

African Concord

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The Premier Pan-African WEEKLY

Nigeria: The 'JMB affair'

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Despite its appearance of prosperity, almost half of Kenya's population of 21 million live in poverty. *African Concord* visits the Nairobi tourists never see and meets the families and individuals who manage to survive against the odds. P29



The collapse of the Johnson Matthey Bank is still sending reverberations through Nigerian society. But despite the extent of the import racket, which is said to have defrauded the Nigerian Treasury of 6.5 billion naira, an official silence appears to surround the scandal. In the UK it is a similar story. But there have been certain developments that make it difficult to sweep JMB under the carpet once and for all. *African Concord* reports. P7

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Letters to the Editor

Lest we forget

Sir,

Once more, personal interest and ethnic bias are being placed above national interest in Uganda. On the one hand, there are potentially destabilising Baganda royalists and the acceptance of Prince Ronald Mutebi as the leader of this group; on the other there is Milton Obote who is plotting from Zambia to unseat the National Resistance Movement led by Yoweri Museveni.

While the popularity of the Museveni NRM is not in doubt, one wonders how firmly the government will be able to carry out its major programme of reconstruction under such conditions.

Museveni has come a long way in his struggle to stave off opportunists and usurpers, and has through his utterances made a commitment to rebuild the lives of the people who suffered unold hardships.

Presently, the country is in bad shape. There is the fertile land, but no inputs to create the abundant harvests; and the nation's currency has almost become

worthless. Added to this, is the brain drain as a result of the political instability. One had thought that, with the final ousting and dislodging of the power hungry Milton Obote, Ugandans would recuperate, count their losses and find how to make amends.

This is why it is painful that at a time for reconstruction, the African statesman, Kenneth Kaunda, is offering succour and red carpet treatment to Obote, a foe of Uganda. Kaunda cannot claim to be ignorant of Obote's past, whatever the friendship between them. He cannot ignore the fact that, Obote committed heinous crimes against his people because of his obsession with power.

Obote had a chance to raise his people from the political turmoil during his "second coming," but threw it all to the winds. We did not learn from his past mistakes, but killed and maimed the people instead.

Kaunda has been in the forefront of the fight against apartheid in South Africa. The question being asked is: What is the difference between the repression in South Africa and what Obote stands for?

This is why I agree with Museveni that African leaders are only interested in propping themselves to hold tenaciously to the reins of power even when there is abundant evidence of their violation of fundamental human rights.

One cannot hide the fact that East

African leaders are afraid of Museveni's success but they should also look at the possibility of helping Uganda to recover fully after the destructive years. The burden cannot be left to Yoweri Museveni alone. It is political stability that is needed to transform Uganda into a viable and peaceful nation.

Ohiomah Abiodun
Ogun State
Nigeria.

We mourn, we wail

Who are you to provide shelter to be merciful enough to hospitalise the Komatiport victims leaving apartheid to cancer your womb leaving children wailing in the crumbling walls of Soweto? Is it love or humanity?

Samora could not return to soil as bits of flesh scattered in the hinterland of a goose-pimpled leprostatic country. No! His blood was too sacred to be sprinkled on the enemy's soil.

Munoda Mararike
University of Zimbabwe
Zimbabwe

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Malawi

'21 years of dictatorship'

Winston Msowoya, a Malawian exile sentenced to death *in absentia* for treason, gives his view of government under Hastings Banda.

For the last 21 years, Malawi has been ruled virtually by one man, Hastings Banda. He has muzzled political, economic and cultural freedom to the extent that he is the Malawi nation.

Malawi is the only black state to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa. A good number of South African hit squads act as personal body guards to President Banda.

Banda dissolves the cabinet annually. No reasons are given for the reshuffles, but Malawians are convinced that the point of the whole exercise is to keep the ministers on their toes and prevent them from using ministerial office as a means of building a political power base from which to oppose or challenge Banda.

Since independence 21 years ago, Malawi has gone to the polls only once in 1984. The elections were in fact, a mockery of electoral standards. Banda picked all the candidates. There is no serious debate in Parliament. Banda makes all the decisions. The country is ruled as much through the ruthless officials of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and the Young Pioneers, as through government agencies.

Since independence 21 years ago, Malawi has gone to the polls only once in 1984. The elections were in fact, a mockery of electoral standards. Banda picked all the candidates.

Banda ensures that the government ministries are directly under his control. The most significant portfolios are retained by himself. Defence, Justice, Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Agriculture, Works and Supplies. The ministries are virtually administered by white Permanent Secretaries, South Africans, Israelis, and British personnel.

Though ageing, Banda has constantly refused to consider a successor. In fact he has ruthlessly removed any potential aspirant. Albert Muwalo, a former cabinet minister and widely regarded as number two man, was arrested in 1976 and accused of conspiring to overthrow Banda. He was tried and finally hanged. Gwanda Chakuamba was a former minister of Youth and Sports. When Banda became suspicious that Chakuamba was using the Young Pioneers to enhance his own political ambitions, he had him sent to gaol for 22 years for sedition.

Aleke Banda (no relation) former Minis-



President Hastings Banda

ter of Finance and Secretary-General of the MCP was widely tipped as a successor. While on an official visit to Zambia in 1974, he was quoted by the *Zambian Daily Mail* as saying that he was the heir apparent. Aleke was arrested on return and expelled from the Party.

In March 1983 Dr Attati Mpakati, the illustrious leader of the Socialist League of Malawi (LESOMA), was brutally murdered in Harare, Zimbabwe. The exiled opposition groups accused Dr Banda and his South African proxies of the murder. On Christmas eve, 1981 Orton-



Winston Msowoya

Chirwa and his wife Vera were kidnapped by Malawi special branch from the Zambian soil of Chipata. Mr Chirwa, the first President of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), is the leader of the Malawi Freedom Movement (MAFREMO). The movement is proscribed in Malawi. In 1982 Orton and his wife Vera were committed to a traditional court without an internationally recognised jury or defence procedure. Orton and Vera were sentenced to death. The verdict attracted international protests and the sentences were commuted.

Malawi's ailing President for Life contemplated taking a year's sabbatical away from the country. In his absence, Banda suggested that his official hostess, Cecilia Kadzamilia and her cousin, John Tembo, assume leadership as President and Prime Minister respectively. It is understood that some cabinet ministers resisted this move and maintained that such a change of leadership must be determined by the whole country.

At age 92 Banda must appoint a successor to avert another tragedy of greed and lust for power.

A few days later three senior cabinet ministers were reported missing. These were: the Minister of Finance and Secretary-General of MCP, Dick Matenje; Aacon Chadama, Minister for Central Region; John Sangala, Minister of Health; and one MP. The official announcement later claimed that the four had died in a car crash near the Mozambique border.

The murders have consolidated Tembo's position and he seems the candidate to assume Banda's throne, notwithstanding his immense unpopularity.

Tambo is believed to be involved in the activities of RENAMO (Mozambican National Resistance) in Malawi.

At the age of 92, Banda is unlikely to cling to power much longer. If he does not appoint a successor Africa will experience yet another tragedy through greed and lust for power.

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USA

Reaganism in disarray

After six years of dubious popularity, President Reagan is now facing the worst crisis of his Administration, writes Fidel Odum.

Reaganism is the epitome of conservative America. Two of the hallmarks of "Reaganism" are a tough stance on America's international responsibility in checking Communism, and tightness in economic management. Communism in this context is, of course, a convenient euphemism employed to apply to any country or group that does not, for one reason or another, measure up to the expectations of the American Right, ranging from the Soviet Union to a mixed bag of "terrorists."

According to this worldview, the gun-toting extremists of the Middle East and liberation movements like the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) are all "terrorists." It is obvious, at least to us in the Third World, that this view of the world is faulty.

Economically, Reaganomics has been a disaster for America's poor, who have had to bear the brunt of policies aimed at making the rich richer. In the long run, the rest of America, and indeed the world economy in general, will suffer from the accumulation of America's budget deficits, which have quadrupled under Reagan, and are now sitting like a time-bomb under the entire system of market-oriented economics.

Reagan drama unfolds

But little did America suspect in 1979, when candidate Reagan was stumbling the campaign trail, that their next President would turn out to be nothing but an actor, in keeping with his earlier career. The taking of American hostages in Tehran that year, following the Islamic fundamentalist revolution of Ayatollah Khomeini, was good ammunition for Reagan. The candidate, gifted with a John Wayne-type throaty voice and swagger, appeared to the American voters to be what they needed: someone to carry the big stick for America and bash a few heads here and there to show that American power must never be taken lightly. The then President, Jimmy Carter, it was widely believed by Americans, was too much of a "softie."

President Reagan's avowed hatred of terrorism was, at least on the surface, so intense that it must have been inconceivable to many of his admirers that their hero would ever contemplate doing any kind of business with a nation like Iran, which for one year took American embassy officials hostage in one of the most breath-taking dramas of modern diplomatic history.

According to the evolving story — first broken by the Lebanese paper *Al-Shiraa* — after a number of clandestine meetings involving Iranian and Israeli middlemen-arms dealers, Robert McFarlane, then President Reagan's National Security Adviser, had led a team of American officials to Tehran ostensibly to explore avenues of re-establishing some presence in Iran by cultivating "moderate" elements in the Islamic Republic. Sensationalists have even garnished the story by saying that the American emissaries bore certain gifts customarily associated with Western imperialist envoys, including the fabled Bible and a pistol. What President Reagan has admitted was actually sent was a negligible amount of arms, enough to fit in an ordinary cargo plane. That now seems to be one of the many misleading "mis-statements" for which the President is now notorious or famous, depending on who is reporting.

Details of the arms deals have since been trickling out in the international press and reveal that the shipments were made a number of times, involving sales of anti-tank missile launchers, anti-aircraft weapons, spare parts for F-4 and F-5E American war

planes bought under the late Shah's regime, and so on. It has further been revealed that Israel, which serves as America's Middle East main military base, has over the past five years sold arms to Iran worth over five billion dollars. Most of these arms are American-made and could not have been sold by Israel, analysts now agree, without the permission of Washington.

President Reagan has made a national broadcast to attempt to assure the American public that his deals with Iran were not improper. This was later followed by a press conference in which the President contradicted himself many times and was visibly ill at ease in answering reporters' questions. It seems that while some Americans want to swallow the bitter fact that it was politically expedient to attempt to beat the Soviets in reconstructing a bridgehead in a vitally strategic area in the Gulf, it seems unpalatable to many others that another main motive for the deals was to swap arms for American hostages held by Shiite Muslims in Lebanon. Evidently, each shipment coincided with the release of each of the three American hostages freed in the past year by the Shi'ites, who are controlled by fundamentalists in Iran. Ironically, in the same period, three more American hostages have been taken in the area, suggesting that terrorists now realise that it is good politics to take Westerners hostage and hope for *quid pro quo* negotiations.

Reagan's hypocrisy has thrown his team into confusion, demoralised his supporters and caused consternation among his European allies, to whom he has preached the necessity to be uncompromising with terrorists.

Overseas, criticism has mounted in the Middle East, where Egypt's President Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein have condemned the American leader's double-dealing, which has had the further consequence of worsening the Gulf War, instead of reducing tension in the region. In Iran, all reactions so far have reinforced the original view held by many analysts that there are no such elements known as "the moderates" whom the Americans said they wanted to cultivate. All the key figures and groups have joined their leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, in rejoicing that "the Big Satan" (the US) has been disgraced.

For us in Africa, this could not have come as a surprise to anyone who has been familiar with the pattern of US foreign policy, especially in our continent. During the course of decolonisation, the best friends the US had were the former colonial powers such as the Portuguese in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique in the seventies. In the course of the war for Zimbabwe's independence, the Americans were sympathetic to the Smith minority regime. Today, the American Government is one of the key supporters of the apartheid regime in South Africa, even though the US Congress has now disengaged from that association.

Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces in Angola, as we have repeatedly reported, cannot be sustained without the ardent support of the US Administration and extreme right-wing organisations. Equally, Mobutu Sese-Seko's brutal dictatorship in Zaire would have collapsed long ago without the American Government's active support. What this means, taken along with the *volte face* in Iran, is that American foreign policy is dictated by nothing but the naked pursuit of power and national interest. But whether or not presidents like Reagan appreciate what is in the true national interest of America in view of the forward march of history is another question. And, indeed, this is the tragedy of American diplomatic history — always ending up on the wrong side of good policy.



Central Bank of Nigeria headquarters, Lagos



Former JMB premises

Nigeria

The boardroom-style pillage of a nation

A special correspondent looks back at the JMB swindle which defrauded Nigeria of billions of dollars.

The Johnson Matthey Bank (JMB) scandal that hit Britain and Nigeria in 1985 is already beginning to fade from popular consciousness although few have been brought to book. The City of London's curtain of silence has been lowered on the scandal and men guilty of defrauding Nigeria of possibly billions of naira have gone unpunished. Some have had their financial careers ruined and one or two, like Rajendra Sathia languish in jail. But the largest group are those who knew or participated in what was going on and they have now moved to new pastures.

The scandal captured the imagination of the Nigerian people in an unprecedented fashion while in Britain it merely whetted the appetites of investigative journalists, lawyers and dedicated City-watchers. Despite their efforts, the scandal never ran its full course. Most Britons were content — those who cared — to confine their criticisms to the Bank of England's indulgent treatment of JMB's bizarre financial practices. Since most of those who carried financial losses on the bank's activities were foreigners, themselves often involved in dubious practices, complacent British attitudes to surveillance of the City went largely unchallenged.

Nigerians saw the JMB affair as colonial pillage, once carried out at bayonet point, now reborn in comfortable boardrooms. Bankers advanced huge sums to men who bought cheap commodities and then, having plugged into their Nigerian political connections or created artificial shortages themselves, sold huge cargoes at colossal profits. JMB soon came to epitomise the corrupt practices of the 1970s, during

which Nigeria's wealth was squandered. Many Nigerians blame the JMB fraudsters and their ilk for the country's current debt crisis.

But if the JMB scandal and the other frauds are put into perspective they still cannot explain the massive trade debts that were run up. Estimates of Nigeria's shorter-term trade debt — the area within which most profiteering and fraudulent trade took place — vary from \$3.6 billion to \$9 billion. The wide gap between the estimates and the small amount guaranteed by the Nigerian Government so far (\$1.9 billion) show that trading practices both by Nigerian importers and British and other exporters were so lax that verification of the claims involved has proved a nightmare. But the gap also illustrates the influence of the JMB and other cases on the thinking even of Nigerian Finance Ministry officials.

The JMB affair will be seen in the context of Nigeria's mad scramble for imports and the undignified pursuit of personal gain.

The high estimate belongs to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The low estimate is that of the Nigerian Government. Within such massive figures, JMB-type fraud could only account for a very small proportion. Just as much Nigerian money is believed to have been wasted by paying large commissions for the securing of loans, by the higher rates paid for "quick" loans and by simply borrowing too much.

Nevertheless, with scandals like JMB in the air, the bargaining position of the Nigerian Government in the negotiations over the settling of the debt — which are in progress now and should be complete by the end of the year — is much strengthened. It may well turn out that the debts owed because Nigeria was defrauded will be balanced by the failure to reconcile debts in which foreigners were defrauded.

One observer has remarked that the trade debt only amounts to some 10 per cent of the value of goods traded with Nigeria from 1979 to 1984. He also drew attention to the widespread assumption that at least 10 per cent of that trade was corruptly arranged. Still another expert reckons that the commissions and additional interest charged to Nigeria may have cost it as much as 25 per cent of the money owed. When these are put together with knowledge of the JMB frauds and the widespread belief that there were many more, it is easy to see why the Nigerian Government's figure for the debt is so much smaller than the IMF's. And no observer of Nigeria's seemingly interminable debt negotiations believes that the final, reconciled figure will be anywhere near the IMF's estimate.

It is now possible to look back on the JMB affair in the context of Nigeria's mad scramble for imports in the 1970s and the no less undignified pursuit of personal gain encouraged by certain politicians. The only defence of the JMB-style fraudster is to say "everyone was doing it."

The all-too easy temptation for the Nigerian is to say "Only foreigners were doing it." But it takes two to tango.



Former President, Shehu Shagari, whose Government presided over large-scale fraud

JMB-Nigeria: The facts and fiction

A special team set up to investigate the Nigerian end of JMB scandal has still not revealed any of its findings.

ALMOST a year after the London *Observer* linked the insolvent and collapse Johnson Matthey Bankers with a multi-billion pounds import swindle of Nigeria's treasury, the six-man Nigerian investigators are still silently ferretting through a mountain of documents, including computer print-outs from the Central Bank of Nigeria. Thousands of transactions between the CBN and the JMB are being examined, but the investigators are still far from unravelling the intricate cob-web of the large-scale import fraud in which Nigeria was said to have been fleeced of about N6.5 billion in foreign currency during the Second Republic.

The probe team, headed by assistant commissioner of police, Zakari Haliru submitted an interim report to the Federal Government on June 9. And from the heaps of documents still to be examined by the team, the final report might not be long in coming. Since the submission of the interim report, authorities in Lagos are yet to issue any official statement, thus keeping Nigerians guessing about the extent of the fraud and the sly-boot businessmen that were involved.

Government sources attributed the silence to the complexity of the JMB matter and the fact that the fraudulent import web extended as far as Taiwan, India, Japan, Hong Kong and Geneva, where Nigeria's former pre-shipment inspectors, the Societe Generale De Surveillance (SGS) have their headquarters.

High powered investigative teams in India, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and London are involved in the probe "We are awaiting their reports" said a source close to the Nigerian probe team. The foreign probe teams, *African Concord*

learned, do not share the same interests as the Nigerian team. While Nigerian investigators are probing forgeries of import documents and violations of foreign exchange laws, their foreign counterparts are more concerned with the forgery of business documents. What spurred these cross-continental investigations was the *London Observer* report of December 1, last year. The *Observer* claimed it had uncovered evidence "that the collapsed Johnson Matthey bankers and other city of London banks were involved in gigantic currency swindles linking Britain and Nigeria." It said the rackets, perpetrated in the Shagari era, 1979-1983, cost Nigeria more than £5.25 billion, using the Nigerian exchange rate of 1985.

The *Observer* said: "JMB's role was to pay out sterling in London on loans backed by Nigerian banks once it had proof from bills of lading and inspection certificates that the goods were actually embarked on a ship." Of course, many of such goods never reached Nigeria and recently Mr. Olu Falae the secretary to Federal Military Government said Nigeria lost as much as N16 billion through such fraudulent deals, including over-invoicing of imports. Leading figures in the National Party of Nigeria, Shagari's party, working in league with Asian traders and shippers were said to be the brains behind such bogus imports. The *Observer* specifically named Rajendra Sethia's ESAL commodities, Melwani's company and Ahmed Goldecha's Bergson and company, as the central actors in the multi-billion laundering of money out of Nigeria. "The main purpose of the African swindlers was to get hard currency out of Nigeria during its oil boom years. Leading figures in the ruling party amassed fortunes, then sought the help of Asian traders and shippers to smuggle

the money to London," said the *Observer*.

It is believed in Lagos that the bogus importation spree could have been on for many years, even before the JMB came into the racket. A report in the *African Concord* of January 23, explained the mechanics of the fraud. "First, the London based fraudsters posing as an exporter finds a buyer in Nigeria who says he is willing to buy a quantity of a particular commodity, but in fact wants to launder money out of Nigeria. The buyer and the fraudster then agree on a price. The fraudster, who actually has no cargo to export, then needs to get hold of a clean report of findings form and fill it in. He also needs a forged bill of lading purporting to show that the cargo has been loaded on a particular ship. Then all he has to do is present it to the bank specified by the buyers.

"Unless the bank recognises the documents as forgeries — say by contacting the issuing authorities — then it will pay the money out in whatever currency is demanded. The resulting fraud is thus committed on Nigeria because the buyer has managed to take an illegal sum of money out of the country."

Authoritative CBN sources told *African Concord* that Nigerian banks with Asian, Middle-Eastern affiliation had for long been involved in such deals, and may still be involved. One of them, the Pakistani backed Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) was mentioned in the heat of the JMB.

What only brought the racket to the fore was the bankruptcy of the JMB. And this happened when Nigeria began to find it difficult to pay its trade debts from 1982, with the sharp decline in earnings from oil sales. The oil sales slump pushed Nigeria into the debt-noose. And one of its creditors was the Johnson Matthey Bankers, which some Asian

Cover Story

traders had used to finance fraudulent exports to Nigeria. One of the Asians, and Indian, Abdul Shamji and his group of companies owed JMB £20 million part of which was committed in Nigeria. Another Indian, Rajende Sethia, owed £6 million. JMB's hope that the debts would be paid by Nigeria were dashed with the ouster of the Shagari regime in a military coup of December 31, 1983. The government of General Muhammadu Buhari, Shagari's successor refused to pay as it felt the imports were tainted with corruption.

JMB became embroiled in trouble, a victim of its choking £120 million trade debts. By October 1984, the bank was declared bankrupt by the Bank of England and taken over. About £225 million pumped into the insolvent bank by the Bank of England did not help matters. JMB became irredeemable. By December last year, the Nigerian Government, according to a statement by the Central Bank, embargoed all exchange transactions involving JMB. Sources close to the Nigerian investigators said the amount embargoed is about N200 million, about £140 million, by the pre-Second Tier Exchange Market rates. Yet, a Bank of England report on the JMB in June last year, nine months after it took it over, gave the JMB a near clean bill, with respect to fraud. The Bank of England said it found that fraud amounted to an insignificant part of the N303 million losses sustained by JMB in 15 months. "No evidence of fraud by the directors or staff of JMB has been discovered, except in one case." But the same bank was indicted by its auditors, Price Waterhouse which noted in their report that JMB did not maintain proper accounting records, and offence under section 23 of the British Companies Act, carrying penalties of prison or fine, or both.

African Concord learnt that the level of fraud perpetrated against Nigeria, through the JMB was about N1 billion. "Indian, Asian and Middle Eastern banks accounted for the remainder of the N6.2 billion swindle. And it could be more", said a source at the Central Bank of Nigeria. The director of Foreign Exchange at the CBN declined comments on the matter. "I am not competent to speak on the matter. It's a government affair", said the Exchange Director, Mr. Victor Odozi. But unofficial sources in the CBN said the large scale fraud against Nigeria could not have been possible without the connivance of top CBN officials or simply by their criminal negligence to cross-check the validity of documents submitted by importers. The sources said in the boom years, CBN never bothered to authenticate documents. "All it needed to do once the relevant documents were submitted and customs forms indicating that the goods have entered Nigeria, was

just to ask the on-shore and off-shore banks whether they were aware of the transaction. Once the banks sent their affirmations, the CBN simply paid", explained a source.

Banks involved in the well-planned racket were always forthcoming with affirmations, but not straight banks that operated clean business. "There were instances where some foreign banks returned remitted money to the CBN because they were not aware of the spurious transactions," one CBN source said. But he did not give specifics. The source explained the play of the racket, "They floated spurious companies in Nigeria, forged import licences. At times, they used genuine licences. They forged customs documents and worked in league with corrupt customs officials." The customs men were a vital pivot in the racket. They were the people to issue papers that the goods had arrived Nigeria and had been examined and

ed in this fraud, but they evaded arrest by the British fraud squad. In one instance, the brothers had submitted 29 of such forged clean report of findings to JMB for goods worth £7 million. What could have aided other successful swindles of Nigeria was the exemption from pre-shipment inspection allowed some goods coming into the country. Out of the N70 billion goods imported between 1979 and 1983, N15 billion goods were exempted from inspection. So far, no CBN official has been arrested or uninterrogated in connection with the massive import frauds. Sources close to the Nigerian-JMB diggers confirmed this. But the sources said some commercial banks and businessmen in Nigeria have been interrogated. "It will be premature to release their names now because somebody who is a suspect, may not be a suspect at the end of the day," a reliable official source said.

Investigations into the JMB affair



Rajendra Sethia (centre), one of the Asians who allegedly fleeced Nigeria of millions through fraudulent deals

cleared. Often times, some customs men detected containers carrying sand or sawdust, rather than the goods marked on them.

By 1982, the CBN had become wary of transactions involving JMB. This began in November with a fraudulent letters of credit issued by the JMB, worth \$13.7 million. In December of the same year, additional fraudulent letters of credit worth \$82.6 million, issued by the same bank, was uncovered. The Societe Generale Surveillance unearthed the fraud and put the bank on alert, in addition to issuing a non-negotiable report cancelling the letters of credit.

The SGS had discovered that its clean bill for finding certificates had been forged: without the bill, customs officials in Nigeria would not allow the goods to enter and would not issue bills of entry or signed papers for payments. Three Indians brothers, the Pahoimals, Narendra, Vinod and Sohan were invol-

became inevitable, even a month before the London *Observer* hit the streets with its own revelations. On November 8, 1985, a labour party member of the British parliament Brain Sedgmore interrupted a foreign policy debate and addressed the House on the hidden details about the collapse of the Johnson Matthey Bankers, including the Nigerian connection. He spoke of how powerful Britons, smart Asian businessmen and powerful Nigerian politicians and businessmen worked in concert to fleece the Nigerian economy and wreck the JMB. He spoke about how the Export Credit Guarantee Department was muddled up in the sordid affair, how it was ripped off, and revealed the attempted British government cover up of the monumental scandal. Sedgmore mentioned Rajender Sethia, Abdul Shamji, whose Greenfield company was involved in a number of construction projects in Anambra State, worth N68 million. He

named the Sindri families who allied with Nigeria's wanted fugitive, Aliaga Umaru Dikko, now stranded in Baywater, England. Sedgemore gave other details, including top political figures in Britain. The allegations earned him a five-day suspension from parliament. But Sedgemore's was the last laugh — the British government could not be indifferent to the JMB affair any longer and sent some fragments of some court investigations were also ordered on four specific allegations made by Sedgemore. And last June, the House of Commons began a probe into the JMB. The probe is headed by Conservative Party parliamentarian, Terence Higgins.

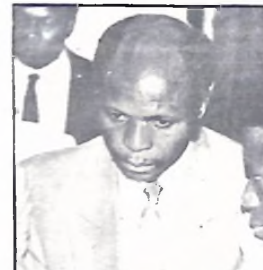
But of the four charges made against the JMB, all of them have been dismissed as unworthy of prosecution. Recently, the London fraud squad in dismissing the last of the charges — that Kewbury Investments, an off-shore company owned by fraud a N3 million loan from JMB, said it found no crime in the deal. The Nigerian probe team has also spoken with Sedgemore to expatiate on the alleged Nigerian connection with the JMB. A very close source to the team said Sedgemore denied saying that the flooding of the Nigerian treasury amounted to N6.2 billion. But Sedgemore was said to have no concrete evidence or documents to support the claim. His involvement in the JMB affair, according to the Nigerian magazine, *Newswatch*, was as a result of information given him by a British, Peter Edward Turill, Edward Turill was a former employee of a Nigerian company, Stronghold Nigeria Limited. He claimed that he was not paid disengagement fees by the Nigerian company and threatened to expose how Stronghold was using an alleged British affiliated company, Arewa Trading Company to carry out illegal deals. In his resolve to establish a well-grounded case against his former employer, Turill was said to have rummaged on facts related to JMB and the Nigerian connection. He was said to have passed them on to Sedgemore.

The stories of Stronghold and Turill and the relationship between Stronghold and Arewa have been told elsewhere (See Turill/Stronghold story). But how much does Turill really know about JMB? And the Nigerian connections? The Nigerian probe team has dismissed him as an unreliable witness. "He seemed to us a man of frustration. He couldn't produce any of the five witnesses he promised. He has no document to back up his claims. From our interviews with him, he has no idea of what we are looking for. He has no insight at all into the JMB affair," said a member of the probe team of their two interviews with Turill. The source recalled the team's first visit to Turill in

his Ipswich home. "during his discussions with us, he continuously flaunted one huge envelope saying it contained documents to prove how much he knew about the JMB. But he refused to show them to us, promising to provide five witnesses. Turill reneged on this, predicating it on threat by the British Government and the London fraud squad and a death threat by an unnamed Nigerian militia."

The Nigerian source told *African Concord* that Turill, instead of telling the team the "so-called" threat, wrote a letter to the Nigerian High Commissioner in London. "If he has anything at all, why go to the High Commissioner. Why not wait for us as we promised to call again to talk to his five witnesses", the source said.

When contacted by *African Concord* about these allegations, Turill described them as "a package of untruths." And he claimed that the Nigerian investigative team were trying to "cover up" for Stronghold because of its con-



Odoko: "I am not competent to speak on the matter"

nections with the powerful Salleh Jambo, a "blood relations" of Shagari. Until 1979, Jambo was Stronghold chairman and now he is a director of Arewa Trading, said Turill.

Turill further claimed that the Nigerian investigative team were "too frightened" to use the evidence he supplied them about Stronghold. "They failed to keep an appointment with me when I had my witnesses ready", he told *African Concord*. "They turned up a month later when the witnesses could no longer be produced."

Nigeria-JMB transactions worth £3.1 billion are, in all, being examined by the local investigators. The former Nigerian pre-shipment inspection company, Societe Generale De Surveillance is helping in the investigation. It was called in, following the difficulties faced by the Chase Manhattan Bank, hired by the Federal Government, to reconcile Nigeria's trade debts of over N5.5 billion. The Buhari government ter-

minated SGS six year contract in 1984. Three pre-shipment companies have since been appointed to take its place. About 217,000 transactions are being cross-checked manually by the SGS, as against the over 370,000 being scrutinized by the Nigerian JMB probe team. "We work hand in hand," said a Nigerian investigator. "Whenever we discover anomalies, we disallow the payment. It will be in favour of Nigeria."

The dependable source spoke about a major revelation of his work so far. "In our investigations, we discovered that genuine businessmen in Nigeria are owed \$123.5 million by the JMB as repayable commissions. They are yet to make their claims through the Bank of England now running the affairs of JMB. The investigators of the Nigerian side included officials of the Central Bank of Nigeria, the SGS and officers of the police. The identities of the investigators, save their leader, Zakari Habibu, are secret. The JMB was established in 1967. Originally, it was to serve as a depository bank for clients involved in the Bullion Markets. In 1978, it added to its portfolio loan granting to commodity traders. It was a high risk business particularly for trades involving African countries. But JMB seemed to be cocksure of its omnicur until 1982, when things began to fall apart. In 1984, the assets of one of its most cherished customers, Esal's commodities were frozen, following allegations of fraud. JMB took part in a \$250 million attempt to rescue Esal. Esal, owned by Rajendra Sethia, said to be a friend of Shehu Shagari had helped to boost JMB's £24.3 million profits in 1983, as a result of Esal's profitable trade with Nigeria. The trade centred mainly on sugar, whose price was inflated to the Nigerian tax payer, by over 1000 per cent. Sethia who claimed he gave N50 million to NPN in 1983 in now serving terms in a New Delhi, India jail for his inability to redeem £170 million loan given him by Indian Banks, based in London.

Sethia owes JMB £6 million, as against the £45 million owed the same bank by countryman Abdul Shamji. For the JMB, signs that its unpaid debts would snuff it out came early in 1984 when its then chairman, Ernest Paterman admitted a lull in JMB's international trade as a result of the refusal of countries like Nigeria to pay debts owed JMB customers like Sethia, like Shamji. It was not long thereafter that the JMB went under and the Bank of England declared it a bankrupt. The last word about JMB and its knee-deep involvement in the rapping of Nigeria is yet to be said, not until the Nigerian investigators turn in its final report. And that report we learnt late last week would soon be ready. "It is now being compiled," said a source close to the local investigators.

— Bayo Onanuga

Scandal that shook the City

Britain's commercial centre, the City of London, has taken stock of itself since the collapse of JMB. But it is unlikely that victims of the elaborate fraud will ever get to the bottom of the story, writes Nnamdi Anyadike.

When in early 1984 the Johnson Matthey Bank (JMB) crisis became public the repercussions looked set to run for quite some time. It had all the ingredients of a major scandalous business deal linked to unorthodox and irregular banking practices; an 'old boy' network in the City of London seeking to protect one of 'their own'; call girls provided for one of the bank's directors by a client; plus friendship between Abdul Shamji and Norman Tebbit, a leading Cabinet member in Mrs. Thatcher's Conservative Government.

Politically the saga was dynamite and led to the controversial take-over of JMB by the Bank of England. The crusade led by the Labour MP, Brian Sedgemore, whose Shoreham constituency is adjacent to London's Square Mile, exposed the link between the JMB collapse and the gigantic fraud that had been perpetrated on Nigeria. The fraud was at its height during the Nigeria oil boom and included unscrupulous businessmen and their Nigerian collaborators. Three names were to crop up again and again during the inquiries — Abdul Shamji, Rajendra Sethia, Mahmoud Sipra — and it became clear that they were the linch-pin in JMB's banking operations involving loans to what were termed high-risk areas in return for high interest rate repayments. In April, the Nigerian Fraud Squad visited London, and together with their British counterparts, interviewed a number of people.

Since then there has been a resounding silence surrounding the whole affair. What the true extent of the fraud was, nobody yet knows, and it is possible no one ever will. But just as it began to appear as though the whole JMB saga might be swept under the carpet, a number of events in October contrived to revive the case. The first was the assassination in Lagos of one of the country's leading journalists, Delo Giwa, the second was a two-part documentary of British television's 'World in Action' programme on the JMB; and the third were allegations by Peter Turtill, a former employee of Salleh Jambo's Stronghold Nigeria Ltd that he knew the identity of Giwa's killers.

The local fortunes made by Nigerians were nothing compared to those of the externally based manipulators.

To this list can be added two changes in the regulations surrounding stock trading in the City of London, known respectively

as the 'little bang' and 'big bang'. These changes effectively opened up to foreign competition the incestuously cosy world of the City where the kind of conditions which allowed the JMB scandal to occur, had hitherto flourished.

Peter Turtill had already made allegations concerning business malpractice in Nigeria, mainly by his former employer Stronghold Ltd (*African Concord No 74*). But he now claims to have evidence that Giwa's assassination was in some way linked to the JMB collapse.



Sir Robin Leigh-Pemberton, Governor of the Bank of England

Many leading journalists who have had dealings with Turtill are less than impressed by his allegations. A source formerly close to the London *Observer* was quite blunt about it and said, "I wouldn't trust Turtill as far as I could throw a grand piano." He claimed that Turtill had made approaches on several occasions trying to sell him a story on JMB, but he distrusted both his motives and the veracity of his allegations.

Another source in the UK *Sunday Times* newspaper said Turtill was "deeply unreliable with an axe to grind against his former employer." This assessment seems to be a constant thread linking all those who have met him, and has been strengthened by his attempt to make capital out of Giwa's murder. But whatever the motives of his allegations against Jambo, it is more than likely that there is a grain of truth in more general Turtill allegations

concerning fraud.

The World in Action programme in the two part series began the day after Giwa's death did little more than refresh the memory about some of the more salient points of the JMB crisis. But it did beg the question why none of the investigative conclusions have been heard of since. That notwithstanding, for the first time on British television the effects of the massive import fraud on the lives of ordinary Nigerians, of which JMB was only a small part, was hardly seen.

To make the point, the programme dealt mainly with Abdul Shamji's group of companies, especially Greenfield Construction and their relationship with the former governor of Anambra state, Jim Nwobodo, the brash, though charismatic *enfant terrible* of Nigerian party politics. The camera saved nothing and showed the visible evidence of the business partnership between Nwobodo and Greenfield Construction in Anambra. Roads for which millions of naira had been paid in advance lay unguarded running from nowhere to nowhere. Bridges and flyovers that were supposed to have been constructed years ago, were unfinished. In some cases preliminary ground breaking had not even been undertaken before the projects had been abandoned and nature, in the form of thick bush and undergrowth, allowed to reclaim the land.

Unscrupulous businessmen

To all this, unscrupulous Nigerians were a willing party. Greenfield Construction, was allowed to tender for major construction projects worth several millions even though it was not a bona fide engineering company. In some cases, contracts were awarded to Greenfield that it had not even tendered for.

But the exposure of Shamji's Greenfield construction company only provided tantalising hints of other more formidable frauds, especially in the trading sector. The extent of these frauds were enormous and covered almost every aspect of importation into Nigeria. Most of the fraudulent methods used then are now with hindsight well known, such as over invoicing and no delivery of goods. But it is worth recapping on some of the more blatant examples of fraud.

One was the businessman who imported hundreds of tons of milk powder, only to find that the packages contained sawdust. Another was paid for goods that were

never delivered but sold at other ports and the never ending pattern that had to be cracked before goods could enter the country at all. To the small but countless examples could no doubt be added, and they presented on British television a picture of a country that in the early days of the oil boom and the peak 1980's years, openly colluded with foreign rogues.

These rogues were for the most part far more adept than their Nigerian counterparts without whom the frauds could not have succeeded.

Here we come to the third aspect, the 'old boy' network which allowed Shamji to cultivate a personal relationship with Leo Frayer, one of JMB's directors, and pay him with call girls and entertainment at a flat set up in London for the purpose. It soon became clear that, following the takeover of JMB by the Bank of England and the subsequent sale earlier this year of the billion trading arm to the Australian commercial bank, Westpac Banking Corporation, that the rules covering banking would have been changed to avoid another scandal in the City.

fewer constraints, and the defence will no longer have the right to automatic challenge of jurors.

These measures are to be adopted in the UK across the board, including criminal trials. One other major piece of legislation for the new parliament will be the replacement of the 1979 Banking Act to put the UK banking industry under firm supervision.

The new Bill prevents any bank from loaning more than 10% of its capital to individuals without notifying the Bank of England.

The legislation is likely to be similar to the White Paper published earlier this year on banking, and if so will include a wide variety of measures, some of which are already in operation on a provisional basis. One is a Board of Banking Supervision to advise the Governor of the Bank of England and report directly to the Treasury on supervision matters. The main legislation will probably include the abolition of the present two tiered distinction between recognised banks and licensed deposit takers. They will be merged into a single category of bank, subject to the same supervisory scrutiny. Any deposit taker with a certain amount of capital will be able to call itself a bank. The level of capital required is to be set at £5 million. The Bank of England will also be given greater control over the bank's activities.

A new criminal offence of "recklessly providing the Bank with false or misleading information", will be introduced and the Bank will have new powers to command banks to supply it with information. But importantly, the Bill will lay down lending limits in order to prevent banks building up loan exposure to single borrowers of the type that brought down JMB. The White Paper proposed that any exposure to individual customers equivalent to more than 10 per cent of a bank's capital would need to be notified to the Bank of England.

Changes have also been introduced to cover Stock Exchange trading in the City of London, and they were introduced in March and October. This change became known as the 'big bang', and the 'little bang' and has altered forever the cosy world of the London Stock Exchange by opening its doors to overseas banks. It has forced all UK banks to 'tighten up their act', for fear of losing out to their new competitors.

As these changes occupy the minds of financial analysts and business journalists, and alert dealers to the possibilities of 'insider' trading, the JMB affair has been relegated to the backburner. Nigerians and other victims of the scandal are now left on the sharp end of City fraud to wonder just how much was swept under the carpet.



Governor of the Nigerian Central Bank, Alhaji Abdulkadir

This point was stressed, because whatever the local fortunes made by Nigerians in the course of the various rackets, it was nothing compared to what was made by the real manipulators who were based externally, as the collapse of JMB with debts totalling over £250 million showed. That particular 'scam' was only possible based on the premise of substantial repatriation of profits to cover the high interest loan repayments, by men like Shamji. It also required the intimacy of close friendship between Shamji and the bank's directors.

At the State opening of Parliament in November, the new Criminal Justice Bill, which calls for the setting up of a serious crime fraud squad was proposed. This came three years after the appointment of a committee under Lord Roskill to look into ways of strengthening fraud trials. The committee's 245 page report was eventually published in January and some of its recommendations are to be adopted. On the rules of evidence and criminal procedure, it will now be possible for evidence in court to be given via a live video link from abroad. Documentary evidence will become admissible with

How Turtill fell out with Stronghold

Peter Edward Turtill, a 45 year old Briton, consistently claims he holds the key to unlock the Nigerian connection in the huge fraud that rocked the JMB and finally contributed to its bankruptcy in 1984. This is Turtill's story as told by his former employers, Stronghold Nigeria Limited.

PPETER Edward Turtill, born on March 3, 1943 was employed by Stronghold Nigeria Limited on January 20, 1982, a week after he was interviewed in London for the job. He was recruited by another Briton, M.A. Bromage who was then the managing director of the Nigerian Company. Bromage joined Stronghold in 1981 and left in 1982 following some undisclosed 'problems' he had with the management.

Turtill began work with Stronghold, the same day he accepted the employment letter, dated January 20, 1982. He was employed as a service manager, on a yearly salary of N20,000, to be paid monthly in arrears. Along with the salary, he was to enjoy all the other service conditions applicable to other expatriate staffers—a free accommodation well furnished and with appropriate domestic staff, an official car, one month leave after every six months of work, with travelling expenses to be borne by the company.

Services

To leave the services of the company, he was expected to give a six-month notice. If the company too wanted to terminate his employment, it was similarly bound to give him a six-month notice.

As Stronghold's service manager, Turtill was charged with the responsibility to oversee the company's engineering services division, one of the three divisions in the 15 year old company.

He had barely spent five months in the company when he applied to go on leave. According to top management sources at Stronghold, his leave application came some days after Bromage's resignation. The officials said Turtill probably wrote the letter in panic, as Bromage was the person who brought him to Stronghold and was a godfather of some sort Turtill.

Since he was yet to spend the contractual six months, Turtill's application was rejected. Bromage's acting successor, the Nigerian general manager, Odulesi, told him that he had to fulfil the terms

of the employment. Turtill insisted that he needed the leave as he wanted to have some rest.

Odulesi conveyed Turtill's case to the chairman of the three-man board, Alhaji Zakari Mohammed, a lawyer. Mohammed rejected the application outright, resting his position on Turtill's employment contract. Turtill applied for the leave on June 22, 1982. On June 28, he got a definitive 'No' from Mohammed. On July 1, 1982, Turtill resigned.

ing the provision of the contract. A British Caledonian flight ticket was bought for him by Stronghold and on July 3, 1982, Turtill left Nigeria. He travelled on a Saturday. The following Monday, July 5, Stronghold wrote the Nigerian Immigration authorities, informing them that Turtill had left the company. A letter from British Caledonia Airways (BCAL) confirming that Turtill boarded its craft to London was attached.



Peter Turtill, one of the whistle blowers

The resignation letter, in a blue sheet, was handwritten and contained four lines. It was sent to Odulesi, with Turtill saying: "Please receive this notice in writing of my resignation as of today. It is with much regret that I will be leaving Stronghold but as soon as my salary and remittance is arranged, I will leave on the first available flare (sic) to London that is if it is your wish."

His letter was accepted immediately and the accountant asked to prepare his entitlements. Turtill was paid two months salary — N2,355 to cover the month of June and his leave bonus, thus waiv-

"We should be grateful if you would remove Turtill's name from our expatriate quota as we shall no longer bear responsibilities for his stay in Nigeria," the company wrote to the Immigration Department.

An official of the company said the management regarded Turtill's departure as good riddance. "Throughout his stay here, he didn't seem to be conversant with his job. He was introduced to us by Bromage who said he wanted him to be employed," the official said. He recalled a favourite joke among the Nigerian technicians who worked under

The rise and fall of Shamji's empire

Abdul Shamji's was the typical case of a hasty climber who fell suddenly.

THE man who was to become a central figure in the Johnson Matthey Bank's scandal in London, and who played his part well in Nigeria started from 'humble beginnings.' Abdul Shamji came to Britain in 1972, forced out of Uganda along with thousands of Asians expelled by Idi Amin who also confiscated his business assets. According to the Shamji legend perpetuated by his publicity machine, he rose penniless, forced to leave in resettlement camps.

However, the Shamji's legend never squared up with reality. He never lived in refugee camps. From the start he lived in luxury flats in a fashionable part of London. Shamji had series of accounts in Switzerland and other foreign banks which he set up while in Uganda with balance exceeding \$1 million.

Mr. Shamji used to boast that you don't have to have a bank's balance, all you have to do is to persuade bankers to lend you money. Michael Hendrie who was a senior executive in Abdul Shamji's company for six years until he resigned

"But when Abdul Shamji persuaded John Matthey Bank and other banks to lend him £35 million he appeared to be building an impressive business empire—offices, and apartment buildings, hotels, theatres, ships and luxury yachts. From Shamji's view point, he was the head of an empire he claimed had assets worth £125 million."

because of disagreement over Shamji's business methods said: "He was charismatic. Lots of people see him and believe him. He was extremely believable." He persuaded several banks to lend money to him. Among them were Barclays, Midland, Bank of Credit and Commerce and the Central Bank of India. With the banks' money behind him, Abdul Shamji set about building his business empire. He called it Gomba, after the village in Uganda where he once lived. Within four years it grew quickly. His group of companies included a handbag manufacturing firm, chain of supermarkets and fleet of cargo ships.

The Stonefield Cross-Country Truck Company was in financial trouble, and over £5 million of public fund has been

put into it. The Scottish Development Agency was ready to give it over with subsidy to any person who could run it efficiently on the provision that the buyer will keep manufacturing the truck in Scotland.

Shamji accepted government subsidy to take over the Stonefield Truck Company, and he promised to keep manufacturing the vehicles in Scotland with Scottish workers. In reality he closed it down as the grants ran out and moved it to Kent where there were more grants. The Scottish Development Agency was left with an empty factory in which Shamji owed £65,000 in unpaid rent and £100,000 in the original purchase price of the company.

In fact, despite Shamji's enviable connection actual orders for the Stonefield Trucks were hard to find. Shamji could neither pay suppliers of spare parts nor workers. This is not surprising because in the Shamji's publicity machinery, he bought a company, Universal Leather Goods and Handbag factory in Blackborough from a receiver and made it profitable and increasing job by 75 to 200. The truth was the exact reverse. Profits were down by three quarters since Shamji's take-over and jobs were fewer.

But when Abdul Shamji persuaded John Matthey Bank (JMB) and other banks to lend him £35 million he appeared to be building an impressive business empire - offices and apartment buildings, hotels, theatres (Moma, Garrick and Duchess), ships and luxury yachts. From Shamji's view point he was the head of an empire he claimed had assets worth £125 million. In reality he was building a house of cards because some of the assets were over-valued and payments exceeded income, and credit often went unpaid.

The Shamji technique was like this: in 1979 he bought off a house in Park Lane for £2.1 million. But everything that Shamji bought was immediately worth more. Innumerable firms of valuers were constantly being brought in to value and revalue. So in four years Shamji's house appreciated to £9,750,000 - nearly five fold increase. The purpose of the revaluations was to obtain further funds from his bankers.

The trouble was that the increased borrowing from revaluations often couldn't be financed by the income. In 1983, the rent for the house was £331,000, but Shamji had borrowed heavily against it, so the interest alone cost £600,000. So every month Mr. Shamji's Gomba was in business, it was

getting deeper and deeper into debts. From bank borrowing of hundreds of thousands in early years, the group's debt increased in leaps and bounds.

By 1984, twelve years after his arrival in Britain Abdul Shamji was living the life of an international tycoon with prestigious offices in Park Lane, a Rolls Royce, two yachts and a mansion. He was readily and lavishly entertaining bankers and businessmen and politicians, and was well known as a contributor to conservative party.

But many of those who accepted Abdul Shamji's friendship or his hospitality or his offers of money or employment were used with or without their knowledge or consent to boost his ever-growing carboad empire. Mrs Thatcher had visited his house for a Tory Party

All the people who had visited his house or are his friends were carefully arranged to come into his orbit. For instance, in 1978, Shamji carefully began a process which was to bring him closer to the Conservative Party. Mr. Andrew Rowe who set up the Anglo-Asian Conservative Society had an idea of having a dinner in order to meet some of the successful members of the Asian community in Britain."

fund-raising event, and he was to secretly use her name, her photograph and personal endorsement in pursuing his business deals.

Michael Hendrie said: "He dropped names implicitly by the photographs he had of people who he may not know entirely well, but the impression was perhaps he knew them terribly well."

All the people who had visited his house or are his friends were carefully arranged to come into his orbit. For instance, in 1978, Shamji carefully began a process which was to bring him closer to the Conservative Party. Mr. Andrew Rowe who set up the Anglo-Asian Conservative Society had an idea of having a dinner in order to meet some of the suc-

The rape of Anambra

In the league of fraudsters, and swindlers Abdul Ahmed Shamji was a superstar. His exploits read like fairy tales. Arriving London from Idi Amin's Uganda he told the British he was a refugee. He did not also say he was a millionaire. Out of nothing he built up a mighty financial empire, which went in to ashes because it was a house of cards built on fraud. His tentacles spread to 11 foreign locat'ors outside Britain and found their way into Anambra state where an ally, former Governor Jim Nwobodo was waiting. Breaking the Johnson Matthey Bank was the climax of Shamji's adventures. The BBC Television documentary series 'World in Action' on the JMB traced Shamji's deals including a piece on how Shamji and Nwobodo ripped off the Anambra State people.

Below are excerpts:

ONE aspect of our investigations into the Shamji house of cards took us to Nigeria. Here we uncovered more disturbing facts about the way this friend of Senior Tories did business.

In October 1980, Abdul Hamid Shamji took his impressive collection of letters and hired a private jet for the trip to Nigeria. He travelled to Enugu, capital of Anambra State.

The oil boom of the 1970s had turned Nigeria into the richest country in Black Africa, willing to spend vast sums of money on new roads and industries. "People were making enormous amounts of money in Nigeria, some of them German companies and some American companies, and there were huge projects going and, of course, Shamji was interested in getting his hands on some big projects. He is always interested in trying to make a mega deal, a huge killing. That was all that fuelled the furnace as far as he was concerned.

State governor, Jim Nwobodo was ideally placed to assist him in mega deals. He had already enjoyed Shamji's hospitality in London and other blessings including determination, charisma but not honesty or humility.

"He (Nwobodo) solely decided which contract should go out to who, when, how and where." Dr. Mariam Ikejiani (Nwobodo's former commissioner) is a lecturer in Politics Nigeria, and has made a study of the way Governor Nwobodo awarded state contracts. "He would decide which company, which person was willing to pay the money in his account abroad. This was the factor that decided who got which contracts."

Mr. Shamji formed a new company with secret Nigerian partners. He called it Greenfield Construction and put his

brother-in-law in charge. Within months, it has miraculously been awarded contracts for roads and bridges worth N38 million (then) £46 million. "For example, Abdul Shamji at the time that he got those contracts in Nigeria, didn't have experienced civil engineering staff and equipment, plant and many sorts of operations that could carry those contracts. Not at all! It was unusual, therefore, to have companies like that to be awarded large contracts worth millions of pounds."

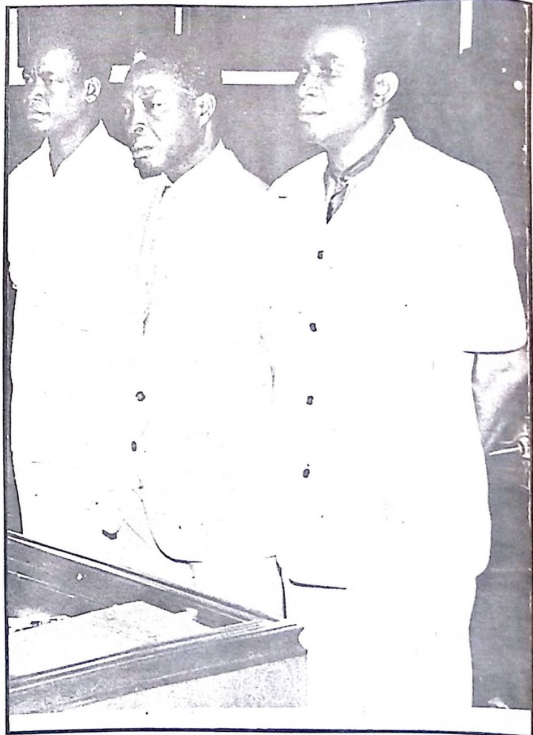
"It was more unusual with the fact that a number of experienced construc-

tion companies had tendered for some of the contracts and short list had been compiled. Greenfield, which was not short-listed, was awarded the contract anyway. In one case without even tendering.

"The Anambra State Government paid the Greenfield Company a total of £10 million (about N70 million). The state made a down payment of £710,000 to Greenfield to build five of its busy dual carriage ways on the outskirts of Enugu, and a permanent bridge to replace this temporary one across the River Ekulu.

"No work was ever done in either projects.

On another contract, the state gave Greenfield a down payment of £1.8



Nwobodo (right) before a Special Military Tribunal

million towards the cost of a bridge across the River Anambra. For the villagers of Otuocha, the bridge would have brought traffic and prosperity. No work was ever done. And today, a ramshackle ferry is still the only link with several villages across the river.

"And the state would only make further instalments when there was evidence that work was on the way. So, equipment was sent from Europe and work was started on three of the contracts. Michael Hendrie was sent to Nigeria, and was surprised by what he found. "A complete and utter shambles. I do recall one occasion where a bridge was being built in the wrong place which was clearly futile because the road was somewhere else. And there were no experts, that is in the early days. One or two experts after I came back. Quality experts did get employed indeed very quickly, and removed again from the company because, of course, when you employ professionals, they demand instantly they have the tools with which to do the job."

"The Greenfield Company began clearing the forest and laying a base for a road at the village of Nenwe. The Anambra State government paid Greenfield £3 million for this stretch of grace which has no beginning or end and might even now have been reclaimed by the bush. In a few years, a rotten sign would be the only evidence that Abdul Shamji's Greenfield Company was ever here."

Anambra State also paid over £2 million for four lane road linking Governor Nwobodo's home village, Amuchii with the main road. For their money, they got eight miles of mud in two stretches which is still to join up because the bridge across the river is incomplete. When the rains came, some of the little of which had been erected was washed away. Now, derelict site office and abandoned equipment are almost all that remains of Greenfield's presence."

Nigerians paid £2.5 million for what should have been two lane highway linking several outlying villages, all they have to show is twenty miles of unfinished road which comes to a sudden halt at a narrow river. Well, today, the villagers can only wonder why so wide a track only leads to their local creek."

Shamji had found a pot of gold and was anxious to repeat his success in winning contracts. So, in 1983, he sent one of his luxury yachts to Lagos: The ship's captain, David Beesman, was also asked to take an unusual cargo. "I was asked at one point on board, the vessel by the shipping manager, if I would be prepared to take down nine or so call-girls."

"You were to take nine call-girls onto Lagos?"

"Yes."

"For what purpose?"

"Ehmm, entertaining businessmen, but they have to be European girls."

"Why was that?"

"I think they were respected more or they were preferred."

"By Nigerians?"

"Possibly, yes."

Beesman refused and later, he sued for his wages. But by now, all building work had stopped on the road and the bridge projects because the money had run out.

At the start of 1984, the Nigerian military tired of civilian-style corruption took over. Among its first actions was to set up inquiries into what had happened to millions of pounds the country spent on civil projects which have never been completed.

The committee of inquiry investigated the projects Shamji's Company had been given. It found out that there appears to be evidence of fraud and that the Gomba Greenfield Company has, from the beginning, planned to deceive."

A special tribunal asked Governor Jim Nwobodo why he had awarded such large contracts to company with no experience, which hadn't been tendered. His difficulty in explaining was increased by the fact that all the foreign management of Greenfield including Shamji's brother-in-law had fled leaving their headquarters deserted.

"The Nigerian authorities have accused the Greenfield Company, Governor Nwobodo and Gomba of pocketing some £3 million for work that wasn't done in Nigeria under its contracts. What is your view of that claim? "As I said, there is no evidence of any serious work having been done and there were lots of activities but none of the roads was built. And I know that all those contracts would have carried really substantial mobilisation payments, and I don't know where they went."

Part of the answer came from one Greenfield director who did give evidence. Joe Ogbodo, alias Small Joe admitted that he was in fact a front man on the Greenfield board for the governor, Jim Nwobodo. Tribunal heard that Small Joe had withdrawn £1.6 million from the Greenfield account in the ACB in Enugu and taken away in cardboard boxes and then delivered into Governor Nwobodo's office.

Tribunal found that Nwobodo had all along been Abdul Shamji's secret partner in Greenfield Construction and that the intention from the start has been to defraud, in grand style, the tax payers of the state. Jim Nwobodo who was already serving jail sentences totalling 296 years for corruption, was ordered to repay over a million pounds. Greenfield was only to repay nearly £2 million.

Several Stonefield trucks which had been shipped to Nigeria were impounded, and so the luxury yacht 'Fartada'—it lies rotten in Lagos Island. Nearly half of the fine remains unpaid.

One in jail, another at large

On the trail of the JMB affair, our Assistant Editor, Bayo Onanuga stumbled on yet to be unravelled £7.3 million fraud. Former finance commissioner in Anambra State, Samson Ifeka, was sentenced to 22 years imprisonment for his part in the deal. But authoritative police sources say Ifeka's principal accomplice is a powerful business tycoon and leader of one of Nigeria's unorthodox religions.

TWENTY-FOUR hours before Nigeria's military putsch of December 31, 1983 and the subsequent mass arrests of former politicians, one politician was already behind bars in a prison at Enugu, capital of Anambra State. He was Samson Ifeka, the bespectacled, bearded finance commissioner under former Governor Jim Nwobodo.

Ifeka's arrest, as he was to say later, was at the instance of Nwobodo's successor, C.C. Onoh. Onoh set the police on Ifeka after he found Ifeka's signature



Sam Ifeka, ex-finance commissioner

Cover Story

authorising eight payments in hard currency, to a British company, Cross Oceans Limited. The payments valued at £7,356,721 (nearly N50 million) were in respect of a contract between Anambra State and the company for "combined stable and coarse fibre filaments including tufted carpet manufacturing complex. The contract was never executed, but the money found its way into the accounts of Cross Oceans Limited. The money itself was a loan from a British bank and it was guaranteed by Samuel Montagu and Company Limited.

At first, Ifeka thought that his incarceration by the Police was a classic case of witch-hunting by political opponents; that it would be a matter of time for him to regain his freedom. But that wishful thinking soon petered out as soldiers rolled out their tanks, locking up hundreds of other politicians and public officers, suspected to have used their positions to defraud the various Nigerian governments and institutions. Ifeka spent more than a year in police custody until his case was handed over to the then Nigerian Security Organisation.

"Authoritative police sources in Nigeria told *African Concord* that one of the persons involved in the Ifeka deal was the powerful Nigerian businessman with interests in estate, brewery and other businesses."

In 1985, he was brought before the Lagos Zone of the Special Military Tribunal headed by Air Vice Marshal Mouktar Mohammed. Ifeka faced the charge: Conspiracy with other persons at large to corruptly enrich another person — Cross Oceans Limited by causing £7,356,721 to be paid for a contract that was never executed.

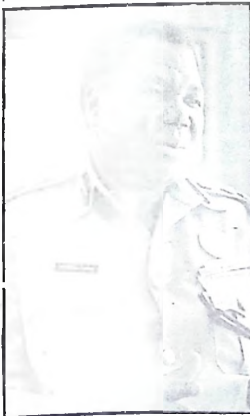
He denied the charge, claiming innocence, saying that the charge was a trumped up one, organised by political foes. He told the tribunal that he knew nothing about the documents authorising payments to Cross Oceans and that his signature was forged. "I did not lift a hand to sign any of those documents," he said when asked to plead for mitigation.

But the Mouktar Mohammed led tribunal did not believe him. Ifeka's

alleged forged signature was meticulously verified and it was found to be authentic. The tribunal, in its verdict, verbally descended heavily on him, berating him for criminal negligence and for betraying the trust the people of Anambra had in him.

"It is beyond the tribunal's comprehension and it transcends all human understanding why the convict betrayed his own people and allowed himself to be led into the fraudulent deal," said Mouktar Mohammed who also condemned the convict for not telling all he knew about the deal and for keeping mum on other accomplices.

On the order of the tribunal, the help of the Interpol was to be sought to track down other persons involved in the loan deal and investigate how the loan for the project was got. The tribunal gave judgement on July 8, last year. And this year, Ifeka's sentence was reduced to 14 years. But about one and half years after



Gumbo, Police boss

the Mohammed tribunal verdict, it appears everyone has gone to sleep on the matter.

Authoritative police sources in Nigeria told the *African Concord* that one of the persons involved in the Ifeka deal was the powerful Nigerian businessman, with interests in estate, brewery and other businesses. The businessman is also known as leader of a fringe religious movement, with headquarters in the outskirts of Lagos.

The sources said it was this man that introduced Anambra Government to the British bank that gave out the loan. Ifeka was said to have travelled to London in 1982 to seal the loan agreement for the building of a carpet factory in Anambra.

African Concord learnt that the money was never used for what it was meant and instead, it found its way into the Cross Oceans Limited, owned by the Nigerian business baron. The money was later shared among Ifeka, the baron and others involved in the deal.

The sources confirmed a *Sunday Concord* story of last year December 8 which said that the religious leader was arrested and interrogated by the London Fraud Squad. The arrest came about the time that the British MP, Brian Sedgemore was spilling the beans about the JMB affair, making for the erroneous impression that the Nigerian was arrested in connection with JMB.

"He was just arrested for that. It was for this mis-managed loan as a result of which Samson Ifeka is in prison," a police source said.

The highly reliable source said the London Fraud Squad visited Nigeria this year and wanted to further interrogate the religious leader on the matter. But our source said the squad was advised against that by the British High Commission because the man was considered to be "a powerful man who could mobilise political sentiments against Britain."

There was nothing the Nigerian police could do to help the Fraud Squad to get their man, as the Squad was hesitant to do so. It visited, however, the site of the carpet factory and found that it was as barren as ever.

The Fraud Squad was said to have gone home, resolved to arrest the Nigerian anytime he set foot on Britain. "The man is wanted in Britain. They would arrest him anytime he gets there," the source said.

But another source hinted that a behind-the-scene manoeuvre seems to have been made by the Nigerian as he has agreed to repay the loan, used to import nothing into Nigeria. The British Export Credit Guarantee Scheme was said to be involved in the loan fraud and the phoney exports to Nigeria — a connection the source said explained the furiousness of the London Fraud Squad.

As we go to press, *African Concord* learnt from reliable sources that Cross Oceans Limited is one of the companies being suspected to have taken part in the JMB large scale swindle of Nigeria.

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- 4 Should African states, collectively or individually, pursue the attainment of nuclear technology, both for domestic and military purposes?
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Ogugbuaja in but out

Suspended police image maker has been recalled but not to his former post.

TO the apparent embarrassment of the federal government and police authorities, the grisly grenade story involving Alozie Ogugbuaja, the former spokesman of the Lagos State Police Command, did not prove a 9-day wonder. Obviously because of the strange coincidences in the circumstances of the latest suspected attempt on the life of the police officer and the murder of Dele Giwa, former *Newswatch* editor-in-chief, not many Nigerians were prepared to sweep the grenade story under the carpet.

Thus, for many days after the incident was first reported on November 20, it became the single most publicly discussed issue, evoking anger, suspicion and disgust among discussants. Newspapers and their electronic cousins devoted nearly as much attention to the grenade story as they did to the murder of Dele Giwa. There was understandable hysteria about what some people suspect to be a new ghastly method for dealing with vocal elements in the society. Questions were raised about the safety of Nigerians with the seeming spread of bomb terror. The first indication of government's exasperation with the increasing attention being given to the grenade story came from the undisguised repudiation of the incident by the press secretary to the Chief of General Staff, Mr. Mamman Yusuf. Barely a few hours after the *Guardian Express*, an evening daily, hit the newstand with news of the grenade incident, Yusuf issued a statement calling it a ruse. Yusuf said the attempted grenade attack on Superintendent Alozie Ogugbuaja was "a ruse calculated to embarrass the Federal Government and create a false sense of insecurity among Nigerians."

The press secretary's statement which one observer described as 'too prompt to be credible' ironically accused the Nigerian news media of over-reacting by reporting the incident immediately. Yusuf did not indicate what he expected the media to have done with the story. But observers consider his reaction as equally hasty.

Another official reaction to the grenade story came from the Inspector-General of Police. He told reporters two days after the incident that there was nothing strange in the said grenade attack on Alozie. Said Mr. Gambo: "Alozie is a police officer and it is not unusual to find grenade in the premises of a police officer." This statement, widely perceived as a thinly veiled attempt to play down the grenade incident had been preceded by another from the

police authorities claiming that the calibre of the grenade found in Ogugbuaja's house was incapable of killing. The police statement described the bomb as the type used to "cause a sound blast effect." It added that the grenade was not the "military, anti-personal type designed to kill unarmed persons."

If the government was visibly irritated by the dimension which the grenade incident was taking in the news media, the public showed even greater disgust and irritation at the way some government officials went about proclaiming that the whole incident did not deserve the attention being given to it. Worse, some observers noticed what one newspaper columnist called "an attempt by the police authority to put Alozie on the dock as though he scripted the grenade story".

Some people also saw some contradic-



Ogugbuaja: In but out

tions in the reactions of the Nigerian police to the grenade story. A Lagos-based daily, in an editorial, called these reactions 'hasty and contradictory'. The newspaper berated the police authorities for claiming that the grenade found in Ogugbuaja's house was not lethal, without telling the public "when and where such grenades had been used previously in the country with back-up evidence, that no casualty was recorded."

Commenting on the contradictions in the police statements, the newspaper expressed alarm at the attitude of the police to the whole incident. It said although, the I-G of police had told reporters that the police were yet to confirm if what was found in Ogugbuaja's house was a grenade, an earlier statement by the police had identified the weapon as a hand grenade. The paper then warned: "The police and indeed, the government, must know that after Dele Giwa's assassination by a bomb blast, 'no cause for alarm' embellished with a tempest of contradictions, cannot suffice as an explanation for even the

most 'friendly' grenade attach on a citizen."

By mid last week, the grenade saga had developed into a full-blown and disputation. Government's anguish and exasperation had become too apparent and its newspaper, the *New Nigerian*, and its newspaper, the *New Nigerian*, in a *seemed a natural vent for this anger*, in a front page editorial, replete with invective, the paper went all out to upbraid the nation's print media for what it considered to be their lack of detachment and objectivity in reporting the grenade attempt on Alozie Ogugbuaja.

The newspaper accused the Nigerian press of "betraying emotional involvement of 'betraying Ogugbuaja.'" It claimed that the newspapers erred by using Ogugbuaja's first name (Alozie) in their headline "whereas it is a cardinal rule of news reporting... to use the surname of subject...." It is noteworthy, however, that the *New Nigerian* had not kept to the 'cardinal rule' when on November 21 it put the headline 'Police guard Alozie's house' on its front page.

The *New Nigerian* also asserted that the grenade incident was 'hoax' and further claimed that "if there was any attack on Ogugbuaja at all, it was neither a grenade nor a bomb". This claim, in the words of one observer, "makes the *New Nigerian*, another police Bomb Disposal Unit capable of identifying weapons."

While more and more questions are still being raised on the suspected grenade attempt on Ogugbuaja, the I-G of police last week spoke on an issue that many people had anxiously waited for. Mr. Gambo told airport correspondents last Wednesday that Mr. Ogugbuaja, suspended since the first week of October, had been reinstated and redeployed to 'general duties'. Declared Gambo: "We have decided to reinstate him and he will resume duties as a general duties policeman and will perform general duties."

Mr. Gambo said Ogugbuaja's case — he was alleged to have in February this year made "illicit love advance" to a female youth corps and a detained suspect's wife — had been concluded and that the former police spokesman had been "seriously reprimanded". He also indicated that Mr. Ogugbuaja would be dismissed if he got involved in another 'offence', and added that the former police PRO who was promoted to the rank of superintendent in March this year would not be promoted in the next year.

Despite the official explanation for Mr. Ogugbuaja's suspension many observers believe his trouble actually had to do with his outspokenness and candour. Mr. Ogugbuaja told the Akanbi commission of inquiry on the Akanbi riots in September that the main reason why the police seemed to be incapable of fighting crime was poor motivation arising from inadequate remuneration when compared to what their military col-



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Dele Giwa: Test of the judiciary

Can Government take to appeal Court to the court to prosecute security officials he suspects are Okada's assassins?

Can Government take to appeal Court to the court to prosecute security officials he suspects are Okada's assassins? The Chief Justice, Justice Othman Danjuma, has said that he will not entertain such an appeal.

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During the session, Mr. Giwa had asked the court to determine his appeal. He said that he had appeared as Director of Public Prosecution, whereas he is now the Acting Solicitor General. So he was in a bit of a quandary as to what to do next. Justice Othman Danjuma said that he would not entertain such an appeal. He said that he would not entertain such an appeal.

The Government's appeal was dismissed. The Government's appeal was dismissed. The Government's appeal was dismissed.

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Martyred journalist, Dele Giwa

One of the chief judge's reasons for dismissing the case was that police investigation was not available hence prosecution couldn't commence. Lawchun readily agreed that one duty of the police is to detect crime. Yet, he argued, there is nothing in the country's laws that requires as a matter of law report of police investigation of a crime before an accused person could be prosecuted for the crime. He noted that while the other two legally recognised prosecutors—the attorney general and his men and police officers—may rely on police investigations, a private prosecution is not obliged by law to rely on the police or the report of police.

Moreover, Chief Lawchun aimed

that the absence of statements from the law security men shouldn't pose problems as held by the chief judge. Citing ample authorities, he said no suspect should be compelled to make a statement though it could.

He submitted that the chief judge's assertion that Mr. Giwa's deferred father had refused to give an account to "manufacture evidence." He said that the case should be limited only on the basis of evidence filed by the applicant, that is himself, if any case.

He submitted that the chief judge's contention that the applicant was hasty and premature. This was because the chief judge "had a wrong conception of the law..." In the time of dispute, Government said, "the applicant must apply to obtain a writ as possible after the facts giving rise to the applications" or else the right to file. He referred to past rulings to back up his stand.

In concluding, Chief Fawcett asked the court of appeal to transfer the substantive case from the chief judge to another judge of the High Court of Lagos State.

Chief Fawcett spoke to Africa Continent on the circumstances after filing the briefs. He described the case as "a serious test for the judiciary of this country. For the first time, the entire legal system is facing a nerve-racking, marrow-chilling examination." If successful, the legal system of the country will be the better for it. If not, that may be the end of public confidence in the administration of law and justice in Nigeria.

He warned of "voices who regard him as pitiable." "The court's groundswell if they do not wouldn't say that I take everything I do in my life as a serious matter."

Meanwhile, Abaji Mohammed Gambo, the Police IG on Wednesday confessed to possession of a letter-bomb was the most difficult thing to investigate anywhere in the world. He said a lot of people have been interrogated. "The matter is receiving the fullest attention of the C.I.B. I believe they are making a serious case," he said. An Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mr. Abaji, in charge of some two odd divisions that were leading on the case would be made to see at the end of the investigations.

Frederick Igboare.

West Africa

Ghana

The milk that kills

Mothers in Ghana may be inadvertently poisoning their children with a local herb, writes Ajoa Yeboah-Afari.

The milk bush is a shrub commonly grown as a hedge in Ghana because it is one of the few plants goats do not eat. It is used as a herbal remedy for head colds and other ailments. But could it also be an unsuspected killer of infants? The Department of Pharmacology of the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital is trying to find out.

The death of four infants who had been treated with milk bush extract led to laboratory tests and to findings that the plant contains a poison which can kill children. There is suspicion now that the unusual aversion goats have to it is an indication of its toxicity.

The milk bush is named after the white, sticky liquid found in its stem. It bears bright yellow flowers and big, roundish seeds that change colour from green to black with maturity. It grows widely in Ghana and is used as a common household first-aid item in many areas, especially in rural communities.

Dr Janet Neequaye, a paediatrician at the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra, expressed concern about the plant's dangers in a letter published in an Accra newspaper, *The Mirror*. The letter warned

"Common household herbal remedy kills" warns Accra doctor

that the bush contained poison and advised against use of the plant as a herbal remedy. "Especially in young babies and children... If parents have any small health problem with their children they should visit their local polyclinic or health post."

In a recent interview, Dr Neequaye, who is the acting head of the Department of Child Health at the University of Ghana Medical School, said she wrote to the newspaper after two children were admitted to the emergency room of the hospital's block. "They were very ill and had something wrong with the heart." One of them was fortunate enough to survive cardiac arrest, but the other died. In both cases, they had been given milk bush extract.

The first case was a baby about four months old who was brought to the hospital in April with a very weak, irregular heart beat, gasping for breath. In spite of the application of drugs to correct the heart beat, the baby's heart stopped five times within half an hour, and she was given cardiac massage.

The mother said the child had been well until that morning. However, she had vomited in the morning and the mother had given her some antibiotic syrup. Later

she also gave her a snuff of ground milk bush leaves. The staff sat up with her baby all night.

Said Dr Neequaye: "She was very, very lucky. One of the things that happens with cardiac arrests is brain damage, but this baby didn't get it," perhaps because the dosage of milk bush extract given her was small.

The second baby was about four weeks old. She also had been generally healthy, but the mother thought the "anterior fontanelle" — the gap in the front of the skull — was too wide, also the baby had not passed a stool for two days. The mother was advised by family members to give the child an enema of milk bush extract. Electrocardiogram monitoring

showed the beat to be very slow, then there was no heart beat at all. One hour after admission the child died.

The doctor said the baby's anterior fontanelle was perfectly normal. All babies have the opening in the front of the skull, but it soon closes up. It is only in rare cases that complications arise. Prior to treatment with the milk bush extract the child had been in perfect health, the doctor concluded.

Three other children were brought to the children's block in the same period, all with similar complaints after being treated with milk bush. As a result, the Department of Pharmacology was asked to test the shrub. The experiments involved adding the milk bush extract to a frog's heart. Tracings taken of its effect on the heart showed a similar pattern to the electrocardiogram of the baby.

Said Dr Neequaye: "They found a very potent drug which acts on the heart, and it has an action similar to digitalis, a medicine for the heart."

Corruption still a problem

Despite Jerry Rawlings' "moral revolution," continuing corruption in Ghana is becoming a cause of concern for his government.

A number of cases in which senior civil servants have been involved in fraud and embezzlement have recently been hitting the headlines. In September three Treasury officials were sentenced to death for embezzling C29m. Nine Ministry of Health officials stationed in the Central Region are currently being tried for trying to defraud the ministry of C5.4m. And three senior workers in Eastern Region have also been charged with stealing C27.6m.

But Ghanaians were more shocked when the Office of the Co-ordinator, Investigations and the Office of Revenue Com-

missioners, which seized power from Hilla Limann in 1981, has publicly lamented the country's corrupt ways. He recently launched "Operation Hawk" in an effort to flush out the wrongdoers.

But earlier anti-corruption campaigns appeared to have been unsuccessful. The Citizens Vetting Committee was responsible for confiscating the assets of Ghanaians convicted of "economic crimes," while special public tribunals handed out harsh sentences to the accused. Last year four people faced the firing squad for their part in a C50m bank fraud racket.

Last month Rawlings said that foreign businessmen, both black and white, were to blame for "the greater part of the corruption and other economic crimes." They bribed Ghanaians to provide goods and services that other competitors could provide more cheaply and more efficiently.

Rawlings even broadened the net to cover a section of the diplomatic corps who "encouraged corruption in Ghana by paying only 25 per cent of their rents to the Bank of Ghana and arranged privately with landlords to pay the remaining 75 per cent to the landlords." The law stipulates that members of the diplomatic corps should pay their rents in foreign exchange to the Bank of Ghana.

But many Ghanaians say that foreign complicity is only part of the story.

The other part is the government's own free market economic policies which have sent consumer prices rocketing. Today even the most honest Ghanaian is forced to resort to some kind of malpractice simply to survive.

Kabral Blay-Amihere

Fraudulent deals

missioners revealed that 27 heads of educational institutions have been dismissed for falsifying and presenting fraudulent claims in respect of boarding enrolments in their schools. The cash involved amounted to more than C100m.

Up to 1,800 civil servants are believed to be involved in similar deals. The Co-ordinator, Kwamena Aholi, said that evidence gathered so far indicated "a criminal conspiracy between some members of the Ghana Educational Service, Treasury officials, personnel of the auditors-general department and some bank officials." This unholy alliance accounted for the loss of millions of cedis from the State Exchequer.

Rawlings, whose anti-corruption campaign has been one of the hallmarks of his

West Africa

"Digitalis was first isolated from a plant, the foxglove — which was used as a herbal remedy in Europe. But the point about digitalis is that if it is given in too high a dose, it is extremely poisonous."

She believes that the milk bush dosage administered to the babies was probably too high, causing complications. It is difficult to know the dosage when a plant is ground up and administered by a non-expert.

Dr Neequaye has lived in Ghana since 1976. She noted that since sneezing usually occurs after milk bush is used as a snuff, ejecting some of the substance, milk bush is more powerful as an enema than a snuff. It is possible that in proper hands it could continue to be used as a medicine, but as used at present by untrained mothers it could act as a very dangerous poison, she said. The laboratory tests continue.

A spokesman for the Department of Pharmacology said it has been well-documented that there are some active substances in the plant — its scientific name is "Thevetia peruviana" — which affect the heart.

"If it is taken in high concentration it can cause cardiac irregularities and even stop

Public must be alerted on dangers of toxic milk bush

the heart. The kernel is highly poisonous, and its toxic nature has been known since the sixteenth century."

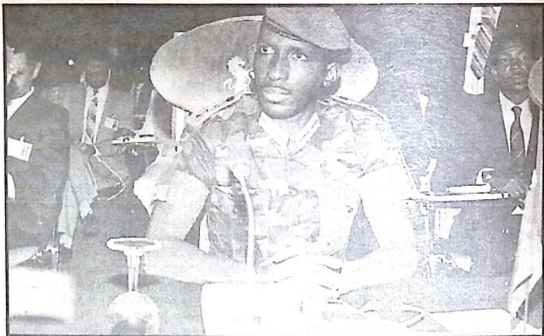
Furthermore, the spokesman said it contains other substances which can cause the gastro-intestinal tract to overreact and cause diarrhoea. He said the shrub contains various chemical substances, some of which act on the intestines, some on the heart, and others which repress respiration if taken in high dosage. "So it depends on the use."

He explained that an enema could be especially dangerous because a lot of the poison could be absorbed directly by the body, having bypassed the liver where some of the poison could be destroyed.

He added: "In traditional medicine nobody has sat down to work out these things, so that you know if you use this herb, don't take that one..."

So far there has been little reaction from the health authorities or the public to Dr Neequaye's letter and warnings. At present she is writing her findings for publication in scientific quarters.

Meanwhile, mothers who call at the children's block are educated on the dangers of the seemingly harmless domestic plant. It is hoped that when the tests are completed and documented, Ghanaian Authorities will take up the issue. Educating the public on the dangers of the milk bush could have an important place in primary health care programmes.



Captain Thomas Sankara, the Burkina Faso leader

Burkina Faso

Self-help a priority

Jeremy Hamand, just back from Ouagadougou, describes the drive to self-sufficiency.

Then what the Head of State called a "successful" commando operation", villagers all over the country recently took part in a two week vaccination scheme to immunise more than 2.5 million children in response to a radio campaign.

Since taking over in a military coup in 1983, Captain Thomas Sankara has used the radio ceaselessly to urge people to transform their own lives. Across the country, Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs) were formed to organise the building of roads, health centres, airstrips and boreholes.

Sankara announced that the CDRs would police cereal prices and smuggling and encourage new farming methods which would lead to self-sufficiency in a country undermined by the old dependence on external aid.

On 4 August, his government's third anniversary, Sankara announced that the literacy rate had gone up from 16 to 22 per cent, tree planting up by 400 per cent and boreholes, 102 annually compared with a total of 20 in 23 years up to 1983.

A small, landlocked country of seven million people, Burkina Faso — the name means "the country of honest men" — has one of the lowest standards of living in the world and its land is increasingly threatened by the southward encroachment of the Sahara Desert. Since gaining independence from France in 1962, as Upper Volta, the country has been almost wholly dependent on outside help.

Last year Sankara announced that Burkina Faso would no longer be a stage for "calculated charity". His people had been

dying in the north for ten years under horrifying conditions. The developed world had known and done little. His people had accepted food aid because not to do so at a time of famine would have been tantamount to committing suicide out of pride.

Now, development policy is firmly controlled by the Government, the National Revolutionary Council (CNR), a coalition of army officers and former civil servants.

More than 14,000 villagers have now been trained in basic hygiene and health care and CDRs are currently working to provide a primary health care post in each of the 7,000 widely scattered villages.

And explaining the recently launched national family planning action plan, the Minister of Family Development, Josephine Ouedraogo, said that the government looked on family planning not as a means of limiting population growth but "as a welfare measure to improve the quality of life."

The plan aims to revise the 1920 law forbidding family planning publicity and the sale of contraceptives. It will integrate family planning into all health services structures and define and introduce classroom sex education. The link between population and development and the role of family planning in the fight against infant and maternal mortality, malnutrition and clandestine abortions will feature in these adult education programmes. Trained maternity staff can also improve the health of mothers and children by alerting them to basic problems of hygiene and identifying high risk pregnancies.

Kenya

'Pull together' or go to jail

Despite its appearance of prosperity Kenya seethes with considerable discontent. But, as Diana Pritchard reports from Nairobi, the struggle for survival places the Government at an advantage.

Three miles from the centre of modern, bustling Nairobi is Kawangware — an extensive squatter slum. It was once a swamp, until pressure from the growing city brought settlement. Now it is home for 3,000 people. Most are Kenyans, but refugees from Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Somalia also live there.

Just before sundown, Mushiri sets out from his home in Kawangware. In gum boots, he squelches his way through the foul mud and slurry toward his job as an *askari*, a night watchman, at one of the large houses in nearby Lavington, where the wealthy owners have guard dogs and electronic fences in addition to *askaris* to ensure their protection.

Slums like Kawangware ring Nairobi. It is one of the wealthiest, most westernised cities in Africa, but the wealth is concentrated in few hands. An estimated 45 per cent of Kenya's 21 million people live in poverty, with inadequate housing or food and no access to clean water or sanitation.

The contrast is greatest in Nairobi, where the poor have flocked in search of jobs. The high crime rate has made night watchmen a familiar sight in the wealthy suburbs as well as outside the barred windows of downtown shops.

Mushiri is well aware of the irony in the fact that Kawangware is home to the notorious thieves that plague the city as well as to the *askaris* paid for protection against them. He and his family live in a "cell", a single-roomed house made of wood and corrugated iron. The majority of people in the neighbourhood are squatters. They live in sub-standard accommodation, often no more than a shell of flattened oil drums and eviction is a constant threat for squatters. The neighbourhood will be slowly upgraded to cater to the lower middle classes whose budgets prohibit them from living any closer to the civic centre, while the poor are pushed further away.

Some families survive on *shambas*, small garden plots. Others operate small businesses. Men construct *jicos*, stoves made from scrap metal, do carpentry or repair bicycles. Many resort to distilling *chang'a*, the notorious, illegal 95 per cent proof liquor.

Chang'a brewing involves frequent confrontations with the police. They descend intermittently to collect *chai* (tea), meaning bribes to ensure the distiller is not reported. The neighbours of *chang'a* distillers live in constant fear of fire from the

crude distilling process, a particular hazard in wooden homes.

Kenya's increasing urbanisation and the growing influence of western values are damaging long-held social and cultural values. Traditions which previously ensured families functioned as viable units have lost their influence. The result has been a kind of familial anarchy.

Those traditions which inhibited unmarried women from becoming pregnant have broken down and consequently there are many young single mothers. Similarly, the breakdown of social norms has resulted in an increased rate of divorce.



Jobs are few in Kawangware. Children often face a future of low-paid jobs or crime.

Displacement, unemployment and poverty are often accompanied by depression. For escape, many turn to alcohol. At any given time in Kawangware, groups of men sit around in various stages of intoxication, from *chang'a* or *bangi* (marijuana). To the women it proves the men are indifferent to their responsibilities as fathers and husbands.

For these women life is different. African society still assigns them responsibility for the family. Women head 50 per cent of the households, even if married as the men are frequently away. To earn income, the women sell food, charcoal, handknitted articles or resort to prostitution. With so many responsibilities to occupy them, alcohol abuse is less widespread than among men.

Recently there have been some improvements to life in Kawangware. It is now

served by two roads, although the accompanying street lighting is already out of action and the posts serve as homes to swarms of wasps.

Water services are also available, but in Kabilo, a district of Kawangware, three taps serve 400 people. The supply is erratic and stoppages for periods as long as five days are not unusual: residents then use contaminated water collected from makeshift wells.

Last year, Kabiro residents dug channels to help drainage and prevent the damage caused by biannual floods. The initiative was prompted by the local health clinic, which encourages the improvement of which encourages the improvement of environmental hygiene and promotes family planning. To increase job opportunities for young women, the clinic has also devised a course for training house girls or *ayahs*.

The government of President Daniel arap Moi is eager to encourage such self-help community efforts, known as *harambee*, meaning "all pull together." Daily radio broadcasts persuade listeners to work collectively for a better life. Newspapers report on the awarding of grants by government ministers to deserving communities.

Tax on self-help

Harambee is considered so integral to development that it has become synonymous in Kenya with patriotism. So powerful is its tug that people are blinded to the irony of the imposed government "harambee tax", requiring everyone, regardless of income, to make a financial "contribution".

But *harambee* can only provide limited assistance. In the absence of proper sanitation, the channels dug by the community serve as open drains for waste. Squatters continue to be evicted, with no option but to move on to the next plot, in Kawangware or other slums.

Sometimes *harambee* actually reinforces the strong divisions that run through Kenyan society and which are tied to land ownership. The initial loss of land arose during the colonial administration, when land was appropriated for European settlement.

When taxes were imposed on African houses and crops, working for European farmers became the only viable alternative for Africans, until the later use of agricultural machinery lessened the demand for their labour. Recently the loss of land has continued through disinheritance, increasing divorce rates, and the sale of land to pay for school fees.

Officially the land shortage is blamed on overpopulation. Kenya's population growth rate of four per cent is among the world's highest, with an average of eight children per Kenyan woman. By the year

East Africa

2000, according to 10 million Kenyans will be living in poverty. But overpopulation is not the only cause.

Most of Kenya's land and three of the ethnic groups in Nairobi are concentrated in the centre or east, a few Kikuyu. Government ministers' seats among the country's major constituencies. But according to the Kenyan: "All individuals in Kenya have a political problem, but the centre is the worst, being accused of being a classist."

In 1982, a woman without children in Kawangware is a desirable instrument. What the government can do to transmit its message. "We don't want you to go away," she says. "I am a primary health care worker at the Kawangware clinic, starting a new report of the effect of the family planning of the government with the women's underground anti-government organisation."

Within the Government there are fears that women's growing, like the Mau Mau movement that preceded independence, is a danger to the state, a danger to the state that prompts particular concern in official circles.

Concern over secret oath organisation, but Government still safe

Little is known of Mwakenya, although since 1981 there have been a series of arrests and detentions. Journalist Mugo David Wambui was held in November for four years for taking the underground oath. The same month another journalist Paul Wambui Mutitu and his brother received 18 months for failing to report "seditious" publications to authorities. A third officer received three years for taking an oath in 1982.

The Government says Mwakenya is aimed at disrupting Kenya's peace and security. But there is surprisingly little support for it among residents of Kawangware. Like Nairobi, they remain loyal to the "great philosophy" of President Moi. Mwakenya's motto: The philosophy it refers to is based on the principles of peace, love and unity. Before each oath-taking, a song pays homage to it.

Kenya's traditionally stable political scene was rocked in 1982 by an attempt to overthrow Moi. The attempted coup, which failed, assumed that the ranks of the poor and destitute would support an overthrow with revolutionary fervour.

Instead, the poor took the opportunity to loot Asian-owned stores in Nairobi while showing little political maturity. In Kawangware there is scant evidence that the situation has changed.

Employment is in such short supply that workers are not willing to jeopardise their jobs by demanding higher pay. Many self-employed workers believe hard work will pay off in a better life. One Kawangware



Despite family planning campaigns, Kenyan women average eight children each



Nairobi gleams among Westernised towers. But in the suburbs are crowded shanties and failing services.

carpenter relates how his predecessor was able to buy a house on the proceeds of his initiative. Such views hold little sympathy for organised revolt.

Strong religious bonds also work against mass support for dissent. On Sundays, Kawangware resounds with the worship of congregations of various denominations. A Catholic Kenyan doctor argues that such devotion is a common form of escapism among the poor.

Most religion promises a better afterlife and teaches that physical conditions, how ever bad, must be tolerated, he says. The Government understandably support this perspective; radio broadcasts remind the nation of the importance of adhering to the Christian ideal.

An identity crisis is emerging in Kenya in response to such competing pressures. Pop music, Western fashions and the proliferation of Western-style fast foods are proof

that Western values have penetrated far. "After a long period," he says, "the great role of the state is to be played by international professor, this means direct intervention."

Kenya has in itself power in Kawangware are often malnourished. The result of dehydration is said to be contaminated water. The health clinic concentrates on trying to counteract the loss of nutrients by aggressive so-called that treat only milk in a laboratory and bring the product.

More thousands of the rural, recognizing the threat to national institutions, call for Kenya to accept only those values which are "beneficial". But no guidance is offered as how to determine which are beneficial.

Even the concept of a united Kenyan identity in place of tribal identity may still be far from developed. Kenyans say they are unsure which values they are expected to retain and which to reject. Some critics argue that government officials in the

importance of establishing cultural identity is another attempt to divert attention from economic distresses.

Residents of Kawangware have vivid images of the horrors of the Ugandan civil war. News from Uganda is prolific and Nairobi is home to many refugees who fled Uganda with first-hand accounts of atrocities.

The people of Kawangware say they would never willingly participate in bringing about such civil discord. Besides, memories of army conduct during the attempted coup in 1982 are a reminder of how ruthlessly opposition can be dealt with.

So, despite Mwakenya, rebellion is unlikely among the squalor and deprivation of Kawangware. Which is not to say its residents are happy with their lot. *Harabab* has brought them a philosophy, but little else to show for their trouble.

Tanzania

Electricity for rural areas

A special correspondent in Dar-es-Salaam reports on how Tanzania's main power can be harnessed to boost energy supplies.

Tanzania is one of the many developing countries in Africa whose economies have been strangled by rising oil prices and a chronic shortage of foreign exchange to import petroleum. In order to escape from the energy crisis, Tanzania has been trying to tap its plentiful, abundant sources of energy from its rivers and waterfalls.

If Tanzania could generate enough electricity from these sources for domestic and industrial use, the country's factories, long-starved of power, could have electricity produced locally and help preserve the nation's meagre foreign exchange reserves.

Tanzania's abundant rivers and waterfalls can generate enough energy to reverse the depletion of foreign exchange reserves.

The main obstacle to harnessing this potential is the lack of funds to purchase the equipment and materials for power projects. The economic potential is being tapped by Bakaton, Moshia, Managing Director of the country's state-owned power supply company, Tanzania Electric Supply Company (TANESCO). So far, Tanzania has managed to harness only 250 megawatts from hydro-power. By 1969, this will rise to 343 megawatts after the completion of the great Mtera power station and its link up to the national grid system.

Direct labour now bypasses building contractors to construct rural electrification stations.

Of all 400 megawatts of power generated at present by TANESCO, 253 is derived from hydro-electric plants and 148 megawatts from diesel-powered stations. The irony here is that 55 per cent of the power derived from the TANESCO diesel plants is being the company some Tsh 200 million (US\$ 8.41 million) a year which is equivalent to some 40 per cent of its annual expenditure.

The completion of the north-west extension of the national power and in 1988 will

save the towns of Tabora, Morogoro, Singida, Mwanza and Shinyanga from constant powercuts. Regular supplies to local industries will also be provided and most important, some 31,000 tonnes of heavy fuel oil will also be saved every year.

The second phase of the planned programme, and which the government of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi will give due emphasis, is the construction of mini hydro-power plants in various parts of the country. The TANESCO chief says feasibility studies carried out over the past few years had identified 81 such sites throughout Tanzania, with a capacity to generate a total of 168 megawatts — about half of the

total of hydro-power presently generated by TANESCO.

The Uweima mini-power station, 27 kilometres south of Nyamwe town, whose foundation stone was recently laid by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, is the first phase of the country's rural electrification scheme. The significance of the Uweima Power Station is not only that it is the first station under the rural electrification programme, but that its construction is also being undertaken without the use of building contractors — but by direct labour — something which impressed President Mwinyi.

Mr Moshia told President Mwinyi: "Our aim is not only to spread similar mini-power stations, but also to enable local engineers to get skills and enough experience so that in future we can manage to carry out such projects on our own without the need of expensive contractors."

Attracting funds for rural power projects in Tanzania has, unfortunately, not been

Literacy campaign a success

Tanzania could be the first black African country to attain full literacy if the results of nationwide literacy examinations confirm present trends.

Up to four million people, aged between 14 and 70, are taking part in the exams which are expected to boost the current literacy levels from 85 to 95 per cent — the rate at which a country is internationally recognised to be fully literate.

It is the culmination of 16 years of a vigorous nationwide literacy campaign. In 1972, 84,000 volunteer teachers equipped with cinema vans, 530 motorcycles, 4,000 pedal bicycles and 8,500 dry cell battery-operated radio sets were sent out to comb villages and urban streets on a literacy for all mission. Fifteen thousand regular school teachers provided the back-up services.

Forty million primers in 60 titles were printed and distributed. The country's leading daily, *Uhuru*, the radio, and 22 regional illustrated magazines ran special oversize type columns, articles and programmes headed at literacy classes. Free spectacles were given to the aged with poor eyesight while sewing classes were set-up as an additional attraction to village women.

The enrolment of students rose dramatically from 745,000 in 1972 to two and a half million a year later, and to 5,200,000 — or 89 per cent of known illiterates — by 1978.

The aim of the Tanzania Adult Education programme, which was spearheaded by retired President Julius Nyerere, was "to shake the adult out of the resignation to past lifestyles, and to enable people to learn how to improve their lot."

In the recent "Illiterate No More" booklet, educationist Yusuf Kassam

recorded illuminating perceptions and feelings of people who have just learned how to read and write. Factory worker Yusuf Selemani said: "I was made to work like a plough because I did not know the bows and whys of things."

Housewife Mwanadi Hamid took pride in being able to handle a ballot paper while 48-year-old peasant Rukia Oshali complained of how illiterates were often abused: "I can now defend my rights," she said.

Being able to read and write reinforced cleaner Kondo Kawamba's sense of worth. "I feel a more complete human being whereas formerly I felt a sense of inadequacy," Mr Kassam added: "They have got rid of their former state of marginality, alienation and fear. They now feel like active subjects rather than manipulable objects and they have begun to demystify social reality."

The Ministry of Education publishes six rural newspapers with a combined circulation of 2,000,000 copies to help new literates retain their precious skill.

Ten years ago Tanzania imposed compulsory free universal primary education. Educationists were hopeful that the drive, coupled with the adult education campaign, would wipe out illiteracy permanently.

Now they are not so sure. Economic hardship in recent years has led to an unprecedented number of school dropouts by children of the poor who become street traders.

"In some areas dropout figures are as high as 50 per cent," observed Kinyalya. "Unless the trend is arrested fast, in another five years or so we will have slid back into the camp of illiterate nations."

Fili Karashani

East Africa

easy TANESCO officials admitted that rural power projects were not attractive to overseas financiers in the same way as the giant hydro-electricity complexes. Observers however, say that TANESCO had not "tried very hard" to attract financiers. There is no shortage of financiers in the West who can lend money and expertise to help Tanzania with its rural electrification programme, they said.

More than half of the country's district headquarters and towns are not supplied with hydro-electricity, but the new programme should reverse this trend.

TANESCO officials have also disclosed that China and Italy are interested in helping Tanzania carry out further studies on the identified mini-hydro power sites as well as find ways to harness energy from them. Italian and Chinese experts have already visited Tanzania although TANESCO officials did not identify the sites which would receive priority. It was, however, understood that the Italian experts were involved in four areas earmarked for the mini-power stations.

George Mbowe, TANESCO chairman of the Board of Directors, was quoted by

Shihata, the Tanzanian news agency, as saying that priority in rural electrification would be given to economically potential areas which have tea, coffee, paddy fields and small-scale industries. He said rural electrification along the north-west national power grid line would also benefit the cotton ginneries in the western cotton growing zone. The diesel-powered ginneries have been operating erratically since the 1970s because of price hikes. Feasibility studies were also underway to provide power to all district headquarters said Mr Mbowe.

More than a half of the country's district

headquarters or towns are not supplied with hydro-electricity but full implementation of the two-pronged rural electrification programme — through mini-hydro power stations and extensions of low voltage lines from the national power grid, may reverse the trend in the next few years to come.

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Southern Africa

Swaziland

King changes course on SA

Report by S S Ngenya in Mbabane.

The dismissal by 18-year-old King Mswati III of Swaziland of Prince Bhhekimpi Dlamini as Prime Minister and his replacement by former police chief Sotja Dlamini is seen here as a move to pave the way for better relations with the rest of black Africa.

High-level delegations are expected to be despatched to a number of countries in Africa to explain Swaziland's geo-political position and possibly a new policy towards South Africa. Bhhekimpi overstepped the mark in dealing with the members of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa living in Swaziland. He ordered armed attacks to be made on them and several were killed.

Although Swaziland has a pact with South Africa which came into force before the death of 63-year-old King Sobhuza II in 1982, Sobhuza did not let the agreement interfere with his sympathy for the ANC. He never ordered the deaths of members of the ANC. It is said that whenever South Africa indicated that an ANC member living in Swaziland posed a security risk the Swazis would quietly ask the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to find the man a new home.

Tarnished image

The new King has been preparing the ground at home to get Swaziland back into line with other members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on the South African issue. Almost immediately after his coronation last April he dismissed the 12-member Ligoqo — the Supreme Council of State — and set up a commission into its political activities.

The commission recommended that the only way Swaziland could rid itself of its tarnished image in black Africa was to set up new machinery. From the outset the King was unhappy about the activities of Prince Bhhekimpi, who had been in government since independence in 1968 and had taken over after the Ligoqo sacked Prime Minister Prince Mabandla in 1983.

Several times Bhhekimpi blocked inquiries initiated by the new King. Then he made himself more unpopular when he ordered the police to release the passports of Dr George Mshibi and Robert Mahila, both wanted by the inquiry commission. Bhhekimpi signed documents sanctioning the detention of innocent citizens and ANC members were kidnapped in Swaziland by South African security police.

Never before had Swaziland stood in the international arena and publicly defended



Swazi monarch, King Mswati

apartheid, opposed economic sanctions and disinvestment. Bhhekimpi believed that his support for South Africa would protect him from dismissal.

But signs of imminent change came when Mswati sent a delegation to Maputo headed by former Finance Minister Sishayi Nsumalo. President Samora Machel was given a message thanking him for coming to the coronation and seeking advice on how Swaziland could improve its relations with the ANC and other organisations.

Dismissal of pro-SA Swazi Prime Minister signals better relations with black Africa

The King sacked Bhhekimpi at a crucial moment — while a meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) agriculture ministers was being held in Swaziland. Some of the delegates were called to the royal residence to be told of the dismissal.

Now that sanctions are being taken against South Africa, countries in the region need to revise their attitude to the ANC and to recognise that it is a force to be reckoned with. The appointment of Prime Minister Sotja Dlamini, a former Assistant Commissioner of Police known as "the crimebuster", indicates that the King wants to tackle corruption in high places. Dlamini had been sacked by

Bhekimpi for investigating illegalities by people in high places.

Swazi law lays down that police need the signature of the Prime Minister before cabinet ministers, members of the royal family and other senior officials can be arrested. Bhhekimpi has been accused of frustrating police investigations and it is expected that some cases closed by the Ligoqo will now be reopened and heard in the courts.

Treason charges

Many Swazis believe Bhhekimpi will soon be in the dock. He may be removed from his chieftaincy and face charges of high treason with other members of Ligoqo for ousting the Queen and Regent Dzelwe.

When Sobhuza died Queen Dzelwe, one of his wives, took over as Queen Regent until a new king was chosen and of age. A few months later, when Bhhekimpi was appointed in place of Mabandla, Queen Dzelwe was replaced as Regent by another of Sobhuza's wives, Ntombi. Dzelwe tried to challenge her deposition through the courts, but a decree put royal affairs beyond the court's jurisdiction. Queen Ntombi is the mother of King Mswati III.

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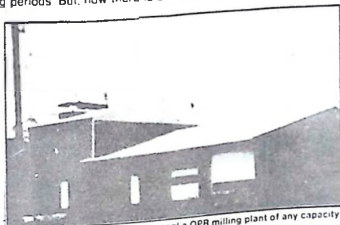
sifter obviates the need for the multi-storey concept, thus making economic considerations viable.

The Roncaglia OPR mill of whatever capacity can be housed in any simple building of five metres clear height. It is the only mill that can be built up from a small initial unit, or can have a number of units running side by side, milling different cereals. It is the only plant that does not need considerable

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Behind the blood and tears

Stephen Tebld, former editor of the *Camerounian Times* and a researcher begins a four-part series on the origins and developments of the Chadian crisis.

THE gory details of the Chadian tragedy will never be fully narrated, for the story of the 1,200,000 sq. km Central African State is that of a country torn to shreds by its sons. It is no wonder today that the name, Chad, is synonymous with strife, bloodshed, hunger and hordes of refugees.

In more recent years, the Chadian crises have attracted increasing international attention, goodwill and sympathy. This international concern has been followed by countless efforts towards finding peaceful solutions to the conflicts between Chadians.

Unfortunately, these efforts have achieved little or nothing, as the battles continue to rage between the multitude of factions is not due to the blood-thirstiness of Chadians as many people now believe. Rather, the peace solutions that have come out of the conferences on Chad have never been based on a honest and proper appraisal of the fundamental subjects of contention between Chadians.

The Chadian conflict is generally presented as both a religious and tribal conflict between the islamised populations of the north and the christian/animist populations of the South. Others regard it as the result of personal conflicts and a dogged struggle for power between local political chieftains. Yet, another group of observers regard the conflict as being the result of foreign intervention in Chadian affairs and more particularly so, as the battle ground for a hegemonistic struggle between Libya, on the one hand and the Western powers led by France on the other.

While the above factors may have contributed in prolonging the conflict and increasing the ferocity of battles, they can at best be considered as secondary to the substantive grievances of the warring factions. Before we proceed to a more thorough examination of these secondary factors of the conflict it will be necessary for us to examine the fundamental disagreements between the sons of Chad.

The Chadian conflict can only be fully understood in the perspective of the historical continuum that accounts for the development of all societies. Rebellion and large-scale bloodshed in Chad is as old as this century. This bloodshed in Chad was inaugurated by the French who went about with the most barbaric ferocity in quelling Chadian opposition to its colonial authority. The first execution of Chadian nationalists took place on December 12,

1902 and was carried out by Captain Fouget and Lt. Pompart. On this occasion, Abou Aguilu and 80 of his followers were executed not by firing squad but by bayonets.

On March 19, 1908, it was Lt. Jerusalem who directed the execution of Mohammed Quled Bichara, and another group of 2,000 Chadians met the same fate. Though, the French eventually succeeded in suppressing armed rebellion against their rule, records show

President Francois Tombalbaye which was wholly dependent on French advisers for policy formulation, missed the opportunity for national reconciliation.

The late President Tombalbaye failed to recognise the true nature of his country, which was that Chad was and continues to be a country of multiple nationalities. It thus needed institutions that would permit these various groups to preserve their identities and feel secure in whatever association bound



Habre



Whedeye

that the execution of Chadian nationalists continued throughout France's colonial presence in Chad.

It is pertinent to recall here that armed resistance to French rule came principally, if not solely, from the northern populations. This was so because, contrary to the situation that existed in the southern Chadian provinces where the population lived in small groups under weak chiefs, the north of Chad was divided into kingdoms and empires under powerful rulers who had a sophisticated organisation and well defined institutions. These include, among others, the Kingdoms of Baguirmi, Kanem, Borno and Quaddai. These northern kingdoms were thus better prepared to resist French colonial rule both in defence of the prerogatives of their rulers and in defence of their culture and civilisation which were threatened by French imperialism.

When Chad eventually attained independence in 1960, the northern chiefs held the hopes that the errors of the colonial power would then be repaired. Chad having attained independence as a unitary state, the government of its first

them with other groups. Chad needed an organisation that will allow the various groups participate in the running of their local communities and guarantee them places within national intentions. Furthermore, the north which had steadfastly resisted the penetration of French culture was far behind in terms of economic development and education. This of course meant that they would be very poorly represented in national decision-making bodies as well as in the civil service.

Tombalbaye did not only fail in perceiving these specific circumstances, he lacked tact in dealing with the leaders of his northern compatriots, preferring to use more of the stick than the carrot. He proceed to forcefully and brutally impose his administration in the north. In that process, the exactions and abuses of his army and administrators further alienated the north and polarised opposition against him, and eventually broke the relative pacification achieved by the French prior to independence.

The post independence bloodshed in Chad kicked off in 1965 with the tax revolts organised by Moubi chiefs in the

Central Africa

north aimed at protesting against heavy taxation and exactions by government officials. Rather than listen to the grievances and negotiate with the protesters, Tombalbaye sent in the army. In September 1965, the Derbei (the most important traditional ruler of northern Chad) launched an armed rebellion against the government of Djamena. This rebellion which started in the Tibesti region soon spread to Guera and Batha. Major Galopin, a French officer, sent to organise Tombalbaye's security services and his torture machinery in his various reports pointed out the immediate cause of the northern rebellion was to be found in the excesses of Tombalbaye's officials. The French officer had particularly harsh words of condemnation for Lieutenants Rodai and Allafi.

This rebellion which at its beginning could be considered as an effort by northern chieftains to preserve their turf and their prerogatives, gradually developed to encompass other socio-economic grievances of those a struggle by northerners against social injustices and a fight for their fair share of the national cake in terms of disbursement of development fund and the distribution of government positions.

It was at this point that a political movement was formed by the late Ibrahim Abatcha at Nyala in Sudan on June 22, 1966 under the name Front de

Liberation Nationale du Tchad (FROLINAT) to canalise northern grievances and direct the struggle. The Frolinat formed with the assistance from



Gaddafi

Ghana and North Korea was to serve as the mother seed of the multitude of factions that exist in Chad today.

The post independence rebellion in Chad can in a nutshell be ascribed to two

primary motives: Firstly, it was born of the desire of differing ethno-cultural groups to preserve their identity within Chad and to defend their interests. Secondly, it is a struggle by the dispossessed and the poor against socio-economic injustices and development inequalities which though may not have been created by independence, were certainly perpetuated and aggravated by the Tombalbaye regime that failed to respond to popular aspirations.

In view of the above it is no surprise that all efforts to bring peace to Chad so far have been abortive. The various coferences and agreements resulting therefrom have never geared their efforts towards the resolution of the fundamental points in conflict. No attempt has been made to give the Chadian State a new structure that may better resolve the multi-national nature of the country. Neither has any attempt been made to devise a political and social organisation that may seek to attenuate the gaping disparities between the social strata.

Until honest efforts are made towards resolving these twin issues, any effort towards bringing peace to Chad will only obtain ephemeral results producing short truces that will each time be followed by fiercer and ever more devastating battles.

(END OF PART ONE)

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Philippines

Anti-Aquino coup averted

A special correspondent reports on President Aquino's latest encounters with her opponents.

With a perfection of timing which suggests that she has always closely monitored the supposed secret plans of her opponents, President Aquino of the Philippines has made her boldest move since she assumed power in February.

Thanks to the unequivocal support of army chief of staff General Fidel Ramos, she has dismissed her troublesome right-wing Defence Minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, and has appointed Enrile's deputy Rafael Iletto in his place. Hitherto her hands have been tied because of Ramos' loyalty to Enrile, who assisted in ousting former president Marcos from his dictatorship.

Enrile, observers speculate, has been involved in five attempted coups in the last year — initially against Marcos, and in the last few weeks against Aquino. It is said that he organised a coup to take place on 10 November, when Aquino was in Japan. Once she was deposed, her former Speaker, Nicanor Ynguez, would have replaced her.

Ramos is credited with having staved off the coup, but it now appears that Enrile simply intended to postpone it, putting it forward to the day of the Festival of Christ the King. Cory Aquino, clearly well informed by her advisers, pre-empted the event. That was the day on which she sacked Enrile, dismissed her cabinet and began her plans to reshape it.

She demanded that her cabinet give her their resignations. "Those who do not do so I shall nonetheless consider resigned," she said. Consequently, members of the military who were at odds with the eight left-wing cabinet ministers found themselves in a position where they no longer knew who, with the exception of Iletto, constituted the government.

Since her coming to power, Enrile has continuously tried to destabilise Aquino's government by stirring up dissatisfaction amongst his supporters, publicly challenging her authority and claiming that she was being dangerously soft with the extreme left-wing rebels.

The guerrilla war has been waged for the last 17 years, and for certain sectors of the population war is almost the only way of life they have ever known. But Enrile and his supporters held it was only Aquino's fault that negotiations for a cease-fire kept breaking down.

A fortnight ago, 100,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of Manila. They were protesting about the murder of Rolando Olaha, a supporter of Aquino and an influential trade union leader. The



President Cory Aquino

marchers were joined by the peace negotiators of the communist-led National Democratic Front, a nationwide coalition of organisations that represent Christians, Muslims, nationalists, trade unionists and peasants' groups. It is the Front's guerrilla force, the New People's Army, which worries Aquino, rather than the small rebel groups such as the Muslims on the southern island of Mindanao or the force of indigenous peoples in the Cordillera mountains north of Manila.

The Front, said to number 10 million (the population of the Philippines is 54 million), insists that before peace can be obtained the army's paramilitary units must be disbanded and "private armies, goon squads, religious fanatical sects, death squads and armed Marcos diehards" must be disbanded.

But Aquino's move to wipe the slate clean and "give the Government a chance to start all over again," as she put it, may have as radical an effect on left-wingers as on right-wingers. While Enrile's supporters were still reeling after his fall from grace, his opponents heard her say after the open-air Mass when she made that announcement: "It is clear that the movement to the extreme left has no interest in the peace I have continually offered. I have therefore given the government negotiating panel until the end of the month to produce a cease-fire or terminate all further negotiations."

It probably helped that she has the backing of the USA. One reason is that from their point of view, Aquino is at present the only viable alternative to a communist government or a government under Enrile's hegemony.

The Americans are well aware of Enrile's eastwide place amongst the so-called "Roxas 12," that is, the cabinet members whom Marcos each rewarded with a Roxas watch. Thus US Government sources leaked information that the US Justice Department is investigating property transactions in California involving Enrile and his wife Christina. It is alleged that he diverted US military aid for his own use, bought properties in California to conceal the transfer of funds and accumulated enormous wealth during the Marcos regime.

In contrast, when in September Aquino addressed a joint session of Congress she won both the hearts and the pockets of Capitol Hill politicians. As a result, at a time when most foreign aid is being reduced, US aid to the Philippines was increased from \$300m to \$500m.

Nor should it be forgotten that the major US Western Pacific bases are at Subic Bay and Clark Airfield in the Philippines, making that country of 7,000 islands one of the most important US allies in the Pacific.

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Review puts Howe on the spot

A review of London's Commonwealth Institute is proving a political hot potato for Foreign Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe, writes Derek Ingram.

Unlikely as it may sound, the future of the upper-middle-class building that stands back from London's Kensington High Street, looking rather like a piece of late Sydney Opera House, is about to put to the test the British Government's faith in the future of the Commonwealth.

The building is the home of the Commonwealth Institute, which exists to tell the people of Britain about the Commonwealth. Inside is a veritable wonderland of exhibitions portraying aspects of life in almost every one of the 49 member countries. All the year round the Institute runs an extensive programme of art shows, theatre, song and dance, lectures and seminars, and in some two thousands of smaller papers round its galleries.

The Institute's running costs are paid by Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Office, while the upkeep of the display comes from the Commonwealth governments. In 1965-66 the British contribution was £2,275,000, 58 per cent of the total, sponsorship accounted for £79,000, 22 per cent, and other Commonwealth governments £78,000, 2 per cent.

Institute, symbol for whom?

This year Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher decided it should be looked at. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which is paymaster, put in a review team of three headed by retired top civil servant Gordon Burnet. The other members were economist Dr Brian Strange and business expert Dr John Scriffland.

The team's terms of reference included consideration of "the reasons of the aim, and the appropriateness of the provision to the modern Commonwealth and Britain's role therein." It was also asked to consider the scope for altering or transferring any of the Institute's functions, and to examine the possibilities for reducing the Institute's dependence on British Government funding.

The object of the team did not inspire confidence in Commonwealth circles. None of the three had much experience of Commonwealth affairs or of Commonwealth countries. Dr Strange in particular. She is an international monetary expert who once worked for the *London Observer* and *The Economist*. Her interests are in Europe rather than the Commonwealth, which she believes to have outlived its usefulness so far as Britain is concerned.

It is not difficult to detect Dr Strange's hand in parts of the just-published report

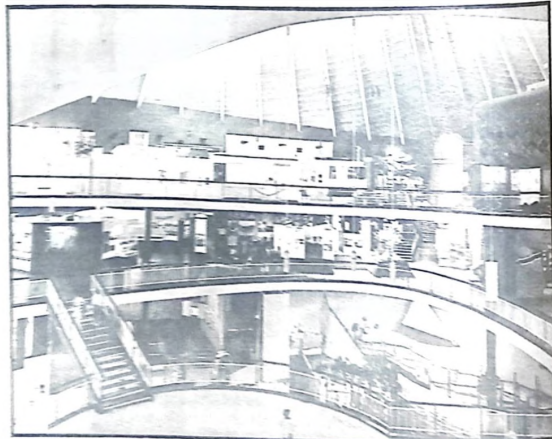
of the Review Team. On the one hand it reopens the painful debate of last summer about whether the Commonwealth is in the British national interest. On the other it proposes quite exciting new developments for the Institute which would involve spending a lot more money.

Instead of country by country exhibitions, it says, the galleries should be divided regionally and by themes with semi-permanent displays explaining long-term problems supplemented by impartial and up-to-the-minute presentation, perhaps by audio-visual means, of current issues.

stitute's existence." Last year 384,000 people visited the building against 791,000 when it opened in 1963.

The team continues: "It must therefore be for that part of Commonwealth opinion, mainly perhaps governmental, which doubts the sincerity of Britain's commitment for one reason or another.

"It may be that closing down the Institute would be seen as a far more powerful symbol of Britain's lack of commitment than its continued existence now symbolises the contrary. In that sense the symbol is partly a negative one. It is nonetheless real, understandable and con-



Interior of the Commonwealth Institute

The whole approach by the Institute would be much more education-oriented than at present. The report raps Britain's Department of Education and Science for not taking more interest in the Institute in the past.

If the Institute is to continue, and nowhere does the Review team advise that it should not, then it has to be seen primarily as a symbol of Britain's commitment to the Commonwealth idea.

The Review team poses the question: "But if a symbol, for whom?" As matters stand, it can hardly be for the British public who are insufficiently aware of the In-

stitution.

The report is something of a diplomatic hot potato for Sir Geoffrey Howe — one perhaps which he would rather leave till after the next general election. Historically, the Commonwealth has always been the subject for divided opinion within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. On balance, the enthusiasts have been in the minority.

This summer the subject came to the boil with the divisions over sanctions against South Africa and suggestions that Thatcher and the Queen did not see eye to eye. A small band of commentators of the night

World

almost all of them Thatcherites, took the opportunity to rubbish the Commonwealth.

It could not escape notice that the disunity and disintegration of the Commonwealth would be greatly to South Africa's advantage. To South African ears the virulent attacks on the Commonwealth and its secretary-general, Shridath Rampal, must have been music.

The report of the Institute Review team touches on this aspect: "It has to be recognised that the South African issue, and perhaps others, could mean a continuing threat to the Commonwealth: could change Britain's part in it; and perhaps affect Britain's perception of where her national interest lies." Later the Team records "our sense that British opinion about the Commonwealth may be in a state of transition".

The real question, however, is whether British public opinion is really changing or whether the British public is having its opinion changed for it by a small group — mainly those who want to retain the status quo in South Africa? It is no accident that serious British hostility to the Commonwealth in the last two decades has arisen almost exclusively from the arguments first over Rhodesia and now over South Africa.

Thatcher's views of the Commonwealth have never been very clear, although she certainly has never shown herself to be a

Commonwealth enthusiast. Again, that was all about South Africa.

She shows signs of adopting a Pro-Apartheid posture, as she did over Unesco. Britain could threaten to cut its financial commitments to Commonwealth bodies (extremely modest, although larger than those of fellow member countries) unless Commonwealth countries became less hostile to British policies (mainly, once more, on southern Africa).

There is a marked difference in tone between what Number Ten Downing Street says about the Commonwealth and what comes out of the Foreign and Commonwealth office.

Ungracious Maggie

In her speech at the opening of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in Westminster Hall on 25 September, the Prime Minister quite pointedly — and some thought ungraciously in the Queen's presence on a ceremonial occasion — said: "It was never envisaged that the Commonwealth would be or become an instrument for joint executive action. As free and independent sovereign states, we have a legitimate right to our own views."

"And the right, too, to hold those views without our motives being questioned. That is the essence of tolerance, so important to the Commonwealth. As one of our

great Parliamentarians said: "Tolerance is good for all, or it is good for none."

Five days later Sir Geoffrey Howe was much more upbeat when he spoke to the Commonwealth MPs. He said: "I am proud that my job is described as that of Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary." And later: "Active regional diplomacy need not, and does not, mean that we care less about the Commonwealth." And again: "Multilateral organisations must be judged by their relevance and effectiveness. The Commonwealth passes this test."

If Sir Geoffrey really means what he says then he has already answered the doubts raised in the Policy Review of the Commonwealth Institute and it follows that the job of telling the British public about the Commonwealth and educating the next generation now at school should surely go ahead.

The team says British and other Commonwealth governments would need to pay more.

The team says: "Commonwealth governments have an important interest in the success of the Institute, even if it is partly as an instrument for the education of British opinion. To the extent that they value the Commonwealth association and want Britain to be a useful member of it, they stand to gain from an informed public opinion in this country which will understand and support British membership."

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≡ Around Africa ≡

Angola

'Bandits' killed

A REPORT from Huambo, Angola, says that a captain and nine UNTA members in the service of the South African army were killed during an attempted attack against the Huibo settlement in central-south Angola.

The rebels were preparing an attack against the civilians when they were surprised by Angolan Government soldiers and residents who forced them to flee, leaving ten dead. Among the dead was a man wearing a uniform of the South African army, and bearing the rank of captain.

Botswana

ANC being helped, says South Africa

BOTSWANA has once again been accused of aiding anti-apartheid rebels. The claim came from Lieutenant General Kai Liebenberg who told journalists in Pretoria that Botswana was giving shelter to guerrillas with the consent of the Government.

The general made his remarks after President Quett Masire of Botswana said that South Africa was looking for excuses to attack its neighbours.

Botswana is heavily dependent economically on South Africa and has always denied aiding members of the African National Congress. South Africa has already invaded the country on two occasions in the past year to flush out people it said were ANC guerrillas.

CAR

Bokassa appears in court smiling

EX-EMPEROR Jean-Bedel Bokassa appeared in public for the first time since his arrest in Bangui on October 23, the day he voluntarily returned from exile in France. Accompanied by his three lawyers, Bokassa

appeared before the Court of Appeal to hear human rights charges against him. The case could last until 27 December.

Smiling and appearing relaxed, Bokassa, who was without handcuffs, was then taken to his place of detention which is being kept secret for his own protection.

Chad

New rebel leader

THE Libyan backed rebels in the north of Chad have appointed a new leader, Acheikh ibn Oumar. The appointment was made at a five-day meeting of the opposition Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT) in Cotonou, Benin.

It followed reports that forces loyal to former GUNT leader, Goukouni Oueddeye, have rallied to the French backed Government of Hissene Habre in the south of the country. They called ibn Oumar a "traitor" for taking part in the Cotonou meeting which, contrary to GUNT regulations, was financed and organised by Libya.

Mr Goukouni was seriously injured while being arrested by Libyan officials in Tripoli last month. He has now been expelled by GUNT.

Ethiopia

Aid and Omo

A \$6.5-MILLION dollar irrigation project under construction in Yerer-Kereba province which would allow for the development of 150 hectares of land, has been made financially secure through contributions from the government, the BBC, the African Development Bank and the UN Development Fund. The project is intended to benefit four peasant-producer cooperatives.

The Danish-built ship bought by the Ethiopian Commercial Shipping Corporation for over 10 million birr has last arrived at Assab port. It has been named Omo. The ship decked with a cargo of 62 large and two medium-sized buses, 22 lorries, and two tractors, all bought abroad. The Omo can carry 2500 metric tons.

Swedish agreement

A two-year agreement worth 4,800,000 birr has been signed between the Ethiopian Science and Technology Commission and the Swedish Research Co-operation Agency.

The money will be used for projects relating to agriculture, natural science resources, construction, industrial research activities, and manpower training.

Ghana

Export increase

GHANA'S exports from January to October this year registered a 72.3 million-dollar increase over last year's figure of 534.8 million dollars.

Exports were boosted mainly by proceeds from cocoa, which shot up from 358.1 million dollars last year to 467.9 million dollars this year — a 30.6 per cent increase.

Commodities and gold exports also rose, as well as sheanut, a non-traditional export commodity. Diamond exports remained stable. Combined figures for agricultural and manufactured products exports were reduced.

Power station grant

GHANA and Britain have signed a £2.5 million grant agreement under which the British Overseas Development Administration will finance the rehabilitation of diesel generator sets at the Tema power station.

Dr Kwesi Botchway, the Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, and the British High Commissioner to Ghana, Arthur Whysler, signed the agreement under which Britain will supply equipment to the Volta River Authority. British consultants will be appointed to supervise the contract work and commission the station at an estimated cost of £12,000 starting.

Kenya

New container depot

A NEW container depot is to be built at Kisumu in order to reduce congestion at the lake.

ing depots of Nairobi and Mombasa. The extended port at Kisumu will then be able to serve Kisii, Siaya, Uganda and Tanzania, as well as providing a boost for ferries in the lake area.

The plan was announced by the managing director of the Kenya Ports Authority, Philip Okundi.

Bread price increase

THE government has authorised an immediate increase in the prices of wheat flour and bread. The price of 2 kg packet of wheat flour will now be 13.80 shillings, an increase of one shilling and 30 cents on the previous price. Due to this increase the price of a 500 gm loaf will increase by 40 cents from 3.40 shillings to 4.10 shillings.

The price increases are the result of producer price increases which were effected as an incentive to encourage farmers to produce more to meet increasing demand for food.

New chief judge

PRESIDENT Daniel arap Moi has appointed Mr Justice Henry Miller as the country's top judge. Justice Miller, 70, former chairman of the Law Commission, is independent Kenya's second black Chief Justice. He hails from Guyana.

He takes over from 74-year-old, Mr C B Madan, an Asian, who was retired after only two and a half months in office. His predecessor, Alfred Simpson, was an Englishman. Kenya's first Chief Justice was Kilifi Mwenda.

Mr Justice Miller was born in 1916 in Georgetown, Guyana, and he worked for the country's civil service. During the Second World War he became a Flight Lieutenant pilot of the British Royal Air Force. He then worked at the Colonial Office, London, where he was in charge of British colonies between 1946 and 1949.

He did not start studying law until the late 40s. After practising his profession in England for a year he returned to Guyana in 1953 as a Crown Counsel.

On Nigeria's request, he went to establish the first resident magistrates' court in southern states, then being administered from Lagos.

CONCORD BUSINESS FORUM

South Africa

Now Barclays pulls out

AFTER six weeks of secret negotiations, Barclays Bank has sold its stake in South Africa.

Its 40.4 per cent holdings in Barclays National Bank (Barnat) will be sold for about £82 million. About two thirds of the 29 million shares on offer will go to Anglo American Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines, and Southern Life Association. Anglo holds a controlling interest in De Beers and SLA.

The shares have been sold for about £170 million against a current market valuation of about £221 million. Barclays will make a profit of about £20 million on the sale but the proceeds will have to be repatriated through the financial rand rather than the commercial rand. The financial rand is currently worth little more than half the commercial rand.

Mr Chris Ball, Barclays Managing Director, said that the change would provide "a unique opportunity, giving us the potential to strengthen our position both domestically and internationally." He said the exchange of facilities, information and personnel would be maintained, and the ability of Barclays National to transact business internationally would not be affected by the redistribution of shareholdings.

But the response of other observers has not been so sanguine. There is a fear that the withdrawal of South Africa's erstwhile staunchest 'friend' may precipitate a 'domino' effect among European companies. Attention is now focused on Standard Chartered Bank, and the oil companies Shell and BP. Shell, in particular, is seen as crucial since suspicions abound that it has been instrumental in propping up South Africa's oil supplies. Standard Chartered Bank, which will now have the largest British banking exposure in South Africa, says that it has no plans to follow Barclay's example by selling its 39 per cent stake in Stanbic.

So far Barclays is the only large British company to have followed the withdrawal of US multi-nationals such as IBM, Coca-Cola, General Motors, and Kodak.

Certain Conservative MPs in Britain have attacked Barclays. One of them called its withdrawal from South Africa an "act of moral and commercial cowardice."

But anti-apartheid campaigners are jubilant. It now seems that the boycott of Barclays, which was launched in 1969 by students, has brought a multi-national bank to its knees. By 1984, with the boycott still at full cock and violence suddenly escalating in South Africa, people found that the easiest way of making a statement against apartheid was to change their bank account.

The chairman of Barclays, Sir Timothy Bevan, has done his best to minimise the role of the boycott campaign, saying that the loss of business in the student market had not been substantial. However, students of this generation with little money are the high earners of the next generation and important for the bank's future profitability. Despite the studied indifference to student campaigns, the long-term implications could not be ignored by Barclays. In addition, there was the fact of the campaign's increasing respectability as both the Labour and Liberal parties in Britain began to support it.

Despite the Left's ideological triumph in their campaign against Barclays, the commercial motivation should not be underestimated. Barclays' withdrawal signifies also the international character of banking rather than any virtues it hides at its heart. In the competitive world of finance, Barclays has to be in a position to challenge American offers. Pressure from the Third World meant that its presence in South Africa cost it certain significant international loans. Barclays was no longer prepared to pay this price. Like

its American equivalents, it has given economic security the semblance of political virtue.

Days earlier the apartheid regime suffered another blow when the giant US photographic firm Eastman Kodak, and the Canadian shoe company, Bata, announced they were also withdrawing from South Africa.

Kodak, which is the world's leading manufacturer of photographic products, has said that it will stop all sales in South Africa and will sell its entire assets by April 1987. Under the terms of the withdrawal no Kodak company will be permitted to supply any of its products to South Africa after April 30. This is a fundamental departure from the

note published pull-outs by General Motors and IBM who will both continue to sell products in the country through their former subsidiaries through South African owned 'trust companies'.

Kodak, which has its US headquarters in Rochester, New York, said that concern over apartheid was one factor in the decision. But the overall depression in the South African economy also prompted it to withdraw. The South African company operated mainly sales, service and distribution from its local Johannesburg base. All told, South African sales amount to less than 1 per cent of the company's annual \$10 billion revenue.

For the Canadian shoe company Bata, the removal of its South African operations will end a 50-year connection with the country. The company presently employs some 3,200 people, and their future is still

Gold

Gold mountain could help Africa

OF all the mountains of surplus commodities that have been piling up in Western Europe since 1977, by far the largest in value is gold. The gold pile is underground, in the vaults of European central banks.

Most was acquired before the US moved away from the gold standard, under which gold was bought at \$35 a fine ounce. For the majority of European countries, gold was then relatively cheap. Central banks regarded it as a vital component of foreign exchange reserves.

Since then it has appreciated in value to a free market price of around \$405 a fine ounce, bringing vast windfall gains to European taxpayers. Today the value of gold held in the official reserves of European Community central banks is worth around \$150,000 million.

Western Europe's gold mountain is easily the world's largest. It is substantially larger than all the US gold held in Fort Knox, plus all the gold in Japan's official reserves. This excludes the gold held by Switzerland,

which is not a member of the European Community.

Now it has been suggested that Europe might sell some of this gold to pay for development in Africa.

The idea is not without precedent. Between 1976 and 1980, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) sold part of its gold holdings at a rate of \$1000 million a year to set up a Trust Fund from which loans could be made to help developing countries with balance of payments difficulties. The IMF succeeded, and was none the worse in its capital structures for having resorted to unconventional resources.

The idea is plausible for Europe because most of the gold held is entirely idle. A small portion is used annually to settle international debts. The rest earns no interest, cannot be lent out without first being converted into liquid currency, and incurs considerable storage costs because it has to be guarded with special care.

Vivian Craddock Williams

South. A company spokesman, Saul Baker, told the London Financial Times that his company was in the process of negotiating with a buyer to take over the South African subsidiary, though he declined to say who the buyers were.

It will mean that the South African subsidiary will no longer be known as Baza and all links with the Canadian parent company will be severed. The sale is to include shoe factories, a tannery and some retail outlets. A company spokesman said: "The decision was taken with regret because Baza believes that its long-standing involvement in South Africa has made a positive contribution to the welfare and living standards of its employees." He did confirm that the company would not be taken over by another Canadian company or by South African workers themselves.

Nnamdi Anyadike
Patricia Morris

Commodities

Cocoa

COCOA futures fell slightly during the week, though there is no evidence to suggest that this is part of an overall price slide. Prices still remain just under the £1,500 a tonne for most contracts which reflects values at the start of the International Cocoa Organisation (ICO) year.

In Nigeria, fears continue to be voiced about the rampant smuggling of cocoa from the rich producing states of Oyo and Ondo, across the border to the neighbouring states, Niger and Benin. Prices as high as 5,000 naira per tonne are believed to be paid by Nigerian farmers by the border.

In London, at the start of the week trading, Monday 17 November, prices were December £1,412 a tonne, March 1987 £1,521.5 a tonne, and May 1987 £1,541 a tonne. By the close of the week, Friday 21 November, prices were December £1,405 a tonne, March 1987 £1,515 a tonne, and May 1987 £1,524 a tonne.

Coffee

The USGS seem to be moving on to include London and New York markets with the rest, possibly to start the International Coffee

Organisation (ICO) might have to step in and reimpose the official quotas that were suspended at the start of the year when coffee prices were at a high.

For the first time since mid-August coffee prices fell below £2.00 a tonne for most future contracts which brings the price under the ICO 145 cents a pound 'trigger'. What this means is that, if during the course of a 15 day period the price remains below the 145 cents a pound mark, then under ICO rules it triggers off a reimposition of official quotas for exporting countries.

This is precisely what the ICO have been hoping would not happen for the rest of the year. At their last annual meeting held at their London headquarters in September, producing nations could not agree on

quotas, though at the time agreement seemed unnecessary given the high price of coffee. But, following the latest suggestions that Brazil, the world's largest coffee producer which supplies 30 per cent of ICO coffee, has been fooling the market about the size of its shortfall, the price of coffee now looks set to plunge to new lows.

For most of the year Brazil has been claiming that severe drought in its growing regions has left it with only 11.2 million bags to export this season. It even went through an elaborate charade of pretending to buy coffee for its domestic market, thus dramatising the extent of the shortage. But none of the coffee it contracted to buy from European traders has actually been imported and the suspicions are that it intended to resell that coffee along with its

own produce. Many traders were sceptical from the beginning about the intended importation and dismissed it as being comparable to Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil producer, announcing it was about to import oil.

The main victims of this deception will be African producers such as Côte d'Ivoire, the world's leading producer of 'robusta grade' coffee. Côte d'Ivoire is in the process of spending \$60 million to upgrade its plantations, and the fall in coffee, will be most unwelcome.

At the start of the week, Monday 17 November, prices were November £2,074 a tonne, January 1987 £2,044 a tonne, and March 1987 £1,975.5 a tonne. By the close of the week, Friday 21 November, prices were November £2,044 a tonne, January 1987 £2,010 a tonne, and March 1987 £1,940 a tonne.

Gabon accepts IMF deal

THE 1986 collapse in oil prices has created another casualty, Gabon. The central African state, which at \$2,100 has the highest per capita income in black Africa, is believed to have reached a preliminary accord with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on a medium term adjustment programme according to the London Financial Times.

The agreement is expected to be officially approved next month, and will be the country's first, reflecting the extent to which the falling oil prices, responsible for 80 per cent of export earnings, have hit the country. This has been magnified by the sharp depreciation of Gabon's currency, the CFA franc against the US dollar.

In 1985 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell by 3 per cent when Gabon recorded for the first time in over a decade, a current account deficit. But following this year's massive oil price collapse, the country is expecting GDP to fall by a further 1.5 per cent, to about 0 CFA1,100 billion (£2.2 billion).

In mid-September, the government was forced to suspend payments on its official and commercial debts, including all debt and principle repayments to both the London and Paris clubs. Gabon's public ex-

ternal debt is estimated to be in the region of \$1.2 billion which, considering the size of the population of roughly 1.3 million people, is a staggering burden. Debt service in 1985 accounted for 13.6 per cent of export earnings, though this percentage is set to rise significantly over the next few years as oil revenue continues to be depressed and repayments on the Trans-Gabon railway fall due.

The \$2.8 billion railway was one of the biggest engineering ventures ever undertaken in black Africa and was designed to open up the interior and exploit the natural resources with which the country is blessed.

But with the price of oil averaging out at \$13 a barrel this year, half last year's level, the government has been forced to cut back on its investment and other areas of government spending.

An austerity budget was introduced this February by the head of state, President Omar Bongo, involving spending cuts of \$275 million. However, it is widely believed that the cut has been far from adequate and the signs are the government's 1987 budget will include further cuts and a continuation of the wages and price freezes.

Nnamdi Anyadike

Copper

THE London Metal Exchange (LME) has one less competitor. The New York Commodity Exchange (COMEX) announced during the course of the week that it will be cutting trading hours for copper. This comes in the wake of constantly falling world copper prices for all grades and new competition from the Mid-Am Commodity Exchange, which has launched a new copper contract.

But though prices on one exchange affect another, the LME and the US exchanges historically deal with different geographical areas. The US exchange tends to deal with the big Latin American producers like Chile, whilst the LME maintains the old ties with African producers like Zambia, established in colonial days.

At the start of the week, Monday 17 November, cash grade A copper was 2910 a tonne, and three month grade A copper 2889.5 a tonne. Standard cash copper 2889.5 a tonne, and standard three month copper 2914 a tonne. By the close of the week, Monday 21 November, cash grade A copper ended a 1986 a tonne, and three month grade A copper at 2883 a tonne. Standard cash copper closed at 2901 a tonne, and standard three month copper at 2922 a tonne.

Business Forum

acquire a significant area of the estimated 14,554 sq kilometres Mandawa salt basin. \$15 million will be spent during the initial exploration period. This agreement is in addition to the other production sharing agreements.

Tanzania and foreign oil companies. Some companies are involved in exploring for oil in Lake Tanganyika, and the Rufiji and Usungu basins.

Currently the Petro-Canada International Assurance Corporation (PCIAC) is carrying out seismic surveys at Bigwa-Mbezi. PCIAC recently completed surveys in the Zanzibar and Pemba channels. A statement issued by the Tanzanian Ministry for Energy and Minerals said that information gained from these surveys will indicate what further action needs to be taken.

The Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) has also been involved, and has financed various seismic studies in the Rufiji and Mbezi-Tukuyu Basins.

Uganda

Beans for sugar — Cuban barter deal

A BARTER deal has been signed between Uganda and Cuba which will mean the export of 5,000 tonnes of Ugandan beans in exchange for 5,000 tonnes of Cuban cane sugar. The agreement was signed before the State Visit to UK by President Yoweri Museveni in the middle of November.

The government-owned newspaper New Vision quoted the general manager of the country's Produce Marketing Board (PMB) as saying the beans commitment would be ready by December and should be in the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam that month. A company, Allimport, which is transacting on behalf of Cuba, is expected to sign the deal very shortly with the PMB. Allimport has already been signing contracts with various Ugandan national organisations such as the Coffee Marketing Board (CMB), and the Ugandan Handicrafts and General Merchandise Company.

SFEM: Naira weakens

THE external value of the Naira depreciated by 1.31 per cent against the dollar, at the recent bidding session at the Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) last Thursday. The Naira was fixed at the rate of 3.4945 to one American

dollar as against the N3.4599 last week. In real terms, the value of the Naira has fallen from 29 American Cents last week to 26.62 American Cents. This was after three consecutive weeks of appreciation in its value.

The marginal rate was submitted by Union Bank of Nigeria Limited (UBN), which got only \$2.23 million of the \$3.75 million it asked for. The highest bid rate of 3.8750 was submitted by New Nigerian Bank, while the lowest bid rate of N3.4462 to a dollar was quoted by NAL Merchant Bank. For the second time all authorised dealers quoted rates below N4 to a dollar.

Thirty-seven banks submitted their bids for the US \$75 million offered for sale by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). Thirty-four were successful and one (UBN) was partially successful. Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry and NAL Merchant Bank failed to secure any foreign exchange as their bid rates of N3.4896 and N3.4462 were below the marginal rate. The total amount asked for by the banks stood at N9.68 million as against the \$5 million dollars offered for sale. The Central Bank governor, Alhaji A. Ahmed in an address revealed that the amount in the domiciliary accounts rose from N0.048 million at the beginning of January, to a net balance of N35.9 million at the end of September, 1986 at the First Tier rate. At the Second Tier rate this would amount to about N106.8 million.

Ahmed also said that "it is also worthy of note that as a result of our resolve to implement the Structural Adjustment Programme and especially of finding a realistic exchange rate for the naira, the international community, particularly our creditors are gradually becoming more optimistic about an early recovery of our national economy."

The buying rates fixed for the six other traded currencies last Thursday were N5,0007 (pound Sterling), N1,7578 (Deutsche Mark), N2,1077 (Swiss Franc), N0,5368 (French Franc), N1,5545 (Dutch Guilder) and N0,0214 (Japanese Yen).

African Currency Rates

Country	Currency	Value of Dollar
Algeria	Dinar	4.63
Angola	Kwanza	29 918
Benin	CFA Franc	329.55
Burkina Faso	Pula	1.8653
Burundi	CFA Franc	329.55
Cameroon	Franc	102.258
Cote d'Ivoire	CFA Franc	329.55
Guinea	Escudo	89 2698
Kenya	CFA Franc	329.55
Madagascar	CFA Franc	329.55
Mali	CFA Franc	329.55
Morocco	CFA Franc	329.55
Niger	CFA Franc	329.55
Nigeria	CFA Franc	329.55
Rwanda	Franc	177.00
Senegal	CFA Franc	329.55
Sierra Leone	CFA Franc	329.55
Somalia	CFA Franc	329.55
Sudan	CFA Franc	329.55
Tanzania	CFA Franc	329.55
Togo	CFA Franc	329.55
Tunisia	CFA Franc	329.55
Zaire	CFA Franc	329.55
Zambia	CFA Franc	329.55
Zimbabwe	CFA Franc	329.55
Botswana	Pula	1.8653
Chad	CFA Franc	329.55
Comoros	CFA Franc	329.55
Congo	CFA Franc	329.55
Cote d'Ivoire	CFA Franc	329.55
DRC	CFA Franc	329.55
Egypt	Pound	0.70
Equatorial Guinea	CFA Franc	329.55
Ethiopia	Birr	2.0819
Ghana	CFA Franc	329.55
Guinea	Dalasi	7.58
Kenya	Cedi	149.00(a)
Lesotho	Peso	90.00(b)
Madagascar	Franc	170.479
Mali	Shilling	340.00
Morocco	Shilling	16.0056
Niger	Dinar	2.2331
Nigeria	Dollar	1.00
Rwanda	Dinar	0.3205
Senegal	Franc	742.74
Sierra Leone	Kwacha	1.9873
Somalia	CFA Franc	329.55
Sudan	CFA Franc	329.55
Tanzania	Dinar	8.81
Togo	Mencei	39.53
Tunisia	SA Rand	2.2331
Zaire	CFA Franc	329.55
Zambia	Naira	3.4945(d)
Zimbabwe	Naira	2.2331(d)
Botswana	Franc	85.5891
Chad	CFA Franc	329.55
Comoros	Leone	30.00
Cote d'Ivoire	Shilling	36.00
DRC	Rand	2.2331
Egypt	Pound	2.48
Equatorial Guinea	Lilangeni	2.2331
Ethiopia	Shilling	48.061
Ghana	CFA Franc	329.55
Guinea	Dinar	0.853
Kenya	Shilling	1405.00
Lesotho	Zaire	60.512
Madagascar	Kwacha	13.4771
Mali	Dollar	1.6978

Source: Financial Times of London

(a) Ghana, 10 Sept 86; Cedi Weekly Forex Auction introduced.

(b) Essential imports.

(c) Free market, Nigeria, 20 Sept 86; Naira New two-tier system.

(d) Official rate, Nigeria, 20 Sept 86; Naira New two-tier system.



Left to right: Alton Kumalo, Ben Onukwe, Rosemary Da Costa, Victor Lindsay in "The Gentleman and the General" by Simon Gikandi, to be broadcast in "African Theatre" on the BBC World Service for Africa

Africa theatre launched

When George Bennett, head of the BBC African Service, launched the start of the BBC African Theatre season, he observed that there is a measure of mutual dependence between African writers and the BBC. Whereas the BBC African Service played an important role in encouraging new writers and providing outlets for established writers, the African Service needed the support of these writers in order to maintain its level of funding in the present period of severe cutbacks.

For instance, four years ago when the External Service was under threat of further cuts, Mr Bennett wrote to Wole Soyinka inviting him to write a play for the BBC African Theatre season. "I said, 'Wole, because the plays are the most expensive things we do, they are likely to be under fire when the projected cuts are made. If you wrote a play for us, the importance of that part of our budget would be underlined.' Wole immediately replied from Ife. The result was the brilliant play, *Die Still Reverend Godspoke*, which we produced, and that year there were no

financial cuts in the theatre season."

Neville Harms, Editor of BBC African Features, said, "whereas in Nigeria radio and television drama are fairly well-established, in many other countries over the last ten years or so, writers have had diminishing opportunities to show their wares. The BBC African Theatre season, which has been broadcast for more than 20 years, provides an opportunity for writers — who

may be well known in their own region — to obtain a much wider audience."

Every year the African Theatre season plays are sent on request as a tape package to African radio stations on payment of £60, so they may also be heard on local radio.

In addition, the Theatre season opens doors for African actors resident in Britain where the studio recordings are made. But the actors tend to be West or South African. "There is a



Abraham Osonuga (left) and Carl Andrews in "Mind My Goat" by Kule Omotoso, to be broadcast in "African Theatre" on the BBC World Service for Africa

distinct shortage of East African actors," explained Fiona Ledger, producer of this year's plays.

Selecting suitable half-hour plays was one of her most difficult tasks. The best six of the sixty plays in English submitted for broadcast were whittled down to the following:

23 November: *The Intermediate Technologist* by Osman Nusairi (Sudan) deals satirically with so-called appropriate technology. It revolves around a naive American who comes to a Sudanese village intending to rescue the people from their "underdeveloped" way of life, only to discover he himself has a lot to learn.

30 November: *The Gentleman and the General* by Simon Gikandi (Kenya) is set in a lunatic asylum, and examines the fine dividing line between insanity and the ruthless exploitation of political power.

7 December: *Mind My Goat* by Kule Omotoso (Nigeria) is about people in small villages who can't pull rank, and how they deal with people in power who make their lives difficult. The title refers to one of the main characters who is dependent on her goat, which she is fattening up to sell, in order to pay for her son's school fees. But the goat is run over by a big car...

14 December: *Comrades* by Robin White (England) is set in South Africa. It is a grotesque comedy about what happens when two young men necklace the wrong person.

21 December: *Everyone His Own Problem* by Ola Rotimi, Professor of Creative Arts at Port Harcourt University (Nigeria), is an extended dialogue between a prostitute and a businessman. They have both been charged with different offences, but in the end discover they share common ground.

28 December: *Helot* by Dapo Adeniji (Nigeria) takes a swipe at university life. The main character is a madly ambitious professor who wants to convert the university into a mini-state.

Patricia Morris

Music

Fela — a new act

With a string of sell-out concerts in America, Nigerian superstar Fela Anikulapo Kuti and his massive 49-strong entourage rolled into the heart of London's once riot-torn Brixton and presented one of his best concerts in many years. Few other African acts would have pulled such a crowd or left the audience dazed with such heavy African beat.

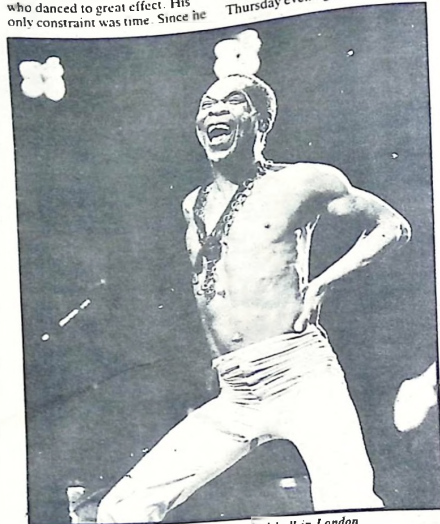
Strangely, only two policemen stood nearby the concert venue — The Academy. With the band leader's reputation, one would have expected heavy policing, especially as every available space in the hall was crammed with overjoyed fans. If there was any sign of tension, it came from Fela's aides who appeared worried by what they termed false reports in the Nigerian press claiming that Fela was booed in Washington during his appearance at Constitution Hall. Ricky Stein, Fela's personal manager, said the band had been a great success in America and stories to the contrary were fiction. One aide said that the impact of Fela in America was so great that two mayors of Detroit and Austin gave the afrobeat superstar keys to their cities, while in Berkeley, California, 14 November of every year was set as Fela Day.

The Washington incident was isolated, they claimed, and a reaction to the lyrics of a track titled *Just Like That* on Fela's forthcoming album due to be released in Paris this week. On the track, Fela sings about robbery and violence in African cities including Nigeria. To the consternation of some Nigerians in the audience, he had said: "In my country, things happen — just like that... you're trying to find a way to live, next thing you know, you're at the police station, you're in prison, things happen — just like that."

Just Like That must be Fela's reaction to his controversial imprisonment by the Buhari Administration for alleged foreign currency offences. Whether the song was an over-reaction, especially as a new and human rights conscious regime under General Babangida freed him, is a matter for debate. As one Fleet Street hand put it: "Why should Fela not feel free to use his own songwriting weapon

against his former oppressors." The Brixton Academy concert was a live preview of Fela's new album, and it was a resounding success. Not only was Fela in good form, but so were his wives who danced to great effect. His only constraint was time. Since he

Conspicuously absent in the line-up was Femi, Fela's vibrant son who tried to keep the band going during Fela's incarceration. He was reported to be working on an album with no help from Dad. Some say there is a feud between the two arising from irreconcilable musical differences. However very few noticed his absence on this tour. The promoters were obviously pleased with the turnout despite the wet Thursday evening, but no one



Fela Kuti, recently performed to a packed hall in London

could not play all night, as he is used to doing in the "Shrine", he managed to pack all the energy of his revamped Egypt 80 into this 3 hour act. In his new drive for perfection, he ordered two members of the entourage to be sent home to Lagos because they could not perform to his standard.

His new comprehensive show is tightly packaged. The first part is rather informal. At least two tracks from the new album are featured — *Just Like That* and *CBB* (Confusion Break Bone) — "When dead body gets accident, na double wahala", he raps. Fela unleashes his new percussion, the thunderous effect of double bass guitar and the massive 9-man brass section. With the occasional wail of his own electric piano, the overall jazzy effect is terrific.

explained the cancellation of the Manchester gig due to have taken place the previous night.

Fela would not give any interviews backstage after the gig. He was only prepared to talk about how "beautiful" the tour had been so far. "I have been performing almost every day for the past few weeks. I just want to concentrate on the music, so write anything you want to write." He was not tired of playing though. Infact, one of his dancers told me that he was fined \$7,000 for playing longer than expected in New York.

The band were due to play in Amsterdam the following night, then in Belgium and Germany before returning to Paris for the finale. With 49 people to be flown around, accommodated and fed,

it was a promoters' nightmare. The sheer size of the group is a crucial factor that gives lasting energy to Fela's heavy music machine. He has always insisted on touring with a large entourage.

Part two of the show was the most exciting, opening with *TDTMN* (Teacher Don't Teacher Me Nonsense). The sheer power of the song and the energy of Fela's six wives who suddenly emerge to dance on stage as the first notes of the song are struck is a vital part of the presentation. Their dress and make-up clearly project authentic African culture. Apart from the six traditional dancers, four others danced routinely behind. Fela now appears to have found the winning formula, at least in Western terms.

The final number was *BONN* (Beast of No Nation), inspired by a speech by racist Prime Minister P.W. Botha. Its polyrhythms are similar to Fela's early songs which he did not play. His delivery was so powerful that the audience would have accepted almost anything Fela said. The evident tightness of the band was boosted by the excellent amplification in the Academy and if the rest of the tour continues in this way, Fela will return home having conquered the world.

There is no doubt that Fela's new double album will be a success. Co-produced by top Benin republic musician, Wole Badarou, based in Paris, who had a recent number one album in France, it now seems certain that the international success that has long eluded this African superstar is finally within his grasp.

Tony Amadi

Books

Time to act

Namibia: A Violation of Trust, by Susanna Smith, Oxfam, 1986, £3.00

Susanna Smith has written an invaluable book — it is an appeal to the conscience of the world. It is an Oxfam report on international responsibility for poverty in Namibia. The Eminent Persons Group, in its report (*Mission to South Africa*), deliberately ignores the Namibian perspective of the Southern African situation principally because it believes that with a properly constituted government in South Africa the problems in the region would sort themselves out.

With its rich mineral deposits, fertile coastal fishing grounds and good stock-farming lands, Namibia is one of the wealthiest countries on the African continent. But the wealth is not evenly distributed among its citizens: the majority of Namibians live in conditions of acute poverty, a poverty directly caused by the economic, political and social policies and structures imposed on the country by South Africa. There is unchecked exploitation and exportation of the country's wealth by South African, British and other foreign interests.

At the same time, the colonial structure of the economy ensures that the wealth remaining inside the country is almost entirely in the hands of white settlers, a situation which has led to the development of an average income ratio of 18:1 in favour of the whites. Yet it is the labour of the black majority that is producing the wealth of the white minority in the territory. Politically, Namibians are denied basic human rights and are subject to various repressive legislations which almost reduce them to a sub-human level.

But the widespread poverty and underdevelopment can be prevented. When South Africa took over the administration of Namibia in 1920 it was mandated to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being of the inhabitants of the territory", and it accepted "a sacred trust for the civilisation" of the people. However, South Africa has consciously promoted institutional obstacles to Namibia's development, especially with the educational structure and health care delivery system. The educational system is appalling, with teaching concentrated on learning a little English, the mother tongue of the students, official white South African history and Bible studies. The people who go through this system are unsuitable for further studies.

The health care situation is similar, if not worse. Ravaged by poverty and poor health care, Namibians, also suffer from the worst effects of military occupation. Earlier studies — Gavin Cawthra's *Brutal Force* and Joseph Hanlon's *Beggar Your Neighbours*, for example, have shown, and this book confirms, that Namibia is one of the most intensively occupied territories in the world: there are over 100,000 SADF troops in a country with a

population of just over a million! It is the definition of the "total progress" of the inhabitants of the territory" which South Africa promised to promote? Instead, this is a violation of trust.

Susanna Smith talks about these issues, and also puts into focus British and international responsibility for Namibia. With British companies dominating the economy of Namibia, and with the influence that Britain has in the United Nations, both as a member of the Security Council and of the "Contact Group" of unblemished members, as well as the persuasive influence it has over the South African Government, the author argues that Britain has a special responsibility to ensure the transition to genuine independence of Namibia. But Britain has always found an excuse over the years not to take any action against South Africa for its illegal occupation of Namibia. This is in spite of the fact that it recognises that occupation as illegal.

Successive British governments have refused to accept the rulings of the World Court on the illegality of South Africa's occupation. They use the excuse that the UN General Assembly acted beyond its powers in establishing the United Nations Council for Namibia, it has refused to recognise Decree 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, a decree which, principally, seeks to prevent the illegal exploitation and exportation of Namibia's minerals by foreign interests.

Britain is the main culprit, but other countries also have foreign interests in Namibia. The United States, which has introduced the "linkage" dimension to the issue of Namibia's independence (despite agreeing to Resolution 435) and having economic interests in the territory like Britain, also has a big responsibility for ensuring the transition to independence of Namibia. France and Canada also have interests in Namibia.

The author highlights the efforts of some international organisations to redress these problems. For example, the efforts of SWAPO, the UN and other bilateral donors in the education field are mentioned. These include the Namibian Literacy Programme organised by Oxfam and the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, Zambia. The role of Oxfam in other areas of development are modestly pointed out. But at best,

these efforts can only mitigate the problems of the country. It is only with the attainment of independence that Namibians will have the power to begin to redress their society and transform its inequitable structures which cause and perpetuate their poverty.

The world has vacillated for too long over the Namibian situation. The acceptance by the British Government of the implementation of "linkage" as providing the best possible prospect for a quick resolution of the situation makes matters worse. The problems assume a higher dimension each day, and if care is not taken Namibia may graduate into independence with the country already in ruins, its wealth despoiled, with nothing but barren land left. Foreign, especially Western economic interests, are collaborating with South Africa in gradually ensuring this situation. This must be averted.

Susanna Smith concludes by reviewing the case for sanctions, in the process stating Oxfam's position on the matter. She also gives a number of recommendations, including a call for the implementation of Resolution 435 and UN Council for Namibia's Decree 1. She also calls on Britain to consider the imposition of sanctions to speed up the implementation of the resolution on the part of the South African Government, and for generous British and EEC official aid to Namibia on independence. It's time to act!

Olusola Akinrinde

An Introductory African Text.
Harmillan, 1986.

A new sociology textbook. Basic sociological concepts are explained with examples drawn from contemporary Africa. Special emphasis is given to the application of Western theories in the African setting and the social changes from pre-colonial to colonial and post-Independence times.

The Upper Room.
By Mary Monroe.
A & B, 1986, £9.95.

This is Monroe's first novel. "Mama" Ruby is the central character. She is about to bury the stillborn child of another woman when she hears a faint cry. She cradles the child she has always longed for and has no doubt that she has been truly blessed.

Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali.
By D T Niane.
Longman, 1986, £1.95.

Retold by generations of griots, this tale has been handed down from the thirteenth century and captures the mystery and majesty of medieval African kingship.

The Last Duty.
By Isidore Ikpegho.
Longman, 1986, £2.95.

This is about how the Nigerian Civil War laid its imprint on the lives of six characters.

Economic Growth in the Third World.

By Lloyd G Reynolds.
Yale, 1986, £20hb, £5.95pb.

Banks and Specialised Financial Intermediaries in Development.
By P. Wellons, D. Germdis and B. Glavans.
Development Centre Studies.

Some of the above books will be reviewed in future issues of *African Concord*.

Books Received

The Politics of Sport.
Ed by Lincoln Allison.
MUP, £25, 1986.

This book argues that there is an inevitable link between politics and sport. The essays analyse the effect of sport on international relations (and vice versa); the relationship between sport and legal systems; the contrasts between communist and Western approaches to sport; the politicisation of sport in northern Ireland, in South Africa and in Black Africa, and the complex politics of the Olympic movement. An important book for anyone with a serious interest in sport, as well as political scientists, sociologists, and anyone whose work is related to sport.

LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION
ACROSS. 1 Forgo. 4 Bokassa.
8 Rayon. 9 Shocker. 10 Savanna.
11 MA. 13 Pound. 14 Bible.
18 Okra. 20 Tanzania. 23 Total.
24 Sap. 25 Nigeria. 26 Yea.
DOWN. 1 Forest. 2 Ray. 3
Ornament. 4 Bestir. 5 Knot. 6
Sake. 7 Abroad. 12 Cinzano. 15
Cotton. 16 Gambia. 17 Zambia.
19 Rot. 21 Nappy. 22 Slur.

CONCORD PEOPLE



Bunmi Ilo

ALL flash and splash, **BUNMI ILO**, the Sales Services Officer, PFIZER PRODUCTS Nigeria Ltd., is one tiny bundle of energy. Cornered in Jos at the recently concluded promotional conference for Veterinary Medicine practitioners organised by her company, Bunmi, who says she really wanted to be a veterinary doctor, but that the long period of training discouraged her and made her opt for Animal Science, thinks that she is "not inadequate now that she didn't read vet. medicine."

The small boned lady is for equality with men and says: "I feel up to my male counterparts. I can do anything they can do. I am as intelligent as anyone of them." She thinks females don't have to accept the roles currently being fashioned out for them by the men, and wants to see the woman being respected for having achieved as much as the man. She however thinks that the woman should not be aggressive to the point of antagonising the male. "Let the males find out by themselves how good you are." The Animal scientist says being in Pfizer was purely accidental but good. "I was to work for the Lagos state government, but they dumped me in Badagry and I ran back to Pfizer where I had done vacation jobs before." She says of her undergraduate days in Romania, Eastern Europe, "I like adventure, so I choose to go to Romania to study." But she didn't find expression for herself in that country because according to her, "The people are rather uptight due to their kind of government. They are always conscious of what they say." But Bunmi would not allow herself to be boxed-in, she travelled extensively, "all over Europe."

Almost vitriolic in her attack of what she calls the 'African man' she thinks there is a need for a new social order in which the man can be questioned by the

wife too. "Most African men think they can do anything and get away with it. They think they can't be questioned." Bunmi, in spite of her views, however, believes in matrimony.

BRED on British conservatism, nurtured on the values of rightist west, **Patrick Heinecke**, armed with degrees from Oxford and Brunel universities, lectured in London University. Then he came to Nigeria and for nine years taught Public Administration at A.B.U., Zaria.

Within those nine years, his conservatism were eroded and his rightist values disappeared. In his words "After disagreements with reactionary elements in that university, I relinquished my in that university position and took to senior lecturership and took to full time writing." Patrick, who thinks he has discovered himself with the common only identify myself with the common people, the oppressed" According to the avowed socialist, reversion to colonial policies is a disastrously retrograde recipe for continued under-development and mass-poverty. He believes that the system which ensures mass poverty can be changed tomorrow. "Provided new political experiments arise out of Africa to overthrow the power structures of neo-colonialism and capitalism."

Marrried to a Nigerian and living in Zaria, Patrick says he no longer has interest in Britain and its values. He says literature cannot change the world "but it can aid in making the changes by arousing consciousness for the need to struggle against oppression."

He has published many books among which are "Public management of poverty", "Public Fallacies in Nigeria Social Science" and his latest: "Freedom In The Grave - Nigeria and the Political Economy of Africa." He is also a contributing Editor to the monthly magazine 'HOTLINE INTERNATIONAL'



Patrick Heinecke



Funsho Ogunshina

UNASSUMING Funsho Ogunshina, the 34-year old Regional Director of the US FEED GRAINS COUNCIL, doesn't feel challenged unless there is constant change in his schedules. "I get bored very quickly," he says. "I am a restless person. Ideas, people e.t.c. must be dynamic to challenge me."

He however is of the opinion that his current job as Regional Director for the United States Feed Grains Council gives him the required dynamism. The council, a worldwide marketing, research and technical company, he says offers him the chance to be what he wants to be. "I take decisions that affect the agricultural programmes of nations". And as Regional Director, Funsho is responsible for Africa, east, west and south. According to him, the council produces about 50% of the world's grains, thus the council is used to marketing and extending and extend technical services, with regards to grains, to deserving countries of the world.

Armed with degrees in Agriculture and Nutrition, he feels that his job has improved him tremendously. "I travel so frequently against time zones that I sometimes get confused. But my travels have widened my horizon and I have discovered that people are basically the same no matter the colour. We all need shelter and food."

The agric expert says that Nigeria, where he expends the bulk of his \$250,000 annual budget has used up a lot of land in the past 26 years and that the land to man ratio has continued to diminish rapidly.

He thinks that the demands of his office is great. "But I enjoy doing things for people." He doesn't see age as a constraint. "My ultimate goal is to find myself in a position to continue to do the kind of things I am doing at present."

—Dimeji Popoola

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