer Correspondent in the Rivers State which you brought back to life for further criticism, as well as the cover girl which actually shows that brains can go with beauty, are among your captivating features.

Also, the life in Nigeria after 1976 and the state of affairs the ordinary citizen is subjected to, in America, plus many other interesting features in the previous issues are all evidence of its huge success.

While congratulating you, and wishing you more successes, lest I forget, the cover girl of this month is echoing in my heart and I hope that I am not the only one in the group of readers who will choose her as 'Miss New Breed'.

However, I should be grateful if she can send me a copy of her photograph for my album and her full name and address for further communication, as I have always been anxious to have a pal from the Northern States.

Wilson Akhibi,
Department of English
University of Lagos.

BRAVO NEWBREED:

I sincerely congratulate Mr. Chris Okolie for such a down to earth article and my hat is doffed along for his objectivity.

The writer has clearly brought into limelight the canker worm which has eaten deep into the fabric of our society—the irrational extent to which people go in pursuance of earthly material wealth without minding whose horse is gorged.

The poor, and particularly the less privileged in the society has been doomed to servitude and have to dance attendance on the delectful richmen. Everything must be done to boost their ego.

Nigeria is considered the wealthiest in Africa due to our vast oil deposit. But the oil wealth is not evenly distributed. The lion's share goes to the minority whereas the masses are living in penury, even in the midst of plenty.

The health of the taxpayers in the rural areas which should be given a special priority is always discussed inside air-conditioned offices instead of paying visits to these areas to see in true perspective how people suffer for lack of medical facilities, etc.

Surprisingly, it was written in one of our dailies recently that the government is setting up a board against corruption in our society. This is an impossible dream and a wild goose chase too. Who are those corruption-free men and women to be chosen? Those considered good and efficient might even be those who are already corrupt.

Purging the society of her ills could be achieved by men and women of the Newbreed generation who would put the final nail on the coffin of corruption.

'Gboyeka Dixon
IBADAN.

SEX IN THE OFFICE:

I have read the article "Sex in The Office" in the August issue of "NEWBREED" Magazine and noted the author's concern for the loose life that obtains in our society nowadays.

I would not have commented on that article but for the confusion it has definitely created, for in one breath the author condemned fornication and in another it was condoned, even to the extent of giving it a false scriptural support. And there is the danger for one to selfishly continue living immorally by being deluded that such has a biblical backing.

The scripture cited was incorrect. I went through two bible translations and found the verses in the book of First Kings Chapter 1 (not chapter two) verses 1-4. There was no indication that King David had any intercourse with Abishag, the Shunammite. Perhaps that explains the reason why the author did not complete the quotation and instead ended it with the word "ministered". Verse four plainly stated ".....but the King knew her not"; another translation pinpointedly stated in this same verse four ".....and the King himself had no intercourse with her".

The bible did not condemn sexual pleasure if only it is within the marital status. But the popular view that sexual pleasure is alright outside marriage (which is fornication) has generated the evils that the article condemned—sex in the office.

If the scriptural injunction of sex within marital status only, is upheld there would have been no sex in the office, for it will be impracticable for a husband to pursue his wife to the office or vice versa in order to satisfy the sexual urge instead of waiting for the partner to return to their matrimonial home.

Among the solutions that author recommended were government recognition of the existing brothels. What are men going to do there? Is it not the same fornication? The other: moral and religious education. This is quite correct, but would the educators not be dubbed "fanatics"?

Infact, God is not joking with the matter; twenty-three thousand Jews fell

in a single day because of fornication amongst them during their sojourn in 1 wilderness on their way to the promised land (First Corinthians 10:8, 11). Age Apostle Paul warned: "Do you not know that unrighteous persons will not inherit God's Kingdom? Do not be misled. Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers..... will inherit God's Kingdom (First Corinth. 6: 9-10). And those who are not married should heed the scriptural advice;it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion"—1 Corinth. 7: 8-9. This is the right course to take if one cannot control oneself.

The article would have dealt a deadly blow on these vices in our society had it been courageous enough to condemn "sexual pleasure" outside marriage in other word "fornication") in all its guise and in whatever locations.

E.O. Anozie—Apapa.

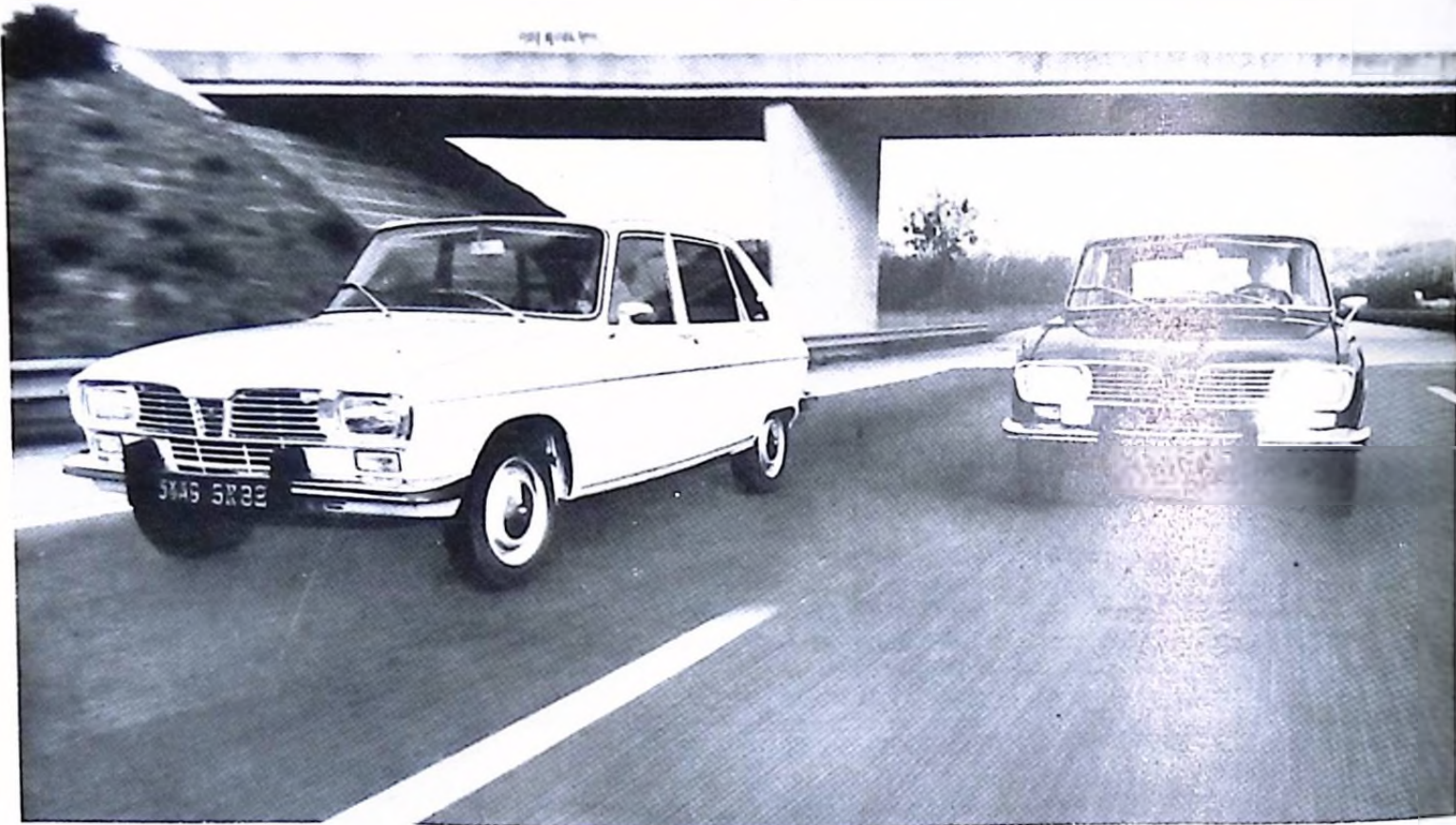
INDIGENISATION DECREE:

I read the October edition of the "NEWBREED" recently for the first time and I am highly impressed by the constructive journalism therein. I feel the need to say that your magazine is on the right path towards what an African magazine should present to its people, that is reflections on what actions our government should take towards establishing a just and impartial socio-political system.

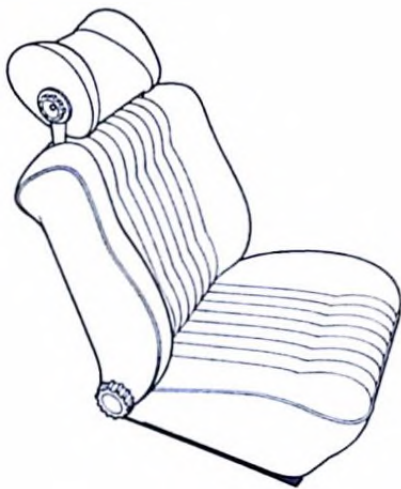
As a matter of fact, I couldn't have agreed with you more on such views as the dangers that may arise through an unconstructive implementation of the "The Nigeria Enterprises Promotion Decree". If I may quote some part of your piece, ".....such transfer of wealth from white to black hands (without priority settings) would spell social stratification later". It is a fact that the majority of the Nigeria citizenry are poor and yet from stated facts, we rank very high on the list of wealthy African Nations. Why such diversion I'd ask?

In my own opinion, such programme as the "Nigeria Enterprises Promotion Decree" should be made to be very responsive to the needs of small business. Such an attitude will more than help them realise their many aspirations. As a matter of fact, such aspirations, when developed are the basis on which constructive expansionism will be realised. So far, such aspirations had been courtailed due to lack of funds and adequate entrepreneur assistance from our government. Unless we are firmly set on a path of constructive utilization of our fast growing economy and population, we may experience an eventual economic recession in the midst of a boom.

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BIG MEN FEAR REVOLUTION

Barrister Awolowo, Politician, former Premier of the then Western Region, lately Federal Commissioner of Finance and, Vice-Chairman of the War Cabinet, and at present Chancellor of University of Ife, in his recent Ife speech, warned the nation of the troubles ahead because of the degree of economic imbalance in this nation at this period of oil boom and other mineral wealth.

Major-General Hassan Usman Katsina, Deputy Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters and Federal Commissioner for Establishments, disputed the authenticity of the rich-poor gap theory—Awoism.

Almost immediately, our mass media carried news analysis and commentaries on the Hassan-Awolowo contradictions.

I hasten to point out that the Awolowo prognostication is a confirmation of the validity of the rich and poor conflict which was reflected in "PEOPLE CAPITALISM" published in July before the Awo speech. I quote:

"In Nigeria millions of people are starving and dying in poverty despite the fact that Nigeria is supposed to be a rich country. There are no indications also that this uninterrupted dominance of the minority class in a society which has long been the most 'proletarianism' in the world, which is surely one of the most striking phenomena of modern times, will change.

"The control of individual mind and freedom is not compatible with civilisation and democracy. Certainly, if it were possible mankind would prefer economic warfare and political independence instead of economic freedom and political slavery. Nigeria must now rethink and chose between prestige and priority projects in her economic policy.

"Welfare programmes are a must and should be a birth right in this era of the Naira.

"If future governments fail to recognise and guarantee a minimum civilized standard of living for every one, we should all be prepared to face another episodic crisis more like a war or guerilla movement.

"NEWBREED will certainly play a major role in the revolution of the masses towards a better and fair Nigeria".

It is very interesting that as far back as July 1973 when I made this remark of "the rich and poor conflict" as inevitable, the press and our big personalities did not find it worthy of consideration; until Awo made the famous Ife Speech.

And then, there were claims in the newspapers that the controversy was all the creation and imagination of Awolowo.

I think our editors and commentators must learn to give credit where it belongs or leave history to historians.

The noise in the press about this rich/poor contradictions and the false claims are becoming unbearable.

It is gratifying that a man of the significant weight and calibre of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the tactician and strategist of the banned Action Group fame, has now made this age long controversy newsworthy.

NEWBREED JANUARY 1974

I would like to point out also that the famous "Fajemirokun Vs Okunu" debate was nothing new.

As far back as October 1973, I warned the nation about what I called the "New Dangers of Indigenisation", see October 1973 NEWBREED. Permit me to quote the relevant passages again.



Okunu, J



Fajemirokun



Awo,



Katsina,

"When the Federal Military Government passed the Nigeria Enterprises Promotion Decree (popularly known as indigenisation Decree) the masses embraced it as a new era for Nigeria.

"Perhaps current events where the new shyllocks have emerged and the big capitalists have bought most of alien business has not only disillusioned the masses but has intensified the minority elites system thus creating a new danger of the reckless use of money power by the big capitalist that has dominated our society.

"One would have thought that since Nigeria, a country where poverty lies behind the oil boom and where a band-wagon of people are rich and the teeming masses are poor, the decree should be implemented in such a way that the new property owners, that is, those buying the alien business should not be the new Nigerian elites; in my opinion I think that this class of people are already too successful and well-fed.

"If the government is serious about causing a fundamental shift or re-shuffling wealth in the society, they would have designed the decree so that the elite class are not eligible to buy businesses in schedule A and B.

"Government would have been right to encourage the formation of co-operative movements by the poorer classes and other individuals to purchase those businesses.

"Now we are faced with the crisis of more economic power to the plutocrats. I say, that economic power is political power and concentrated political power means decisive power over others.

"What can be done? The government should act immediately by asking the big brother tycoons to sell the businesses they have already bought back to the people.

"What I mean is this! Indigenisation will be a curse to the masses if its ultimate effect is to create a new but tiny class of Nigerian millionaires.

"Ideally, the benefits of indigenisation, particularly with regards to retail and distributive trades, should be spread down the line as far as possible.

"In concrete terms, what we are saying is that when aliens moves out of businesses, those who step into their shoes should not be the Nigerian super tycoons who dream daily of making money, money and more money!

"Traders and medium scale merchants too should feel the wind of change of indigenisation.

"The true but sad fact of commercial life in Nigeria today, is that only the super tycoons manage to raise the necessary financial capital to buy over and carry on the businesses left by aliens.

"Having accepted the principle that it is in the nation's interest to let the 'small men' enjoy the benefits of indigenisation, government should ensure that these small men have the financial means to make their participation real and meaningful.

"Specifically, we are suggesting that banks, but more especially financial institutions created for the purpose, should make loans and advances available to small businessmen without the artificial barriers that have kept the doors of existing commercial banks closed to them".

So from the foregoing how can this be credited to Fajemirokun and Okunu?

I would also like to state that last month I warned the nation about the emergence of "The New Class" which I recommended should be closely watched and studied, if possible, wiped out.

Tomorrow one of the big tycoons wanting to rally vote for 1976, will manipulate it and start a controversy.

Nigerians, I mean the masses cannot be deceived again. We have had all the lip services of our old mafia politicians.

Evidence suggests that they are still active and will come out with all types of unworkable socialist programme.

The masses must beware of their fraudulent promises otherwise we will miss the boat the second time.

It is from the foregoing that I have of late been examining cases and obstacles to a GENUINE NIGERIAN REVOLUTION which must be directed towards the WELFARE and PROSPERITY of the NIGERIAN MAJORITY.

The Nigerian majority is not just a class of farmers and workers, it includes a new breed of people dedicated to the case of a just Nigerian Society.

In this analysis, having been convinced that we need a revolution to change the current situation, I am putting forward a recommendation and programme on how we can achieve the kind of economic, political and social revolution that has long eluded us. And supporting my assertions, it may be valuable to draw solace from patterns and characteristics of revolutions that have transformed nations like China, India and the Soviet Union.

According to some opinion: "MAN by NATURE does not like change. In any change or revolution, there is an inbuilt aversion; but when the change comes for the better, man accepts it".

My own position is that MAN by NATURE ALWAYS WANTS CHANGE of-course for the better. Any change that is properly conceived and programmed for the benefit of the society will always receive enthusiastic support.

It is a popular fact that the rich will always want to grow rich. The "wealthy" in the event of a populist revolution may



lose their empire and gains.

How do most of our millionaires and Bigmen make their Naira? Some stole it by brilliant fraud. Some did a disservice to the nation and burgled the treasury. Some excelled through other black market routes.

Now, having amassed wealth for themselves, (Big men) it is their belief that the MAJORITY must be ignored and anything that can guarantee their economic and political power against and at the expense of the nation must be promoted.

Bigmen in Nigeria enjoy all the good things of life. They live in exclusive reservations. They can afford holidaying in the "moon" and some can even go for routine medical treatment abroad.

The frustrating fact is that the large percentage of the masses who are forced to live in squalor and deprivation are the real makers of our wealth.

The largest majority of our people are peasants who produce but cannot maximise profit from their labour, because, maximum profits are being exploited by a handful of unproductive but avaricious capitalists.

In commerce and industry, which is tightly under the control of the Big capitalists, the workers do not enjoy adequate comfort from their output; their children do not go to good schools, they live in poor houses under very poor health and squalid conditions.

Linking this to the Cuban condition, Che Guevara had pointed out, in his "Village Vs Town Revolution", theory, that the capitalist urban towns develop at the expense of rural villages. The towns are built and the urban people live in social comfort from the benefits accruing from wealth and products (both human and economic) coming out of the villages. The villages continue to deteriorate in their economic, and social life.

Thus, the villagers, in search of improvement in their living style, have no alternative than to flock or drift into the urban towns which they have justification to hold responsible for their plight.

Che Guevara concluded therefore, that this social contradiction continues to grow as the society grows, since the growth of the towns continues to depend on the strangulation of the villages. He suggested that for a patriotic revolution, this social contradiction could be utilised, and directed against the social force of exploitation (the capitalists) who live mainly in the big towns.

In Nigeria, the big capitalists are growing in their acquisition of wealth. This

wealth, they demonstrate openly in the presence of the underdogs. A widening gap is growing faster between the overfed and the hungry strata of the society.

Even inside the state apparatus, this gap is also widening resulting in frustration, disregard for authority and poor attitude to work. This is why in Nigeria today, one can identify, a constantly growing, though subtle, struggle between these opposite classes.

Karl Marx, in his own social analysis, developed his philosophical concept of "the struggle between opposites". He contended, and this has been confirmed that two opposites are constantly engaged in a struggle.

Relating this to the German society, he concluded that in a society where the super-structure is such that two major economic classes exist with different aspirations, conditions and style of living, sense of awareness, social contradiction exist between the two opposite classes. As the society grows, his concepts of social dynamics pointed out that negations try to negate the other—the new replacing the old.

In this type of continuous struggle one force must pull down the other either violently or peacefully depending strictly on the magnitude of the existing economic contradictions.

The question that now arises in our type of condition is, which force is very likely to triumph? Like in every other traditional capitalist system, (American-capitalism) the wealthy has organisation, it has the state apparatus—the police, the army, the press, the judiciary and the prison—and most significant, the capital. With this, the wealthy keep the destitute under repressive control. But, the poor people only have their labour (which they sell cheaply) and technical knowhow, but lack organisation.

Because the wealthy is already contented, it is unprepared to lose its wealth, it leaves the control of this struggle in the hands of its own state apparatus. Inside this very apparatus, is a large force of children of the hungry people, whose primary interest is not to preserve the society that makes him a subject but to survive the system. This group lives, also dejected, but full of hopes for a better future.

After this careful observation, Karl Marx concludes: "Give the poor an organisation; develop the situation to apex, and break through the state apparatus, the poor is placed in a position making it possible to uproot the capitalist grip on the economy."

In Nigeria, from this connotation, what is now vital for a social change that will save the Nigerian majority is an effective organisation.

The poor people do not have any other alternative than to express their frustration

in a solid unity of purpose. This is important because the wealthy group already consolidated and are highly united. It has all the machinery to thwart the unity of the poor which is the primary capable of leading a successful corroboration against 'Big Business'.

If we briefly peep at the Chinese version of 'Permanent Revolution', we also see the vitality of the various stages for a social revolution.

Chairman Mao believes that at all times in any society, where the poor and weak exist, the wealthy group do not want to know that the hungry masses are destitute. As a result, there is a constant dramatization of wealth while the poor is not satisfied of a daily meal. In all analysis the poor constitute the bulk of labour from which the capitalist wealth has been extracted. How then do we expect an amicable relationship between the poor and the capitalists?

Thus Chairman Mao arrived at the conclusion that a "permanent social gap must breed a permanent struggle which must result in a permanent revolution". How far away are we from this permanent gap and its resultant struggle?

Very conscious of its exploited wealth the Nigerian capitalists and Big men are never confident, he is suspicious even of his wife! Thus, an effective organisation guided by tactics and strategy of the hungry people is bound to shake, if not destroy the basis of the economic power of the few.

It is significant that a Decree alone cannot liberate the economically neglected group. This is more true when one judges from the past economic plans and assertions and the current projected 3rd National Development Plan (1973-80) which shows no evidence of any intent to "self-arise".

The poor has to look for its saviour, leadership and liberation basically from INSIDE not from the existing super-structure.

Gandhi's theory of a "Quiet protest", which had worked so magnificently in India may, to a very limited extent, heighten our course towards a mass sense of awareness. According to Gandhi, as long as the oppressors continue to hold all weapons of domination it would be that the only appropriate means of protest is to react quietly to all orders. In this regard Gandhi persuaded the Indians not to take up arms, that would expose them to violent liquidation, but to "boycotte all the boycottables".

What ever may be the course that the Nigerian majority wants to pursue, whatever fear is being generated by the Big men club, all indications now lead to a ripening of a genuine revolution directed towards the welfare and prosperity of the masses.

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OGUNKOYA OPENS "MENU INTERNATIONAL":

The first "Menu Fried Chicken" a restaurant which specialises in chicken, fish and strimp, was opened on December 21, 1973, at the Itire/Falalu Road Junction, Lagos.

Mr. Eddie Ogunkoya, the brain behind the project said his main idea of "Meny Fried Chicken" was got from "Kenturkey Fried Chicken" a restaurant in United States. "It comprises of a full restaurant where you can have a meal, and a take away, where you can buy your fried chicken in a snack pack".

"The primary objective of "Menu Fried Chicken" is to feed the masses of working class who are not able to afford the high class restaurant and also to let people who cannot afford a whole chicken, have a taste of it".

30 years old Mr. Ogunkoya is the Managing Director of Menu International, a company which plans to establish 30 branches in Lagos. Plans are underway to open one at Victoria Island Lagos. He studied at the City College New York and was employed by Intercontinental Hotel, where he acquired the background to Hotel management.

Eddie says that "the restaurant offers 24 hours service and it has a cool and relaxed atmosphere". Chief Remi Fani-Kayode is a stock holder.



WITH LOVE FROM THE NORTH:

It has always evoked a rebald mirth whenever anyone mentions the north, women and pudah. But today things and lifestyle are changing fast with the arrival of brainy and beautiful, 25-year-old first Northern lady Doctor Miss Uratu Didy Balla of Kano City Hospital.

Dr. Balla recently completed her housemanship at the University of Ibadan Teaching Hospital after a ten year-stay in East Germany. She read medicine at the Martin Luther University, Halle. She's the daughter of Alhaji Yerima Balla—the North Eastern State Commissioner for Lands and Survey and hails from Kilba District of Adamawa Province.

Clad in Buba and Iro, the young sex-bomb doctor believes in marriage and would like to settle down. "It seems to me that people I know have had very strong family ties and that makes a good sense to me", said Dr. Balla now engaged to marry and will not care much for the type of husband as long as there is understanding.



THE SOCIALITE INSURANCE EXECUTIVE MARRIES:

Mr. Paul Aifuwa, Managing Director of Trans Continental Brokers, Lagos, got married to Miss Rowena Erhabor of the Posts and Telecommunications Headquarters Benin-City last December.

The wedding was solemnised at the St. Mathew's Cathedral Benin-City and attended by friends and relatives from various parts of the country.

Talking to the newly weds at their Surulere residence, Mr. Paul Aifuwa thinks the wedding was a final seal on their relationship. "It gives us the sense of completeness of a marriage exercise, it symbolises accomplished process of a union that has been proposed". He prefers a small united family to a large one. "We don't look forward to a large family" he said "I don't like that big family, we want a tight knit and disciplined family".

Mrs. Aifuwa who now works in Lagos thinks the official church wedding has a moderate effect on them. "Paul has not changed, I still feel well at ease with him" she said.

Being married to Paul "is excitingly satisfying and it's seeing my dreams come true".

Her message to "intended brides" is "think carefully and see what happiness lies in your choice, don't let the Naira deceive you. When the true one comes, you'll know, there is this difference". Paul's message "for those left behind" is, "A man must eventually get on to one person".

The above picture depicts the couple shortly after the reception at the City Garden Hotel, Benin.

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the panacea for national upliftment and national unity in post-military nigeria

By Chris Okolie.

Despite several assurances to the contrary, it is still a matter for debate as to whether or not we shall ever have a post-military Nigeria, that is a Nigeria in which public affairs would be run entirely by civilian politicians, while the Armed Forces would be confined to their barracks doing purely military duties.

This question is not idle, because in July 1966, we were told that the Armed Forces hoped to hand over power to civilian politicians after 6 months; but for various reasons, we are now to have a military regime for at least 10 years, that is until 1976.

Some eminent Nigerians, like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe; and different interest groups, like the Committee of Ten in Lagos have been suggesting a military-civilian coalition government after 1976.

This according to them is to ensure political stability. People of this school of thought argue that having tasted the forbidden fruit of political power for ten long years, it is unrealistic for Nigerians to expect the Armed Forces to be satisfied with their traditional role in the barracks.

Contradictory statements had been made by different military personalities about the intention of the military regime after 1976.

Brigadier Jacob Esuene, the Governor of the South-Eastern State and Col. Bisala said recently that the Armed Forces were in honour bound to return the country to civilian rule in 1976.

On the other hand, other eminent military personalities have been saying that the military regime should complete their 9-point programme before handing over power to civilian politicians. Otherwise the country would be engulfed in chaos.

Other military personalities are on record as having said that even after 1976, the Armed Forces should feel free to inter-

nigeria



Dr. Azikiwe of NCNC

vene in the country's politics, if necessary, in order to avoid the kind of chaos that led to the collapse of the first Republic.

In the circumstances, I ask the question

Is it realistic for us to talk of a post-military Nigeria?

Shall we ever again have in Nigeria a situation in which politics would be controlled exclusively by civilians?

In a nutshell, have the Armed Forces become a constant factor in Nigeria's political equation?

There is not one correct answer to these questions—there are several imponderables affecting the situation.

However, let us assume that the Armed Forces will keep their promise and hand over power to civilian politicians in 1976.

Secondly, we speak ideally of a "panacea" for national upliftment and national unity.

I quite appreciate the sentiments of those who think of, and believe in, these ideals.

But the question must be asked: Is there really any PANACEA for any set of human problems?

I am thinking of PANACEA in the sense of a universal remedy; an unfailing all-time cure for Nigeria's problems of national upliftment and national unity.

If the evidence of history is anything to go by, no human society so far had been able to find a viable universal remedy for its problems.

At best, what has happened so far is that human societies have been able to evolve working arrangements that are, broadly speaking, satisfactory to the majority or arrangements that have done the least harm to the society concerned.

Thirdly, the term national upliftment is not precise enough. It suggests a lot of things—spiritual upliftment, moral upliftment, ethical upliftment, economic and political upliftment for the citizens of Nigeria etc.

These are various connotations of national upliftment.

With these three broad observations on the topic, let us now endeavour to discuss some of our problems in groping towards national unity and national upliftment.

I hope I have made it clear that there is no panacea; we can only have ideas and measures which may help us to achieve these noble objectives.

I consider it convenient to start with the question of national unity.

There are very few organisations or individuals who genuinely believe and are committed to the idea of national unity.

A lot of soap-box orators and opportunist politicians paid lip-service to the idea of national unity. But when the chips were down and in a crisis situation, such people instinctively resorted to the crudest forms of ethnic chauvinism.

There are a lot of otherwise quite

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intelligent Nigerians who argue that Nigeria as it exists today, is an artificial creation of the British.

They argue that before the British came to impose colonial rule on what is present Nigeria, the area was inhabited by different nationalities and several ethnic groups with different cultural backgrounds, political organisations and speaking different languages quite unintelligible to one another.

They conclude, therefore, that to think of forging one united country out of these diverse and heterogeneous ethnic groups is a utopian dream.

I vehemently disagree with this kind of thinking.

If the British had not come to impose their colonial rule over Nigeria, the way the people who inhabit the area would have evolved politically is one of the open questions of history.

But at independence, the existence of Nigeria as a country was a fact of life.

The next question was whether we should nurture the idea of one Nigeria or whether the different ethnic groups that make up the Nigerian population, should go their separate ways.

I definitely believe that it is the responsibility of all Nigerian citizens and of our leaders to work towards the evolution of a united country.

It is our political destiny to forge one nation and a harmonious community out of the diverse Nigerian ethnic groups.

In talking of this homogenization enterprise, we are not attempting something unique.

Other human societies in relatively modern times have worked towards similar goals and by and large, have succeeded.

Communist China is a vast geographical area; with the largest population in the world—about 750 million people.

The area is inhabited by diverse national groups speaking different languages. Yet the facts of a vast geographical area and diverse national groups making up its population have not prevented modern China from becoming a single nation.

The United States of America is another example. North America is a whole continent. From the East coast to the West Coast is about 2,500 Kilometre.

The United States of America has 51 states making up the union with a population of about 250 million people made up of immigrants from Britain, Europe and parts of Asia.

There are black Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Jewish Americans, German Americans, Polish Americans, Hungarian Americans, Dutch Americans and Afro-Americans.

Yet out of this unpromising human

materials, the founding fathers and generations of American citizens have fashioned out one united country.

The same process took place in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—USSR and in the Indian Union.

These are all human societies, which in spite of vast geographical areas and a multiplicity of national groups, have tried and succeeded in building one nation.

All this is to show that the argument that Nigeria is an artificial creation is irrelevant and that we cannot base on it, any conclusions and views on national unity.

On the other hand, I am arguing that to build and encourage national unity in the post-military era is a task that must be done by Nigerian citizens.

A major obstacle to the idea and fact of national unity during the first republic was conflicting rivalry amongst the ethnic groups.

It is remarkable that during the British colonial administration in Nigeria, ethnic conflict was not a major public issue.

People felt free to live and work in any part of Nigeria.

The guarantee of free movement was underwritten by British imperial power.

I am not saying that when the British were here, the different ethnic groups loved one another more affectionately than now. What I am saying is that they were not continually flying at one another's throats with cutlasses bows and arrows.

People were concerned with more important things like success in their trade, their professional careers and so forth.

Ethnic conflict began to rear its ugly head with the introduction of the Regional system of government in the early 1950's.

When representative government through popular elections was added to the fact of regionalisation, ethnic rivalry became intensified and became a central pre-occupation of the politicians and a majority of their followers.

Very few young Nigerians can imagine the situation we had in this country before the introduction of regionalisation. The days when we had a single civil service and a single system of education throughout the whole country now sound like a remote Utopian age. But those were the facts of life—a central government in Lagos and a group of provinces.

It was usual for an Ibo man to make a career in any of the Northern Provinces; the Yoruba man could spend his whole working life in Enugu and regard it as perfectly normal. He knew he was working within the framework of a single and united Nigerian civil service.

The Ibos did not regard the Yorub civil servant in Enugu as an interloper nor was the Ibo education officer in Kaduna regarded by the Hausas as an interloper either.

But then all this changed with the introduction of a regional system of government in 1954.

In the early 1950s, a Nigerian political party, the banned Action Group had as its slogan—"East for East; West for West; North for North; life more abundant for all of us.

This was clear evidence that for that party and its followers, the centralist attitudes and outlook of the past had been supplanted by a regionalist outlook.

When popular electioneering had to take place within a frame-work of regionalisation, ethnic chauvinism became a potent and dangerous weapon in the hands of myopic and unscrupulous political careerist.

What happened was that each of the three regions was viewed as the political power base of the dominant ethnic groups.

The former Northern Region was dominated by the Hausa-Fulani; the West by the Yorubas and the East by the Ibos.

It happened that the major civilian political leaders who emerged in the Regions were indigenes—or a 'sons of the soil' of their respective regions.

Dr. Azikiwe's N.C.N.C. dominated the East; Awolowo's Action Group dominated



Chief Awolowo of A.G.

the West; while the late Sardauna's NPC was dominant in the Northern Region.

With time, people came to look upon the NPC as the party of the Hausa-Fulani; the NCNC was regarded as a party for the Ibos; while the Action Group was assumed to be a party for the Yoruba people.

Not only was this the popular belief, at electioneering campaigns, these parties behaved and campaigned on the assumption that this was so. For example, the late Sardauna of Sokoto never thought it worthwhile to campaign in the Eastern Region.

He visited Ibadan on a political mission once, only to launch the NPC NNDP Grand Alliance at the Ibadan Race Course.

With the distribution of seats in the Federal House of Representatives, the Sardauna knew that if only he had the loyalty and support of the people of the North, his party, the NPC would always be a major partner in a federal coalition government. He was always right in his political calculations.

As far back as the early 1950's when the British were still here, there was talk of the fear of ethnic domination of one people by another.

The Tivs of the North wanted to go their own separate way from the Hausa-Fulani. The people of the present Mid-

Western State complained about Yoruba domination. While in the former Eastern Region, there was a movement of people from the old Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers Provinces who wanted to be freed from the alleged yoke of Ibo domination.

The fear of ethnic domination assumed such proportions that in 1952, the British colonial government set up the Willink Commission to examine the fears of ethnic minorities and to devise ways and means of allaying those fears.

The Willink solution to the problem was to safeguard the interests of minorities by writing into the Nigerian constitution certain 'entrenched' clauses of safeguard for fundamental human rights and freedom.

These entrenched clauses were embodied in the 1960 Independence Constitution and in the Republican Constitution of 1963.

But with the benefit of historical hindsight, we know that these fundamental clauses in our constitution protected nobody during the tense political atmosphere of 1965 which continued until the military took over the government in January 1966.

The Ibos are not a minority tribe; the fundamental freedom clauses of the constitution did not save them during the May, September and October Killings in the North in 1966.

Those were periods when not only national unity, but the very existence of the nation as one hung in the balance.

Now, since the creation of 12 states by the military regime in May 1967, many Nigerians make the facile assertion that the mere creation of 12 states has promoted stability and enhanced national unity.

I find no evidence to justify this assertion. If anything, we have witnessed the emergence of the phenomenon of "Statism".

Loyalty to the different states has been emphasised to the detriment of loyalty to the Nigerian nation.

Statism is a kind of intermediate loyalty which is an obstacle to the need of focus on loyalty to the Nigerian nation.

With one or two exceptions, it happened that the military governors are the indigenes of their respective states; the top civil servants are the indigenes of their states too.

It is assumed that all the good things in any state should go to the indigenes of that particular state. The result is that people in each state in Nigeria today are hostile to non-indigenes.

They regard them as 'strangers' and interlopers. That is why I think the creation of more states has been a mixed blessing. It has not enhanced national unity in any appreciable way or to a

remarkable extent.

If anything, it has removed the basis for allegations of ethnic domination of one group by another. This is the negative area of our national life which the creation of states has taken care of. It has not promoted national unity. The creation of states is therefore a neutral act which does not necessarily hinder or promote national unity.

The US has 51 states in the Union and yet it is moving towards the supremacy of federal organs and institutions over those of its constituent states.

The same is true of the USSR.

Britain a small geographical area with few language groups, has no states, yet its unity has been threatened in the recent past by the eruption of Welsh, Scottish and currently Irish nationalism.

The crux of my argument is that clauses about fundamental rights and freedom; the creation of more states do not necessarily promote national unity.

With our historical and political experience in Nigeria, we have to look for new ways of promoting national unity which should be our most desirable objective.

One of the items of the 9-point programme of the military regime is to conduct elections organised by GENUINE LY NATIONAL political parties.

How do we ensure that the political parties that emerge in the post-military era are genuinely national in outlook and in their modus operandi?

I don't see how the military can ensure that Nigerian political parties are genuinely national. I believe that a lot depends on the politicians themselves.

These have to be men who sincerely believe in the idea of national unity and are committed to bringing it into reality.

It requires a long and painful process of political education. Politicians who want votes by all means do not bother unduly about questions of national unity.

All through the First Republic, none of the political leaders undertook this task of political education of the masses.

You did not have politicians from the former Northern region sincerely preaching to their followers that they share a common destiny with their Yoruba Ibo, Bini, Ijaw and Efik brothers.

In the same way, no politician from the West spent any time and effort—convincing their Yoruba followers to love and respect the Hausas, The Tivs, the Ibos and the Ibibios.

Also I know of no politician from the former Eastern Region who convincingly preached to his Ibo supporters that the Yorubas, Hausas, Binis, Tivs, and other Nigerians from the non-Ibo ethnic groups were their brothers.



Sardauna of Sokoto of N.P.C.

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Rather, when these politicians descended on "their" constituencies, they concocted stories of how other ethnic groups were hostile to them. And they would want their kith and kin to believe that the only way to prevent ethnic annihilation was to vote for these self-appointed tribal messiahs.

Unhappily, this myopic and unscrupulous political formula worked at least in the short-term. It was a bankrupt philosophy.

When the hens came home to roost, we had the series of political crises from 1962 onwards, which culminated in the tragic civil war of July 1967 to January 1970.

So far, we know what went wrong and we know the type of unscrupulous politicians Nigeria can do without. But how do we put things right; how do we have politicians who are convinced apostles of national unity?

Here I am sobered by the aphorism, that "we learn from history that we learn nothing from history".

To get the politics and institutions that would lead to national unity in the post-military era, Nigeria is asking for a new kind of political leader working among a new kind of mass followership.

It requires a new kind of man living in a new kind of society. But human beings are creatures of habit and of tradition. Like the leopard, they find it difficult to change the spots on their bodies.

I think it is a two-way traffic. The political leaders, who are to serve in a post-military Nigeria should be men dedicated to national unity.

If by accident, any of the scoundrel politicians who polluted the life of the first republic should emerge in the post-military era, the people should be vigilant enough to bring his political career to an abrupt end by rejecting him at the polls.

After all, the masses, were the chief victims of the political crises and of the civil war.

They should not allow unprincipled professional politicians to plunge them again into the political chaos of the First Republic.

I must admit that there is no formula for ensuring that the politicians who emerge in the post-military era would be different from the political scoundrels of the First Republic.

It seems to me that with the political class working in concert with their vigilant followers who are also dedicated to national unity, we shall have the new Nigeria of our dreams.

But first and foremost, the political class and the masses of their followers must accept the need for national unity.

They must accept this idea, not in the sense that they talk about it at symposia

or that they write about it in newspapers.

They should be genuinely convinced about the need for national unity, guide their political calculations and programmes.

When that happens, it will be reflected in various factors of our national life—the civil service; the judiciary; the Armed Forces; the Universities, in school curriculum and so forth.

In short, I would adapt Dr. Nkrumah's famous saying as follows:

"Seek ye first the kingdom of national unity and all other things shall be added unto it".

NATIONAL UPLIFTMENT:

I will only touch-briefly on the question of national upliftment.

This touches the very controversial area where we have given value judgements about morals, ethics and people's conduct generally.

We all know that bribery and corruption have almost become an accepted way of life in the country.

The people who indulge in these evils in the civil service, in private business and anywhere else do not talk about it.

They simply go on enriching themselves with ill-gotten gains while they leave alone those who are so minded to go on preaching against corruption.

The preaching goes on; the evils of corruption also go on unabated. What is to be done?

When the military took over, one of the tasks they set themselves was to rid our public life of corruption.

Our public life is not any cleaner now than it was in January 1966, but nobody is any longer shedding tears about Nigeria's corrupt and squalid public life.

Given that this is a society that is religiously dedicated to the worship of Mammon, can we realistically expect people not to find and acquire Naira power by all means, fair and foul?

A man is not respected in Nigeria today for the old virtues of hard and honest work; thrift and frugal living.

It is a positive disadvantage to have private and social conscience in Nigeria today.

I am sure some academic workers in the universities are frustrated by the fact that in Nigeria, a scholar is not respected for his contribution to human knowledge.

A man who has acquired wealth, even by crooked means is admitted to the most influential circles.

Nowhere in Nigeria today is a man ostracised for having made his money by crooked and shady means.

Spurious contractors and unscrupulous businessmen are the pace-setters in our society today. Youths and adults do everything to emulate them. All this is inevitable, given the materialist-capitalist

ethos of our society.

I will not take it upon myself to reverse the whole value-system of our society.

I will therefore, conclude by saying that in order to achieve national unity and upliftment all of us, Nigerian citizens, in our different spheres of activities have our vital roles to play.

It is when all of us, acting in concert, fight and struggle for the achievement of these noble objectives that we can hope for success.

In this fight in the realm of ideas, between good and evil, we should not abandon the weak to the unscrupulous and evil men who wrecked the first Republic.

We should not just passively lament the evils of our society. We should be prepared in every way we can to correct these evils.

This is not a task only for political leaders. It is the task for us all.

After all, a people get the kind of government they deserve.

Educated men in our universities who still have a social conscience should take part in the political education of their ignorant brothers.

The great men of history, Buddha, Jesus Christ, Socrates, assumed that if men knew what was good they would do it.

The tragedy of mankind is that man, in spite of their knowledge of what is good, proceed to do exactly the contrary.

I am aware that higher education and sophistication do not necessarily lead to rational behaviour and correct political attitudes and action.



General Gowon

But then we must continue to struggle for all that is good and noble for our country without counting the cost.

That, I hope, should be the broad objective or one of the objectives of every true Nigerian.

Adapted from a speech delivered on 1st October, 1973 by Mr. Chris Okolie, Editor-in-Chief of NEWBREED Magazine at a Symposium Organised at the University of Ife Ife-Ife, by the October 1st Movement of Nigeria.

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NEWBRED JANUARY 1974

the attitude of african states towards the middle east conflict

War is regarded by people of the Malthusian school of thought as a biological necessity and a means of averting the dangers of over-population. Thomas R. Malthus was the Clergyman—Economist of eighteenth century England who, alarmed at the tremendous rate of population growth, wrote to warn his countrymen that if they did not resort to such corrective measures as moral restraint and late marriage to curb the population explosion, mankind would be confronted with some obvious disasters, notably famine, misery, epidemics and war. Mass unemployment and a decline in the standard of living are among the numerous concomitants in the train of over-population.

Nature has a way of applying its own checks and balances and occasional skirmishes, armed hostilities and open warfare resulting in mass deaths are probably some means of shedding the world's surplus population. The silencing of the guns in Vietnam merely changed the central focus of armed conflict to the Middle-East.

The perennial problem of hostilities in the Middle East is one of the thorns in the flesh of our international community, and one which has further split the world into opposing blocs with each of the protagonists having its own satellites of aiders, abettors and sympathisers. It is in this context of taking sides with one or the other of the belligerents that we set out in this brief article, to examine from different critical angles, the role of the African countries towards bringing peace to the war battered Middle East.

Egypt, the standard bearer of the Arab side, is an African country and a member of the O.A.U., and so are Morocco, Tunisia and the Sudan who are joined in the Jihad of liberating every inch of the Arab soil from Israeli occupation. Naturally, one would expect other African countries to support their fellow members of the O.A.U. in the crusade against foreign expansionists and Zionist interlopers. This support is all the more justified when these fellow members are looked upon as

NEWBRED JANUARY 1974

By our Current
Affairs Analyst



under-dogs or people who are fighting to liberate their lands from foreign occupation. But the crux of the matter is, to what extent does this hasty taking of sides with a member of the continental union help to foster peace in the area or reconcile the warring groups.

The wave of breaking diplomatic relations with Israel spread through Africa in recent times following the fresh outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East—the October 1973 war. It is, however, most unlikely that this policy of Israeli isolationism will cause a change of heart in Israel or make the Israelis give up the occupied Arab territory. Nor is it the fastest road to peace in the Middle East. If anything, it will place the African states less in a position to negotiate peace between the combatants.

This is more so because the Israelis believe that they are fighting for their very existence against their hostile Arab neighbours and this new trend of diplomatic isolation of Israel by African states is capable of making the Israelis feel that their world of enemies is increasing, and so resolve to fight more desperately with their backs to the wall. In the end, they will be more intransigent and less compromising.

Most African states have recently broken diplomatic relations with Israel, thereby taking sides with the Arab world, rendering themselves less neutral and therefore unlikely to bring the two sides to a peace negotiation. But what, one may ask, was the rationale behind the reverberation of expelling Israeli diplomats from

most of the African capitals in recent times! African solidarity, support for the United Nations ideology and sympathy for the under-dog are among their major reasons.

It is true the United Nations General Assembly's Resolution 242 called on Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab lands. But that was as far back as 1967 and the African states had waited until 1973 before manifesting their opposition to Israeli non-compliance with the resolution through the severance of diplomatic relations. It is true also that the O.A.U did call on all its members to sever relations with Israel if she continued to be intransigent by failing to withdraw from Arab Lands. But this is at best an appeal and nothing in the charter of the O.A.U makes such a call mandatory or imperative.

Apart from the fact that a nation which severs relations with one of the parties can no longer play a mediatory role in the conflict or bring about an effective peace, there is the added fear or danger that by isolating Israel, the African states were not only threading on the horns of Israel but also incurring the wrath of the traditional friends of Israel who are themselves Great World Powers. Besides, identification with one of the parties to a conflict, runs counter to the policy of non-alignment or positive neutrality which most of these African states profess.

The irony of it all was that while Africa was busy breaking diplomatic relations with Israel in a bid to pacify Egypt and her Arab satellites, the same Egypt made a swift diplomatic counter-move by resto-

OAU Chief of States and Advisers consulting



ring diplomatic relations with the United States of America, a country which by all standards ought to be Egypt's irreconcilable arch-enemy, in the sense that it gave Israel the active military support which enabled it defeat the Arabs woefully in 1967 and occupy more of their lands in 1973.

Self interest is the over-riding factor in international politics and any diplomatic measure that would not be in the interest of a nation should be frowned at and averted. The Arabs are not compound fools to be chasing with the hounds and running with the hare simultaneously. While congratulating their African brothers on isolating their Israeli enemies diplomatically, they went cap in hand to Washington to beg for a renewal of friendship with the most vocal ally of Israel. The reason is simple, it is in their national interest to do so for, without such moves, peace would continue to elude them.

What then might be the implications of the recent African attitude towards the Middle East conflict? Militarily, we know that the Arabs lost the October 1973 war, though not on the scale with which they lost the six-day war in June 1967. Syria ended up losing more lands to Israel and its capital Damascus was seriously threatened. Egypt on the other hand, lost more men and material and the very cream of her Army, the encircled and beleaguered Egyptian Third Army is at the verge of starvation in the wilderness of the Sinai desert. The town of Suez was besieged by the Israeli forces and the road to Cairo was not safe for Egyptians at the time of eventual cease-fire.

It is unlikely that Israel, in the height of these military achievements, would agree to pull back to the underdetermined and perhaps indeterminable October 22nd cease-fire line, let alone dream of withdrawing her Armed Forces to the pre-June 1967 boundary. Her isolation by African states rather than compel Israel to relinquish her military gains, would make her more adamant and recalcitrant.

Diplomatically, the African states are exposing themselves to the danger of being used as pawns on the chess board of international diplomacy. The very Arabs to whom they now lend their diplomatic support by isolating Israel, have given them a slap on the face by renewing relations with the best friends and most active supporters of Israel. This last move would make the African countries regret their hasty decisions to break diplomatic rela-

tions with Israel in a bid to please an obvious loser and a colleague.

Diplomatically too, Egypt has taken several steps towards "de facto et de jure" recognition of Israel by engaging in direct negotiations with Israel and signing the cease-fire accord with Israeli officials at the now famous kilometre 101 on the Suez-Cairo highway.

Without any attempt at over-optimistic prognostications, one can only guess that when at last peace returns to the Middle East through the intervention of the God-father Great Powers, the African states who now tend to isolate Israel will be the first to retrace their steps and call for restoration of diplomatic relations as some of them did in the early sixties after hastily severing diplomatic links with France in protest against the French testing of atomic bombs on the sands of the Sahara Desert. OAU Sec. General—Ekangaki

OAU Chairman—General Gowon.



INTERNATIONAL SCENE

petroleum and the middle-east war

By Olu Akaraogun.

Shortly before the outbreak of the last war in the Middle East, the countries represented in the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had made clear their intention to renegotiate the various agreements (Teheran, Libya and Lagos) which they had with the Western Oil Companies in 1971.

OPEC members based their case for a fresh negotiation of oil prices on the devaluation of the United States dollar and on the eroding effect of inflation in Euro-America on the revenue of petroleum producing countries.

Before the claims of the oil producing countries were sorted out, the Middle East escalated to a shooting war in which petroleum supply to both sides became a matter of life and death.

A majority of OPEC members are Arab States who supply a preponderant amount of crude petroleum to the United States and Western Europe.

The question arose in a very acute form for the Arab oil producing states whether they should use oil as a weapon in their war against Israel.

I think that the two aspects of the problem should be considered separately. That is we should consider the case for a freshly negotiated agreement in prices between OPEC and the Western oil Companies. Next we may consider whether the Arabs could legitimately use their oil supply as a weapon in their fight against Israel and her Euro-American allies.

Except, within the last five years the oil producing countries have always had a raw deal from the western oil companies. Broadly speaking, the world petroleum trade is dominated by a few giant monopoly cartels. The international petroleum trade is structured in such a way that the classical economic laws of a free market and free competition do not apply to it. The same interlocking corporate interests that are responsible for exploration and production are also responsible at arm's length for the refining and marketing of petroleum products.

In other words, the western oil companies which are also the producers in the Middle East and in Africa, sell to their affiliates in Europe and America. It is in this sense that there is something artificial about "posted prices" with reference to which royalties and other payments made by the western oil companies are calculated.

Any Nigerian who now reads the Petroleum Profits Tax Ordinance, 1958, will be shocked at a law which was designed to benefit Nigeria least, and which gave the maximum advantage of Nigeria's crude petroleum to the international companies which export and sell Nigerian crude petroleum abroad.

All this has changed for the better. Thanks to Nigeria's membership of OPEC; the tireless efforts of the Commissioner for Mines and Power; and in particular to the patriotism, hardwork and the integrity of our young generation of civil servants like Phillip Asiodu at the federal ministry of mines and power, who have been doing their best to see that Nigeria derives the maximum benefit from her mineral resources.

Ever before the Arabs and the Jews started their quarrel in the Middle East, the various governments in the United States and in western Europe have been guided in their Middle East policy by one crucial factor. That is how to guarantee

an adequate and steady supply of crude petroleum from the Middle East to keep the wheel of industries turning in Europe and the US.

The western oil companies are not left entirely to their own devices. Whenever the chips are down, it is known that western European governments will do everything to make sure that Middle East oil continues to flow into Europe and America.

The United States is almost self-sufficient with regard to petroleum. The US imports less than 10 per cent of her petroleum needs. Other West European countries and Japan are more dependent on Middle East oil.

The countries represented in OPEC produce about 30 million barrels of crude petroleum a day; and these countries together supply about 80 per cent of the petroleum needed by West European countries.

So, we have a situation where we have on the one hand, the highly industrialised countries of North America and western Europe needing petroleum for their military, industrial and domestic uses.

On the other hand, we have the countries grouped together in OPEC—they are poor and have relatively backward economies.

If European economists are to be believed, what should happen is that members of the OPEC should sell crude petroleum or refined petroleum to buyers in America and western Europe to the mutual advantage of both sides. But this has not happened so far.

Right from the days of colonialism, the western oil companies have manoeuvred themselves into a situation in which they dictate what prices they pay for crude petroleum which they extract from various producing countries. One of the vital functions which OPEC has been performing since its inception is to bring the semblance of a fair deal to the international petroleum market.

This is very important because among the products of the so-called developing countries, crude petroleum is the only one which is vitally needed by North America and western Europe. And if circumstances were fair, no group of countries should have an abundance of crude petroleum and yet remain poor.



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PETROLEUM AND THE MIDDLE-EAST WAR

At the moment, Europe and America supply most of the motor vehicles and industrial machines used in Africa, Asia and Latin America. These under-developed countries pay whatever prices Europe and America demand for their machines. Nobody expects Euro-America to go poor simply because they have to manufacture and sell machines to the under-developed countries.

In the same way, OPEC members should



Commissioner, Ali Monguno—Chairman of OPEC

not remain poor simply because people in Europe and America badly need their petroleum.

Before the outbreak of the Middle-East war, some people in America were talking as if all the crude petroleum in the Middle-East and in Africa belonged to the Western oil companies.

Time Magazine, published in North America had painted Colonel Gadaffi of Libya and lurid colours and talked of his attempting to strangle America economically by slow degrees. Time Magazine painted a horrid picture of what life would be like in winter when oil supply to North America has been drastically reduced.

But if the Arabs cut off oil supply to the US, it is not essentially to keep people cold in their homes, America does not use all her petroleum supply to heat homes. We know for a fact that the stupendous Pentagon.

It is true that in the US, petroleum is used more for military and industrial purposes than for keeping houses warm in winter. But even if petroleum were needed mainly for domestic heating, it is still a good reason for paying fair prices for crude petroleum. Just as people in Africa who can afford it pay dearly for air-conditioning sets.

There was a time when some American

Congressmen got so hysterical that they were advising the US government to intervene militarily in the Middle-East in order to safeguard the supply of petroleum to the US and to Europe. And if anybody is still in doubt as to what extent European politics have polluted the International petroleum market, just let him listen to Dr. Joseph Luns, the current Secretary-General to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

Dr. Luns was reported by the London Daily Mirror of October 15, 1973 as saying in Brussels that any move by the Arabs to cut off oil flow will "come close to a hostile act". This was a very ominous comment, coming from the Chief scribe of the western world's most powerful military alliance.

It is this kind of thinking on the part of the western oil companies and their governments that has set everything topsy-turvy in the international petroleum market. Western petroleum companies supported by their governments have used a mixture of blackmail, bribery, flattery and commercial sharp practice to extort and sell crude petroleum without paying fair prices to the producing countries.

What is now regarded as the usual practice in the petroleum trade was evolved in the hey-days of European and American imperialism, when the Euro-American-imperial powers grabbed large areas of Africa for themselves.

The former colonial powers are now being reminded that no matter what they did in the past, crude petroleum is just another item of international trade and it should be treated as such. In other words, oil exporting countries should find themselves in the position of sellers; while western Europe and the United States should find themselves strictly in the position of buyers.

In that situation, the prices of crude petroleum should be determined by the forces of supply and demand in a free market. The western oil companies have departed from basic economic principles so that they may pay next to nothing for the crude petroleum which they extract from the various producing countries.

When members of the OPEC asked that the 1971 price agreements be reviewed, they based their case on two main factors. The first was the devaluation of the US dollar; the second was the galloping inflation which was being exported from Europe and North America to the rest of the world. These are very reasonable grounds for revising petroleum price agreements.

There is a further reason why the revision of petroleum price agreement is most urgent. The reason is that at the moment, western oil companies and their

government derive about five times more revenue from the petroleum trade than do the petroleum exporting countries.

It is important to stress this point because whenever the oil exporting countries ask for price increases European and American newspapers present the issue as if OPEC members are demanding what they are not entitled to. The truth is that the petroleum exporting countries are currently getting from petroleum far less than is their due.

It is known that for every single US dollar paid to the oil exporting countries the petroleum consuming countries receive about five US dollars.

I am surprised at the naivety of the Nigerian Press which print from time to time statistics about the country's petroleum earnings. The newspapers print figures of the Nigerian government's earnings from the petroleum trade, expecting their readers to be suitably impressed.

But it is significant that neither the biggest oil producer in Nigeria—Shell-BP nor any of the European governments has rushed to the Press to tell the world how much money they are making out of Nigeria's crude petroleum.



President Sadat of Egypt.

They are reticent about publishing these figures for the good reason that they make more money out of Nigeria's crude petroleum than Nigeria herself is making.

It is necessary to dwell on these points because Nigeria is an important member of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) whose current Chairman is Nigeria's Commissioner for Mines and Power, Shettima Ali Monguno.

What I am saying is that Nigeria and other members of OPEC have not started to earn half the revenue due to them from the petroleum trade, without the further complicating factors of US devaluation and inflation.

The correct image is that of the OPEC correcting decades of economic injustice and exploitation; it is not that of an organisation trying to squeeze higher prices from helpless petroleum consuming countries.

Since we in the developing countries pay prices dictated by Europe and America for their motor vehicles and industrial machines; in the same way Europe and America should pay fair and decent prices for our crude petroleum.

Next, I want to consider whether the Arab states were justified in using petroleum as a weapon in their fight against Israel. The discussion may seem academic because already the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries have slightly cut back oil supply to both the US and The Netherlands. Members of the European Economic Community (except the Netherlands) were exempted from the Arab oil cutback.

In a situation of total war, this is a question which need not be asked. In the two major European wars of this century, 1914-1918 and 1939 to 1945, it was a major objective of military strategy to control vast petroleum supply. When Nazi forces occupied Rumania during the 1939-45 war, nobody in his senses would have asked whether Hitler would allow the Allied Forces to use part of the petroleum resources of Rumania.

In the same way, Britain would not have allowed the German and Italian Forces to use part of the petroleum resources of the British-controlled Middle-East.

More recently in Vietnam, the US did not stop to ask herself whether it was right to rain napalm and lethal chemicals on hungry Vietnamese peasants. It is known that the US Army used the Vietnam war as an opportunity to test several of their new weapons. There was no conscience-searching whether it was right that the most powerful white nation on earth should, for no just cause, bring down a rain of destruction on the Vietnamese people.

I do not intend here to go into the merits and demerits of the claims put forward by the two sides to the Middle-East war. I just want to observe that in a situation of total war, such as we had in the Middle-East, the antagonists usually put in everything they have. It is known that the US and other western European countries are doing everything to see that Israel does not lose the war.

In the circumstances, is it reasonable to expect the Arab countries to hold in reserve indefinitely their most potent weapon—oil?

At the time of writing (mid-November 1973) an uneasy ceasefire has been arranged in the middle East. We all hope it will lead to a durable peace. If it does not we may expect Arab oil producing countries to cut off petroleum supplies from Israel and those allies who actively aid and abet her.

But then the Arabs will be perfectly within their rights. They do not have to fuel the Israeli jets which rain death upon Arab people and cities.

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HUMOUR

One day a lion managed to escape out of the Zoo and rushed into a busy street. A nearby traffic policeman in order to let the people know about it mounted his motorcycle shouting Motorists! Motorist!! Pedestrians! Pedestrians!! Then a — Rev. Father who heard him thought he was saying Methodist! Presbyterians! Presbyterians!! He then shouted: "For God's sake when will you call the Catholics.

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Once there was a queer named Broom who invited a girl to his room? They argued all night. As to who had the right to do what, with which and to whom.

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She got out of bed
Put on her robe
Put up the shade
Uncovered the paint
Went to the Kitchen
Lit the gas
Put on the coffee
And the telephone rang
"Hi-ya babe, just got in front St. Paul,
Get ready I'll be right over"

....

She took off the coffee,
Turned off the gas
Went into the bedroom
Pulled down the shade
Covered the paint
Took off the robe
Got into the bed
And the paint said,
"Mighty damn short day, wasn't it?"

....

....

I received the shock of my life during the second world war when we were preparing our air attack on a German town. The air marshal who was my best friend insisted that I should have my bones and skull identified by our doctor. It was later that I understood why he said that.

He wanted to identify my bones and skull when they should be lying in the wilderness after the attack!

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Have you heard of the man who was caught in the traffic holdup. After some time, his car refused to start and so he had to call the engineer. The engineer opened the bonnet and he connected the 2 terminals of the battery with one long wire, he then declared "I'm afraid your battery is flat". Well I don't know much about—these things but what shape should it be"—the man retorted.

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WISE CRACKS:

May I print a kiss on your lips? I said. And she nodded her full permission. So we went to press and I rather guess we print a full edition.

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He that doth kiss and do no more may kiss behind and not before.

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A pregnant woman waiting anxiously for bus at a stop exclaimed on arrival of a bus, Oh! no chance to enter, plenty sentry-men at the entrance. Three men on khaki uniform with red caps to match standing at the bus entrance looked at each other and asked who was on guard at Motor Transport Office, yesterday.

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You said Lola is a good dancer, remarked Lanre. But she disappointed me at the ballroom dance the previous day. "Well you have to try her on the bed".

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An applicant went to seek for employment in an office. Then the manager interview him.....

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APPLICANT: By mere looking at me, you'll know that I am a man. And I am 30 today and I'm also responsible for the robbery in my previous office.

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I ran to help a girl who was screaming for help one evening. She said that a man forced her to a kiss. What pains her most was that she cannot identify him if he is caught because she learnt to kiss with both her eyes closed!

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Born of Mauritian parents, she began her career as a Shorthand Typist but soon got bored with office work.

Her love for music soon led her to join a London Pop Group where she gained experience as a singer, pianist and drummer. She worked a great deal in cabaret circuits, mostly in London Clubs.

Getting a little restless, she decided on a course in modelling. She has since worked in leading Fashion Houses all over Europe before joining the cast of 'HAIR' in 1971 playing various parts.

She returned to England at the end of 1972 to continue with her modelling and acting career but instead had a brief spell at the Playboy Club working as 'Bunny'. Here she was seen by a leading London Photographer who introduced her to *Christopher Konylls*, a Leading Nigerian Theatrical Agent and Producer and as a result she has recently been to Sicily, Rome, Milan, Amsterdam, Köln, Hannover and Munich on a special modelling assignment.

She recently stormed Lagos and no doubt bowl the Lagos Jet-setters for 99!

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NOSTALGIA

MY GOLDEN AGE

By Alhaji Ishola Akindede-Eleku.

If you are not in the class of the new rich in Nigeria who find life rather swinging in this era of the Naira, and, if you are a working adult then you must be one of those who are finding it a difficult and full time occupation to make both ends meet. It is not an easy task I agree, particularly if you live in Lagos.

For those of us who live in Lagos enduring 24-hour traffic jam on the roads; battling with a cost of living which soars everyday and which makes living in New York relatively cheap, we sometimes wonder whether life has always been as tough going as it is nowadays.

Looking back over the years I personally think that things have been more rosy in the past. Let's face it; taking the rough with the smooth and thanking providence for small blessings, I think I have passed through a golden age.

I realise that this kind of looking back is the very stuff of nostalgia, but why not? Looking back, I feel sure that for me my golden age was in the 1950's.

The decade spanned the time when I entered high school, passed through the University College Ibadan, tried my luck in the civil services of the Western Region and of the Federal government and finally started a career in journalism in which I am still partially stuck.

What I am trying to do here is to recall if I can, the texture of life in those days. I am going to write from a very personal

perspective and my selection of events, of necessity, has to be random.

Nigerians are very fond of politics. What gave the politics of the early 1950's added significance and glamour was the introduction of the ministerial system of government. The country was not yet independent, but we had Nigerian ministers heading the different ministries.

Chief Fred Anyiam headed the propaganda machine of the banned NCNC and in this role he frequently exchange political brickbats with Mr. Agunbiade Bamshe who was Party Manager for the banned Action Group.

Thuggery had not become a lethal aspects of electioneering campaigns and efforts were still made to win political support through party programmes and concrete achievements.

It was in the 1950's (1955 to be precise) that the banned Action Group introduced the famous scheme of universal free primary education throughout the former Western Region which then included the present Mid-West State.

In the West in particular, political support was very fluid. Although the banned Action Group was in power in the Western Region, yet in the federal elections of 1954, the banned NCNC party won a majority of seats and sent their candidates to become federal parliamentarians. That was when both the late Adegoke Adelabu and Mr. J.M. Johnson (still very much

alive) became Central ministers.

By the middle 1950's, the country had been divided into three Regions and politics were dominated by the three Regional leaders—the late Sardauna (North); Awolowo (West) and Azikiwe (East). Both in Lagos and in the Regional capitals, we had British governors. Nigerian ministers worked with British permanent secretaries. It was not until the closing years of the 1950's when the British officials in Nigeria collected their lump sum compensation and left the Nigerian civil service.

I have always envied those Nigerians born after October 1960, who did not experience the humiliation of taking orders from British colonial officials.

The major political parties in Nigeria in those days claimed they were all working towards independence for Nigeria. That was about the only thing they were agreed upon. They quarreled and differed over everything else.

One of the outstanding issues then was whether Nigeria should continue with a unitary form of government or whether we should have a federation consisting of autonomous Regions. The regional idea won.

Apart from the political leaders, there were a number of supporting characters who made politics interesting and colourful. People like the late Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu (Lion of the West); T.O.S. Benson; Alhaji Aminu Kano; J.S. Tarka and J.S. Olawoyin.

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 THE CHAIRMAN'S CHOICE

THE GOLDEN 50S

The politics of the 1950's were run up on independence which came in October 1960. All through the 1950's, all the major political parties attended constitutional conferences in London and in Lagos. The 1950's closed with the federal elections of 1959. It was the last before independence and it was hotly contested.

All the major parties—NPC, NCNC and the Action Group put everything they had into the electioneering campaign. The novelty in those days was the skywriting using a helicopter which the banned Action Group introduced. The NPC and the NCNC won and formed a coalition government which took us into the 1960s.

As someone looking at politics from the sidelines, I had the impression that the politicians took the issues facing the country seriously. They had not become cynical and mercenary as they were to become later. Those of us who were watching them thought politics was fun and we all enjoyed ourselves, supporting one political party or the other.

Economically, nothing ambitious was being done for the country. We had not started exporting crude petroleum. The major source of foreign exchange was from the sale of our various export crops.

The goose that laid the golden eggs in the 1950's was cocoa. During the Korean war and particularly in 1954, Cocoa sold for about ₦900 a ton. Since then cocoa has never had it so good. The Nigerian economy juggled along steadily, there were no ambitious plans to build steel complexes, petroleum refineries or motor assembly plants.

The major effort was devoted to laying the essential infrastructure on which a modern economy could be built. It was a great period for road building. In this respect, the former Eastern Region did a first-rate job. Well paved roads opened up the Eastern Region to commerce and made it possible to evacuate farm produce from remote villages to urban centres where they were sold or shipped abroad for export.

On the whole, the country was solvent in our national accounts. What is more, the cost of living to the ordinary citizen was reasonable. Money had real value in terms of the quantity of goods and services it could buy. Inflation had not become the serious problem that is nowadays.

Throughout my High School days, I did not pay more than ₦70 a year. I am sure many parents will be shocked to hear that school fees were that low not so long ago. What is more, school boys simply walked into jobs after leaving school.

I am shocked and pained to hear that nowadays some students do not find gainful employment 2-3 years after leaving High School and passing their School Certificate examination.

In the 1950's, university undergraduates picked and chose jobs during long vacations and of course graduate unemployment was a thing most of us could not imagine those days.

Looking back on the social life, I think Lagos was swinging long before TIME magazine applied that epithet to London. To us young men, who had just left school and were not yet overburdened with the worries of making a living or looking after a family, Lagos was really swinging in the 1950s.

The highest a man paid to enter a night club was 50k. At the famous Tea-time dances on Sunday evenings at the Ambassador Hotel in Yaba, one paid 35k to be admitted and that ticket entitled one to a bottle of beer as well.

On the African music scene, high life was the rage. Before then, young men danced jazz and European dance steps like quick step and slow fox-trot. But by 1953, E.T. Mensah's Tempos Band from Accra had introduced his own kind of high life music and Nigerians liked it.

So high life music was constantly on the radio and of course, it was virtually the only kind of music played in hotels and night clubs. Following the success of E.T. Mensah's Tempos band in Nigeria, a number of good Ghanaian highlife bands

visited and toured Nigeria. Such bands as the Rhythm Aces of Accra which was then led by a Nigerian—Zeal Onyia.

Other Ghanaian bands that visited Nigeria were the Star Gazers of Kumasi and the Uhuru Dance Band. The Ghanaians did not enjoy the monopoly of playing good high life music for long. By the middle 1950s, there were a few Nigerian bands which could hold their own in high life music against any of the leading Ghanaian bands.

Such a band was the Ambassador Downbeats which played Sunday tea-time dances at the Ambassador Hotel in Yaba. That band was led by Bill Friday, Stan Plange (who later led the Uhuru Dance Band) and sweet-tooth Joe Mensah who is now doing very well musically in the United States.

What the Beatles were to European youths—the Ambassador Downbeats were to us in Lagos in those days. Any celebration whatever was a good excuse for us to enjoy highlife music—marriages, engagement parties, naming ceremonies and of course send off parties.

In the 1950s, there was a mad scramble to go to England for "further studies". The great thing in those days was to leave Nigeria in style. That meant holding send-off parties that were talked about for a long time afterwards.

Those who really did it were those who had their send-off parties in some hotels at which a highlife band played live. People in Lagos are never satisfied except with the latest. So, some Nigerian students who were then about to leave for England "in search of the golden fleece" threw a first, second and third send off parties.

It was all very lively; there was a lot to eat and drink and of course all the girls who belonged to the smart set turned up at these parties.

It did not matter that some of the Nigerian students who were lavishly sent off ended up queuing for the dole in London. What was important was that we had our fun before they left Lagos.

I said earlier on that highlife dominated

Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu.



NEWBREED JANUARY 1974

Chief TOS Benson



Alhaji Aminu Kana



Chief J.M. Johnson

the musical scene in the 1950s. I should add here that a particular kind of music that was indigenous to Nigeria also enjoyed a brief popularity—"Agidigbo".

This was a kind of rough and ready violin which was supported by a few other percussion instruments. The chief exponent then was Adeolu Akinsanya who then led the Rio Lindo Orchestra.

What in retrospect, now fascinates me about "Agidigbo" music was the way youths in Lagos dance it. The dance was called "Kusimilaya". A free translation of this is a "die on my chest". Imagine a dance with that kind of name?

Think of two people making as if they were about to go into an epileptic fit standing close together and doing their thing—that was "Kusimilaya" for you and it was great fun to us from about 1953 until the end of the fifties.

From all this, it will be apparent that life was really swinging either in the night clubs or at parties and compared with what we pay nowadays, it cost next to nothing.

The physical features of Lagos had changed drastically. In the 1950's, the old Supreme Court was still standing where the aneamic Tinubu fountain now is. Very near the Supreme Court was a bus terminus and a taxi rank.

In those days, buses run by Mr. Zarpas did not go beyond Tinubu to the Racecourse, Obalende and Ikoyi. Bus fare were cheap. Adults paid three-pence each; while scholars paid a penny each. Buses ran on schedule, perhaps because we did not have chaotic traffic jam. You could tell the time by the arrival of buses at the main check points like Iddo and Tinubu.

I said we did not have endless traffic jam; that was true on the whole. But I remember in 1957 when Broad Street (now Yakubu Gowon) was being reconstructed. On a notorious occasion, it took me five hours to travel between Tinubu and Iddo Motor park. Broad Street was dug up and piled with concrete and steel rods to a depth of about six feet. I really think Yakubu Gowon is the most solid street we now have in this country.

Joe Mensah



Lagos definitely had a better taxi service than we now have. Do you know that in the middle 1950s, Lagos had a fleet of Mercedes Benz and Opel Kapitän taxi cabs all fitted with meters to calculate fares?

The drivers were very competent and intelligent, they knew every nook and corner of Lagos. A ride in a Mercedes Benz taxi cab from Tinubu to any part of Yaba did not cost more than 75k. Now days, you enter a small cab which could do with some cleaning; you tell the driver where you are going and he has never heard of it; the cab has no fare metre and then the charges—I think most of them could be charged with robbery without violence.

In the 1950s, Lagos and greater Lagos was a much smaller area. Victoria Island had not been reclaimed. The five cowrie bridge over the MacGregor Canal which led to the Bar beach was a rickety affair. As you walked over it, you had the impression that one of the planks was going to give way tumbling one into the brink below.

Children on a picnic picked crabs on the site of the majestic Federal Palace Hotel. Shomolu, Bariga and the whole of Obele Odan and Itire sounded like the names of remote and distant villages.

I was an avid readers of newspapers in

those days. All the newspapers were pre-occupied with the political issues of those days and especially, they played their part and a very important one at that, in the struggle for political independence for Nigeria. All the newspapers were serious but we had our fair share of sensational crime stories.

HEADLINES, has recalled some of the sensational crime stories of the 1950's—the Apalara murder case; the Njemanz murder case and the case involving Raim Akanni "Terrible".

For a brief period in 1957 we even had the Evening Times published in Lagos. In those days, the Evening Times reporter—"Olofofo" attended and reported on important parties including roadside parties for which Lagos is still famous.

I will not be surprised if at the turn of this century, I find somebody who writes saying that the 1970s I am now complaining about were glorious years.

Nostalgia is such a personal thing. It depends on what was happening to you in your little corner. If I had a choice, I still want to relive those golden years of the fifties. They were for me delightful years with scarcely a dull moment.

My only regret about the 1950s was that Nigeria was not then an independent country.

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FOR YOUR DAILY



STRENGTH

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SEX FORUM

employment of housewives—a threat to marriage equilibrium:

By James Egbuchulam

in prognostication. Marriage breakages and family instability will be more often than not if, the engagement of housewives in office duties is not considered for termination. The question of whether or not married women should officiate, creates the vacuum for ambiguity; but to hail the repudiation of judging with prejudiced eyes, it is wise to analyse the integral of this subject, which has sounded controversial to the ears of many.

Firstly, why do some housewives, at all, hold appointments in firms and government offices? The reasons are varied, and though individualistic, some reveal the verisimilitude of positive materialism (in some women) which many husbands hold in abhorrence. Most ladies generally do not submit to giving up working, even when they have become mothers, either because their men fail to stand up to their needs, or that the machinery of self-indulgence is still in motion.

On getting married, the lady realises that the duration of her spinsterhood has elapsed, and so expects her man to be fully liable for all her needs and desires—these of course, should out weigh the largest she was "entitled" to before her betrothal, or something in that neighbourhood. She also wishes to maintain the weight of her personal purse, which must remain her "lender of last resort", should any unforeseen concourse circumstance prevail in the near future. The high standard of her outfit should not be questioned, for at least "aso ebi" is the order of the day. Usually these and other essential items add up to a very high "co-efficient of expensivity", which could drain the purse of a man who is far from being well-off, if he tries to meet up. The wife then cannot be happy to do without her job. In some homes, however, both spouses decide to be working, so that the wife's contribution to the family's subsistence is normally direct and indispensable, and verily her husband is as much dependent upon her as she is on him. In this situation, though her status may be in some respects, superior to that of the wholly dependent wife, it still becomes unutterable to dissuade the wife, from working. Also the spouse may resort to indulging in outside-home duties if her responsibilities cannot be shouldered by the man.

In Nigeria, at least, the idea of extended relationship still holds, and where the

woman is the breadwinner of her parents and relations, then her professional job becomes indispensable, as her parents will even want to end the marriage in order that their daughter works, especially if she was given the opportunity of standard education. Other housewives who work do so either because their professions badly call for that, since they seized the chance of classical education or that the society will be partially affected by their total absence in offices.

But the game will not worth the candle if the disadvantages of housewives outside-home activities outweigh the advantages. And interrelating this with what is happening today, it will be confirmed that the continued participation of housewives in office affairs has resulted in numberable marriage breakages, deaths of children due to lack of parental care, and conjugal infidelity, which is dreadful to any home, and depraves any society from where it sprouts. Poor management of home also results where both spouses work to acquire a subsistence standard of living; even with the provision of servants and house keepers this has proved inevitable. The mother cannot find time to sufficiently nurture the children, or perform her duties as a house wife. Both come back from work, sometimes contemporaneously, and the question which arises is not only who welcomes the other, but also who serves? As she has to relax after the days job, domestic duties such as cooking are rarely brought into her thought. Sometime meals are underdone, and lack appropriateness—the inexperienced house-maid is only manageable after all!

There are also chances of separating the family when both couples are working. Eventually one will go on transfer to a different town or even state, and no matter how often they may afford to meet in a week or month, that essential nuptial happiness which seeks for daily renewal, becomes hampered. *The spirit of togetherness dies down, and the force needed to bind the family firmly is weakened by "invincible" temptations confronting either of the couples who might be residing off-home and, then the other who may not help the Company of "my friend's wife"*. The children suffer from lack of parental care, and grow up with insufficient nurturing. Even when the spouses cohabit, there still exists a large room to accommo-

date the effects of the wife's extra-m duties. For instance, the maternity which begins from the last weeks of gestation period is never enough for purpose for which it is granted, and therefore for any capable and proud mom. As she resumes work after few weeks delivery, the newly born child is starved of breast-feeding, which is of high biological value to every baby, and expose other unfavourable conditions while in the hands of its second mother. Justitia therefore, any loving mother ought to terminate her office duties immediately she experiences her first labour, and should not always implore people to baby-sit her, as she will be sacrificing child's character to maternal laxity. Another offence which the wife breeds by working is extra-marital relations, which is akin to both polyandry and conjugal infidelity. Sometimes she might be off for night duties (as some jobs demand), and this could be a source of mental handicap to the child's side.

Having outlined some of the effects of the employment of housewives, it then becomes necessary to seek for sources of remedy to this hideous problem. The first and foremost step is to stress on the duty of the husband, and as an African marriage law has emphasized: *"It is his duty to protect her and to treat her kindly and considerably; to cohabit with her regularly.....; to provide her with a hut, food, clothing, and maintenance generally and to assign field and other property to her house for her use. It is her duty in return to work for him and be faithful to him to bear and nourish children for him to cultivate her fields, and to prepare the food, and generally occupy herself with the many domestic duties which family life entails"*.

In addition, it will also be unbefitting for any husband to jealously retain his own property rights even in household objects provided by himself. The wife may then resort to working, so as to enhance an independent control of any property that she may acquire by her own efforts. This ruins family and should be avoided by all means. Also, the husband should be capable in all respects, and prove competent with remarkable potentialities. He should shoulder the responsibilities of his wife to a considerable and recognisable limit. At least he should have made provisions for these before he ever thought of

marriage. The wife should be acclaimed as the mother of the matrimonial home, and that her monthly salary has been terminated will not be a prerequisite to brand her a protegee or a "Tabula rasa" on which any thing can be written. The man should acknowledge the importance of meeting up with her needs, and then see if she does not show a good standard of domesticity! Couples who live with these understandings, generally embellish their family with the essential qualities of an ideal home.

While suggesting means of promoting mutual affection in homes, active bodies like the National Organization of Women (NOW), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and women's institutions of learning should be called upon to make their roles more prominent by fixing dates with housewives, to lecture them on family life, and the like, and most importantly, discourage their idea of working, so that they could become full-time housewives. Employers also should reprobate the notion of employing married women, as so to avoid confronting them with tedious tasks which call for marriage disequilibrium.

Women, on the other hand, should remember that on getting married their duties change to those of a wife, cook, mother life-time-partner, and manager of a matrimonial home. The man should encourage her stay at home by providing for both essential amenities and delectation facilities, necessary for an ideal home, as these might be the targets of many working housewives. Her hobby, also, needs encouragement with some up-to-date articles. If she enjoys reading, then provision for works on her subject of interest is a necessity. These days, a great number of women take to modelling, and no doubt many wives will smile on seeing a fashion boutique, or such opened for them at home. And with their sewing machines always around, many wives will not have time to think of working elsewhere. Most of these provisions cannot be classified under luxurious amenities by any integrated personality who plans for an ideal home, for they are really, important factors in achieving this goal.

Unfortunately, however, not all husbands are men of means. Where such is the situation, it then rests on him to relay the facts understandably to his wife, who should see with him and compromise; as they still have big chances of achieving a spirit which engenders nuptial happiness, if they should consult together in matters of domestic importance. If the wife should contribute to the family's subsistence, then her activities should be limited strictly around the home.

Statistically it has been inferred that the happiest husbands are those whose wives are only occupied with matrimonial duties;

for she is loved more if she attains a fair standard of domesticity rather than achieve excellence in outside-home activity.

Concluding, the desirability of making homes ideal will be enhanced and met with, much easier, if housewives, apart from being diligently duteous, should harmonize efforts to discourage outside-home jobs; and husbands, while accepting full responsibility for their wives, should strive as much as possible to desist from involvements which breed on challant attitude towards achieving marriage stability.

THE HOUSE MAID REVOLUTION

By Vera-Cruiser.

House maids have become indispensable in most homes, particularly where the 'Madam' of the house is a nursing mother and a working class housewife all in one. She just has got to employ someone to look after the children in the home during office hours, to chaperon the young ones to their nursery schools, and to help with the domestic chores, cooking and general house-keeping. Males are regarded less suited to some of these services, the ideal thing is to employ a house maid to carry on some of the more feminine occupations such as baby minding and cookery.

The problem however, soon becomes manifest if the house maid is a mature adolescent and the woman's husband the flirting type. The house-maid who is so very useful in the home could be the cause of disharmony. Some of them have, thrown husbands and wives asunder.

"The fact is that at the time you brought your house-maid from the village, she was very simple, innocent and rustic. But with time she acquires urban influences and she becomes influenced by her more sophisticated colleagues. She takes good and nourishing foods—bread with butter, eggs, meat, sausages, choose, bacon, milk, beverages—things she had never tasted before in her rural home. Soon the results begin to show in her fast growth, rosy cheeks, enlarged breasts and protruding buttocks. The 'madam' gives her some of the discarded clothes which make her dress more modern. If she is one of the city school leavers, she soon becomes psychaedelic and moves with the revolutionary gangs about town. You do not know how many boy friends visit her while you are away in the office".

"The youthful and fast developing house-maid soon becomes a threat to the security of the housewife and becomes the other woman in her man's life." Woe betide the mistress of the house if anything should take her out of the marital home for a week or more. She may even return to find herself a stranger in the home and a subordinate wife to her wedded husband. If she is always in town, she is not sure that the husband is not having some private sessions with the maid outside the home or even in the middle of office hours. She soon discovers to her peril that she can no longer hold at her maid without the husband intervening and that it is easier to export her daughter from the home than to dismiss this power-drunk nurse maid.

A house-maid of this class has the full backing of the man and head of the household for obvious reasons. After all, she is younger than the wife and obeys the man slavishly as both his employer and elevator and so satisfies his lust regularly.

I know a house-maid called Love who was thrown out of the house because she loved her master too much and was put in the family way by the husband of her mistress. At this stage the man could no longer defend her. Although he was solely responsible for the girl's pregnancy, he denied it all, threatened and intimidated the girl, accused her of flirting with neighbours and hippies, all because he would not stand the shame of admitting his guilt. In the end Love was sent packing.

When I interviewed the poor, ex-romantic house-maid in her aunt's house at Ajegunle, Love told me amidst tears: "he began by being nice and generous to me and carrying me to the market in front of his car. 'Madam' had gone to the maternity to deliver her third baby. One day, he called me to the bedroom to clean the room and when I answered every question with 'Sir', he told me to drop that 'sir' except when Madam was present. Then he took me to bed and satisfied himself, telling me how much he loved me and flooding me with rich presents. Since then he has made love to me occasionally, especially when the wife was nursing a baby. And when I told him I was in the family way, he warned I must not mention our love affair to anyone. Now here I am, abandoned by the man who was responsible for my predicament".

What then is the way out of this house-maid dilemma. My simple advise to married women is this: if you do not trust your man completely, insist on a house-maid who is closely related to him, failing which you should choose an under-aged house-maid who should be sent away as soon as she attains maturity or when it is obvious to you that she had begun to taste of the forbidden fruit.

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NUNS PATCHES-UP THEIR QUARRELL

By Miss Bimbola Amosun.



Mr. Chukwugozie Maduka—NUNS President 1972/73 session addressing the Convention. On his immediate right is Mr. Orits Ebigbeyi—President S.U. Unilag and is Mr. Akin Ojo—President S.U. University of Ibadan.

An emergency convention of the National Union of Nigerian Students (NUNS) was summoned for the 17th–18th December 1973, to resolve the constitutional crisis plaguing the union and decide on a single NUNS Bureaucracy.

BACKGROUND OF THE RECENT SPLIT:

The crisis of the NUNS which called for the MERGYENCY CONVENTION could be traced back to President Chukwugozie Maduka's regime. During his tenure of office, there were allegations and counter allegations of mismanagement of affairs and funds and as a result, the NUNS was divided among various factions. Chukwugozie lead one of the dissident groups while Mr. Akin Adeniran of the University of Lagos and Mr. Michael Madubuko of UNN Challenged Maduka's group. Disunity continued until a NUNS meeting was called at ABU Zaria where MADUKA was "dismissed", Mr. Michael Madubuko appointed to act as the NUNS President.

According to Article 5d of the NUNS Constitution, "National activities of the NUNS shall be evenly distributed such that all member-Unions shall have the opportunity to play host". The base of the NUNS Secretariat is shifted from one zone to the other each year to enable each member-union host the secretariat. The secretariat is currently in the Lagos zone which comprises the following member unions University of Lagos, National Teachers Training College Lagos, Yaba College of Technology, and Federal School of Science, Lagos.

A convention was held in Lagos from September 1st to 7th 1973 and Mr. Akin Adeniran who headed the Unilag students Union in the 1972/73 Session was elected—President of NUNS for the 1973/74 academic session. There was strong opposition by some member unions as to the legality of this convention. Such group quoted article 7f of the NUNS Constitution which states that "A quorum shall be deemed to be constituted for the convention by the presence at any sitting of two-thirds of the delegates registered for the current convention". They argued that the delegates who were present at the Lagos convention were not up to two-thirds and so could not be accredited representatives of the NUNS.

One of those who strongly opposed the convention was Mr. Yomi Tokoya who is the Chairman of many students movements like: Students Revolutionary and Action Committee; Committee of Progressive Students; Socialist Movement, and Chairman of Committee for United NUNS.

Yomi Tokoya aired his views about the bitter opposition existing between himself and Mr. Adeniran in these words: "I have got nothing personal against Adeniran I am only concerned with protecting the NUNS Constitution and repairing the damage done by Adeniran and his colleagues".

Mr. Tokoya sees the NUNS disunity as purely "ideological", asserting: "Nigerian students are capitalists and socialists. I am a socialist and I believe in scientific socialism. We want to prevent the capitalists from dominating the bureaucracy because we consider them conservatives and it will be disastrous to let them hold offices in the NUNS".

Asked why he considers the capitalist, conservatives he said "it is a problem of language, we regard them as being conservative because they conform to the old principles, they are anti-progressive". Mr. Tokoya's ideal NUNS President must be "ideologically committed to scientific socialism. He should be a patriot, a nationalist and not a statist, or a tribalist. He must also be a dynamic revolutionist".

Some people suggested that Mr. Tokoya was among those who instigated the Benin convention where another NUNS President, Mr. John Ogbu (1972/73 U.I. Public Relations Officer) was elected. The convention was held at the University of Benin by those who believed that the University of Lagos Convention was illegal because not all representatives of member institutions were present. As a result 2 NUNS presidents emerged for the 1973/74 session, thereby complicating the, already chaotic situation.

AROUND THE CAMPUS

At this juncture some men of goodwill like Akin Ojo (U.I. President 1973/74) Presidents of Yaba College of Technology and Federal School of Science etc. summoned a peace meeting at Ibadan to which Messrs. Akin Adeniran and John Ogbu were invited. At the "RECONCILIATORY MEETING" held on 24th November 1973, two vital resolutions were adopted namely: that the two rival Presidents, Akin Adeniran and John Ogbu be removed from their office, and that the two conventions which had previously elected them at Lagos and Benin respectively were void and acted *ultra vires*. The committee further resolved that none of the removed "Officers" should contest election for any executive office of the union in the 1973/74 session.

There are some other side issue leading to the disunity in the NUNS, such as the payment of capitation Fee and the mismanagement of funds. Some institutions are usually late in paying their capitation fees of 50k per student, and there is the additional problem of making sure that each student paid his capitation fee annually.

Perhaps the most crucial problem was the mismanagement of funds. University of Lagos was said to have paid its capitation fee of ₦1,466.00 to the "illegal regime" of Mr. Adeniran and the money was alleged to have been given to the acting President Madubuko and shared out among some member Unions. But since the regime of these officers had been pronounced illegal, there is the difficulty of collecting the money back and giving it to the succeeding executive. With these problems in view, the NUNS settled down to its 3rd emergency and 17th annual convention to elect a new executive. Despite the distractions of rioters and the excitement of the house, the elections were successfully carried out.

The success of the convention had been threatened previously by some opposing members of the NUNS, notably Mr. Akin Adeniran one of the rival president, elected at an earlier but illegal convention at University of Lagos. Mr. Adeniran was reported to have threatened bloodshed, but this was forestalled and peace and tranquility were maintained the first day.

Among the high lights of the convention which lasted two days was the speech made by Mr. Orits Ebigbeyi, President of the Lagos University students' Union, who analysed the problems that should preoccupy the NUNS rather than the plague of political rivalry.

Nigerian students, he admonished, should take positive stand on the question of returning the country to civilian rule on/or before 16th January 1976. In preparation for this major landmark in our history, the Military Government should lift without further delay the state of emergency existing in this country, as well as parties and create conducive atmosphere for the formation of Nationalist political parties.

The Federal Military Government should set up the necessary machinery for discussing and drafting a new constitution acceptable to all Nigerians, and should be persuaded to declare education free in all institutions of Higher Learning with effect from the 1974/75 academic session.

Earlier, in a symposium Mr. Ebenezer Babatope an ex-student of Unilag currently an Administrative Officer at the students affairs department of the University spoke on "Which way Nigeria Capitalism, Socialism, or Down-Right Communism?".

Mr. Babatope, who claimed to be a fervent socialist was of the view that scientific socialism which looks into the problems of the masses could be best practised in Nigeria. He believes that Nigeria 1961-1965 was "Nigeria flowing with milk and honey but there were few people to tap it. 1966 to present day is the military era and General Gowon has proved that youth can struggle and rule the country effectively".

He then appealed to the NUNS to play an active role when the Constituent Assembly would be inaugurated, adding that their struggle should not be solely to acquire power but to stop oppression. "We cannot solve the problem of our Nation by merely exchanging political jargons but by eradicating poverty and illiteracy. We should see 1976 as a year for SILENCING OPPORTUNISTS FOR EVER".

Mr. Babatope perceived that Benevolent Socialism, a step towards the ideal socialism is practised in the Northern States. This can be explained simply as "I am a rich man but I have numberless people to feed".

He concluded that until a Nigeria with free education, social judgement, free medical treatment etc. emerge, students should continue to strive. The masses do not mind who ruled them but how they are ruled".

Delivering his Presidential address Mr. Chuckugozie Maduka the President of NUNS 72/73 session said inter alia:

"This convention is very unique in the sense that we are not simply here to elect new officers and review the activities of the preceding session but to find permanent solution to problems that have bedevilled the Union since its inception. This year for the first time the NUNS was able to organise the World Conference of Nigerian students—a conference attended by many Unions of Nigerian students overseas.

"We hope, for the first time, to launch a NUNS liberation Movement Fund and a

AROUND THE CAMPUS

Liberated Volunteer Service Force for the benefit of our suffering brothers in certain parts of the world". He disclosed that to ensure public confidence, three distinguished personalities have been recommended as the trustees of the fund which he described as the monumental contribution of NUNS to the liberation of Africa.

He regretted the "FAILURE OF THE NUNS to establish the proposed NUNS newspaper in the 1972/73 session" and appealed to the succeeding executive to "give serious consideration to this overdue project".

Mr. Maduka was of the view that for meaningful peace and consensus, there should be a complete overhaul of the present constitution without which any attempt at peace would be no more than superficial.

After Mr. Maduka's speech, there was agitation mainly by some students of the University of Lagos who demonstrated against the duplication of candidate by the University of Lagos, one of whom was unilaterally backed by their current President Ebigbeyi.

A group of students came into the conference hall with placard reading "Ebigbeyi must go" but the alarming situation was quickly arrested when the convention adjourned for some time.

At resumption of meeting, the students came in again, taking positions at the back of the hall, and made several attempts to assert their claims. It reached a stage when there was face to face confrontation. The Registrar intervened and a likeness of peace was restored though the atmosphere was tense. Campus Policemen stood guard outside the hall and the meeting continued calmly.

Due to the excitement already created, the meeting was again adjourned for 7 p.m. before which time a reinforcement of police and security men stood guard outside the conference hall. Then came the controversial issue of whether the riotous observers should be allowed in. An observer referred to Article 7c V: VI which states: "Any life member shall participate at convention in the status of delegate on payment of the sum of one-guinea and after official information to the NUNS Secretariat. All other participants at convention shall be in the category of observers". Since the constitution was not against observers being present at conventions he believed they should be allowed in.

Eventually the Caretaker Committee resolved that the riotous observers should be denied admission into the hall and the Convention continued behind "closed door". Even with only accredited delegates present at the meeting, one could clearly see disunity, over sentimentality and time wasting on trivial issues as the payment of capitation fee and mismanagement of fund was discussed.

It was at this juncture that a false alarm which threw the house into commotion was raised. An explosive toy, was thrown into the hall which resulted in a loud explosion causing confusion.

Some people thought it was a way the discredited observers adopted to make the meeting a failure. A student was held by the Police. The candidates presented their manifestoes, declaring to the convention the policy they hoped to pursue if they were elected into office.

The Presidential post was hotly contested by Tony Chuku of University of Lagos, O. Labinjo of College of Medicine and Uzo Uchegbe of Yaba College of Technology. Mr. Sola Labinjo of College of Medicine, University of Lagos, was predicted the NUNS President 1973/74 session. People believed he had the potentials of a good president for he had been in politics for some time and was said to be diligent. But after the contestants had made their speeches and the votes were counted, there was an election upset. Tony Chuku, a 2nd year law student of University of Lagos was elected President with a landslide majority, with Mr. Sola Labinjo, coming a distant second.

The posts of Assistant Secretary and Vice President went respectively to Sanni Umar and Femi Okun of the University of Ife, both of whom were unopposed. Mr. A.B. Semori, a student of Accountancy in the University of Lagos, won the financial secretary post unopposed.

The success of the convention could be attributed to its adherence to Article 7g, of "The annual Convention of the NUNS" which states that "The Convention shall adopt a programme of activities and decide on the national and international policy of the NUNS. Executive council shall ensure that such a programme and policy are strictly adhered to".

The 17th annual emergency convention adopted a programme of activities and discussed the NUNS National and international policy. The newly sworn in Executives in their manifestoes had pledged their readiness to execute the programme and policy of NUNS, and we look forward to fruitful results. The convention which lasted two days, ended at 4 a.m. on Wednesday 19th December.



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MR. EMUCHAY & MRS. TOJE WIN NEWBREED COMPETITION



31 year old Geologist with the Nigerian National Oil Corporation Lagos, MR. CHIJI EMUCHAY and a Sports Secretary and Coach with the Rivers State Sports Council, Port Harcourt, MRS. GRACE TOJE, are the lucky winners of the NEWBREED Essay Competition which was launched in August and ran through to December 1973.

Mr. Emuchay selected the NEWBREED issue of December 1972 as his best while Mrs. Toje contended that the August 1973 edition was her best. These competitors did not win the NEWBREED awards on the grounds that we agree with them that any of the two editions of the magazine respectively chosen by them was necessarily the best, but because of the high quality of their essays and the logical way in which they presented their arguments. Besides, both readers were able to draw relevant comparison with other editions of the magazine and appear to have had a thorough grasp and analysis of the objectives and philosophy of NEWBREED.

Emuchay was educated at the then Dennis Memorial Grammar School, Onitsha and the University of Nigeria, Nsukka where he obtained a degree in Geology in 1966. He is married with a daughter and takes to reading, writing and music as his hobbies.

Mrs. Toje taught at Primary and Secondary School levels after successfully completing her course at the Women's T.T.C. Benin-City. She later joined the Mid-West Sports Council as Coaching Assistant from where she moved over to the Rivers State in 1971 as Sports Secretary. A keen sports woman, Mrs. Toje took active part in national competitions in 1968-69. She is married with two children both of whom are currently doing their Secondary School studies at the Hussey College, Warri.

A panel of experts made up of respectable personalities from different walks of life painfully and scrupulously went through the numerous entries received and adjudged, Emuchay and Mrs. Toje the winners of the NEWBREED free flight ticket to Europe competition. Our congratulations go to these lucky winners.

Other competitors who came very close to winning as challenging runners up include: Mr. Yori Folarin of the Nigerian Ports Authority, Lagos (December 1973 Edition); Mr. E. Eche of Jesus College, Oturpko, Benue Plateau State (August 1973 issue); Miss G. Ajayi of P. O. Box 42, Kano (June 1972, our Maiden issue) and Mr. Duru Jay of the Standard Bank, Yaba (December 1972 Edition).

We must thank many readers who contributed to the debate but—regret to say that everybody cannot win, otherwise, we received very well presented arguments.

We hope readers will respond to future competition with the same zeal or greater enthusiasm.

However, we wish to point out that the response from female readers was rather discouraging.

NEWBREED Magazine is styled and developed for New breed people, male and female young and old, who see change and progress as a condition of life.

Therefore our female readers must involve themselves more actively, and participate by sending in constructive criticisms and competing in programmes launched by NEWBREED.

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MRS FOLA AKINTUNDE

By Biodun Owoseni.

Lively, gay, radiant, witty, self-confident but unassuming, tough-minded but simple, natural and modern, impressive and generally humorous. That, without flattery or exaggeration, describes the Permanent Secretary in the West Civil Service, the only one and august Mrs. Fola Akintunde Ighodalo.

Born to a humble Yoruba parentage

Information, and Education at different times.

Starting from the bottom, Mrs. Ighodalo has risen to the meridian of greatness and nationally acknowledged popularity in becoming a Permanent Secretary.

Getting to such a much-cherished and most coveted high seat of power



and brought up in the Western State countryside, she attended Queen's College Lagos and afterwards, went to Britain for seven years on studies before coming back to Nigeria in 1954. She joined the former Western Region Civil Service in 1955 serving in various capacities and in various ministries including Ministries of Works,

possible in any Ministry's administrative set-up is not an easy task, especially for a woman who would have to combine professional, domestic, and spousing concerns without unnecessarily sacrificing one for the other. It therefore requires a woman of great industry exemplary diligence, indefatigable ability, and un-

NEWBREED INTERVIEW

IGHODALO

flinching sense of integrity to grasp firmly and successfully with problems and challenges of arduous responsibilities.

Such is Mrs. Akintunde Ighodalo who has succeeded where others might have failed and who today occupies that prideful post and is held in high esteem by all and sundry in the West Civil Service.

Married in 1950 to Mr. J.A. Ighodalo, now an Accountant in the University of Ibadan Bursary, the couple has three children—one of whom is an undergraduate of the University of Ibadan.

Asked about her age she modestly replied "you don't ask of a woman's age" and refused to say why.

NEWBREED: In a recent address to the West Conference of School and Teacher Training Principals, you mentioned something about acute shortage of qualified teachers in the West. Can you refresh us with the estimated number?

MRS. IGHODALO: Not necessary.

NEWBREED: Don't you feel this is not unconnected with massive drift of qualified people from the teaching profession throughout Nigeria?

MRS. IGHODALO: Don't let us dwell on that.

NEWBREED: Schools' take-over not completely implemented till now in the West.....

MRS. IGHODALO: But you are supposed to ask personality questions Mr. NEWBREED. I don't think I shall answer questions on anything educational that is concerned with my office. If you want that, communicate with us officially for details about statistics of teachers, policies of this Ministry and so on. We shall supply you.

(At this juncture, one Mr. Olurin from neighbouring ministry of Information came in. "Good, Mr. Olurin" exclaimed Mrs. Ighodalo. "I am talking to somebody from the NEWBREED. You can come and sit down. You are a newbreed too". Mr. Olurin and I exchanged courtesies as he sat near).

NEWBREED: Free and compulsory education from primary to University level. Don't you think the Federal Government can successfully champion and execute it?

MRS. IGHODALO: No opinion about free education.

NEWBREED: Okay, let us switch to another topic entirely. Last June mal-handling of a Nigerian woman, Mrs. Sojimi, by a junior British diplomat, David Lee, near Monrovia aboard the ship Aureol. As a woman how did you feel about it?

MRS. IGHODALO: I read about it in the newspapers. But the facts are not known and one is rendered sceptical. Because it is easy to get emotional as told in the press. I want to be objective. There has been no official statement from the British High Commissioner in Nigeria. So one cannot really hold any opinion about the rightness or wrongness of it. It takes two to make a quarrel and it is high time we stopped supersensitivity. Certain norms of behaviour are expected of people.

NEWBREED: Adoption of a national language among the major Nigerian tongues. Is it realistic as regards contemporary Nigerian situations?

MRS. IGHODALO: An explosive subject. I agree entirely with leaving that at the moment to deal with more urgent things. The government should be concerned with welding us, not coercing us, as a nation. There are diverse things to tackle right now to bring the nation to a proper footing. In Britain for example, English is used as official language, but people in Wales still speak the Welsh language. Unity can be achieved without adopting any language. We are told Nigeria is unity in diversity not in one road.....

NEWBREED: But the adoption of a national language among the native languages, it is argued, would make us more national in outlook. Not up to 10% of the population understand English properly whereas some 25 million or more understand Hausa for example and over 15 million people understand Yoruba, and so on.

MRS. IGHODALO: That is where the wrong orientation comes in. We equate education with ability to write and read alone. That is a wrong type of education. Education should be rightly pursued to make people read and write successfully in their own language too. French has now been introduced into schools besides English. So one feels that one or two native languages could be taught in schools besides the mother-tongue of the children. Any imposition of a national language can raise political unhappiness. It is good for mental gymnastics alone. India for instance has many languages and still exists as a united country.

NEWBREED: Indigenisation of Nigeria economy scheduled for March 1974. Are you convinced it is being pursued vigorously to successfully and thoroughly accomplish it?

MRS. IGHODALO: I am not involved in the pursuit. Something should be done to change the orientation of our people, check their propensity for luxurious existence, greed, attitude to sale rather than consumer, etc. Something should also be done positively about mutual mistrust preventing Nigerians to combine in business. One hopes indigenization would succeed but things should be taken care of. Machinery to promote rights could be established, etc.

NEWBREED: How can we guard against some unscrupulous aliens trying to sidetrack the Indigenisation e.g. by naturalizing or through secret collaboration with our people.....

MRS. IGHODALO: Mutual cooperation of our people is essential. All these aliens make use of our people. Aliens would not be able to participate in the business covered under the Indigenisation Decree if our people expose them. Look at some large expatriate managements which are in fact showpiece. No power and effective control of our people even if appointed Manager. The power doesn't lie with indigenous people, except the honorarium titles. But some of our people are not bothered whether aliens dominate the economy or whether their positions in expatriate employment are only effective in theory so long as they ride big cars and live in all possible luxury.

NEWBREED: The wide gap between the rich and the poor in Nigeria of which Chief Awolowo spoke vehemently against at Unife Convocation in October.....

MRS. IGHODALO: I quite agree with Chief Awolowo about the gap between the rich and the poor. A look at our rural areas will convince you.

NEWBREED: Seems as if it can lead to a catastrophic precipice if not bridged.....

MRS. IGHODALO: How do you bridge it in terms of our economy. There is low productivity. Money from oil is not getting to the people. There is wrong orientation. School leavers are prepared only for clerical jobs. They are not satisfied with other jobs, say catering, domestic, and so on. It is the type of development. Time will come for industrialisation when people will find jobs easily. There are no gardeners to employ, no domestic staff, etc. Perhaps the Ministry of Labour can regularize the remuneration of domestic staff and their conditions of service. Get to Ogunpa, Mokola, or Dughe, you see our youths roaming the streets selling lottery tickets, coupon pools, etc. instead of engaging in real and gainful work.

NEWBREED: Are you indirectly saying that it is a result of our capitalistic mode of production?

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NewBreed

NEWBREED INTERVIEW

MRS. IGHODALO

MRS. IGHODALO: Not capitalistic mode of production. One should be very wary about hanging to one point as causing every thing. What is capitalism or socialism? How many of us get money? There is no capitalism or socialism in Nigeria. *All the money in Nigeria put together, is not up to that of a millionaire in USA. One or two people can live comfortably in Nigeria, ride expensive cars, paste a lot of Naira on the forehead of dancing girls, etc. But there is no multi-millionaire in Nigeria. We should be cautious about all these slogans of workers blaming everything on capitalistic system. For example, can I be counted as such now. My salary doesn't go enough. A salary of four thousand Naira is not enough for a Permanent Secretary. There is not a richman in Nigeria at present, at least of a second generation rich. All the people shouted about are first generation who started from the scratch. Some ten years ago many of them were pushing trucks or doing other menial jobs.*

NEWBREED: Nigeria as an egalitarian and democratic society. Don't you think this is an overstatement?

MRS. IGHODALO: In a country that is deeply corrupt we cannot talk of any egalitarianism.

NEWBREED: You were talking of corruption. How do we start eliminating it?

MRS. IGHODALO: Refuse to give bribery and nobody would have something to get. There is corruption in other countries but the level of corruption is not as high as that of Nigeria. Corruption starts from small things. For example, you see a girl on a counter and you make face to her to quickly sell you things before others. Or an important personality displaying for quick recognition to be passed in a traffic jam or queue for something and so on.

NEWBREED: Embezzlement of public funds.....

MRS. IGHODALO: One should not be hypocritical. They say it but nobody has yet been brought to book. There should be courage to bring any corrupt person to book. Few people know about it but the few haven't spoken up. You can imagine people using fictitious names in writing to claim money. Two years ago when I came to this Ministry of Education, a particular delegation came to appeal to me to clean the place. They said that when they established their schools certain people took something from them. On asking of the names of the "certain people" they declined to say them. This is where things start. Why should they decline?

NEWBREED: Madam, do you think a journalist can boldly come out now to speak the bitter truth even when he knows all the facts and figures about funds em-

bezzled without being victimized?

MRS. IGHODALO: Well, I can blame journalists on how they deal with investigations. There is no thorough investigation. From my association with press people, you journalists need to do more.

Efforts are needed to achieve resounding success especially in a crucial situation that can spell success or failure... When such a thing fails, they say they are unlucky. Journalists need to be more thorough. They need to be fair and take trouble to investigate.

One success out of ten can be enough. Since 1966 my experience face to face with the press has been disgusting. Most newspapers are full of government pronouncements. In such a vitriating country as Nigeria, it should not be so. Although they argue that journalists are poorly paid, that is no criterion. I am not saying that the press should not give government publicity. They should. But Newspaper and Radio should be resounding about variety of news. Incidents newsworthy are not covered in the rural areas on topics of national interest and importance, though not directly governmental.

NEWBREED: Our country is rapidly being permeated with high incidents of sexual immorality, promiscuity, permissiveness, lust and associated vices manifested comportment of our youths. Some people argue that only a decree can save us from the present trend.

MRS. IGHODALO: Nothing is wrong in the dressing our youths. Youths of any country have their ways of exuberance. Miniskirts and others are not detestable even to me and I can't personally stop my daughters from wearing them. Any youth brought from a good home would behave well in the society.

Permissiveness is in any society. I suspect edicts or decrees to regulate human behaviour in as much as such behaviours do not tend on crimes. Fashion in girls persist everywhere. Have you done History? Look at the 16th century England in which men wore garters, e.g. Sir Walter Raleigh (1522-1618) and Shakespeare (1564-1616) who appeared like women in frocks and garters.

Sincerely, there is nothing wrong in the dressing of youths. However, I detest school girls or children going to pubs or nightouts, smoking marijuana in the belief that it could help them to pass their exams. This is laziness and refusal to exert themselves. I see something wrong in youths cheating or buying exam papers. I detest such attitudes sponsored by teachers and parents, e.g. a mother helping her daughter to pack to school and also packing family planning pills into her luggage. Mothers should teach lessons of good morality, of badness of sex in schools,

and should not connive at their daughter's immorality.

Good examples to youths impose—parents strict moral discipline. Youths in Nigeria reflect indiscipline, immoral lust, dishonesty and corruption of parents. I wouldn't agree to blaming everything on our youths.

There is a danger sign for example if a child coming home to blame his or her poor marks on teacher's hatred. Parents should blame their children for laziness not the teacher. A mother should tell a child he or she is lazy as is not the other person in the class and that the teacher cannot punish him/her with marks.

The WAEC may be careless. But will you should students cheat or buy papers? There is general lack of discipline in our adults. You cannot blame the teachers who are products of our society. They have, like others, to attend things such as the ceremony of their grandparents who died thirty years ago, etc. How can such teachers have time to work hard? The whole society is vicious. Look at Japan which is highly industrialized. It is miraculous for the combination of their industrial sophistication with the same high level of cultural development and integration. Why can't parents insist on discipline as regards sex, etc.

NEWBREED: The setting up of elitist schools for the children of the rich in Nigeria. Comments?

MRS. IGHODALO: There is no society where parents do not have the freedom of determining the type of education wanted for their children. By and large, education that would provide recipients the ingredients to become disciplined and good citizens should be pursued by all irrespective of which schools children are sent to.

The six-year primary school education pre-supposes that the home will assist. But imagine a child going to spend six hours only in our 20th century schools and going back home to spend the remaining eighteen hours in a typical 18th century or 19th century home of illiterate parents. What do you expect?

Concerted effort is needed for adult education to bridge the gap between parents and the child. It is the absence of this that worsens the situation. That is why it is conspicuous in an elitist school. Because there is difference between the standard of the so-called elitist schools that have necessary facilities and public schools that relatively have little.

One could recommend provision of adequate facilities for public schools in staff and equipment to compare favourably. **NEWBREED:** Government's non-support for our young talents in schools that show early traits of creativity and inventiveness, e.g. youths under 15 years who have

featured in newspapers for ability to create model machines, engines, aircrafts, etc.....

MRS. IGHODALO: They are freaks and are very few. Such things are not uncommon in all societies.

NEWBREED: But don't you think we are unwittingly killing the incentive of our future great scientists and technologists, especially if their parents happen to be too poor to afford them post-secondary education?

MRS. IGHODALO: Not necessarily.

NEWBREED: Employment discrimination against graduates with third class or pass degrees. Comments.

MRS. IGHODALO: It is not discrimination. Merely a question of supply and demand. Did you do economics? When I joined the Civil Service in 1955 the job had been there a year ahead waiting for me. Because for personal reasons I waited till 1955 despite my graduating in 1954. Nobody bothered about which grade then because of dire need of Nigerians for indigenous man-power personnel. But now things have changed. That is why there is the idea of absorbing the best among many for the posts available.

thing to operate anywhere. There should be no shortage of employment of graduates. If we have it now we are in serious trouble.

.....interruption from an official coming in to show Mrs. Ighodalo the copies of the typed letters intended to be sent to WNBS/WNTY, NBC, and other news media directing that there should be no midterm holidays in the West for the first term in view of the many public holidays in the term. Glancing through it quickly to ensure accuracy of instruction, she remarked "you see, you are taking a lot of my time. See all the official works piling up" (pointing to the files). After that she continued: "Quickly to your question.....".

NEWBREED: Which educational reforms would you like to witness in Nigeria before 1976?

MRS. IGHODALO: 1976? Iyen ti de ba wa tan (a Yoruba expression meaning "That is very near now"). Changes liked are very multifarious. I don't believe in a utilitarian system of education. Education should be geared to our requirements in all our schools. Curricula should be revised so that products can fit into any society either labour-wise or culturally.



NEWBREED: With regards to the present shortage of man-power in Nigeria, needs such a thing occur.....?

MRS. IGHODALO: Depends on what type of manpower-need is required. There may be an associate graduate that cannot operate as an Administrative Officer. An Assistant Secretary will be required to operate as if really he does research for doctorate or post-graduate degree, if he is to be successful.

Generally, there is something wrong with our economy. Otherwise nothing prevents third class degree holder or any-

Our educational system is still fashioned on a different culture—British. It should be overhauled. We should evolve a type of education that takes full cognizance of our own culture and be able to integrate national aspirations.

I can't see why schools especially in rural areas should not have agriculture as a subject in their time-table. The curricula is full of subjects unrelated to the background of students, e.g. *talking of snow when they don't know it. We are educating people for a different culture; not for Nigerian culture. And that is why we seem*

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to be producing the wrong stuff.

Content should be changed to prepare our society for where we have to live, to work hard, to eschew bribery and corruption, where people will stop chasing easy money, high living but love for honesty, readiness to work hard instead of buying exam papers. Our education should tailor to the high demands of leadership, where hard work is given general acknowledgement, where University students will fight for the edifying things instead of demonstrating for good food and breaking plates in their cafeteria, and so on.

The present crisis of the NUNS (National Union of Nigeria Students) constitutes a blur to the student image in this country. There are noble things to fight for.

Adults have failed Nigeria and youths should do something to rectify this and build a strong foundation for worthy things.

NEWBREED: Which political philosophy would you recommend for Nigeria?

MRS. IGHODALO: No political philosophy.

NEWBREED: How do you visualize the position of women in Nigeria with special regards to post-1976 civilian government?

MRS. IGHODALO: Visualize? How?

NEWBREED: Say, whether you look up to active women participation in politics even to the point of a woman contesting for the Presidency and all what not!

MRS. IGHODALO: Why not? A woman should be able not as a woman but as a citizen of Nigeria that has ability and resources to offer, irrespective of trousers or skirts.

NEWBREED: Think that a woman would be able to supply the much-needed dynamism and radical policies commensurate with Nigeria's leading role in Africa?

MRS. IGHODALO: I don't know. I see people as human beings not as a man or woman—probably because of my unbringing. Any one who has something to offer should be given the chance. Nothing stops a woman from performing as good as any man. Nothing stops it, there are cases in Yoruba tradition of women becoming family heads.

NEWBREED: Going through your eviable career, what periods of your life appear most spectacular?

MRS. IGHODALO: Is it enviable.....? Anyway, I have found the whole of life very interesting since birth. I was born in a farm and brought up in a rural area. It interests me to sit under the shade of trees, hear birds singing melodiously in the farm with my father, or place my feet in a gently-running stream.

I have opportunities in life which, by God's grace, it has been possible to make use of. I enjoy living. I have been successful and had opportunity for service.

When life stops, I must have been a

contented person. I love challenges—whether official, public, domestic or anywhere. But for challenges I wouldn't have been here—the challenge posed by a British officer.

NEWBREED: Could you elaborate.

MRS. IGHODALO: I was among the first batch of Nigerian administrative officers appointed in the then Western Region Civil Service and as a woman I did not have an easy time. One white administrative personnel said what happens if I was posted to Ijaw and the people start rioting.

After seven years in Britain, I made very interesting and lasting friends, among whom are my best friends in the world today. But on getting to Nigeria, the whites here seemed very much different from their people back home. No correlation between their people here and abroad.

NEWBREED: One man one wife. Do you feel it has any future in Nigeria?

MRS. IGHODALO: Don't know. You should ask youths. Or why should you bother.....

NEWBREED: Taking cognizance of the rate sweetly—contracted marriages often land on rocks nowadays.....

MRS. IGHODALO: Not higher in Nigeria than elsewhere. When men want to relish in self-indulgence, they say it. I don't object to any type of human relationship. I feel the nuclear family system can be favoured as against the extended family system. In the nuclear family, each member carries some shared responsibility



for the welfare of the family generally. I cherish mutual cooperation among the families. But in the extended family, only more comfortable people of the family share the burden..... And that ends it. Good-bye Mr. NEWBREED.

NEWBREED: Sorry Madam. Just two questions more. Inter-ethnic marriage. From your own experience of marrying a Mid-Westerner, do you think it can be a constructive weapon of forging national unity?

MRS. IGHODALO: Don't know. Suppose so. I don't want to be dogmatic. However, it contributes to inter-ethnic understanding since the issues of such marriage have two different ethnic background to claim.

NEWBREED: How do you name your children without completely forsaking one of the parents' indigenous traditional nomenclature?

MRS. IGHODALO: Another idea of human relations. There is nothing wrong—We just give names to our children so far as they are Nigerians. They bear names that take fancy of the father and myself. Nothing to quarrel about when it comes to naming of children.

NEWBREED: How do you manage to effectively cope with your official maternal and wifely duties without strain?

MRS. IGHODALO: But you said you were going to ask two more questions?

Well, it become part of one. But it needs one to get properly organised. It is becoming more and more difficult as it is difficult to get domestic servants nowadays. One is at times turned between two loyalties. It is not easy but one has to manage.

NEWBREED: Finally what are your keys to success?

MRS. IGHODALO: Keys to success? Hmnn..... Hardwork. One has a bit of luck and a fair share of God's grace too. But without hardwork, the others are impossible. Also self-discipline, goodwill to all men and high standard of integrity. Whatever Ministry I go to I am quite popular with the junior staff. They have confidence in me. Two months ago when I was still in Ministry of Information and Home Affairs and even earlier in Works, my fairness to those under me has been affirmed especially by the junior workers like the messengers, cleaners, drivers, and so on. I was listening one time to two workers in argument. One said "you cannot threaten me. I'll take you to Madam and whatever she says is final. I will take it". That is it.

(The interview ended and at the same time the confidential Secretary emerged from his own room. "So you couldn't come here to tell Mr. NEWBREED he has been taking much of my time ever since". Mrs. Ighodalo snapped humorously, while the Secretary smiled.)

"It has been interesting anyway. But I hope you wouldn't misquote me in what I have said". She inquired.

"Certainly not" I retorted.

"Would be interested" she went on "if probably you can let me have a copy of the interview when finished. Anyway it doesn't matter". She concluded.

Okay. Very grateful for the co-operation". I said cheerfully. The hired photographer after taking a final snapshot of a handshake could not but comment about his being stupefied at the simplicity and joviality surrounding this respectable personality occupying the top most echelon of the West Ministry of Education's bureaucratic ladder.)



**WHAT
KIND
OF MAN
IS
AFRICA**

SHRINE CHIEF PRIEST FELA RANSOME KUTI

"I don't know what other people feel about it, but to me—this Afro-beat music is sacred".

That was Fela Ransome-Kuti during a rapping session at his house in Idi-Oro together with some of his close friends.

The occasion was a kind of post-mortem, after his famous confrontation with one of the Beatle musicians—Paul McCartney at the Lagos recording studio of the E.M.I (Nigeria) Ltd.

Afro-beat music, as created by him and played by the Africa 70 band is sacred. That is about the closest approximation one can get to what makes Fela Kuti tick.

Here is a man who has made his own kind of music the central pre-occupation

of his life. He has known the depth of despair and the sweet taste of success all in his musical career.

From the time when his earliest band—in Nigeria—the Koola Lobitos played to an audience of four—for no gate fees (1965); to his triumphant tour of Nigeria in 1971, when in some venues, fans who had bought ₦2 admission tickets each, could not get into the capacity filled halls and had to content themselves with listening to Fela's Afro-beat music behind the auditorium walls.

The fact is that Fela believes so much in his music that he is prepared to suffer any hardship simply to have an opportunity to play it to people.

Like that time in middle 1969 to early

1970 when he and his boys went through hell in the United States where they had gone on a 10 month tour. While in the United States, the US Immigration department and the closed-door policy of the American Union of Musicians made sure that Fela and his band did not play in any respectable club for decent fees.

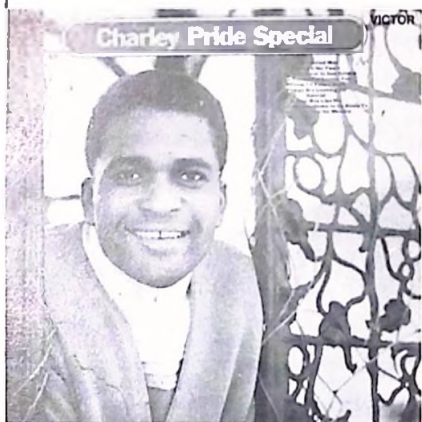
The American tour was very important. It changed Fela's outlook and attitudes to life in several respects.

For one thing, the name of the band was changed from Koola Lobitos to Nigeria 70 band and later to Africa 70.

For another, the American experience turned Fela to a black revolutionary activist. Since he returned to Nigeria in early 1970, he held and expressed definite

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views on what should be the place of the black people, economically, politically and socially in the world.

During the famous confrontation with Paul McCartney, Fela made it clear that he was a black revolutionary activist who also happened to be a musician.

The day of the meeting was the morning when the newspapers carried reports of the shooting down of several African miners by the white racist police in South Africa.

Fela told Paul McCartney: "This kind of cruel shooting makes me weep for my suffering people. It is one reason why I cannot sit around in Lagos and do nothing about anybody who wants to take away the only thing which is genuinely African that is our music".

Fela is definitely concerned about the preservation of the authenticity of African Culture. The American experience affected Fela's life-style in another respect.

Until he left for the US, Fela did not smoke cigarettes or drink alcoholic spirits. In fact, his close friends were always amused by what he ordered in restaurants.

He was fond of things like ice-cream, orange drinks, cakes and sausage rolls. America changed all that.

Now, Fela is a chain smoker who enjoys various kinds of "tobacco". Anybody who can beat him in drinking alcohol is likely to be a horse.

Talking of his personal life style, Fela is a crusading bohemian with very unorthodox views.

For example, as Chief Priest at his Africa Shrine, he spends a lot of time telling his fans that one of the reasons for the economic backwardness of Africans is their addiction to religions—particularly the imported Euro-Christian religion.

He preaches that Africans who feel like worshipping anything should go back to their traditional religions and leave the white man's christianity severely alone. This is Fela's belief despite the fact that he comes from a long line of Christian priests.

His father was the well-known Rev. Ransome-Kuti who made an indelible stamp on the moral and intellectual training of generations of young Nigerians who passed through his hands both at the Ijebu-Ode and Abeokuta Grammar Schools.

Fela is aware of the tremendous amount of intellectual and moral capital bequeathed to him by his parents of whom he is very proud. But this crusading and revolutionary musician is far from being complacent.

About two years ago, we passed through a motor park in Lagos. We watched a boy of about 12 years playing the survival game in the urban jungle of Nigerian motor parks. This boy apparently knew how to play the game so well that in

spite of his tender age, it was obvious he had no fears about surviving it all.

Fela reflected for a moment and said: "Sometimes, I wonder how useful is the privileged and shielded background some of us had as children.

"If I had grown up like this young boy in the motorpark, by now I should have become a millionaire".

The point Fela was trying to make was that the values and skills we are taught in our grammar schools are almost totally irrelevant to what it takes to survive and succeed in the real world.

In other words, 75 per cent of what is useful to us in life is picked up on the streets, in the rough and tumble of real life.

Fela's taste in dresses is decidedly bohemian. He recalled the occasion when he was about to join the Nigerian Army as a musician in the middle 1960s. He actually attended an interview but the panel must have been surprised at the way he was dressed.

For the interview, he looked for a tie and a jacket which he wore. But he had no pair of socks. Anyway, he was not selected to play music in the Army.

Ordinarily Fela goes about in his own design of shirts which are open-necked and nothing on earth will make him wear neck ties not even when he is in cold England.

Talking of dresses, Fela has the most expensive wardrobe in Nigeria. His dress materials ordinarily cost about ₦20 a yard. Right now, I think his wardrobe must have cost him about ₦20,000 all told.

Yet, there was a time before he went to the US when thieves broke into his house at night and he was left with a pair of trousers and a shirt.

It was a good Samaritan (a girl) who bought some cheap dress materials from which he made two shirts. This probably explains why Fela identifies always with the ordinary people.

Although he now enjoys the sweet taste of success, yet he knows what it is to be down there at the bottom of the ladder. Nobody needs to tell him anything. He had been there with the rest of us—at the bottom of society where no privileges are granted and where everybody has to struggle for survival.

Fela enjoys living at Idi-Oro where authentic Nigerians live. He hates the pompous asses who think because they live in exclusive residential areas, they are a race apart from ordinary Nigerians.

In fact one of the most popular tunes he is currently playing at the Africa Shrine is titled: "Ikoyi mentality versus Mushing mentality".

Any day, anywhere, Fela takes his stand on the side of ordinary Nigerians.

Talking about Fela's bohemian life

style, a fellow musician, Segun Bucknor, leader of the "Revolution", wrote in a NEWBREED magazine article that Fela's house is the first example of a genuine commune he knows of in Nigeria. There is a grain of truth in this.

Everybody is really welcome in Fela's house and that includes fans from the US, Europe and from other African countries. Several African states are represented in the personnel of his band and among people who live in his house.

I think he is really doing something in a small way to translate the ideals of the OAU into concrete reality.

At the moment, there is a problem of lingua-franca in Fela's household. At times, people get on fine speaking Hausa, at other times it is Twi.

This is due to the presence of a strong Ghanaian contingent in Fela's house. There are other nationalities—like Dahomeans and Togolese represented there.

There was a day when Fela told his Ghanaian "Chief of Staff that apart from occupying one room in his mother's two-storey house, he did not want to interfere in the running of his household.

Every summer for example, a lot of black Americans pass through Fela's house. Some come because of his music; others come because of his revolutionary black activist views. One thing is sure, they are always welcome.

Those who want are always provided a place to sleep and while they are around they become part and parcel of the household.

There was the case of two black Americans who after alighting from the plane which brought them to Nigeria asked a taximan to drive them straight to Fela's house.

One was holding a guitar, the other was clutching a saxophone. They had heard of Fela's commune in the US and they knew that was the right scene for them in Nigeria. The two black Americans ended up playing for one of the small bands in Lagos until they moved over to another African country.

Now, the topic of Fela's household—Nigeria's first genuine commune is something else. It can only happen around a man like Fela who believes in the ordinary man and who exhibits human compassion to a fault.

Fela's compassion for fellow human beings, especially those who are less fortunate than himself has sometimes led to some curious results.

A few months ago, the allegation was spread around Lagos that Fela's house in Idi-Oro had become an extension of the Aro mental hospital or the psychiatric hospital in Yaba. People actually stopped me to ask whether it was true. What really happened was this.

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There was this beautiful girl who was one of Fela's fans as from way back in 1966.

She belonged to the smart set in Lagos. She lived in a comfortable flat off Ikorodu Road in Lagos. Her flat had all the usual gadgets of modern living—airconditioners, refrigerators, an expensive stereophonic record player—the whole lot.

Then something went wrong. This girl suffered a reversal of fortune. She lost everything she had. What is worse, she seemed to have gone mutty as well. Anyway, about June this year, she showed up near Fela's house.

She was lean and looked starved. She was unwashed and wore dirty clothes which were far from smart. Fela noticed her and asked me if I remembered her. I said I did not. Then he went into the story of her background, at least the time when things were alright with her.

Fela is not the kind of man to pretend that he did not know that unfortunate girl. He wondered why a human being—could have fallen so low from grace to grass.

A small crowd had gathered and were treating the girl in the thoughtless way street boys in Nigeria treat lunatics. Fela speculated that the girl was probably alright in the head, but that poverty might have given the impression that she was nuts.

In brief, Fela called the unfortunate girl into his compound. He felt that if the girl was among people who accepted her and treated her like a human being, life would be better for her.

So, Fela told her she was free to join the crowd in his house. His reason was that if the girl had regular meals, if she wore clean clothes and lived among people who did not consider her lunatic, fortune might smile on her once more. The girl moved into Fela's house.

But how many Nigerians feel remotely touched by the misfortune of their friends and acquaintances? Even if a few feel some perfunctory pity for their unfortunate friends, how many Nigerians will lift a finger to help them in life?

But such concern and compassion for fellow human beings comes naturally to Fela. It is only in Fela's commune that people make no bones about living with those others have labelled "lunatics". Anyway, the girl no longer lives in Fela's house.

This fact has to be taken into account whenever people talk glibly and ignorantly about Fela and his commune.

In Nigeria where every man is a wolf to the next man, Fela's commune is definitely an Oasis in a wider desert of greedy, callous people preying on one another.

Anybody who is part of the crowd is given the highest responsibilities in Fela's household. No questions are asked about where he came from or who is parents are.

For example, the boy who holds the key to Fela's bedroom and looks after his ₦20,000 wardrobe is known simply by his first name—Harrison. Nobody has asked him from what part of Nigeria he came from. Fela does not even know the boy's surname.

Such details are not considered important. He is part of the crowd and that entitles him to play any roles however important in the house.

Many visitors to Fela's commune are "whocked" by what they see. There is nothing like it anywhere else.

Here is a community where African men and women live together, make friends quarrel, eat, sleep and generally subscribe to a peculiar life-style.

The house hold consists of Fela himself his domestic staff, some chorus girls, friends and fans of both sexes.

No one day is like the other in Fela's household. New people are always coming in; new things are always happening. Because Fela is a musician who works at night, the daily routine is different from that of many Nigerians who work from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.

On a typical day, Fela may wake up around 2 p.m.. His favourite dress around the house is a small swimming pant. This is all he wears to receive visitors and to see them off to his gate.

This is the dress or non-dress in which Fela receives his visitors however important, from any part of the world.

Shortly after waking up, Fela sits at his dining table in the ground floor hall of his house and this is where the action usually takes place.

After eating a meal, usually ordered, from a roadside shack, he sits around to rap with a few close friends and visitors. The topics discussed usually range from music to any aspect of Nigerian, African, and world affairs.

Sometimes when the discussion gets heated, Fela may be seen standing on his chair or crouching on his dining table. All the while, the record player is on and members of the household are coming in and going out. It is not easy to get one's points made in this atmosphere. Participants in such heated arguments always end up sweating profusely.

All sorts of people come in with their problems which get a sympathetic hearing from Fela.

There was a day a man Fela did not know from Adam came in. He claimed he was a baker who had seen better times. He wanted Fela to help him with money to revive his bakery business. Fela gave him ₦30 and the man disappeared forever. Many others like him come in from time to time.

This is one of the reasons why Fela has not become a rich man. There are those who believe that he squanders his money. But Fela believes that with his peculiar life-style which he cannot change for

anything, he just has to spend money the way he does.

In fact Fela's logic about money is weird. Here is a man who hopes to become a millionaire in a short time. Yet he does not believe in salting away his Kobo and Naira.

His reasoning is that when his music becomes accepted internationally, which he is sure will soon happen, then he can sit back and watch the millions roll in. It is a bohemian logic which I do not pretend to understand all the way.

But there it is, Fela firmly believes that he would be a millionaire in a few years time.

It is normal that as a famous musician and entertainer, Fela has a lot of girls who simply admire and adore him. The other side of the picture is that he is a very devoted and responsible family man. The easiest way to annoy Fela is to beat or make any of his children unhappy.

One aspect of Fela's bohemian life style which many people find difficult to understand is the role which the many girls around his household play in his life. It is not an easy matter to understand.

But without jiving, let's face it. Fela likes women. He is also very loyal and devoted to his intimate friends.

I have been with him on one occasion driving around Lagos after midnight, in the company of his lawyer, going about to see what could be done to help a girl who had some difficulties at a police station. He usually takes the same trouble over his men friends.

Fela is the kind of men who will do anything to demonstrate his loyalty to his friends. Usually, his intimate friends are never wrong as far as he is concerned. He often takes great pains to maintain solidarity with his friends.

Fela is the kind of man who feels very lonely when his crowd, men and women are not around him. When he plays outside Lagos, he hires a van at great expense to convey some of his fans to go along with him. It is as if he does not mind the cost as long as his fans are around him to give him moral support.

The fact that he maintains an open house had led to some amusing incidents. Sometimes, complete strangers are seen wandering in his house.

One of them when questioned said he thought the House was a tavern where anybody could go to.

Another stranger told Fela that since it was an "Afro house" he had the right to enter it and do anything he liked inside. It. Fela definitely likes to have people around him.

I once asked him why he did not move his living apartment upstairs. He said he preferred to be downstairs to be with the crowd and right in the centre of the action.

Currently the outside of Fela's house in the evenings is like that of a cinema house on a day a popular film is being

shown. There is usually a large crowd of people hanging around.

Some are talking to friends, some are buying food and eating at the roadside shack near his house; others simply want to be seen and regarded as part of Fela's crowd. Fela definitely enjoys having all these people around him.

There is never enough sleeping room for all his household. The reason is that any fan or friend who comes in and wants to stay the night is most welcome.

There is no standard routine in the house. I have known some people wake up at 2 a.m., have their bath, order a meal and start their own day at that unusual period of the day.

Some members of the house are arriving from outside, while others are just leaving the house to visit night clubs or to visit friends. This goes on at all hours of the day. If some girls decide to plait their hair at 4 a.m. nobody considers it unusual.

The inspiration to compose new tunes grips Fela at all hours of the day. There is usually a piano set ready near the dining table on the ground floor which is Fela's sitting room. The ideas for some of his best tunes have been worked out at very odd hours of the night. I have watched and been involved in several of such composing sessions.

Those are the occasions when Fela sits down at the piano and tries out musical ideas. In order to work out the orchestration, members of the household who are around are involved. They stand around the piano and sing some parts while Fela works out other parts for various instruments in his hand. These are usually very happy sessions.

There is a lot to drink and smoke and everybody is really happy. Many of such sessions end up at 6 a.m. While others are struggling on the streets to get to their places of work, Fela and his household are just getting ready to go to bed. The crowd is really part of Fela's artistic life.

He remarked to me casually one day: "Look Olu, some people wonder why these girls are around. They don't know anything. I was just watching a girl pass by. I looked at the movement of her backside and an idea occurred to me. Suppose I write a bass line whose rhythm matches the movement of her backside. When I get that bass line, then I can work out other parts and a new tune is born".

That is Fela's style of living and his bohemian style of working.

Those who are not close to the scene imagine that all sorts of weird things go on there. Some people erroneously think that life there is one prolonged sex orgy accompanied by heavy drinking and smoking. This is far from the truth. People enjoy themselves all right.

But Fela is a man who works hard and expects everybody around him to do the same. I have seen Fela finish playing

at 4 a.m. at the Africa Shrine on a Saturday. He travelled immediately to Enugu to do a gig. When the promotion did not come up, he returned immediately to Lagos to play at the Sunday Jump at exactly 3 p.m.

This was not easy, considering the logistical problems of moving heavy musical equipment and a personnel of about 35. But these are things Fela takes easily in his stride.

After working out new tunes in his house, rehearsal with the full band at the Africa Shrine may last for about seven hours. Fela is the kind of man who is never satisfied until his band achieves something which is very near perfection.

So, the popular image of a carefree, swinging musician is definitely deceptive. Very few Nigerians work harder at their jobs than Fela Ransome-Kuti.

Coming into Fela's household, the impression an outsider gets is of chaos. But that is only on the surface. In actual fact, there are well-known rules.

For example, members of the household can abuse each other until kingdom come, but they are not allowed to fight one another. Anybody who starts a fight is immediately summoned to Fela's court. Assize sessions in Fela's house is a very serious and interesting affairs.

The "court" is guided by some rough and ready notions of justice which are peculiar to the household.

Parties to a dispute are given full opportunity to state their case and call witnesses. How the verdict goes depends upon Fela's knowledge of the character of the parties involved, how they ordinarily behave, and whether they usually tell the truth or not. Those who are found guilty are punished, usually by a fine. In serious cases, guilty parties are given what is called GB.

What that means is a secret for insiders.

What is sex-life really like in this bohemian commune? If anything, there is no laxity as most people imagine. It is alright if a boy and a girl fancy each other and decide to get together. But anything apart from that is seriously frowned upon.

There was a case sometimes ago when a girl had too much to drink and became helpless. It happened that some boys merely attempted to take unfair advantage of her.

When Fela tried the case in his special "assizes", a member of the staff was summarily dismissed; about four others had GB mercilessly administered on them. The point established was that nobody was allowed to take unfair advantage of any girl.

So, if the Lagos Week-end newspaper is to be believed, sex life is more lax in other areas of Lagos than on Fela's commune.

There is a chain of command in Fela's household.

Currently, Layi is "Chief of Staff" while Rosemary is the leader of the "house". Only cases which these two cannot work out go up to Fela. But having disciplinarian members of the household, he does nothing against them.

The incident is quickly forgotten and life goes on as usual. Naturally, with a bohemian life-style, there is strong group solidarity.

Some two years ago, Fela ordered some expensive furniture for his sitting room—leather chairs, carpets and rug. The sitting room looked luxurious and comfortable.

But then, people came into the household in such numbers that today all the chairs are rickety and the carpets are faded. Fela will never ask his fans and friends to stay away because he wants to preserve his furniture. Human beings matter more to him than any material things of the world.

All sorts of people are represented in Fela's scene. They do not consist only of admiring youths.

During a rapping session on any afternoon, apart from members of the household, I have noticed university professors, lecturers, and successful businessmen. It would be unfair to mention names.

When the famous African physician Dr. Francis Ngombe descended on Lagos he visited the Africa Shrine, became very friendly with Fela for whom he gave informal drinks party in his Lagos hotel.

Fela, the successful and well-known musician is a very complex personality. He is a bohemian who is also a slave worker. He holds his music sacred and the same time has aspirations to become a millionaire.

He is a black revolutionary activist who identifies with the underdogs society and believes that black people anywhere they are in the world deserve a better deal than they have had in the last 500 years. His loyalty to his friends and his compassion for human beings in general have to be seen to be believed.

It is impossible to make any far-reaching generalisation about such a man, even the few friends who know him intimately.

Last July, one of the black American friends who visited his house sat on the floor and sipped his Nigerian gin—(ogogoro). He observed the scene with amusement for about 30 minutes and then remarked:

"Brother, this is just like the movies."

Indeed it is like the movies living in Fela's house. It is difficult to tell when the movies end and real life begins.

I hope some day, a smart black filmmaker will film the scene and make some money for himself.

But in the meantime, we learnt recently that BBC television in London put on a film on Fela and his band.

That is some beginning—but then the show must go on.