

African

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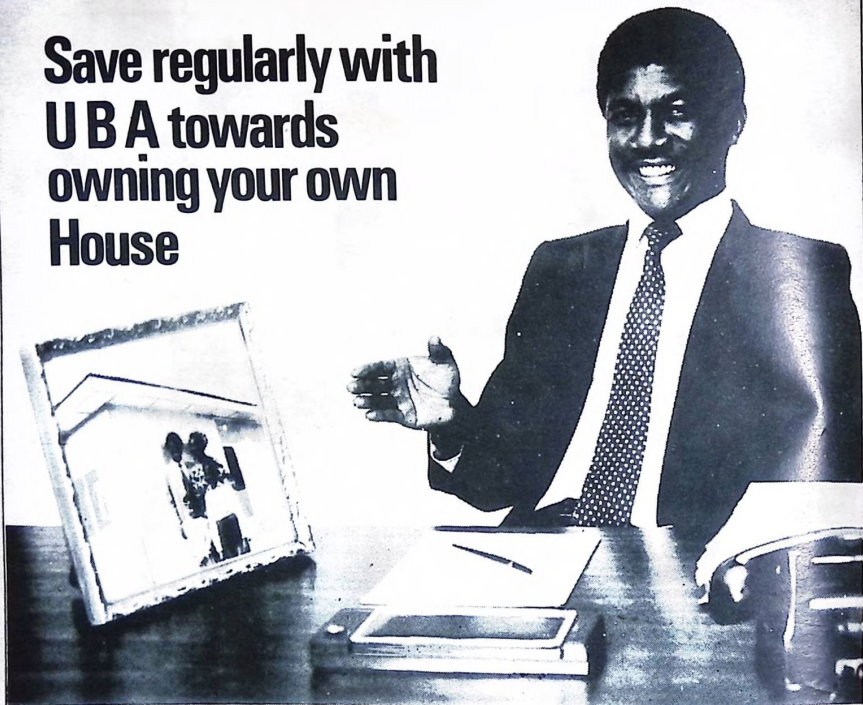
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Lawrence Anini

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African concord

The Premier Pan-African WEEKLY

Cover Design: Bawki Jimoh



He is Nigeria's most wanted criminal of all times. He calls himself the unbeatable and is giving the police a run for their skills in tracking down a felon. They call him Lawrence Anini, alias 'Air', alias 'terror.' Where is Anini? The police are short of answers.

The African Concord has been on trail of this dreaded criminal. We didn't find him, but we catalogue his exploit, and do a bit of unmasking of the felon... P6



After 24 years of independence, Ugandans are still eluded by peace and freedom. From 1971 to 1985, Uganda has had five governments, most of which contributed to the violent death of hundreds of thousands of Ugandans.

Yoweri Museveni's NRM government is still trying to consolidate its power in its fight against rebels in the north of the country and demands from monarchists and other factions. In a national broadcast on Independence Day, the President reassured the nation that the NRM was in full control.

Our reports co-ordinated by our Contributing Editor, Ronald Mutebi, examine Museveni's broadcast and aspects of Ugandan life. P23

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Letters to the Editor

Anini writes New Nigerian Bank

I am no longer interested in your N10,000.00 as I earlier wrote you. I am doing this to respect the Oba of Benin, following his appeal.

But note that I am provoked in you have invited the silly Mobile Policemen to protect you. Should I come, can they shoot down an ordinary air? I am only giving respect to whom respect is due.

Anyway, the mobile boys are children to me. Inform them to have peace of mind henceforth. No more trouble.

Use this medium to communicate to all Bendelites to entertain no fear any longer. Should any robbery incident happen henceforth, I have no hand in it! Except...

I am
The unbeatable,
Law Anini
(alias Ovbiogo)
No. 1000,000 Anywhere Street,
Within the City,
Benin,
Bendel State.

cc: The Commissioner of Police
-+ Group
- Group
Ogbovo Unit of Ovbiogo, Ekonvun
Unit, Ikpoba Hill Unit, Sakpobba
Unit, etc.



copy letter
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Unit, Ikpoba Hill Unit, Sakpobba
Unit, etc.

The letter police ignored

The Commissioner of Police,
Bendel State Police Command,
Headquarters,
Benin-City.

Dear Sir,

I am constrained to write this letter to you as quickly as possible in view of the danger I have foreseen ahead the state, particularly in this city of Benin. Assassins and these agents have found their way back again, this time with more force. There are plans on now to:—

1. Invade the New Nigeria Bank in Benin not only to rob, but eliminate some big shots, either at office or at home. I wrote a letter last week alerting the authorities.
2. To set fire on the *Nigerian Observer* premises, and chase the Editor both at office or home. Also some names of staff are in the list to face their wicked bullets in broad day.
3. Security should be mounted for the Co-operative Bank at Akpakpava because of what I hear they would do there. There is also a plan to invade an indigenous Electrical firm at Dawson Road and shoot at anyone resisting.

The B.T.B. General Manager, Leventis Manager, Airport Manager P/s Trader & Industry & Health to be protected. Owners of car Nos. BD 2962 BG, BD 6666 BF, BD 7744 BE, BD 4 N, BD 9 N, BD 1717 BE, BD 2360 BG, and others I can't remember. They have the list with them. Something should be done now Mr. Commissioner. They have perfected in their plans please. Note.

I am,
A Good Citizen
(Nigerian)

New Nigerian tangle

Sir,
I READ the story titled above in your *African Concord* of October 9, and I

was amazed that a magazine of *African Concord's* quality would distort issues the way it did.

Your story on the ex-Col. Yohanna Madaki interview at the "New Nigerian parley" said (1) I behaved in an "un-professional and abnormal" manner by advising the editor to publish reactions to Madaki in the news rather than letters columns and (2) That I campaigned for the removal of Innocent Oparadike as editor of the *New Nigerian* over the same story.

On the first point it is true I did advise Oparadike to carry one particular reaction to Madaki as news. The editor was reluctant because hitherto reactions to the parley were in the form of letters. But then I pointed to him that there was nothing unprofessional about publishing the reaction in question as news. First no respondent had ever taken trouble to come to our newsroom and second this particular respondent who led a group, Alhaji Yusufu Dantsoho, was a man of substance. At least he was once the national publicity secretary of the old NPC.

In any case where was it ever written that reactions to stories must be in form of letters? Have letters not been used as material for the news columns? I pointed all this to the editor and in the end he agreed to publish Dantsoho as news. Which is why I was amazed to read that the editor said he would not sign the imprint for the day and I did so. All your reporter had to do to get his facts straight was look at our imprint on the day in question. He would have seen that Oparadike signed as editor.

On the second point that I campaigned for the editor's removal over the Madaki story, nothing could be farther from the truth. How could I write in the *Sunday New Nigerian* of September 21, defending the *New Nigerian* for carrying Madaki and then campaign against its editor?

It is obvious from your story that someone thinks he is doing Oparadike a service by portraying him as the defender of professional ethics simultaneously as he casts me in the image of a villain. But your reporter does neither oparadike nor journalism any service if they square or even squash the truth just to serve some parochial objective they have set for themselves.

Yours sincerely

Mohammed Haruna
(Managing Director)
New Nigerian Newspapers Limited

'Enough of cosmetics

Bayo Onanuga argues that the traditional prescriptions for armed robbery are probably part of the problem

FOR long, we have treated the robbers the same way we treat cancer — something to be cut off before it spreads its malignant infection to the entire tissue. So we give our robbers the bullets, we silence them till eternity to save the decent, peace loving society from their evils.

Despite executions, robbery has continued, increasing in ferocity. Yet we stick to our treatment. No one has cared to find out if the medicine we apply is a bad one. The Anini story which we recount in this edition offers a compelling urge for the authorities to take a second look at the anti-robbery statute, perhaps abrogate it, perhaps amend it to match a more realistic understanding of robbery and robbers.

Everyday, indications are burgeoning that robbers don't demand just the bullets. They need our sympathy and a deep sociological study of why they take up arms to frighten and harm fellow citizens and eventually cart away their hard-acquired properties.

If we accept the thesis of sociologists, environment largely make so a man. It dictates man's actions, it socialises him, fashions him into either a savage or a civilised person, imbued

"The question that the authorities in Nigeria need to ask themselves is whether they have been ministering to these basic needs of man. They have not, of course, and that failure is what has turned some of our people into beastly bandits. We run a state that doesn't care whether all of us are adequately fed, whether we hold jobs that spin us enough money to cater for our needs, whether all of us have shelter on our heads."

with civilised conducts.

What pushed one into robbery? The theories are legion, but we cannot deny that his action must have sprung from a sense of personal deprivation, a have-not disease that the robber seeks to redress by grabbing for himself what legitimately belongs to others. Everyman wants to be fed, clothed, sheltered. Everyman craves all the goodies of life. Everyman craves what the other man has.

And there is nothing strange in this possessive urge. Is this not the essence of society or government — to provide man a shelter and security — from danger, hunger, homelessness? Is this not why man sinks his individuality to become a member of the larger society?

The question that the authorities in Nigeria need to ask themselves is whether they have been ministering to these basic needs of man. They have not, of course, and that failure is what has turned some of our people into beastly bandits. We run a state that doesn't care whether all of us are adequately fed, whether we hold jobs that spin us enough money to cater for our needs, whether all of us have shelter on our heads. We run a system that produces a tiny fraction of the wealthy and we are least bothered where they amass their money. No one raises such an issue. No one cares if such wealth is a loot from the collective resources, whether it comes from kick-backs or bribes or is made up merely of tolls from extortions. No one bothers — he has made it, we say, and the have-not majority must bow and tremble in reverence. The majority becomes disaffected with the system that marginalises and dehumanises them. That group provides the breeding ground for the monsters that take up arms against the rest of us.

The suspended public relations officer of the Lagos State Police Command, Mr. Alozie Ogunbajua spilled the whole truth recently when he drew attention to the futility of the current efforts to clamp down on robbers, when the root is patently ignored.

"We need to overhaul the entire system," the Police PRO advised. "We are running a very crude capitalist system that completely relegates our African sense of brotherhood to the background... The system had created a thoroughly aggrieved fraction within our society which uses its youthful disposition to threaten to destroy us all."

This is a view we can hardly ignore. It is the truth, Robbers are members of our society. The atrocities they perpetrate take their cue from the same society. Survival is one root of the robbers' desperation. To belong to the tiny bandwagon of the rich for which society pours all reverence, is yet another root.

Or how else can one better explain the madness that now gives us all moments of anxiety. From recent disclosures by robbery suspects, most of their operations have the full backing of the powerful in society — the rich, the uninformed men who have access to the weapons of terror the robbers use. Why should a supposedly rich man support robbers? Certainly, he needs the pay-offs to stay rich, to retain his status, to continue to spray naira at social parties, to ride luxurious cars. Why should a soldier also support robbers? Certainly, he too wants to survive. There is need to admit before things go totally disjointed that Nigeria's social system is odious, uncivilized and it has turned the whole place into a jungle where desperation and survival are the games.

And worse, we have compounded the robbery problem by the double-standard laws we make, whereby we send to the hang man those who violently steal, while we spare those who perpetrate an equally insidious crime, pen robbery. By the records, what we have lost from armed robbery is a fraction of what the soldiers, the politicians, the bureaucrats use their pens to steal.

Even in their height of madness the robbers know they are being discriminated against. That annoys them and makes them unleash an orgy of violence on the innocent, the police, on everyone that bumps into their ways. The menace of

"The suspended public relations officer of the Lagos State Police Command, Mr. Alozie Ogunbajua spilled the whole truth recently when he drew attention to the futility of the current efforts to clamp down on robbers when the root is patently ignored. We need to overhaul the entire system the PRO advised."

Lawrence Nomayogbon Anini is borne out of this situation. Here is a man who has declared a one-man war on the police. Why? Protests against police atrocities and greed, against our laws, against a social system that is unfair to the majority, against inflation and high cost of education.

Although Anini is Nigeria's most wanted criminal, we cannot dismiss the grounds of his protests. We need to probe them. Perhaps through this, we may get at the root of the robbery scourge. We've had enough of the cosmetics treatment.



Babangida: Where is Anini?



Inyang: We shall find him soon

Anini runs, police trail

A bandit in Bendel has turned into a frustrating national problem

HIS address is anywhere in Benin City, Bendel State. He strikes anywhere too, wherever he chooses, at whatever time that pleases him, sometimes, posting an advance billing about his coming. Yet very often, he fulfils his promise and goes to enact another blood chilling marauding that the Nigeria Police have found difficult to stem.

Lawrence Anini is what the police call him and that is the name that the entire Nigerian nation now knows him to be. But his full name is Lawrence Nomayangbon Anini. At his village in Orogho, an hour's drive from Benin, Anini is better known by his middle name. "He is called Nomayangbon here and not Lawrence," says Mr. Omorogieva Obayowana, a native doctor in the village.

But Anini has recently over-grown the village. He now calls himself "the unbeatable". And he has cut a notorious image that resounds across the nation. He is terror and the mention of his name anywhere in Bendel State invokes a terror of its own. And he keeps this image by the bizarre myth of invincibility. Anini is Nigeria's most wanted criminal.

Everyone fears him, the police, the ordinary people, the authorities. Everyone

fears what he is capable of doing. And in Benin, the Anini danger has forced people to stay in-doors after 8.00 p.m. In the past three months, the police have pinned on him the death of six policemen. The kidnap of a police sergeant who doubled as the driver of the Assistant Inspector General of



Anini: At large

Police, Christopher Omeben and the snatching of the AIG's car — are being traced to Anini's gang. So were the assaults on the Police post at Ugo and the Divisional Police Station at Abudu — all in Bendel State. What is not clear is whether the recent attack on the Police Commissioner in the State, Mr. Casimir Akagbosu and three of his men, was also the handiwork of Anini and his gang. Akagbosu, now in London for medical treatment, was attacked in the night of October 1, seven days after Anini unilaterally declared a truce in a letter to the New Nigerian Bank in Benin.

The police have for the past two months been on his trail, but Anini leaves no foot print to trace. President Ronald Reagan once said in reference to the fleeing Arab terrorists who hijacked the Achille Lauro last year: "They can run, they cannot hide." Anini has proven Reagan wrong. He could run as well as hide, and very far from the police sleuths.

The police have put a N10,000 prize on Anini's head. But Benin residents don't seem hungry for the prize — Anini is a bugaboo everyone runs from.

Two weeks ago, President Ibrahim Babangida asked his Inspector General of Police: "Where is Anini?" It was a joco-serious question, but outgoing Inspector General, Etim Inyang didn't find it funny. "We shall find Anini soon," he promised. And true, the police authorities are dead serious. Anini's elusiveness casts a big dent on their



Omeben: lost car to robbers

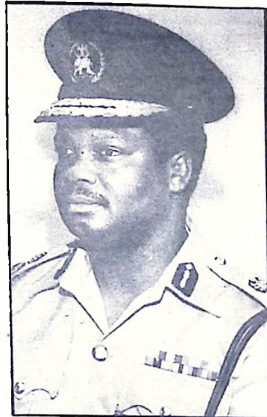
reputation and the police are desirous of redeeming their image. A massive man hunt is in place. Last week, the Police got near their target when they arrested two aides of Anini. But the big catch is still to be made. When will Anini himself be arrested? No one knows. The Police do not know. In the meantime, the Benin residents will have to continue to live with their self-imposed curfew as no one knows when the streets will be freed of the Anini menace.

Governor Mark Inienger is worried about this. Last week, he invited newsmen to Benin to flaunt police anti-robbery triumphs. Peace has returned to Benin, he said, as the police have been able to stem further armed banditry. On Monday, he addressed the Obas and Chiefs in Bendel during which he solicited their co-operation in checking the menace of robbery.

Yet in Bendel, there is the stong belief that if the Police really want to arrest Anini, he could be got so easily. According to some Benin residents, Anini frequents a restaurant at Upper Sakpoba Road where he offers free beer and food for everyone therein.

African Concord however reliably learnt after a week-long sniffing in Benin, that the police lack the courage to arrest Anini because some officers are allegedly on his payroll and because other officers fear Anini's alleged powerful backers in the city. Some people particularly point at the Royal House in Benin, positing the accusation that

Anini's killing spree began last August, just after the execution on August 23 of a Benin Prince, Kingsley Eweka, for robbery. There was the allegation that the royal families were enraged because of the execution which they considered as a desecration of royalty, and thus have been funding and supporting Anini in his



Akagbosu: A victim of Anini?

exploits. And even providing him shelter.

The Oba of Benin, Omo N'oba Eradiauwa expresses exasperation when confronted with this question and demands unqualified apology.

"I resent the insinuation in your question because you have in plain words accused me of the criminal offence known as accessory to a crime. I demand an apology from you for that and I request that you reflect this observation in your write-up," he said.

The Benin monarch denies having any interest in Anini's activities, but he says that Kingsley Eweka was not the first member of the royal family to die in such circumstances. He provides no elaboration.

The allegation against the Binis is that they have an axe to grind with the police who failed to save Eweka from execution in spite of numerous overtures. Coupling this was another accusation that the Binis have a traditional resentment against a non-Bini commissioner of police in Bendel State. They argue that the Binis will rather prefer a commissioner of police from outside the state than have one from any other part of Bendel State.

It is said that highly-placed Binis including policemen sponsor Anini to spite the non-Benin commissioner of police and to cow the police in the state. It is also alleged that Mr. Ometen, the Assistant Inspector General of Police whose driver was kidnapped and his car snatched in Benin, was marked for humiliation being an Ishan.

A source close to the police alleges that the AIG's visit was leaked to men of the underworld days before he made the trip. The same police source alleges that the attack on Mr. Akagbosu was another manifestation of a particular ethnic group's attempt to vent their anger against non-indigenes in their midst especially among the police. The source says various moves had earlier been made to take the wind off Mr. Akagbosu's sail thereby creating a vacancy for "a son of the soil". He supports his argument by noting that "since the arrival of the present Commissioner of Police, no criminal activity has been reported in Benin City."

Mr. Parry Osayande, the Commissioner of Police on relief duty in Benin who has maternal blue blood in his veins refused to speak to newsmen and has barred other police officers. The public relations officer, Mr. Ambrose Aisabor declines to comment in spite of a sustained four day pressure.

But a prominent Bini son, the Chief Priest of the Benin Kingdom, Chief Nosakhare Isekhure says that the Binis are never known for supporting crime. "I think there can never be any truth in that kind of speculation. Prince Eweka was tried, sentenced and executed. If we

were interested, we would have mobilised and got him lawyers. His royal background has nothing to do with the crime. He is an individual. A more responsible Bini prince, not long ago, died in the prison but we did not resort to violence."

He also denies that the Binis have special interest in the office of the Commissioner of Police, Bendel State. For Chief Isekure, "Anybody who accuses the Binis for such acts must be wicked and must hate the Binis. Those making the allegations are criminals."

Police sources in Benin indicated a serious ethnic division both within the officers and the rank and file. A senior officer says that Etsako people, civilians and police officers still see the attack on Mr. Akagbosu, their son, as a carefully planned and executed action. The sources say that feelers from Lagos showed that officers at Force Headquarters in Lagos were exploiting the situation to settle old scores — a situation that has affected the morale of the police in the state.

An Etsako man in Benin alleges that Anini is only being used to discredit the Bendel State Police Command. He says the Etsako are keenly watching the situation, but declines to elaborate. Chief Isekure refutes this and cites the case of Mr. Edosa Ebuehi, the driver attached to the Chairman of Bendel Development and Planning. Authority who was shot dead by robbers on First East Circular Road, Benin, at about 5 p.m. He also cites the case of two Bini girls who were kidnapped and tortured by robbers.



Inlenger, Erodiaawa: Appealed for peace

The chief Priest says that were Benin behind the crime, they would not be victims.

Chief Isekure acknowledges that Bini chiefs have heard about the rumours that indict them over Anini's escapades. He speaks to God to enable him lay down his arms. I personally feel that he should be able to tell the world the cause of his annoyance. I wont like him to be killed without saying anything."

It is being alleged too, although unproven, that the arrest and trial of Justice Donald Ikomi fo. the murder of his police aide had some connections



with the dusts raised by Eweka's conviction. Ikomi's involvement in the murder case is believed to be a frame-up as he had chaired the Robbery Tribunal that condemned Eweka to death. In the meantime, economic activities in Benin City have almost grounded to a halt.

Commercial vehicles go off the roads as early as 7.30 p.m. partly out of fear of stray bullets and to avoid police harassments. The mobile policemen on the streets of Benin appear to have been instructed to concentrate their search on commercial vehicles especially at dusk. They ferret vehicle particulars rather than the contents of the commercial

A modern day Robin Hood?

Conflicting reports about Anini's activities and style raise questions. Has he a cause?

LAURENCE Anini, 30, Nigeria's most wanted robber, is the kind of man around whom a fascinating fable can be spun. Fast running into a legendary outlaw, Anini who is also nicknamed 'Ovbigbo' has outpaced the law for over one month now. But how he has managed to, remains a puzzle.

The clearest profile of the young man so far is that he is an armed marauder who has plunged Benin City over the last few weeks into veritable horror. He has reportedly killed both lay citizens and law enforcement agents.

Whether Anini has a band or not has not been established. From all the robbery operations traced to him, it is difficult to say that Lawrence is just another armed robber. Undismayed by the increased risk in attacking police stations, he has hit at them even more furiously. He probably has shot and killed more police sleuths and some people

say he even had a hand in the shooting of the Bendel State Police Commissioner, Mr. Casimir Akagbosu two weeks ago. He has reportedly dared any police man to attempt nabbing him — and as though the police were admitting their inability to do so, they have



Anini, Oyenusi: two of a kind

put a N10,000 price on wish head. Anybody who can deliver the robber to the police, said the Bendel State Command last month, would go home with N10,000. Nobody has and perhaps not is willing to dare.

Much as many people are concerned about the activities of people like Anini, hardly any one is ready to risk his or her life in the search for the outlaw. In any case, from all indications, many people seem to believe that Lawrence is a wisp — the wisp, intangible. A habitue of Benin City spoke of the fables going round the town on the criminal and from all appearances even the Bendel Police Command has almost succumbed to the myth that Anini cannot be overcome with a gun or similar weapons.

Anini, some people claim, is messenger of a certain Benin god who has become very angry with the injustice and oppression in the city and until the social defects had been corrected, the fable goes further, no man could arrest him. Anini himself seemed to have believed to this fable by reportedly confessing that nobody can subdue him and that he would someday submit himself to the state but only after his mission

Courtesy of Daily Times

Cover Story



Isekure: Binis don't support crime

vehicles. But their search is selective as private cars are hardly halted at the numerous check points in the city. And for the policemen, despite the Anini hysteria, they still openly demand pay-offs from commercial drivers ranging from 50k to N5.

The man Lawrence Anini that is giving everyone nightmares in Benin and outside was born in the village of Orogho. No one could tell his precise age, but by his looks, he must be in his 30s. He is certainly not a well lettered man, but by his series of hand written letters, some of which *African Concord*

got, he is not an illiterate. At least he must have an education that is above the first school leaving certificate.

A townsman, Mr. Omorogieve Obayowana says Anini lost his father very early in his life and was brought up by a paternal uncle, who Obayowana declined to name. Both Anini's step-father and Obayowana were arrested as police began the frantic search for Anini. Obayowana was detained following allegations that he must have given Anini the medicine he uses to get away with his crimes. It is being rumoured however that Anini's step-father died in detention as no one has seen him ever since.

Anini is said to be married to a woman in a nearby village of Ugo. He was a taxi driver for many years until he switched to driving commercial buses known here as 'Tuke Tuke.'

Orogho, when the *African Concord* called last week, looked unflinching despite the past police harassments. Life was normal, but very few persons were ready to talk about Anini.

A trip to the village could be as discouraging as attempting to go to a lion's den. Taxi drivers are reluctant to go there because of fear of Anini. Not even with financial baits. Yet the place is just within an hour's drive to Benini. Now he is to Benin, like Pluto is to the sun.

Anini is no stranger to the Bendel Police. He was sometime ago, a detainee for an undisclosed offence. He was let off only to re-emerge as Bendel's most

dreaded criminal. He has become a phenomenon for which the Bendel Police, despite the reshuffling of the personnel and the reinforcement from Lagos, have found difficult to understand.

His climb to the prominent list of wanted criminals began last August 15, following the killing of one mobile policeman and another general duty officer at the Jolomi/Edeberi Road Junction. Gun firing had erupted when the police insisted on opening the boot of a Peugeot 505 car in which the bandits were travelling.

The killing coincided with the publication of the names of six robbers due for execution the next day. Among the six were Alexander Obaseki, Osaro Enagbare and Joseph Edigin who were executed at Abudu.

Eight days after, there was another public execution in Benin. This time, it involved Prince Kingsley Eweka, Lucky Osagie and Nosa Obasuyi. Kingsley was a member of the royal family in Benin, an only son of a mother, the second wife of late Kingsley's father who had three wives and several children before his death.

The connection between the execution of Kingsley and the macabre scourge that has been visited on the Bendel State Police Command by armed men is yet to be proved. However, in the week hours of Friday September 5, 1986, the police post at Ugo and the Divisional Police Station at Abudu were attacked by men of the underworld.

Each station lost at least one officer

had been accomplished.

Anini combines the beguiling compulsion of Robin Hood and the ruthless brutality of Ronald Biggs or late Ishola Oyenusi. His inner mandate seems to be split between stealing to distribute among the poor and moving down as many of those who stand between him and this mission as possible. From press reports, Anini's psychic portrait will match that of the 12th century English legendary outlaw, Robin Hood.

Robin Hood had been described by several medieval English writers as a robber who stole in God's name. He was said to take money from the rich and give to the poor. His target was said to be the "propertied and entrenched individuals who defended injustice and made money from it."

Lawrence Anini whose name evokes fear and horror in Benin City, has reportedly matched this feat. He was said to have raided a petrol station two weeks ago, grabbed the day's proceeds and threw it at people around the place and drove away with nothing. On another occasion he reportedly invaded a house in the night with intention to rob but on discovering that its residents were

so poor that both husband and wife were sleeping on the floor, he gave some money to the couple in sympathy to their plight.

Whether or not these reports are founded, they have added to the making of Anini into a modern day armed robbery legend. The most enduring feature of the Anini myth perhaps is that it has thrown residents of the usually sleepless Benin City into one sober, scared, in-keeping people at night. A reporter who spent a couple of nights in Benin last week said the Anini scar on the city is a

Ronald Biggs: The formidable British train robber



veritable one. By 8.00 p.m. he says, most streets in the town are already deserted. Nobody, not even night party buffs, wants to fall a victim of Anini's terror in the town.

While it remains a mystery how one man has successfully damned with impunity, a police command of more than 5,000 men and women, it seems that the Federal Government is also damning the myth that Anini is impregnable. It has transferred many of the senior police officers in Bendel to other states and replaced them with new hands in the wake of repeated speculation that Anini was enjoying the collaboration of senior police officers in the state. It is understood that President Babangida has also issued a secret ultimatum to Kam Salem House (Police Headquarters) to arrest Anini or face the music.

Perhaps also Anini the legend is the major reason for last week's reorganisation of the Nigeria Police Force. Whether all these will demythify Anini the outlaw is yet to be seen. They had better, anyway.

— Okechukwu Ifionu

while others were seriously injured. Within the same period, another police officer was gunned down during a raid at a bank in Sabongida-Ora. Few days after the attacks on the two police stations, the driver attached to an AIG, who was on assignment in Bendel State was kidnapped. The AIGs car, was also 'road-jacked' by robbers.

The police owned up failure and called for public assistance in arresting Lawrence Anini, the man, they believed, was the life wire of the crime wave.

The height of the Anini menace was however reached when the bandits descended on the Commissioner of Police in the State, Mr Casimir Akagbosu who has since been hospitalized in a London.

Despite all the hub-bub over Anini, he doesn't appear to cut the image of the run-of-the-mill robber, overwhelmingly consumed by the passions of kleptomania and homicide. He is kleptomaniac quite right. He is a killer, also quite right. But behind this ferocious facade, looms another Anini.

On one hand, he wears the image of a Robin Hood, the legendary English outlaw of the 12th Century who robbed the rich to help the poor. Anini in his September 11 letter to the editor of the *Nigerian Observer* paints this image of himself. "Tell our President we like him. But we are not happy here in Bendel," he writes. "The payment for everything is too much. That is why I now divide any money I get to the people."

And he challenges the editor to investigate the veracity of this. The *African Concord* has confirmed information that Anini sometimes sprays his loot in the market places when fleeing from the police.

On the other hand, this most wanted felon seems to have a mission, perhaps vengeance. He seems to be using his marauding and murders to settle scores, protest a medley of social injustices and police misdeeds.

In the letter to the *Observer*, confirmed by police sources as authentic, Anini strongly argues his case and why he has declared war on the police. In one instance, he asks: "Is it good that police can persecute robbers who are armed but don't kill and leave those pen robbers who have caused all this wahala?"

In another instance, he protests against police collaboration with the powerful barons of the National Union of Road Transport Workers, the Ogbonis and the extortion of commercial vehicle drivers by the police at check points. He calls for a probe of the Bendel Police. He complains against inflation, the high cost of education, and suggests the ways out.

— Bayo Onanuga
Reported by Frank Igwebueze,
Benin and Orogho.

'You surprise me'

THE *African Concord* seeks the views of the Oba of Benin, Omo N'Oba Eradiauwa, on the suspicion going round in the country of an alleged royal connection with Anini's war against the police. Somehow, the Oba had heard such rumours. He is angry and did not mince words in his responses to questions by our man, Frank Igwebueze.

Q. It is being speculated that Anini's activities were a protest against the execution of prince Kingsley Eweka and that his (Anini's) actions were being sanctioned by the Binis and the Palace in particular?

A. If I had not commended you for coming to know my side of the story connected with this event I would have described your question as very insulting. The people who do these things are called the men of the underworld; if you know them, one expects you to let us know their identity and see if we will not join in the attempt to catch them. Perhaps you do not know that Kingsley Eweka is not the first member of the royal family to have died in such circumstances. I resent the insinuation in your question because you have in plain words accused me of the criminal offence known as 'Accessory' to a crime. I demand an apology from you for that and I request that you reflect this observation in your write-up.

Q. Anini has reportedly written to call off his intended attack on a commercial bank and he gave his Highness' appeal as a reason for his withdrawal. Could His Highness tell us how his appeal was able to reach Anini?

A. You surprise me. As a knowledgeable pressman that I presume you are, you must be aware of my television live broadcast appeal to the underworld men which was carried by the NTA and BTW and reported in some newspapers. Don't you think these underworld men also have access to these news media? I cannot believe that you yourself did not see the television broadcast or read of it in the newspapers.

Q. Could it be true that Anini sleeps in the Palace as being rumoured?

A. I do not know what the man looks like. I have heard the rumour and

I just laughed at the folly of those peddling it. What good would it do to society to harbour him or any criminal when his gang outside continues to engage in the nefarious act and especially when I know that daily, by our custom, my high priests invoke a curse on any person who brings evil to this land.

Q. What role is the Benin Traditional Council playing to help ease off the tension created by the crime wave?

A. I am afraid I will not disclose this to you. We are working hard and you do not expect me to disclose to you what action we are taking to eliminate the menace.

If you mean well for the society join us to pray to God and our ancestors to answer our prayers. I will let you know however that I keep the Governor fully informed of what we are doing. I will like to use this medium to thank the Governor for his understanding.

Q. There is a speculation among members of the public including police circles that Binis do not cooperate with a non-Bini commissioner of police who is from Bendel State. It is said that Binis would prefer a commissioner of police from outside the state. What is your comment on this?

A. I can't comment on that. I don't know where they got that from. We have had commissioners of all nationalities. And as far as I know there has been very close co-operation from everyone of them because the palace here and the commissioners are constantly interacting. Something happens in town, they come here, I notice something, I send for them and we usually sit down here and deliberate. I am sure you know that the police set up this police community relations committee. The state one, the Iyase of Benin is a member; he is my nominee. The divisional one, the Eson is a member on my nomination. They are supposed to interact between the police and the public. If anyone says that kind of thing again, it is another way to call the Binis a bad name in order to hang them. Nothing else.

Why Anini eludes police

The police command in Bendel State is rent by mutual distrust and ethnic rivalries. The whole place is in disarray and explains much about why Anini is at large.

THE inability of the entire Nigeria Police Force security system to grapple with the Anini menace has brought to the fore that organization's inherent weakness and helplessness in the face of increasing sophistication in crimes. The Force's Command in Bendel State is currently in disarray no matter how it tried to conceal it from the public.

Series of inexplicable events within the

command prior to the advent of Anini and his gang's escapades had already fractionalised the command and made a concerted effort at reducing the crime wave in the state an impossible task. Mutual trust between senior officers is absent while any attempt to contain the escalating crime wave gets off-course even before it is set in motion.

A senior officer in the command says

lack of morale has profoundly wrecked the state police command. He argues that the present ethnic rivalry only helps to worsen a bad situation.

It is alleged that few months ago, security agencies in the state compiled a list of over thirty suspected criminals and raided their hide outs. Over twenty of such suspected criminals were arrested. A police officer says none of

The lure to crime

Experts look into motivations for crime

WHEN Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) postulated that humans were born with both constructive and destructive tendencies, no one has since said it better. Sometime ago, a senior mathematics teacher in his mid 30s in a Lagos State Secondary School, a quintessential 'ideal teacher' said: "I could carry cocaine if I knew my way around, but the fear of being caught prevents the likes of me from committing the act." Many of his colleagues agreed.

Thus when criminologist, Ona Ekhomu, a security consultant to government and private agencies, asserted that the average Nigerian participates, albeit vicariously, in crime, he might not have been too far wrong. The act of acquiescing to a crime or remotely lauding or envying its perpetrators, could serve as a reinforcement to crime. The urban Nigerian has little repose and he watches and sometimes observes that crime pays. The vast difference in status between a successful criminal and an apprehended one provides the allure. Already, there are millions of people in the streets looking for jobs, to no avail. Since the days of the Buhari regime, those in employment have not been better off. The typical workday Nigerian wakes 5 a.m., gets prepared and goes to work. He takes his first meal during the break hour at 12 or 1 p.m. His other meal is at 6 or 7 p.m., after struggling for a bus or taxi to get back home. After that he settles to watch television or play music if he could. The power supply could go off or his equipment could breakdown to be repaired only at enormous costs.

But the criminal often enjoys a much higher standard of living — posh hotels; flashy cars. He or she could set up a front operation. He is invited to important ceremonies and so he is recognised by society. He might even control political power and retire to die in peace. The moral person, after putting in so many years may probably be forcibly retired. No gratuity (if a public servant) is forthcoming after 2-years wait. If it is forthcoming, it is devoured by

inflation. He dies in misery. Broken, his children, if he has them continue the struggle.

The main difference between the criminal and the moral person is however that of an opportunity to commit crime, coupled with psychological inhibitions like childhood experiences linked to moral training; or the exigencies of, poverty and misery, or the social environment like delinquent subculture. The inequitable distribution of wealth, biological size of the individuals, genes, chromosomal deviation and psychopathic tendencies also account, but for less than 1 per cent, according to Adeyemi. But all these create a great potential to act criminally.

These are joined with the problems of the justice system, the glorification of wealth by the society, and the gradual break-down of the extended family system (which was the social security recourse of the unemployed or recently retrenched person). With these, there could develop a potential to commit crime, said Ekhomu. But these are not all. "I have seen more violence, on Nigerian television than in the United States," said the American-trained security consultant. Moreover, the use of hard drugs like cocaine and heroine has given a fatalistic edge to robbery. In addition, the prospects of being anti-social, and at the same time attracting positive responses from the public through the gains of that behaviour, provide a certain allure to crime, he said.

These factors, plus the existence of a 'marginal' society — slum inhabitants people with upbringing (parental deprivation or inadequate parental supervision), from which to provide a solid relationship with the environmental; are all contributory factors to the potential for crime commitment, said Chief A.A. Adeyemi, a pioneer in the field of criminology and professor at the faculty of law of the University of Lagos.

Crime is committed when the society proclaims equal opportunity as a principle alone. When there is a wide gap between those attainable goals and the real ability to

attain them, the system breaks down, he said. People choose to become either conformist — as in the example of the moral worker; innovators or rebels — as in armed robbers, vandals, and delinquents; ritualist: the persons give up hope for a good life and lives like a robot or retreatist — as in using alcohol or drugs as a mean of escaping the harsh realities.

Parry Osayande, the Bendel State Police

Commissioner and Adeyemi appear to agree on the lack of organisation within the police force. It is a vital crack in effective policing. Osayande also believes that lack of adequate communication among units, and the politicisation of the force are linked to the upsurge of crime. Adeyemi looked at the establishment of a National Crimes Commission, which was proposed in 1974 by an inter-departmental committee, but never implemented. To avoid the usual inter-ministerial wranglings, the commission should be attached to the president's office.

Taking back the children to receive fundamental instructions in religion — like the Christian Sunday School — was Ekhomu's suggestion for a long term remedy. In the meantime, there should be a net inflow of people being employed. Adeyemi suggested a labour-intensive agriculture and agro-allied programme. If unemployed and retrenched workers were retrained as farmers and made to organise co-operatives, hunger would be reduced. The co-operative could organise housing programmes.

The Police Act has to be reviewed, concerning identification records. A criminal intelligence base for improved detection and investigation skills should be set up security forces retrained, and their methods updated regularly, said Ekhomu. The alternative? Said Adeyemi: "People will continue to live a miserable existence for a long time. Fear, and losses of property will prolong individual and communal frustration which the crime problem will continue to generate." But take heart, though. Law and order would not break down completely. The law enforcement agencies would spring into action at the last minute to prevent it. What he calls the 'social reflex action'.

— Ademola Oguntayo

the suspected criminals was charged to court. African Concord learns that specialised security agencies have seized and handed over to the state command, over a dozen pistols. Some of the pistols belonged to the police. A plain clothes security man was alleged to have shot dead in some cases of the suspect was charged to court.



Gambu, Police I/G

presence of mobile policeman around the tank and pledged to halt his activities in the state. He dissociated himself from further robbery incidents in the state.

In another hand-written document sent to the Editor of the Nigerian Observer in Benin-City, Anini gave conditions for a ceasefire. He copied the state police command.

The command's spokesman, Mr. Ambrose Aisabor, said he was not aware if the letters got to the Commissioner of Police. As he put it, "If he did, it will not be for public consumption, not even for every member of the force."

Penultimate Wednesday, members of the NURTW in a convoy of over six brand new 505 cars, drove into the premises of the command's headquarters ostensibly to pay a "courtesy call" on the new police commissioner in the state. The command's new security device of forcing non staffers to park outside the premises did not affect the union officials.

Police officials could not confirm the mission of the union officials to the command. But an officer complained bitterly about the red carpet reception accorded the union officials and queried: "What are we really up to? Do these people deserve this preferential treatment and what is their business here? Have we not read about robbers' confessions that link NURTW officials with robbery operations?"

Mr. Aisabor declined to speak on the command's inability to arrest Anini but source close to the Command told African Concord that, "There is every reason to believe that a certain powerful group is behind the gang. A mafia is behind them and you know, the operations of a mafia are most difficult. You can't easily penetrate them; the activities are underground. Come to think of it, Anini and his gang sleep and eat somewhere."

Some officers in the state command expressed fears that the alleged link connection to Anini's savagery will rather be the hand of the present Commis-

sioner of Police in the State, Mr. Parry Osayande whose maternal blue blood might likely have adverse effects on his operations. Another senior officer said the commissioner's posting was a good omen because if the Binis were supporting Anini, they will now abandon him to make the new commissioner a hero.

Mr. Aisabor the police PRO defended commissioner's posting because "The postings are done in Lagos and there is nothing an individual could do about it." He was convinced that the commissioner's integrity was transparent enough to see him through. The police spokesman said the myth around Anini had been broken because Anini never attacked an armed policeman. He said the attack on Mr. Akagbosu could not be immediately linked with Anini's gang because "the police is still investigating the shooting." He confirmed that Mr. Akagbosu was returning from a private visit to a friend when he was attacked dismissing the earlier speculations that he was returning from the Oba's palace or on night patrol. Mr. Aisabor said he was not aware if the commissioner had received warning signals before he was attacked. A police source said that the commissioner had earlier been warned of an impending attack and that the policeman allegedly shot on the shoulders by Anini had told him of the gang's warning that they were coming for him.

Three officers who were with the commissioner at the time of attack are currently under a 24-hour guard at the military base hospital in Benin City. The injured officers provide drugs for their treatment even though the state government had promised to pay for their treatment.

The officer sent to take over the state Criminal Investigation Department (CID) was yet to take over from his predecessor. Sources at the command's headquarters in Benin indicated that the officer was most reluctant to take over and had protested to the appropriate quarters. It was however not clear if the officer's reluctance was a by-product of the Anini phenomenon.

It was discovered that some of the officers transferred out of the state in the wake of the man-hunt for Anini are yet to leave Benin coupled with the fact that not all the mobile policemen were transferred. Aisabor confirmed that the Unit Commander of Mopel 5 in Benin including some officers were transferred but insisted that all the officers who were transferred had left the state command.

Perhaps, the most insidious element in the current police attempt to grapple with the robbery siege on the state capital is the phoney belief among every officer in the command on Anini's metaphysical powers.

— Frank Igwebueze



A selection from Afro-American photographer Floyd Webb's lenses, capturing the pensive and restless mood of Africa's leading artist

Hail a Nobel Laureate

Nigeria's Wole Soyinka joins the tiny select group of geniuses honoured with Nobel Prizes.

IT WAS certainly Wole Soyinka's greatest moments, the highest point of a recent spate of global recognition of his literary genius. Within two months, he has been splashed with adulations. He was named in July, first winner of the \$25,000 Agip Prize for humanities. In August, he was elected member of the Academy of Arts and Letters of the German Democratic Republic. In September, he became the third African to be an honorary fellow of the American Institute of Arts and Letters. Just when Soyinka was still basking in this avalanche of honours, the Nobel Prize Committee last Thursday named him as the first black man to win the Nobel Prize for Literature. President Ibrahim Babangida capped it on Friday by bestowing on him the high national honours of the Commander of the Federal Republic (CFR).

Soyinka was the 82nd recipient since the Nobel Prize began in 1901. Announcing his selection, the Committee said Soyinka "in a wide cultural perspective and with poetic overtones, fashions the drama of existence." "For Soyinka, it was a befitting crowning of a career that has spanned more than 28 years ... and the 52 year old Nigerian writer, polemicist, playwright, artist, composer, social agitator, politician — certainly deserves no less.

He was tipped for the award last year but

he lost out to an obscure French writer. This year, he was not left in the lurch: he beat other front runners among them, compatriot, Professor Chinua Achebe and a South African female writer, Nadine Gordimer. In spite of his known criticism of the Nobel Prize and the showmanship that surrounds it, Soyinka was delighted by the Nobel Committee's recognition of his efforts. He said he would accept the award and go to Sweden in December to receive his prize of \$290,000 (about N1,200,000). He told a barrage of reporters in Paris where he heads the International Theatre Institute. "This prize is in recognition of our culture and our traditions in Africa and I am very glad about it. African culture has not always been recognised, understood by other cultures."

Pestered by reporters about his feelings, Soyinka gleefully retorted: "I haven't been able to feel anything. I feel hit by this things and I don't know what I am."

A professor of drama and comparative literature, Soyinka has left sufficient footprints on sand of the literary world that the history of literature would be incomplete without his name.

His varied talents in the academic and literary communities as a scholar, in print and electronic media as a playwright, dramatist, social commentator and in the

society at large have combined to earn him global recognition.

His literary works have been his strongest weapon in fighting social injustice in Nigeria and in the world. It is equally his works of literature that earned him, as a man of letters, Professor Eldred Durosini Jones, a professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Sierra Leone called "the creator and destroyer."

Professor Jones' views are sometimes shared by other critics of Soyinka's works who see him as a pessimist. To this group, Soyinka has consistently been focusing on the political and social misfortunes of Africa and Latin America—a misfortune he attributes to bad leadership. For his naked condemnation of corrupt government, Soyinka is often at logger heads with unjust rulers and governments in the world.

It is such 'rebellious' stances that led to his incarceration by the Gowon regime for 22 months during the civil war. Soyinka was detained for daring to condemn the government for engaging in the war with the defunct Biafra Republic arguing largely on the futility of war in the solution of social and political conflicts.

In castigating that government on the civil war, Soyinka wrote a play *Madmen and Specialists*. It is a play that was set in the context of war and its aftermath. He gave a graphic representation of his resentment for the war in the picture of cannibalism that appears on the front cover of the drama text.

By the time the Gowon administration let him off the hook, Wole also came out with, perhaps, his most popular and controversial

novel *The Man Died* which he described as 'poor novel'. Characteristic of his works, the book laments out at a repressive government that caused the death of a detained journalist and inflicted untold suffering on many more.

It is such characteristic harsh tone of condemnation of man's injustice to man that also pervades his dramatic texts and novels such as *A Dance of the Forests*, *Swamp Dwellers*, *Kongi's Harvest*, *Interpreters* and others.

Before his incarceration by the Gowon regime, Soyinka had shot into the national limelight when in 1965, he broke into the studios of the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS) to broadcast a parody of the election results. He was arrested and tried but he managed to escape the wages of the sin the authorities said he committed.

Soyinka does not hide his religious leaning as demonstrated in his works, especially the poems *Ogun* and *Abiku*. In these poems, he brought into the open, his belief in the existence and efficacy of supernatural powers and spirits. Same goes for his interpretation of Egunwa's *Ogboju Ode Ninu Igbo Irunmole* into English language which he called *Forest of a Thousand Daemons*. Two of his plays, *Trials of Brother Jero* and *Jero's Metamorphosis* are eloquent testimonies of Soyinka's abhorrence of religious bigotry common among adherents of the orthodox religions.

The poems of Soyinka are also indicative of his religious inclination. *Ogun* is a poem that particularly captures his Yoruba cultural background and the concept of traditional religion in Africa, especially as practised by the Yoruba. *Iadanre* and *Fulani Creation Stories* are some of his poems that illustrate Soyinka's close link with nature.

Once described by Bill McAlister, the Director of the London Institute of Contemporary Arts, as "the epitome of the collective aspirations of the black people in post-colonial Africa, Soyinka has not spared any breath to live up to this description through his literary works. His poem *Telephone Conversation* is another work in which he castigates the Western world for its racist policies.

As a composer, his only record so far, *'Ethical Revolution'* lampoons the corrupt Second Republic government in Nigeria. The title of the record which is a masterful use of irony, since the government refused to revolutionise its ethics despite the launching of an ethical revolution by the same government.

In the same vein, his film *'Blues for the Prodigal'* was described by Soyinka himself as "a deliberate and contemptuous parody" of the "madness" that characterised the Second Republic. Such madness as corruption, favouritism, party loyalty and general social unrest which culminated in various incidents of arson and contributed to the return of military rule in 1983. Despite the high billing for the film in Nigeria, most Nigerians could not watch it as Soyinka withdrew it after the Buhari regime censored a "distasteful" part of the epilogue.



Soyinka: International recognition

As a social critic, he refused to be silenced in the face of all sorts of intimidation. Even, the ubiquitous Decree No. 2 of the Buhari regime was not sufficient to cage his views on social anomalies. His main clash with that regime was on the execution of three drug traffickers which Soyinka described as "the most horrific experience" of his entire being as a Nigerian. The unyielding stance of that government on the issue made Soyinka say that advising the regime was like "speaking to the deaf" and as far as he was concerned, "I have nothing more to say to them", he declared.

While his literary works have earned him

The Nobel Prize

BEFORE Alfred Nobel, Swedish chemist and engineer died in 1896, he willed that a yearly award be given to scholars who distinguish themselves in the fields of physics, chemistry, medicine, literature and peace. Nobel invented dynamite.

In 1901, the award took off with Wilhelm Rontgen, a German, winning the award for the first time in physics for discovering x-rays. Jacobus Van't Hoff from the Netherlands also won in Chemistry for his work on the laws of chemical dynamics and osmotic pressure.

The first winner of the prize for literature was Sully Prudhomme, a French poet.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez, a novelist, journalist and social critic from Colombia won it in 1982.

Since inception, the award for literature has been skipped thrice in 1914, '35 and '45 respectively.

immeasurable global prestige, they remained mostly fascinating yet an incomprehensible lot, observed some critics.

No wonder Lionel Ngakane, a South African film maker described Soyinka as a rare African, an intellectual and literary giant whose works encapsulate the problems and present conditions of African peoples and concluded that Soyinka is "a complex man." His critics say he talks down to his readers and audience, that his writing style is tinged with a dose of obscurantism. But Soyinka has often defended himself: "I cannot claim a transparency of communication even from the sculpture, music and poetry of my people, the Yoruba, but the aesthetic matrix is the fruit of my own creative inspiration."

Soyinka was born in 1934 to an Ijebu father and an Egba mother, both of whom have died. He calls himself an Ijebu, a coinage from his Ijebu and Egba origins. But he is very cosmopolitan.

After his childhood in Abeokuta, an experience he has catalogued in one of his latest books, *Ake*, he attended Government College, Ibadan from where he went to the then University College in the same city. His stay at the University saw a rebellious Soyinka always at war with the colonialists. At the end, he got a poor third class degree. But Soyinka was undaunted. He left for Leeds University in the United Kingdom and in between, worked as a reader at the Royal Court Theatre. He taught in various Nigerian universities-Ife, Lagos and Ibadan. After he was freed by Gowon in 1969, Soyinka went into exile, returning to Nigeria in 1975.

He has had various drama troupes of his own. In 1966, he won, along with the American Le Roi Jones, a prize in drama at the First World Festival of Negro Art. His award winning play was *Kongi's Harvest*.

An earlier play, *Dance of the Forests* was commissioned and performed for Nigeria's independence celebration in 1960.

Soyinka's colleagues and Nigerians have expressed happiness for his winning the Nobel Prize. Professor John Pepper Clark said: "I am happy for my friend. I am delighted." External Affairs Minister, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi said: "It's a marvellous news, not only for Soyinka. The award is a recognition of African perspective in Literature."

That was precisely Soyinka's reaction too last week. But he was not allowing the euphoria of the Nobel Prize to divert him from his current works: "I've got a production coming up which I don't intend to cancel. So as they say in America, 'It's business as usual.' Professor Soyinka's play, *'Death and the King's Horseman'* would be showing in the United States in January.

Professor Soyinka returned to Nigeria last Friday. As he embarked on the UTA plane that brought him from Paris, he was swarmed by friends and well wishers: who hectored incessantly: "congrats, congrats!"

Soyinka was all smiles as he told reporters: "I feel very proud, very proud of the Nigerian, the nation and my colleagues."

— Funso Ogunlade

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AFRICA 1986

Chief Abiola speaks out

The clarion call for contributions to the debate to work out a stable political arrangement has just ended with an avalanche of memoranda from individuals and interest groups throughout the country. Recently, the chairman and publisher of the Concord group of newspapers and magazines, Chief M K O Abiola, expressed his views at a gathering of Egba Obas and Chiefs. A report by Tunde Agbabiaka.

In making his contribution, Chief Abiola, a power-broker who cannot be ignored, began by saying rather modestly that he was speaking as a Nigerian who has never held public office in the country and who has "no future political ambition."

By the time he had gone through his 23-page address, Chief Abiola had started his audience by endorsing a one party system, discussing the federal character, proposing the scrapping of the 19 state structure and the secret ballot voting system.

An avowed democrat, Chief Abiola suggested that the country try the one-party system come 1990. He gave his reasons:

"Firstly, the recent probes and panels have revealed that all our politicians are the same as the rest of us — they are both saints and sinners, none of whom possesses outstanding superiority over the others."

Where they differ, he pointed out, was the degree of opportunity available for the perpetration of abuse.

Secondly, there is an absence of genuine differences in political ideals on which a sound multi-party culture can be built.

Thirdly, Nigeria has always operated a *de facto* one party system since no ruling party has never given significant freedom to political opponents.

Concession

He conceded, however, that the one party system had its dangers, the most significant one being the fear of dictatorship.

Taking this into account, the publisher suggested that a maximum of five years needs to be imposed for certain major public offices to prevent "domination and the building of a cult of personality."

He declared half jokingly, that "in our own context, a powerful political office may be likened to a toilet: to stay too long in it is to invite all manner of flies, some of which can be dangerous. . . Nigeria has so many potential leaders from all corners of our large nation that it cannot allow anyone or any group to monopolise leadership for longer than five years."

On the intractable problem of electoral rigging Chief Abiola had a novel solution, which he said was being successfully operated in Kenya "and had achieved a relatively peaceful political process of stability and had reduced substantially the extent of political corruption." He calls it the "open



Chief M K O Abiola

ballot system." In this system, all the aspirants have their enlarged pictures raised up at every polling centre at the same time throughout the nation. All the supporters of each candidate will line up behind his picture at each polling station and the number counted on the spot.

On the thorny issue of census and representation Chief Abiola recommended that provincial representation of *old*, "as we used to have in the legislative council, should be reintroduced until the census confusion is resolved."

Local government

The Concord chairman said that in view of its proximity to the people, the local government election reforms recently adopted by the government should be critically reassessed. "Anything short of giving local governments their due pride of place in the new scheme of political arrangements will merely perpetuate the farce of the past and further entrench false representation."

Indeed, if the Chief had his way, he would scrap the present 19 state structure and revert to the old provincial system "as a major basis of government." He pointed out that besides being financially strapped, a look at the new states created to "appease" the minority has shown that it is

difficult to find a single instance where the creation of the states has significantly improved the lot of the ordinary citizen. "What has happened," he said, "has been a sharp improvement in the fortunes of the local elite. . . The states as presently constituted and managed are not viable, do not serve the interests of the people, but merely multiply the number of unproductive administrative positions."

Addressing himself to the issue of federal character which has in recent times polarised the country, Chief Abiola wholeheartedly endorsed the concept saying that "federal character properly is not inconsistent with merit."

He cited the examples of the recruitment exercises into the Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA) and the Nigeria Police Cadet courses, where in both cases advertisements are made in each state; those interested are shortlisted, and the best candidates are appointed. If this method is used for recruitment into either the public service and parastatals, Chief Abiola went on, the "mediocrity and favouritism" that characterised the application of federal character would not arise. He declared: "Every part of this country has very able people but they are not chosen because probably they are not so well connected."

The economy

Moving to the economic domain, he welcomed the timely decision to privatise some money-guzzling parastatals. He warned, however, that much as it is a laudable policy, it should not be pursued at the expense of the workers and their families. He called on the government to introduce a charter to protect the ordinary workers against the sudden loss of their job due to privatisation.

As a check on the emergence of a new class of corporate buy-all-predators, Chief Abiola suggested that workers, through the trade unions and other professional bodies, should be encouraged to own substantial shares in the corporations and parastatals for which they work. In addition, no individual, or family should be allowed to own more than one per cent of the shares of any privatised corporation.

Finally, Chief Abiola took a quick look at Nigeria's foreign policy objectives, past present and future. He proposed that the Nigerian constitution's foreign policy objective be expanded to "state categorically our objective to work for the establishment of a Union Government of African States." He wondered how Europe, after centuries of war, could work towards continental unity despite language barriers, while Africans think it cannot be an attainable goal for them. He declared: "Merely making Africa the centrepiece of our foreign policy, without specific objectives and goals in mind, looks like idealism for its own sake."

Excerpts from Chief Abiola's contribution to the just-concluded political debate

On one-party system in Nigeria

The details of such a system will need to be worked out but it will end, once and for all, the sham of multi-party 'democracy'. The central lesson we have all learnt from the exposures of all the probes and panels is that all our politicians are the same as the rest of us — a group of saints and sinners none whom, as a group, possesses an all-together outstanding superiority over the others. What differs is the degree of opportunity available for the perpetration of abuse.

We might as well pull all our strengths and weaknesses together in a single political organisation and fight out our individual/collective innocence and guilt within the single political network to which we will also belong as our right. All these leaders who must pull us apart to rule us for 2 or 4 years before a coup of one type or the other will, by force, learn to work together and spend their time usefully in uniting us and not dividing us.

The Professors, Army, Police, Bishops, Imams, Obis, Emirs, Ohas, farmers, clerks, big and small businessmen, traders, manufacturers, market, office and other groups of women, intellectuals, communists and capitalists, illiterates, invalids and able-bodied Nigerians and all the rest of us will belong to one party. We are all Nigerians, aren't we? And is politics not about the management of our Nation? We have enough real natural and cultural divisions amongst us. We do not need to invent additional artificial ones.

The political division between the rich land-owners and poor workers, which gave birth to the two party systems in the UK and to a lesser extent in the US, does not exist here. Each party is no more than the old political tool of the first group of politicians, who refuse to bury the hatchet. Let the process weld these die-hard foes together for the benefit of all.

On future local government

The kind of one party option I am advocating is highly predicated by placing local governments at the centre of attention.

That is why I believe it is a mistake to introduce a local government reform other than as part of an overall political arrangement. The foundation of society is the family, in the same manner that the foundation of political arrangement, which I have earlier defined as the science of the management of society, should be the local government set-up. We should no longer put the cart before the horse!

I emphasise, again, that the Political Bureau should, please, review the Dasuki Report and the White Paper thereon to

prepare a proper foundation for their own exercise. That should, in my opinion, be part I of their report. Otherwise, the structure they want to construct may be fundamentally defective and could well go the same way as its predecessors, which I pray not. If genuine votes emerge at provincial level, the provincial votes will be added together for national offices. This means that emphasis will be shifted from the centre, as it is now, to the grassroots.

The first advantage of provincial government is its proximity to the people. The distance, both psychological and physical between the rulers and the ruled is what our people have come to accept as ideal, over the years. From my personal experience of our social systems and its operations, I have come to realise that at local levels, difficult differences that exist are differences that are organised.

Responsiveness is the second attribute of a provincial system of government which will also ensure ease of accountability. Since local governments operate at close quarters and handle basic problems, they should be the first priority in a new political arrangement for the country. Anything short of giving local governments their due pride of place in the new scheme of political arrangements will merely perpetuate the farce of the past and further entrench false representation. I emphasise this because advanced nations are those where local areas are encouraged to develop separately in their own way.

On open ballot system of election

A new voting system is also needed. Such a new strategy as is being advocated necessarily entails the open ballot system of conducting elections. In this system, various aspirants will have their enlarged pictures raised up at every polling centre, at the same time throughout the nation. All the supporters of each candidate will line up behind his picture at each polling station and the number counted on the spot and totalled for each province.

The same process will occur for all aspirants at the same time so that everybody knows the number of votes belonging to any candidate since counting will be done on the spot and in the open. This strategy is now practised in Kenya and has achieved a relatively peaceful political process and political stability and reduced substantially the extent of political corruption. A corruptly-elected government will never govern with probity.

On census and representation

I would also like to point out that the

former system of apportionment of representation based on population is not an ideal one in our circumstances. We all know that, realistically, our nation does not possess a credible population figure hence any apportionment for parliamentary representation based on the spurious census figure is downright fraudulent, grossly unfair and divisive.

We do not need to start blaming anyone because the problem started long before Nigerians were able to know what was happening. Provincial representation of old, as we used to have in the Legislative Council, will serve the purpose until the census confusion is resolved.

I do not see how any new census will be different from the past muddle. If anything, I now believe it will be worse. The use of the NYSC to conduct the census will hardly help either, since most of the havoc in census matters is done at the collation stage, which cannot be controlled by the NYSC.

I recognise that our failure to conduct a fair census casts a serious doubt on the very basis of our political togetherness. I, however, believe that the seed of unreliability in census matters, sown by the British, is now so deeply rooted that it will take quite sometime to uproot it totally.

On Federal Character

I see nothing wrong with the principle but the practice has not worked to bring into the Federal service the best people that every state could provide. Our lopsided application of the principle of "Federal Character" (not the principle itself), has created a serious hindrance to our national progress. A nation does not become great by deliberately putting round pegs in square holes. That is not the Federal character, but Federal suicide! We must realise that we cannot run after we have shot ourselves in the foot! The Nigerian Army example has been given as a model that can be copied in the requirement for senior service cadre in the civil service and publicly owned bodies.

On the role of traditional rulers

The single party will determine, by consensus, what roles are befitting to the traditional rulers. It is my personal hope that we will go back to the old system that provides for a House of Chiefs at the provincial level to review bills before they become law. The Upper House at the national level will also be partly composed of chairmen of the Provincial Houses of Chiefs. The old and new must work together to ensure stability and ordered progress in our society.

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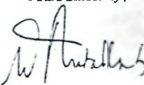
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AFRICAN CONCORD 23 OCTOBER 1986

Reshaping the police

Police begins a structural adjustment programme

THE top echelon of the Nigeria Police Force was considerably expanded to accommodate more top-ranking officers following last week's announcement of a new command structure for the force. The new structure which left the force highly decentralized allowed for the appointments of at least five deputy inspector-generals instead of one and more than seven zonal assistant inspector generals. The reorganisation came barely two weeks after the President, Major General Ibrahim Babangida, dropped the hint in his October 1 broadcast.

Mr. Mohammed Gambo — the deputy inspector general up till last week — was quickly named by President Babangida as the new inspector-general to succeed Mr. Etim Inyang who retires next week. The new openings at the top secure double elevation for Mr. Fidelis Oyakhilome, former governor of River State, who moved to the post of deputy inspector-general. He was asked to head the directorate of Police Training Command one of the newly fashioned five directorates. The other directorates include operations, headed by Mr. Victor D. Pam; Finance and Administration, headed by Mr. John Odu; Criminal Investigation, headed by Mr. C. Omeben and Logistic and Supply headed by Mr. M.B. Wali all of who were also elevated to the rank of deputy inspector generals. Mr. D.A. Aboyade-Cole an assistant inspector general whose other colleagues had now been moved up the ladder appeared to have been side-tracked.

The newly created five directorates replaced the seven departmental set-up ("A" to "F") along which the police headquarters was previously run.

The assistant inspector-generals who erstwhile headed the departments have been moved out of Kam Salem Building — the Police Headquarters. They would henceforth be the anchor men at the newly created Area Commands. Newly promoted assistant inspector generals were equally named for the Area Command.

Mr. M. Nassarawa took charge of Zone One made up of Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto states. Mr. A.I. Attah Alli headed Zone Two comprising Lagos, Ogun and Oyo States. Zone Three — Borno, Bauchi and Gongola States — was put under Mr. A. Baba Fika; and Zone Four, which comprised Benue, Anambra and Plateau states was headed by Mr. Marcus Fasanya.

Others were Mr. A. Malumfashi for Zone Five, made up of Ondo and Bendel States. Zone Six made up of Rivers, Imo and Cross River States was headed by Mr. Usman Adeyemi while Mr. A.G. Abubakar was put in charge of Zone Seven comprising Kwara, Niger States and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

The new order also saw the promotion of Mrs. C.B. Ugowe as the first police woman to the rank of assistant inspector general. She has been named the Force Secretary.

The new arrangement looked like a neat way out of the handicaps imposed by the cumbersome set-up of the police headquarters which hitherto appeared to have been over-centralized. For example the former 'A' Department alone saw to



Gambo: A challenging task

administration, personnel management, training welfare, police staff college, band, railway police, police colleges, public relations, special constabularies, medical services and Port Authority Police. The 'B' department handled operation, Police Mobile Force, Armament, Marine, Transport, Signals, Animals, Airwing, Highway Patrol and Central Motor Registry. Other departments were equally heavily loaded.

This set up was seriously indicted over the

ineffectiveness of the Nigeria Police Force by the New Chief of General Staff, Rear Admiral Augustus Aikhomu while announcing the reorganization last week. He said that the arrangement had not allowed the force to be responsive to the problems of a rapidly changing society like Nigeria.

It was the contention of the Chief of General Staff that the country required a dynamic and responsive police organisational structure and that the new structure was an attempt to respond to the problems of growing rate of crimes. He said that the arrangement would increase the capability of the police to deal with the problems as well as ensure better and efficient delivery of services.

Rear Admiral Aikhomu also argued that the growth in the strength of the police and the creation of states had further necessitated the reorganisation. He said that apart from its size, the country was diverse in its culture and social settings.

A police source who shed light on the Chief of General Staff's announcement explained that the creation of the new area commands would facilitate decision-making as the assistant inspector-generals could now take "on-the-spot" decisions without having to seek clearance from Lagos. He said that the area command had been carefully drawn with due consideration to the cultural background of the component states.

The police had been accused of constantly losing touch with the realities of their environment. The structure now being phased out saddled the inspector-general with the impossible task of co-ordinating police operations throughout the federation and to issue directives from the Police Headquarters.

The inadequacies of this arrangement were adequately exposed by recent developments, the latest of which was the robbery escapades in Bendel State, and the intractability of a notorious man, Lawrence Anini. He was declared wanted last month by the police but could still not be arrested even though he was reported to be inside Benin City. After his disillusionment with the Bendel Police Command, the outgoing inspector-general, Mr. Inyang, dispatched his plain-cloth men under cover to Benin to track down Anini. He even gave the instructions not to make themselves known to any policemen in Benin — a situation which expressed the deep distrust within the police force itself.

Most of the recently arrested armed robbery suspects are reportedly being detained in places deliberately concealed from many policemen. Sources say that the new Inspector General took the recent armed robbery burst as a personal exercise and refused to delegate certain aspects of it to some police officers.

It is only the headquarters that has been restructured. The State Commands were left as they were. It is, however, not known how much the present structure is going to redress the previous defects. The authorities seem optimistic.

Oluwambo Balogun



Arap Moi

The return of private enterprises

As privatisation wind blows through Africa, Kenya hosts an international conference to strengthen the trend.

AFRICA will need to create 436 million jobs by the year 2025. The new jobs would meet growing population and economic requirements, according to the International Labour Organisation. Can the public sector alone satisfy this great need? The verdict seems to be negative, to go by the wind currently blowing private businesses into greater role across the continent. The wind signifies a departure from the widespread post-independence government's dominance of economic activity.

Many economists and development experts now seem to believe, therefore, that the way out is greater encouragement of private enterprise. New industries and other projects guided by the profit motive flavoured with social responsibility, would eliminate government bureaucracy and inefficiency to achieve better results in utilizing the continent's vast resources and manpower.

Some countries are already swaying with the wind of privatisation. In Tanzania, the government is selling thousands of acres of state-owned land to increase agriculture production. In Ghana, government has been persuaded by the World Bank to reduce substantially the role of state enterprises in the distribution sector, with similar prospects expected for other sectors. On its part, the Nigerian government has signified its intention to privatise many of its parastatals.

Several international bodies have given their blessings to this phenomenon described as "an emerging new economic approach to recovery. The Africar Development Bank and the Economic Commission for Africa in their 1984 Economic Report on Africa recognised the potential role of the private sector in economic development. So did the May, 1986 United Nations Special Session on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis on the basis of the joint submission on the issue by the OAU and the ECA.

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The October 21 to 24 conference in Kenya attempts to take the efforts of these bodies one step further on the dialogue plane. Holding at the prestigious Kenyatta International Conference Centre in Nairobi, it is "intended to facilitate a dialogue between the three parties — Government, business and private development agencies — which hopefully will result in concrete suggestions for effective private sector initiatives in both social economic development".

Titled "The Enabling Environment for Effective Private Sector Contribution to



Adedeji, ECA

Babacar, ADB

Development in Sub-Saharan Africa", it is the first conference of its kind here. It draws together 150 participants representing governments, the business sector, and the

private development agencies from Africa, Europe and North America. Sponsors are the Aga Khan Foundation (Switzerland), the government of Kenya, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, Inter Action, the African Association of Manufacturers and Voluntary Agency Development Assistance.

Big names attending the conference include Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi, His Highness the Aga Khan, ADB President Mr. Babacar N' Diaye, ECOWAS Secretary-General Momodu Munu, ECA Executive Secretary, Prof Adebayo Adedeji, Commonwealth Deputy Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Mr. David Rockefeller Jr. of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and many others.

A series of commissioned papers are to provide framework for constructive thinking and debate at the conference. These papers fall into three broad topic areas: (a) the relationship of government and business, (b) the relationship of governments and private development agencies and (c) the building of a meaningful dialogue between all three sectors — government, business and the private development agencies.

Consisting of plenary sessions and small group workshops, the four-day "think tank" is expected to produce specific suggestions on tackling issues such as how to encourage indigenous small scale enterprise, how to promote social responsibility and increased collaboration between the social development and business sectors.

Other problem areas include how to achieve clarity and continuity in legal systems, and administrative procedures applicable to both social and economic development activities and how to engender more efficient



Aga Khan

and effective utilization of the private sector's resources to areas such as health and education.

— Fredintaz Igberae

Disinformation

A precursor of big-power destabilisation

The implications of the US Administration's disinformation campaign against Libya are examined by Fidel Odum.

Last week, a top official of the US State Department, Bernard Kalb, resigned over the controversy that his government was engaged in the dissemination of false information about Colonel Gaddafi's much-proclaimed involvement in worldwide terrorism, a pastime of Reagan's foreign policy. Mr Kalb, formerly a State Department television correspondent, was brought into the Administration in the capacity of Assistant Secretary of State by Secretary of State George Shultz two years ago.

Announcing his resignation from the podium where he had in the past explained the Administration's position on a range of issues, the journalist-turned-government spokesman regretted that he had been forced to choose between patriotism and narrow loyalty. Recalling that he had been promised "no lies, no misleading" when he was hired, Mr Kalb, a familiar face in these past two years to television viewers beyond America, cited the revelation by the *Washington Post's* Bob Woodward (of Watergate fame) that disinformation regarding Libya had indeed occurred.

Woodward's exclusive followed an earlier report by the influential *Wall Street Journal* of 25 August that America was once more heading for collision with Libya, which was said, as usual, to be hatching new transnational terrorist campaigns to hit American and West European targets. The report further revealed that the US Government was bracing itself for such a campaign, and that intelligence monitoring showed that the Gaddafi regime was facing strong internal opposition and was likely to fall.

The *Washington Post's* own report of two weeks ago, as that of the *Wall Street Journal*, was based on leaks from Administration sources, but went far beyond. The *Post's* report derived from a leak of a memorandum by the National Security Adviser, Rear Admiral John Poindexter, to the President, spelling out the so-called Libyan plot and suggesting how to counter the scheme. The stunning thing about Poindexter's paper is that it was all a hoax, manufactured by inter-departmental groups that constitute the web of the ever-growing National Security Council. Bob Woodward was able to prove that the whole Libyan story was fiction. So Bernard Kalb resigned, causing the Reagan Administration considerable embarrassment as the President departed for Iceland for his meeting with the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.

For us in the Third World, especially in Africa, this is a crucial development, but not because there is anything new in the disclosure of this dirty tactic by a superpower. The general tenor of criticism in the African press against US foreign policy, particularly on Southern Africa, is understandably strident. But this has never been aimed at vitiating the fact that there are decent and honourable human beings like Bernard Kalb and Bob Woodward in the United States. In fact, there are millions of them, in Europe too. However, analysts are painfully aware of the fact that politics among nations are fraught with intrigues, lies and all sorts of abominations. To that extent, it must have been naive of Mr Kalb to have entered government in the first place, for disinformation is a principal tool of big-power politics.

The lesson therefore lies elsewhere. It is a lesson in the makings of power in our time. That information is power has never been more apparent as man prepares to march into the 21st century. The capacity to collate and analyse information, store it, harness it to various uses in science, technology, medicine, economics and politics, etc, is the game of modern politics. No wonder, therefore, the rivalry between the superpowers assumes a very serious turn in the battles between intelligence groups, the activities of spies and so on. For example, stolen information about the manufacture of a brand of aircraft, missile or bomb

could make a great deal of difference in the balance of power between contending groups.

Equally, the power to disinform the public could affect the political equation, more so when employed as a fore-runner for interference in another country's domestic affairs. Among themselves, the rival powers of the East and the West are perennially engaged in propaganda and counter-propaganda. But in the relations between the powerful and less powerful nations it is the latter that bear the brunt of disinformation. The intelligence agencies of the Americans, the Soviets, the British, the French and many others are daily engaged in acts of disinformation in developing countries.

In Africa, the most familiar case is the orchestrated campaign of lies by South Africa against its neighbours which invariably gives it the excuse to destabilise any state. A typical case in point was when the Pretoria regime, engulfed by the rebellious activities of the oppressed majority, suddenly "discovered" caches of arms and ammunition "brought in" by the ANC from neighbouring states. A campaign of disinformation based on this hoax was trumpeted to the world and soon after, last May, the racists invaded Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. Presently, South Africa is again massing troops in the region, especially along the Mozambican border.

In the case of the United States, the pursuit of that country's national interests, salient and imagined, has always been accompanied by a combination of disinformation and overt and clandestine activities by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This began in the post-war period, when the United States, along with the rival Soviet Union, donned the garb of a superpower. Since the fifties, American foreign policy, thanks to the CIA, has been marked by such activities in its relations with South-East Asia (mainly Vietnam), the Chinese, the Soviets, the Latin Americans and the Africans. Even American citizens themselves have been periodically traumatised by the lies and deceit that have accompanied US policy, especially in Vietnam.

When President Reagan began his bullying of Gaddafi, which climaxed with the April raids, we cautioned that America had not produced sufficient evidence to prove that Libya was responsible for most acts of international terrorism (see issues 88 and 89), while taking care to point out our reservations on Gaddafi's excesses. The latest developments have now vindicated the mercurial colonel in Tripoli, even though we continue to be concerned over his penchant to be offensively too loud and interventionist in the domestic affairs of other African states.

The main loser, however, in the long-running US-Libya row remains President Reagan, who continues to give his country a bad name as a bully.

As if to corroborate America's guilt as a bully, more of the CIA's involvement in destabilisation in Latin America came to light last week. A CIA undercover agent, Eugene Hasenfus, was captured by the Nicaraguans after the plane in which he was travelling was shot down. The plane, whose pilot and two crewmembers died, was carrying supplies to the Contra rebels of Nicaragua from El Salvador.

Administration officials claim that to destabilise regimes like Gaddafi's and Ortega's [of Nicaragua], regardless of tactics, is "fair game." That reasoning cannot stand. For us in the media, it is particularly perturbing that a substantial part of what gets reported and analysed in the more powerful information systems of the powerful nations is nothing but hoax. It reaffirms the urgency of the need for a new order of international information, and it is the responsibility of the Third World press to scrutinise mercilessly the "information" put out by the big powers.



President Museveni: reassures the nation

Uganda

Museveni talks to the nation

Following the recent detention of Ugandan cabinet ministers, President Museveni has spoken reassuringly to the nation. Henry Gombya reports from Kampala.

President Museveni's broad-based NRM Government looked to some as if it might be tottering when three cabinet ministers were detained recently, accused of attempting to overthrow the Government. But in his address to the nation on the eve of Uganda's 24th Independence anniversary celebrations, President Museveni was quick to eradicate this misconception.

He said that the NRM would not tolerate any threat to the security of the people of Uganda, and it had been in the people's interest that the offenders were brought to trial. The same would apply in the future. "If anybody misreads our magnanimity and broadness of mind, they are making a very big mistake," he said. "We do not see the reason why anybody should resort to violence or subversion."

He said that there are many positive elements across the spectrum of politics in Uganda today. "The only snag is that some elements of the political elite are so politically backward that the only form of politics they are capable of is sectarianism, corruption, and intrigue."

He said that the Ugandan rebels' attacks on NRA units in northern Uganda did not indicate a loss of the people's confidence in the new administration. When the NRM seized power last January, it did not do so with the consent of "criminals", as he put it, who were now in southern Sudan, nor with those who had recently been plotting

against his government.

Most of these elements had been on the enemy side by the time the NRM took power. If some of them decided to continue with their old treachery towards the people, it could not in any way weaken his government. "We merely accommodated them because we wanted peace," he said.

He said that the Government was in the process of developing the armed forces to ensure that Uganda would no longer be a victim of terrorism or banditry.

"We shall not tolerate a situation where Ugandans are arrested arbitrarily, where their property rights or the sanctity of their lives are violated or humiliated in any way," he said.

Turning to questions about the Ugandan economy, he said that the idea of further devaluation of the Uganda currency had been dismissed because this would make imports very expensive, and would affect the local economy.

He isolated three major problems in Uganda's economy:

- inadequate government revenue due to a narrow tax base, because most taxable goods, for example industrial products, were not being produced;
- low producer prices for crops like coffee, maize and beans;
- a foreign exchange deficit due to the country's needs exceeding export earnings.

He said that the devaluation of the currency would have put the dollar further

out of the reach of importers. This would have put imported input, such as agricultural and industrial implements further out of the reach of the people.

Owing to the scarcity of foreign exchange, the meagre resources could not have been managed by the demand and supply of foreign currency.

The Government had made it easier for the importers of priority items to import vital inputs into the economy. Farmers would be rewarded for keeping down the production costs: "Increased production will in the end solve our problems," he said.

The balance of payments deficit will be solved by increasing the export of non-traditional crops: hence the big campaign to increase the production of maize, beans, groundnuts, simsim, sunflower, castor-oil seeds, in addition to traditional crops such as coffee, cotton, tea and tobacco. "In this way we hope to double or treble our foreign exchange earnings and even cut the discrepancy between what we pay for imports and what we earn from exports," he said.

Although the campaign for exportable crops is going well, there are weaknesses in the ability of the Produce Marketing Board to buy the produce of the farmer. They lack vehicles and at times finance.

Increased earnings

He observed that Uganda has made some headway in improving its foreign exchange position by increasing its earning capacity and undertaking projects that help in saving foreign exchange. Progress has been recorded in, for instance, Mulago Hospital where there is to be a reduction in treatment of patients outside the country, restoring much of the investigative capacity at Mulago Hospital; Uganda Airlines planes have been recovered and are now earning money; Ntyil factory in Jinja has had several foreign exchange allocations that will enable it to produce more textiles; and Uganda Blankets production is about to resume at a pace of two thousand blankets per day.

In addition to the infrastructure and rehabilitation measures, the President noted, the Government has provided large scale relief to the war-ravaged areas of the Luwero Triangle, West Nile and the Districts of Kumi, Soroti, Lira, Kitgum, and Gulu.

A team has been sent to Europe to negotiate for the purchase of trucks, tractors, and road repair equipment. He said that the process of road reconstruction will continue either with assistance from the World Bank or with bilateral arrangements with countries which have greater construction capacities.

Twenty-four years of bloody strife

A look back at post-independent Uganda by Henry Gombya in Kampala and Adwoa Korkoh in London.

Twenty-four years ago Uganda joined other African countries as an independent state after more than 60 years of colonial rule which began with the signing of the 1900 Agreement between Britain and the Kabaka of Buganda.

As the Union Jack was pulled down at Kiolozi airstrip, Kampala, to be replaced by Uganda's red, yellow and black flag, people broke out into the new national anthem: "Oh Uganda, may God uphold thee, we lay our future in thy hand United free, for liberty Together we shall always stand."

But few among the cheering crowds could have predicted that, within four years, the country would be plunged into bitter political strife which is still rumbling beneath the surface today.

It has largely been blamed on the country's first prime minister, Milton Obote, and feudalistic elements in Uganda's most powerful tribe, the Baganda. But the seeds of the grim tragedy were sown by the British who created elites and cultivated crippling divisions between the north and south of the country.

The new independence government, on 9 October, 1962, was a coalition between Obote's Uganda's People's Congress (UPC) and Kabaka Yekka (KY), a party formed to safeguard the interests of the king of Buganda. This marriage of convenience managed to outmanoeuvre the staunchly Catholic Democratic Party (DP).

But by 1966 the political tug-of-war within the cabinet had led to the arrest and

detention of five ministers who had been critical of Obote's leadership. They were accused of plotting a 'palace coup' with the connivance of the Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, who fled into exile in Britain.

In April 1967, Obote tore up the independence constitution and turned Uganda into a republic with himself as its president. He then embarked on the eradication of feudalism, abolishing all the kingdoms and introducing social reforms under the motto, 'One People, One Country, One Parliament, One Destiny'. Sweeping economic changes were also introduced



The notorious Idi Amin

under the 'Move To The Left' programme and the 'Common Man's Charter'.

But relations between the Army Chief of Staff, Idi Amin, who had been instrumental in the crackdown on the Baganda feudalists, became strained following the disappearance of £2.3 million in Ministry of Defence funds. In 1969 an attempt was made on Obote's life and Amin fled in fear. His deputy demanded his court-martial and was later found murdered. Amin was placed under investigation but remained Chief of Staff.

While Obote was out of the country, in 1971, Amin seized power, firmly backed by Israel and Britain, whose investments had been partially nationalised by Obote.

They turned a blind eye to Amin's rule of the gun in which members of the armed forces were given a carte blanche to maintain law and order. But they had second thoughts when, in 1973, Amin nationalised £250 million's worth of British investments.



Milton Obote: his regime was as ignominious as Amin's



Ugandans look sadly at heaps of skulls and skeletons of their compatriots killed in the Luwero Triangle by the Obote and Obote's armies



Godfrey Binaisa, UNEF 'ambassador' of national unity did not work

Special Report

Between 1971 and 1975, up to 200,000 Ugandans lost their lives under Amin's reign of terror and the country was plunged into a nightmarish anarchy. In 1979, the rebel Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) backed by Tanzania, which Amin had tried to invade the previous year, toppled Amin. Yusufu Lule, an academic, was installed as president but after 68 days in office, he was replaced by the barrister Godfrey Binaisa. Neither succeeded in forging national unity out of Amin's chaotic legacy.

Whether Museveni succeeds, only time can tell, but the fact that he enjoys the goodwill of the majority of Ugandans suggests that he might.

Following a collapse in government, Paulo Muwanga, a shrewd Obote loyalist, stepped into the vacuum and announced that elections would be held. The 1980 poll turned out to be a two-horse race between the UPC and the DP who very soon looked set to win. Anticipating this, Muwanga stepped in and announced that he was taking over the running of the elections. The UPC subsequently won and although the results were largely regarded as a sham they were endorsed by a team of Commonwealth observers. Meanwhile the British took the lead in the international rehabilitation of Obote who, after eight years in exile in Tanzania, was now president again.

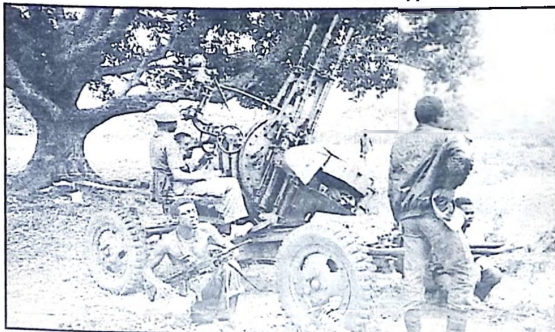
Obote, now a 'repentant socialist', accepted massive amounts of aid from the World Bank and virtually handed over the running of the economy to the International Monetary Fund. But in the abs-



Yoweri Museveni when he was guerrilla leader



General Tito Okello from whom Museveni snatched the baton of power



In the northern region of the country, there is still some resistance. Above is an NRA anti-aircraft unit

ence of a firm policy of national reconciliation, the hoped-for political and economic stability eluded the country. The military, since colonial days recruited largely from the north of Uganda, remained totally undisciplined and violence and brutality once again became the order of the day.

The DP, under the leadership of Paul Ssemogerere, which agreed not to boycott parliament despite their allegations of election rigging, proved an ineffective opposition. The real opposition was to emerge from the bush in 1981 as anti-government fighters under the leadership of Yoweri Museveni started their armed struggle against the government. Within a year the guerrillas were able to make strikes against Kampala, the capital, and Obote began to take the offensive.

In 1983 he deployed two thirds of his army in a six-month sweep through the Luwero Triangle, north of Kampala, and the massacres of the Amin years were repeated. The West kept a discreet silence over the chilling reports of atrocities and Obote continued to retain his credibility, even in Africa, thanks largely to the help of his old friend, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

Bitter factions in the army helped Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) to make dramatic headway. In July 1985 senior officers overthrew Obote in order to prevent the NRA seizing power. The new head of state was General Tito Okello. But the NRA refused to recognise the new ruling Military Council since many of its members were implicated in the atrocities of the past few years. President Moi of Kenya and President Mwinyi of Tanzania tried hard to persuade Museveni to accept a peace agreement but failed. Meanwhile, the Uganda National Liberation Army (the national army) continued to loot, rape and murder.

In January, as the country slipped into greater anarchy, the NRA marched into Kampala much to the relief of the terrorised citizens. Museveni has learned the lesson Obote refused to learn — the importance of reconciliation. His government has been as broadly based as possible and contains several ministers who served in the Okello Government. A number of these were arrested earlier this month for plotting Museveni's overthrow.

To tackle Uganda's immense problems, President Museveni has worked out a ten-point programme to help consolidate national independence, develop a self-sustaining economy, rehabilitate war-ravaged areas, and eliminate corruption and the misuse of power.

The watchword of a country in which up to a million people are thought to have been killed in the political strife of the last twenty years, is peace. Whether Museveni succeeds, only time can tell, but the fact that he enjoys the goodwill of the majority of Ugandans suggests that he might.

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Economy

Starting all over again

Uganda's economy is in tatters after years of war. Bayo Onanuga reports.

Once described as the pearl of Africa, Uganda is now a pale shadow of itself. Crisis after crisis has smothered its march to progress and today, every facet of the country's life suffers from instability.

Industrial production is poor and the country's once thriving commercial sector has collapsed. The coffee industry which once provided the bulk of Uganda's foreign earnings faces serious problems of neglect. And tourism, once the third biggest revenue earner, has inevitably suffered from the years of war. And the game which used to be its main attraction has been depleted by indiscriminate hunting. Pot holed roads and derelict schools, houses and areas need to be rebuilt, dried up water taps are just some of the symptoms of a country in ruins.

But it's not all despair. Despite the tattered economy the country is still able to produce enough food to feed its 14 million people and spare some for export to neighbours like Tanzania. For Ugandans, the only regret for the past years of turmoil is that they are starting all over again, while other countries are busy consolidating the development strides of the past two decades of independence.

Uganda tried the International Monetary Fund's 'second window' to auction foreign exchange but the problem became worse.

Among one of the NRM's most pressing problems remains the \$1 billion foreign debt which costs the government \$200 million a year to service. Another is coffee smuggling and the illegal import of a variety of goods into the country. Meanwhile the low value of the shilling remains a huge headache.

In January 1981, the Ugandan shilling exchanged for 7.59 to one US dollar. By December 1981 the rate had climbed to 85.56 shillings and since then it has never dropped back. Uganda tried the International Monetary Fund's 'second window' to auction foreign exchange but the problem became worse. The shilling now exchanges at 1,400 shillings to one US dollar, the black market rate is 500 per cent higher. The Museveni Government seems short of a magic wand to restore the value and hopes are now hinged on a plan to change the currency next year.

The rampant inflation means that the
AFRICAN CONCORD 23 OCTOBER 1986



Smuggling is one major part of the informal sector. Soldiers invariably intercept goods as in this case at Kasese

average person's wage packet does not stretch very far. Government salaries were recently reviewed and a minimum wage of 9,000 shillings established. But the 120,000 shillings paid to government ministers each month is not enough to live on and survival in Uganda appears to be a daily miracle.

But the government is striving to provide basic needs. Recently the Ministry of Commerce ordered private importers to sell goods like salt, soap, detergent and sugar to state companies. They are then

sold through the Resistance Committees across the nation. The government has also placed an order for \$9 million worth of sugar. It was prompted by the exorbitant price it was being sold at — often as high as 10,000 shillings a kilo.

At the centre of the country's multi-pronged strategy for economic recovery is the use of barter as a means of trade. Although no barter agreement has been signed with any country, it is being seen as a basic strategy for survival.

Monarchy

Once powerful, now abolished

The Baganda monarchists continue to seek their kingdom's restoration.

Legend has it that the first king of Buganda, Seginda Semusolo, was born at Bukasa, one of the tiny isles which make up the Sese Islands. His grandson, the fourth Kabaka, was known as Buganda, and is said to have welded together various tribes into a single kingdom.

During his rule, the Kabaka of Buganda established a centralised government, appointed his elder brother Musisi-Wasswa as a spiritual leader (Lubaale) and set up several chiefs in various posts.

He later moved from the Sese Islands and set up his seat at Lunyo, Entebbe. Because of his powerful government, the area under the king was named after him, to become the kingdom of Buganda.

Buganda's grandson, Kintu Kato, son of King Mawanda II, further strengthened the administration left behind by his grand-



The late Kabaka in his heyday



Prince Ronald Mutesa must be returned to Uganda a couple of months ago

rather than to come from New Zealand to fight the renegade British Warlord, who had installed himself as king at Boga, near Kampala.

Part of what a Uganda today during Mutesa's reign was divided into several small kingdoms of Banyoro, Iteso and Banga. They later swarmed from Banyoro to form another kingdom.

These kingdoms continued Uganda influence with their own traditions in developing a local culture. But conflicts between them continued.

This was the state of affairs until the nineteenth century when the explorer John Hanning Speke and other white missionaries came to Uganda. It was the most powerful kingdom in East Africa and further as the source of the Nile.

European infiltration, which included Germany as well as the British, steadily increased, and in 1900 Sir Harry Hamilton, Britain's Special Commissioner for Uganda, and the Kabaka of Buganda signed the Buganda Agreement, which effectively brought the country under British control.

In 1923 a crisis arose in Buganda when the Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen, attempted to create an East African Federation without explaining how the Kabaka and other tribal rulers would maintain their prestige and power. The Kabaka, Sir Edward Mutesa, protested and declared Buganda independent. He was sent into exile in Britain. But at independence, in 1962, Mutesa was appointed president.

There soon developed a tug-of-war

between monarchists and nationalists which resulted in 1966 ousting the army commander, Idi Amin, to crown the Kabaka's palace.

The Kabaka fled to London, where he died in poverty three years later. His son, Prince Ronald Mutesa, was declared Kabaka. Ghazi later abolished all the kingdoms.

In 1971, following his seizure of power, Amin had Mutesa's body returned and buried in the ancestral royal tombs at Kasubi. Amin was then faced with immediate pressure from the Buganda for the restoration of their kingdom, but he ignored their demands.

Their hopes were revived by the guerrilla war against Milton Obote's second Government. But today's ruling National Resistance Army is side-stepping the issue.

Meanwhile, the restoration of a former palace belonging to Mutesa at Bannamukia, 35 miles south of Kampala, has been completed. Everything used in the king's palace has been restored and the fire lit, a symbol that the king is still living. His successor, Ronnie Muzambi, has returned from Britain to Uganda.

Reliable sources have disclosed that he declined a post of "royal" ambassador on the ground that he is about to start his duties of hearing disputes in the Buganda clans, some of which date back to 1966 when his father fled the country.

Children of war

A source of pride and despair

Barbara Kavirya writes on the plight of children during Uganda's years of conflict

Half of Uganda's population of 15 million is under 15 years old — a generation brought up in the violence of Amin and Obote. It is they who carry the heaviest scars of the civil strife which saw as a million Ugandans killed.

Thousands of their youngsters are now orphans, many of them members of the country's "river culture" selling anything they can at their hands in — whether it is legal or illegal. Few have had the benefit of an education and most have lost all motivation for learning. Almost all have a pathetic cry to tell.

Noelina Naggita, 14, tells of how in 1964 the new war parties, armies and brothers landed on their house in Obote's soldiers who then fired missiles at it. She watched the whole incident from a banana grove where she was tending. The soldiers claim they were looking for insurgents.

Girls to live to give after the no one to care for, school fees, how to get apart from joining the army. Noelina tells visitors to the Uganda's children's home, one of the 17, few state-owned homes for children in Uganda. But beyond her tragic story like a one of the younger war orphans of the war. Some of her best, watched to as



Child-soldiers, 11-year-old Musa (left) and 9-year-old Taitala after the fall of Kampala

soldiers took steps to care their mothers before killing both parents. Other girls of Noelina's age were themselves raped by soldiers or taken off to the army units to become their "wives".

A number of children fled to the bush where many died of starvation.

One child, "Robert", picked up in Luwero last year, aged about six, cannot speak and is only now learning to respond to human beings. His chances of ever leading a normal life are "absolutely zero", doctors say.

But while they are a source of despair to the nation, Uganda's children are also a source of pride. There were hundreds of young boys, some of them not yet teenagers, in the ranks of Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army which brought an end to the five-year civil war in January. The boys, most of them orphans from Luwero who joined the NRA because they had nowhere else to go, fought with courage against the older and better trained army which they defeated.

Museveni says these young fighters will now be sent to schools or military academies. But as masters of their own lives and of their country's destiny, it is clear they will have to have a special type of education.

For the time being these "kideges" as they are known, carry on with their daily military activities, marching, road blocks and uniform customs. Their future, however, remains unpredictable.



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Interview

Working towards a bright future*

Days Owinga from our League bureau recently interviewed the NRM Prime Minister, Dr Samson Kitchka in Kampala. The veteran 70-year-old politician, who served as health minister in the independence government, speaks about the future of the war-torn country.

Q. As the leader of government business, what do you consider to be the greatest challenge facing the government?

A. Before we came to power, we made up our minds about what we wanted it to and have now put forward the Ten Point Programme. But initially we found everything was in a tangle. We had to try to find out the best way of implementing our program.

We had to make sure we entered for all sections of society. That is why we rejected tribalism as so important. In the circumstances we thought the best thing would be to suspend party politics.

Essentially we are trying to step up production because for so many years production has been falling producing great deficits. But in one of the crises growing areas, all the crises there have become what is a situation to disunity we have got the western and the oil to help us.

Q. You mentioned the government's efforts to reconcile all the different interest groups in Uganda. But what you bring former political opponents and government they may cause difficulties within a and acute instability. Do you agree?

A. Well, that could happen. But we believe that these people were being misled by the agitators. It is our duty to convince them and ensure that the country can only remain stable through unity.

We now govern by using the people to elect their own leaders in their areas. In that way they can tell the government what they need. We have never had this system before. What we did have was a sort of indirect rule in which the government gave orders to the people without asking them what they wanted.

Now if we pronounce the former elite, they will discover that we have something better to offer. Conflict can only arise out of misunderstanding. We are not against anyone in the country. We are not against party politics but we are suspending it, so that we know exactly what the people want. Once we have the necessary framework, we can have partisan politics.

Q. At present you don't have representatives of the common people in government; rather representatives of the suspended parties. How do you reconcile this?

A. The parties will one day face elections. If they have a better programme than ours, we have no objection. We are not competing with them. But we want our people to be united. We have suffered enough. We have good copper, water — yet we are not using them. We are being exploited. So we

tell the people that until we come together to harness all these resources, we cannot make progress.

Q. How soon does the government plan to rehabilitate the war-damaged areas?

A. We've started. We have managed to get several tractors and tipper and we've just begun work on one big road from Kampala to Hoima.

Q. Has government done the costing of this rehabilitation?

A. No, but the first six months of the emergency will cost us \$161 million. The rest will be included in an economic plan.

Q. The budget for this year is yet to be approved by the NRC, so how has government been operating?

A. We have an emergency fund and we'll run this until the budget is ready.



Prime Minister Samson Kitchka, optimistic about the future

Q. The Uganda shilling is almost valueless. Officially, one dollar exchanges for 1,400 shillings; but the black market rate is about 8,000 shillings. What is the government doing to restore the value of the shilling?

A. We have to build up production. Once we have sufficient food to sell to other neighbouring countries, we won't need to go to the World Bank to get loans. As of now, we service the interest on inherited debts to the tune of \$200 million a year so, we cannot afford to go to creditors to ask for more. Of course, they are willing to give us more if we want it. But we know we will never develop this country by getting money from somewhere else.

We have so many resources. We could grow more beans, soybeans and maize. Maybe neighbouring countries are short of these goods. We can barter with them. Take Ethiopia — they need food, but they have salt. We need their salt and we can exchange our food for it. That's why we are members of the Preferential Trade Area.

Q. Some people believe the four years set aside to rehabilitate the country is not long enough.

We are not against anyone in the country. We are not against party politics but we are suspending it.

A. That is what we think too. We are not gods after all. If after four years the people think they need to give us more time — then it is up to them.

Q. What is the government doing to rehabilitate schools in war-ravaged areas like Luwero?

A. We are trying to raise some money. In February I inaugurated a fund and called on international donors to come to our rescue. I have also been going round the country to appeal for assistance. Once this is given we shall have a committee to distribute what we have.

Q. You made a statement in July when you said the government did not consider the restoration of the monarchy as a priority. What is the position now?

A. We and we don't have the mandate of the people because it is a national issue concerning the kingdoms of Buganda, Toro, Ankole and Busoga. We are saying they should wait until we have a constitution. Meanwhile, we have allowed all the sons and daughters of the former kings to form one of them is our High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam.



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Special Report

Q. Some of the local papers allege there is a clandestine movement to bring Obote back to power for the third time. Is there any truth in this?

A. These stories are just sensational, so we are not worried about them. The people believe in what we are doing as they themselves took part in the toppling of Obote. He should not dare to impose himself on the very society which evicted him. He was president, minister of finance and minister of foreign affairs at the same time and stole the country's money. Any group which thinks they can reinstall him is dreaming.

Q. What is the state of relations between your country and its neighbours?

A. Very amicable. In March we invited six heads of state to come to Entebbe. We had another meeting in Nairobi in June and we have since formed a ministerial committee on inter-regional co-operation. We have also joined the PTA and have agreed to have a joint Kenya-Uganda railway corporation.

Q. Is there any plan to resuscitate the East African Community?

A. Why not? We have the school of Aviation in Soroti, Uganda, which serves the whole of East Africa. We also have the East African Development Bank, and we are now planning to have an inter-university committee in which all the universities in the region will come together. The

future is bright and we are working towards it.

Q. But when the old EAC was dissolved, the members shared the assets. Are you planning to pool resources together again?

A. Not necessarily. This was a mistake, and there is nothing we can do about it now but to start afresh. There are some assets which have been left and we say "hold on to them." We want unity. A united East Africa is a step towards a united Africa. We have to start somewhere.

Q. What message do you have for Ugandans outside the country?

A. Come back home. They should come back home with their expertise so that we can develop as quickly as possible.



NRA women soldiers at the battle front in northern Uganda

Revolution in women's lives

Women's lives have seen dramatic changes under the NRM, writes Catherine Watson.

The NRM (National Resistance Movement) revolution has created a new political space for women in Uganda. Even in status and fashion-conscious Kampala, women are involved in their progressive plans.

Hitherto, the country has had no proper women's movement. In the past, Ugandan women were organised only through branches of international groups like the Mothers' Union, which were more keen on limited good works than political change.

Today in Uganda there is at least one woman on every Resistance Council Committee. This means that about 40,000 women have leadership roles in the grass-

roots system of local government set up by the NRM.

There are also women soldiers in the NRA, including women commanders. About 500 of these women fought in the guerilla war, but today some are new recruits fresh from the training camp for women at Bombo, in Luwero district.

In the NRM Secretariat, there is an Office for Women's Affairs. At the political schools in Entebbe and Wakiso, leading women in the NRM's struggle. They include Gertrude Njuba, Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation, and Olive Zizinga, an NRM Social Organiser. Both were with the

NRA in the bush and now sit on the National Resistance Council, the policy-making body of the NRM.

Another is Janet Mukwaya, head of the NRM's Office for Women's Affairs. She sits behind her desk, relaxed and laughing, wearing a tie-die tee shirt and a cotton wrap-around skirt, her hair natural in style. She and her husband, a quantity surveyor, joined the NRM in April 1982.

In civilian life she was a magistrate, so when she joined the National Resistance Army (NRA) in the bush, the High Command asked her to draw up the judicial code for the army and for the resistance committees which was acting as people's courts in the areas controlled by the NRA (a role they still hold today).

Source of power

She sees women's participation in the 1981-85 war as having been an essential springboard for raising of women's status in Uganda. "You cannot claim your rights properly if you have not defended your country. But in the NRA women defended Uganda." Women were not only soldiers, they also cooked, nursed, dug and built shelters, carried out political work, formulated policy and provided an invaluable intelligence network.

Now Janet Mukwaya is mainly involved in what she describes as the politicisation and mass mobilisation of women. Five women cadres are assigned to her office to work with her. There are another twenty in the countryside, a number which will grow as more women graduate from the political schools. She and the women cadres hold group discussions and seminars around the country.

Perhaps most importantly, they visit women on the Resistance Council Committees. To date these function at three levels — village, parish and sub-county



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The Prime Minister's office has set up a fund to assist some of the children, but voluntary organisations like UWESO, too, have a crucial role to play by providing the human parental contact that a government department cannot give. Some UWESO women have themselves adopted children from the orphanages.

UWESO was re-launched in May. It has received a lot of support from Ugandan women with, at the peak, as many as 264 women attending one of its fortnightly meetings. There were many offers of help in cash and kind to UWESO when the case of Robert, the child who grew up with monkeys in the forest, came to light. (See *African Concord*, Issue No. 98). The publicity surrounding Robert has brought a lot of attention and material help to the Naguru Reception Centre, where he is slowly being rehabilitated.

UWESO plans to conduct a national survey to estimate the number of orphans so that they can gauge the magnitude of the problem they are trying to solve. They aim

eventually to make each orphanage self-reliant, where they can grow their own food to supplement the income derived from the state and funding bodies.

UWESO also plans to establish in Bukomero, Luwero, a children's village of about 18 units with each house taking about ten children. "We hope they will have a resident mother and a plot of land to grow up like other rural children. We want a primary school there so that other children in the surrounding villages will attend."

The Ministry of Rehabilitation will provide 60 acres of land for this project, said Mrs Mpanga. "The idea is to have a farm as well on which food for the town homes can be grown, so that our children can learn proper farming. We want to encourage them to fit into their home areas. This model will protect them from institutionalisation and is the closest to a natural home."

The work awaiting UWESO, and indeed the whole nation, in the rehabilitation of

the orphans and displaced children cannot be underestimated. It goes far beyond supplying them with parcels of food and clothes.

There is plenty of goodwill both from inside the country and abroad. Most people with Ugandan connections seem willing to help in any way they can, however small.

The representatives from UWESO were told of a family living in Cambridge who over the years has untingly posted parcels of clothes to charities in Uganda; many never arrived at their intended destinations.

Air France, even though it does not fly to Uganda, has agreed to carry free of charge any parcels for UWESO to destinations near Uganda, which means Kenya and Rwanda. This will cut the expense of paying freight charges in foreign exchange which UWESO does not have.

Uganda Airlines, the national carrier, has yet to agree to any such arrangement with UWESO.

Fashion aid for UWESO

Elizabeth Kanyogonya reports on a fashion show organised in London by Ugandan women to raise money for the children orphaned during the war.

The London-based Uganda Ladies Group (ULG) organised an African fashion show and disco early this month to raise money for the Uganda Women's Effort to Save the Orphans (UWESO) organisation.

UWESO is at the moment based in Kampala, the Ugandan capital, but it is expanding nationwide. From gate takings and an auction of a few bottles of wines and spirits, ULG collected over £2,000.

The guest of honour was Mrs Hannah Lule, wife of the late Yusufu Lule, Uganda's first president after the fall of Idi Amin in 1979. She cut a cake made in the shape of Africa.

ULG was set up in 1983 'to assist in the enhancement of a spirit of unity' among Ugandans living and working in Britain. There was very little 'spirit of unity' to be found among Ugandans anywhere in 1983 at the height of the Milton Obote UPC regime, which in terms of numbers of people massacred by his rampaging soldiers was probably worse than Idi Amin's.

But it was, perhaps, a sign of the changing times that the

leaders of the ULG should now include Mrs Ada Rusita, wife of the new Ugandan High Commissioner in London, along with members intricately associated with the previous regime. Even though the group is supposed to be open to all Ugandan women, in the past, no one who was not a card-carrying member of the UPC — or married to one — dared go anywhere near their functions or groups. This was because of the often groundless fear and hostility amongst Ugandans that the UPC regime engendered.

One of the purposes for which the ULG was set up is to introduce to the host community a better understanding of the Ugandan way of life and culture. After the show, there was some Kiganda dancing. (from Buganda, the central region of Uganda) by the girls who had modelled the kiganda dress, the *busuuti*, and a beautiful and unusual decollete dress made out of bark cloth. More than ten African countries — from Zaire to Somalia and from Mali to Tanzania — were represented in the fashion show.



Anita Musisi (centre) in Kinyankole dress

A Nigerian member of the audience said that the event had been an eye opener for him as he had never seen Ugandan traditional dance — even though he knows many Ugandans. He commented on how little we, as Africans, know of each other's traditions and customs and said that events like these should be supported because of the many purposes they can and do serve.

One criticism of the show was that the organisers should have used African instead of Western music to accompany the models on the catwalk — especially since Zaireois and South African music was played for the disco later in the evening. Another was that all the organisers should have worn traditional dress from their own

area of Uganda — or from other African countries in order to show off African fashion 'living and working,' as it were, instead of just leaving it for exhibition.

The effort made in organising the event was evident, for instance, in the time it must have taken to select the dresses and suitable models and getting them all together — but there were rather too many hitches and stops and starts which should have been eliminated in rehearsal.

In spite of that, most members of the largely Ugandan audience seemed to have enjoyed themselves. Many did not leave until the small hours of the morning and few would decline to support the serious cause for which the show was organised.

UGANDA RAIL: The journey so far

UGANDA Railways was formed in 1977 after the collapse of the East African Community. The East African Railways Corporation, with the headquarters in Nairobi, operated railway services in the three East African countries.

The present Uganda Railways network is 1,200 km. The Uganda Railways network connects to the Kenya Railways at Kisumu and the border point of Malaba. Currently, with the revival of marine services on Lake Victoria, Uganda Railways connects to the Tanzania Railways network at Mwanza. The Eastern and Northern Uganda regions are served by the rail line stretching from Malaba through Soroti, Iddi, Gulu, to Pakwach and the Central region by the rail line from Kampala through Nape. Towards Kenya's border at Malaba, Western Uganda is served by the Kampala-Kasese extension.

Marine services operate from a bridge over Lake Victoria connecting the Tanzania Railways network to the Uganda network. A similar connection exists to the Kenya Railways network through Jinja-Kasese. This bridge is formed by three wagon ferries each with a deck capacity of 22 large wagons able to carry 880 net tonnes of cargo. These ferries are capable of making three return trips per week each

and can cover two-way traffic of over 25,000 tonnes of cargo per week.

On the interregional scene it handles the imports and exports in/out of Uganda plus the transit traffic to/from Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire and the Sudan. Through both marine and rail services, the Corporation is able to handle freight originating both from Kenya and Tanzania, particularly Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam ports for dry cargo and Malaba for petroleum products.

Besides rail and marine services, Uganda Railways Corporation operates road feeder services from Mbandi to Kampala.

For imports into Uganda and transit traffic through Uganda originating from Kenya there are two routes: Mombasa-Nakuru-Nakuru-Malaba or via Kisumu connecting through marine services to Jinja for onward movement to any point in Uganda and beyond. For imports and transit traffic originating from Tanzania Railways, there is the Dar-es-Salaam-Tabora-Mwaza rail service and the Mwaza-Jinja marine service providing the third outlet from Uganda.

For transit traffic to Rwanda and Burundi, possible transhipment points by road are Kampala and Kasese. For Zaire-bound traffic Kasese is the transhipment point.

Through bilateral arrangements with Kenya and Tanzania Railways, smooth movement of international traffic has been made possible. Border formalities have been streamlined through negotiation of each country's customs seals. This has drastically reduced transit time, a benefit to rail users through reduced tied-up capital in transit stocks and deterioration of goods. This move is in line with the Northern Corridor transport system arrangement of facilitating quick movement of all international traffic.

Whereas the road charges from Mombasa to Kampala are of the order of US dollars \$100 per tonne, the Kenya-Uganda Railways services offer a freight charge for the movement Mombasa-Kisumu/Jinja/Kampala journey at a rate ranging from US \$35 to \$40 per tonne. With the new transit arrangements, the normal transit time between Mombasa and Kampala should rarely exceed 7 days.

Under the regional transport projects of the Kagera River Basin Organisation (KBO) constituted by Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania and Burundi, future plans for the expansion of the railway network from Uganda to Rwanda with the headquarters in Kigali (Rwanda) are under way.



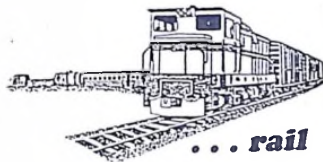
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Ali Kitonsa: the greatest, fastest and strongest



Ibrahim Dajala: another star

Football, once a crowning glory

As the country celebrated its *uhuru* in 1967 it was hefting that it took part in the finals of the Africa Cup of Nations in Addis Ababa for the first time.

Though Uganda did not win the cup, the team's performance was commendable. Among the stars were Noah Mbowa and John Agard, Moses Wabwayi and Peter Okea.

Uganda increased her dominance of East Africa through its leading team, the Cranes. It won the East African Challenge Cup in 1968, 1969 and 1970. But the political turmoil in the country put a damper on football.

However, Uganda qualified for the second time in 12 years for the Africa Cup of Nations finals in Cairo in 1974. Goalkeeper Joseph Masajje was voted third best goalkeeper and Stanley 'Tank' Mubiru voted Africa's best right-winger. But it lost the East and Central African Senior Soccer Challenge Cup to Tanzania in Dar es Salaam on penalty-kicks in 1974.

The cranes became losing semi-finalists in Lusaka, Zambia, the following year but bounced back in 1976 and won the cup in Zanzibar. They retained the cup the following year by beating Zambia on spot-kicks in Mogadishu, but this marked the end of Uganda's soccer glory.

On club level, however, Simba Football Club (Uganda army) became the first East and Central African Club to reach the African Clubs Cup final, losing to Halif-Conakry of Guinea, in 1972. Kampala City Council was the second team to bring glory to Uganda when they became the first Ugandan side to win East and Central African Club Championship, beating Tanzania's Simba on penalties in Kampala in

1978. The same club lost to Kenya's Leopards in Mogadishu in the same tournament in 1979.

Football continued to suffer from Idi Amin's Re-organisation of Sports, established in 1975. Sports administrators were dismissed and replaced by soldiers. Those who protested were persecuted. The crisis reached its climax when Idi Amin's right-hand man, Lt Col Abdullah Nasur banned the express Sports Club, detaining several of its players for a number of months.

The standard of soccer continued to decline even after Amin's overthrow in 1979. The stars of yesteryear were never replaced by new talent.

Today the national team is only a name. Unless the present system of running sports in the country is changed for the better, the chances of building a strong Uganda Cranes to repeat past glories are few.

UN to set up model villages

Uganda plans to set up model 'villages' as part of the rural development drive, funded by the United Nations Environmental Protection (UNEP).

UNEP is to sponsor three villages in Gombe in Mpigi District, Butaleja in Tororo, and Olimi at Lira and Kotido districts borders. According to a technical officer in the Ministry of Environmental Protection, Higeyni-Dumba, UNEP is also funding one village in a stock-rearing, semi-arid area, Rubama in Mbarara District. The project will dwell particularly on better exploitation and conservation of basic natural resources, like soils, water,

vegetation and animal life. Under this category will be specific issues like production of adequate food. The survey of alternative sources of energy, to reduce dependence on fuel-wood and the consequential depletion of forest resources, is an idea also being nursed by the planners.

The villages will be assisted to develop a model social services infrastructure. These will include sources of clean and safe drinking water such as bore holes and protected springs. Sound sanitary systems and roads will be developed. Better public health care, dispensaries, adult literary classes and provision of schools are also on the agenda.

Now the Uganda Government is going to set up its assisted village projects. Surveys are currently being carried out by the Ministry of Environment to identify places where they could be set up.

Meanwhile, UNEP has agreed to sponsor a survey to assess the state of environment in Uganda. Aspects to be considered are: natural resources, landscape and land utilisation. The survey begins this month and ends in December. Uganda is said to be the first country that UNEP has agreed to assist materially and financially.

Religion: A divisive factor

Despite the esteem with which they are held in society, the clergy cannot solve Uganda's political mess, writes Henry Buyaango. For the Church has become soiled by politics.

Christianity, the religion founded on the cardinal principle of love has, since its introduction to Uganda, divided the country. Shadows of British and French competition for the control of key institutions in the 19th century. Since then the Protestants and Catholics have looked upon each other with mistrust. And this has seeped into political life.

The Catholics have always felt insecure whenever a Protestant leader was in power and vice versa. It was this kind of suspicion which led to the formation of the Democratic Party (DP) in 1954. Since then politics in Uganda has been viewed through either Namirembe (seat of the Anglican Church) or Rubaga (seat of the Catholic Church). In fact, many people in Uganda are of the opinion that DP is being great by Rubaga. The religious factor is so run by Uganda's politics that the DP great in the Okello military junta in supported the Museveni's National Resistance Movement. The reason was that Catholics at last had a sizeable share of the country's political power.

And in the current tension case in which Museveni's cabinet ministers and some DP officials are involved, all except Paulo Muwanga, are of the same religion — Catholic.

Partisan press has to be wary

No less than eight new publications have come onto the streets since Yoweri Museveni seized power in January. And there are signs that more are on the way as the press banks in its new found liberty.

But they are not getting it all their own way. In April the government banned the Weekly Digest and its editor now faces charges of publishing false information. Earlier this month the editor of the Citizen, the opposition Democratic Party newspaper, was arrested along with a batch of leading politicians.

Most newspapers in the country continue

to be strongly partisan. The Sun and Ngebo support the monarchists while the Mwana, Uganda's oldest paper founded in 1911, and the Express and Vision, are Catholic owned. The Muslims have the Fozzi and Al Noor.

Others are linked to the various opposition groups and they frequently criticise the Government. Recently Information Minister Abubaker Mayanja personally visited a number of newspaper offices to explain government policy to them. "It's a healthy development," said the editor of the six year old Ngebo, Maurice Sekakwungu. "And the first time a minister has visited us."

But Uganda's press suffers from severe

production problems. Printing and composing machines are out of date and newspaper extremely expensive. Photographs appear to be a rarity in some publications and a poor communications network makes distribution a nightmare.

The Editor-in-Chief of Telecast, Innocent Kazaoka, boasts a national readership, the paper's daily print-run is only between 4,000 and 5,000. Very few papers surpass this figure. The one government-owned paper New Vision, is now published twice a week and plans to go daily soon, according to its British editor, William Pike. The local language newspapers, though, are hot sellers.
• Bayo Onanuga

Uganda and foreign press

Crisis manufactured by media

A M Babu takes issue with the Western media and Ugandan detractors abroad.

The Western media which thrive on the chronic chaos and upheavals in Africa are already mounting "experts" to declare the Uganda Government in crisis after the announcement that three ministers and an ex-vice-president have been taken to court and charged with treason. They have even commandeered some Ugandan "patriots" abroad to come out and confirm the "experts" verdict — for a few pounds. And the latter, because of their frustration of having been left out in the cold, go as far as to express their wishful-thinking that the Uganda Government will fall within the next few weeks or months because it is communist, or militarist, or whatever.

The reality, however, is that there is no government crisis and that the Government will not fall. First, the Ugandan revolution that brought the NRM to power was not carried out by the handful of people who are on trial, on the contrary, the revolution has succeeded in spite of their support for the Obote and Okello governments. They were brought into this government courtesy of Museveni and not of their own right. In fact, many people in Uganda have criticised Museveni for associating some of these people with the government in the first place. Rather than there being a "crisis", there is a huge sigh of relief that they are gone, whatever the result of the trial.

Second, they did not constitute a "political threat" as alleged, because they have already either lost their political credibility or had no political base to constitute a threat. Ordinary Ugandans are regularly asking, where were these "leaders" when the Obote and Okello governments were exploiting and massacring the people? Most of them were either dining and winning with the oppressors or were away in exile while the NRM kids and their leaders were sacrificing their lives in the bush to save Uganda. And as a result, those who remained outside the country while the war between "good and evil" was raging in Uganda, are totally ignored by the masses. Their views do not reflect the true situation in the country.

Third, the people of Uganda have a lot of respect for Museveni's self-confidence and good faith in taking into his government people who have contributed nothing to the NRM struggle, inside or outside the country, when he was not obliged to offer them appointments. By appointing them he has enhanced their political status in the country and given them a platform to speak on behalf of Ugandan people. The NRM was perfectly capable of taking over the entire state machine and running it effectively without sharing power with anybody. In the context of the struggle for power this would have been perfectly justifiable and unchallengeable. Having insisted on involving all sections of

the nation in the running of the affairs of the state and country in the spirit on national reconciliation, he has shown not only self-confidence but also his confidence in the Ugandan people. This has earned him the respect of the majority as well as legitimacy. People are policing themselves in the cities, towns and villages.

Fourth, all those who oppose the NRM other than Obote and his vanquished army have proved to have no fundamental disagreement with the Movement, only personal ambition or resentment. The mass of the people understand this phenomenon. Museveni, right from the outset, has made it quite plain to all Ugandans of whatever political persuasion to come home and serve their country. If they have any political or ideological difference with the NRM or Government they are free to air their views and encourage debate among Ugandan people. If they choose to stay out and continue to undermine the efforts to unite the Ugandan people after so many years of state-promoted divisions and suffering then they will expose themselves for what they are.

"They have even commandeered some Ugandan "patriots" abroad to come out and confirm the "experts" verdict — for a few pounds."

Fifthly, of all the post-colonial Ugandan leaders, Museveni is the first to advocate and observe freedom under the rule of law. Uganda has the freest press in East Africa, based on the principle that you cannot advocate freedom and then deny the people the right to know, as is the practice in most parts of Africa. When the people were clamouring for vengeance against some officials of the overthrown regimes, Museveni bluntly refused, insisting that if anybody has any material evidence of past law-breaking by any such officials, military or civilian, they should take it to court through the normal process of law. He even punished NRA and NRM officers, whatever their position in the hierarchy, who took the law in their own hands.

While we are on the subject of freedom, notice the swiftness with which the accused have been taken to court so soon after their arrest — within less than 48 hours. This is a record in Africa where alleged political offenders remain in custody for months, if not years, before they are brought to trial. Treason cases, for one thing, are often very hard to prove because of the difficulty in establishing motives and opportunity for the commission of the offence. Also, given our inexperienced investigating officers,

Special Report

some of them with hardly any education, and given the notorious police corruption and the all too tempting powers of the state to detain people indefinitely without trial, cases like these take ages before they go to court. This swift action established the Government's commitment to the rule of law. Its moral and intellectual honesty compels us to hail and encourage it.

Finally, we should remind the Western media, their "experts" and their Ugandan "patriots," to refrain from commenting and passing judgement while the case is *sub judice*. If they observe and respect this practice here in the West they should equally respect it in trials "overseas." Their media, especially radio and press, have considerable influence in many of our countries; what is broadcast or written today, is heard today or read tomorrow in these countries. Museveni has proved, to Ugandan people and to the rest of the world, that he is above reproach as far as respect for the law is concerned — he is not an Amin, or a Bokassa, or even an Obote — and he must be respected.

Those who oppose the regime on ideological grounds have no excuse to air their views outside their country. They have been given ample opportunity to do so at home to contribute to peaceful change. This is the only justification for holding and expressing opposing views in politics. Otherwise, their indiscretion may contribute to violence and destabilisation at great cost to the Ugandan people. They cannot hope to remove the government by remote control.

They will only be playing into the hands of Africa's detractors at their own expense and to their own political discredit. The people who have fought and sacrificed their lives for their liberty and their national dignity are not likely to be overthrown by a handful of opponents without any mass base. This regime has not come to power by means of a coup, and it cannot be removed by a counter-coup. This is the reality of the situation; in the interests of the Ugandan people, the sooner it is appreciated the better.

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BAT UGANDA 1984 LIMITED

24TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE

On the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the country's independence, the first one under the NRM government, when Uganda has the opportunity of making a fresh start, BAT Uganda 1984 Limited would like to send its best wishes to President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, the Government and all Wananchi, with an undertaking that the company will play its fitting role in the social and economic development of the country.

BAT now a joint venture

Twelve years after its appropriation BAT has made a come back as a Joint Venture Company, with BTA holding 70 per cent of the shares and the government 30 per cent. The new Company is known as BAT Uganda 1984 Limited.

When BAT left Uganda in December, 1972 tobacco production totalled some 5,000 tons and cigarette manufacture at the Jinja Factory averaged 140 million per month. During its absence, cigarette production declined drastically to the lowest level in 1981, when 60 tons of leaf and 231 million cigarettes were produced respectively. There was some positive recovery after 1982 as a result of IDA funds which the then National Tobacco Corporation (NTC) used to purchase machinery, spare parts, wrapping materials and tobacco field inputs.

Although the Kampala Plant and the Jinja Factory were found to have survived remarkably well under the NTC's management, efficiency had declined, coupled with low tobacco production. The Company therefore inherited numerous problems in all sectors of the industry, which had to be tackled.

Jinja Cigarette Factory

The basic objective is rapid expansion of cigarette production in order to meet market demand. Towards this goal, the Company installed three new cigarette machines in 1983 at the Jinja Factory, coupled with programmed and timely procurement of wrapping materials and programme machinery maintenance. This has led to an increase in cigarette production to an average of 120 million per month as opposed to 80 million in 1984.

Tobacco Growing

The Company continues to provide field inputs and implements to tobacco farmers interest free. It has rehabilitated most tobacco barns and marketing centres and has initiated a woodfuel re-afforestation programme to ensure the future availability of wood for curing tobacco, in addition to experimenting on various barn furnaces in order to economise on woodfuel use. Field supervision has also been improved by providing extension staff with better transport.

Kampala Green Leaf Processing Plant

At the Kampala Leaf Processing Plant, the Company's efforts have been directed towards improving the standard of tobacco processing to an international level. This involves provision of machinery, spare parts and proper machine maintenance. The Company has also re-roofed some of the buildings.

Limited computerisation has been introduced as a management tool at the Company's Head Office.

Future Plans

These will be concentrated on four fronts:

1) Cigarette Manufacturing Expansion

The objective is to rehabilitate the factory by installing modern machinery and equipment to reach a productive capacity of some 500 million cigarettes per month. These investments will be programmed and tied to the Company's cash generation.

2) Increased Tobacco Growing

The objective is to improve farmers' tobacco yields, which are low compared to international standards. The prerequisites, include timely provision of field inputs,

decent standard of extension service and a fair market price for tobacco.

The Company will continue to supply essential inputs to farmers. Barn and marketing centre rehabilitation will continue and farmers will be encouraged to erect new barns cheaply using locally available materials. Besides ensuring economy in woodfuel usage, the re-afforestation programme started by the Company in 1985 will continue.

(3) Improvements in tobacco processing standards

A long term loan (US \$1.5 million) has been obtained from Uganda Development Bank for the rehabilitation of the Kampala Plant. Subsequent to installation of machinery, the quality of threshing and classifying tobacco will improve to internationally accepted standards. Other plans for the Plant include re-roofing and rewiring of the Plant and storage buildings, re-pointing of residential buildings and renewal of boilers and steamlines.

(4) Training

Training of staff which has already started will be accelerated in order to improve productivity.

The amount of money required to achieve the objectives is enormous. The Company has to generate this money locally through trade and by borrowing from financial institutions. The Government has been requested to consider tax reduction in order to accelerate rehabilitation and expansion of the industry. The Company will not fail to achieve its objectives given availability of funds and foreign exchange.

Reykjavik mini-summit

The mating of the super-powers

If the Third World spoke with a united voice, it would be a force for East and West to reckon with. In the light of the recent Reykjavik mini-summit, Kofi Bueonor Hadjor puts his case.

The failed Soviet-American mini-summit captured all the headlines. It has been big news. In the media it was heralded as the meeting that could determine the future of the world. On the eve of the summit, Gorbachev stated that the summit "has direct consequences not only for the two superpowers but also for every part of the globe." Reagan spoke in a similar if more cautious vein.

All the media hype cannot but provoke cynicism in a critical observer. It is difficult to swallow the proposition that Reagan and Gorbachev have become fervent advocates of world peace and are about to solve the problems facing mankind. Reagan indicated that he wanted to put the issue of human rights in the Soviet Union at the top of the agenda — which is another way of saying that he was more interested in anti-communist propaganda than in disarmament. As for Gorbachev, his main concern was to stabilise superpower relations so that he could devote his energies to tackling the problems of the stagnant Soviet economy.

Although often bitter rivals, the two superpowers have one or two things in common. Reagan and Gorbachev are keen on atmospherics. That's an American term for creating the impression of dialogue and the relaxation of international tension. They are also determined to consolidate their positions as superpowers — if need be at the expense of the rest of the world.

As they say in Africa, "When two elephants make love, it is the grass that suffers." That is why the Third World should notice that there is something sordid about the two superpowers sitting down to determine the future of humanity. It is not clear who gave them the authority to act in such a God-like fashion. Since they are not accountable to the rest of the world there is no reason to believe that any agreements reached at such a meeting will be in the interests of humanity as a whole.

If recent history is anything to go by, agreements between the superpowers tend to represent a carving up of the world. This is what happened at Yalta where the representatives graphically divided up the world map in front of them into their respective spheres of interest.

Recent experience shows that summits about disarmament are often about other matters as well. The famous summit between Nixon and Brezhnev in the seventies was as much about South-East Asia as about strategic arms limitation. Brezhnev promised to make life easier for Washington in South-East Asia and in return got detente.

Discussions of disarmament and peace at superpower summits such as the one just ended often have little meaning for Third World countries. The framework of the negotiation assumes that peace already exists and that the danger of war stems from the nuclear arms race. Such an assumption is inherently ethnocentric. The forty years of peace that Western commentators like to talk about is based on a very selective appreciation of the problem.

To be specific, it is Europe and the major industrial powers which have enjoyed forty years of peace. For the rest of the world life has been far from peaceful. Forty years of peace! Tell that to the people of Vietnam, Chad, Iran or Iraq. In fact since 1945 there have been hundreds of wars fought in the Third World. Only during the two world wars have more lives been lost than in these conflicts.

The maintenance of peace in Europe has often meant the promotion of war in the Third World. The superpowers have had no inhibitions about invading Third World countries and establishing their spheres of influence there. While Reagan pontificates

about world peace, Washington is busy pursuing strife and conflict in Angola and Nicaragua. The invasion of the little island of Grenada by American troops shows the real meaning of peace. One can be certain that such trivial matters did not get in the way of the peace talks in Reykjavik.

The superpowers' concern with disarmament must be treated with not a little scepticism. Both the Soviet Union and the United States are busy selling arms to the rest of the world. Arms salesmen go from one Third World country to the next offering their wares. Neither side wants to see the ending of what is for them a very profitable Iran-Iraq war. As far as they are concerned the Third World is a useful testing ground for the weapons of destruction.

It would be wrong for Third World people to look on the summit as a matter of no relevance. For the Third World, superpower matings are often a signal of danger. In recent years the United States and the Soviet Union have often managed to work out an understanding at the expense of the Third World.

For example, the Kremlin has been quite happy to turn a blind eye to the American airstrike on Libya. Soviet experts in Libya even refused to make available the intelligence information they possessed about the impending strike. In return Washington has eased its pressure on the Soviet Union over Afghanistan.

'While Reagan pontificates about world peace, Washington is busy pursuing strife and conflict in Angola and Nicaragua.'

The superpowers also have an understanding about the Middle East. Neither side wants matters to get out of hand. There is even talk of an international conference on the Middle East under the joint supervision of the Soviet Union and the United States.

For the Third World, superpower negotiations are an illustration of its own weakness. As long as the Soviet Union and the United States are in a position to make decisions about the vital issues of the times it indicates that the Third World has little control over its own affairs. But the superpowers need not always have their own way. There exists considerable potential for the Third World to become a major factor in international relations. The nations of the Third World represent the majority of the people of the globe. Their exclusion from the corridors of international power is only due to the inability of the Third World to speak with one voice.

To end the era of a world divided by two superpowers it is necessary for the Third World to act as one. Reykjavik provides a compelling argument for Third World unity. The pursuit of a serious Third World-oriented diplomacy can limit the ability of the Soviet Union and the United States to act like superpowers. The basis for such diplomacy already exists in the Non-Aligned Movement.

If this movement is firmed up and given an active edge the world will become a safer place for us all. Ironically, despite its present weakness the Third World can make a more positive contribution to peace than the two superpowers. A united, self-assertive Third World can create a situation where Moscow and Washington can no longer run the world. Humanity does not need superpowers. It needs a community of nations where relations are guided by mutual respect and friendship.



Wa Thiong'o: in exile

Kenya

The fuss over exiles

Our correspondent in Nairobi describes the mud-slinging exercise which the government is directing at exiles ranging from Koigi wa Wamwere to Ngugi wa Thiong'o.

While neighbouring Uganda still has thousands of self-exiled politicians and "criminals" in Kenya and in other foreign lands, Kenya also has a handful of the same ilk in exile.

The latest to announce that he left his motherland over a month ago, is the fiery politician from the Rift Valley Province, Koigi wa Wamwere, a former political detainee and Member of parliament for Nakuru West in the same province. He now lives in Oslo, Norway.

The announcement by Koigi, as he is popularly called by his friends and foes, came hardly a month after Kenyans began to wonder about the whereabouts of the runaway MP for Nairobi's Mathare Valley constituency, Mr Andrew Kimani Ngumba.

Telephone calls

Koigi telephoned friends, the police, and newspaper offices, and later was heard on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) saying that he had left in fear of his life. He wrote a long letter to local dailies and weeklies explaining the reasons for his disparate departure.

In his interviews with the locals, Koigi claimed that he left for Europe legally, through the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi. Other sources claim that like Ngumba, he fled the country through Uganda's Entebbe Airport, without having gone through Nairobi.

A few weeks ago, Uganda's visiting Prime Minister, Dr Samson Kisekka, told a packed Kenya Press club luncheon in Nairobi that Koigi did not pass through Uganda.

Some reports claim that both Ngumba and Koigi left on different days aboard Scandinavian airlines, but the local managers of the SAS have denied the claim. Others say it was Sabena Airlines which took the Kenyans out of Entebbe Airport, after the two had travelled to the Ugandan capital.

He said "Ngugi wa Thiong'o is nothing more than a so-called intellectual vagabond riding on the backs of other Kenyans."

It is said that Koigi was among five Kenyans who approached the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) offices in Kampala, seeking countries that could offer them asylum. Two of them were accepted in Norway, while the other three went to Sweden.

It is not certain who the other Kenyans are, but it is the second time this year that runaway Kenyans have been reported to have sought asylum from UNHCR offices. Three months ago, neighbouring Tanzania newspapers reported that a group of Ke-

nyans, mainly University of Nairobi students, went to the Dar es Salaam UNHCR offices for the same purpose, after the Government of President Hassan Mwinyi had turned down their requests.

During the press club luncheon, Premier Kisekka told his audience, including Nairobi-based foreign journalists, that his country would not allow Kenyan refugees to destabilise Kenya. Kenya's relations with Uganda were historically so important that any attempt by misguided individuals to attack Kenya from Ugandan soil would be resisted.

Security at borders

Meanwhile security along the Ugandan-Kenyan border has been tightened in the last three months. Travellers from both sides of the long border are carefully screened. Those without proper identification are turned away.

The news that Koigi had fled the country took most Kenyans, including his closest friends, by surprise. Nobody knew that he had been hounded by security officials since he came out of detention about two years ago.

Ngumba, who wrote to two dailies from Brussels, Belgium, that he had gone on "a mission" after police rounded up directors of local banking institutions, is still being sought by the police in connection with the collapse of the Rural Urban Credit Finance Company, of which he was chairman.

Ngumba disappeared after learning that his fellow directors at Rural Urban and those of the Continental Group, which has also collapsed, were being rounded up by the police.

Since the disappearances of Ngumba and now Koigi, government officials, including President Moi, have been making scathing attacks against runaway Kenyans.

Wa Thiong'o accused

One of the most recent attacks was made in New York by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Elijah Mwangale, while attending a session of the United Nations General Assembly. He called novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who lives in London in exile and often makes trips to the United States and Europe, a vagabond who goes from country to country to sell his books under the guise of fighting for Kenyans.

Speaking to hundreds of Kenyans — most of them students — Mwangale accused the writer and former political detainee of "capitalising on Kenya's good name to make money." He said "Ngugi wa Thiong'o is nothing more than a so-called intellectual vagabond riding on the backs of other Kenyans." He described Ngugi and other Kenyans in exile "who talk ill of their motherland abroad" as a bunch of cowardly criminals and opportunists whom you should ignore.

Kenya

Priest rebukes the elite

Our correspondent reports on the Rev Timothy Njoya's outspoken attack on corruption and the oppression of the people.

The Reverend Dr Timothy Njoya of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa recently called for a country-wide debate to discuss Kenya's future.

He said: "What remains is for the Government to do as God did. Call a baraza and invite all dissidents, deserters, malcontents, critics, fugitives, drop-outs and anyone with a grievance or complaint to attend and say what they think is wrong with the system."

Dr Njoya was preaching at St Andrew's Church, Nairobi, after he resumed duties following one month's leave.

He told the packed church that it is dangerous for the country to believe that the vast majority of the people agree with everything.

Bible quoted

Dr Njoya based his sermon on the biblical teaching in the book of Habakuk, chapters one and two. He said these teachings illustrate "God's willingness to engage in this democratic debate with Habakuk that revealed the wisdom behind his justice. People understood why God uses sinners to punish his children when they commit sin and why he appears to bless the wicked more than the righteous."

The preacher posed two questions to the congregation. "Why does it appear that God makes the unrighteous and the wicked prosperous? And why did he use Babylonians, sinners, to punish his own chosen people, the Children of Israel?"

He continued: "If God is just, why should he not bless the righteous so that they prosper? What kind of justice is this?"

He drew parallels between the Children of Israel and Kenya to show how this country has strayed.

According to Habakuk, God called all the critics, the malcontents, the fugitives, and asked them to pose their questions. "He answered them all," the preacher said. He cited the case of the prodigal son and his father, and the shepherd who lost one sheep. The father did not say that the prodigal son does not matter. He said the shepherd left the 99 sheep to go and look for the lost one.

The wealthy in Israel had a false sense of security and had taken advantage of God's patience. In Kenya, said Rev Njoya, the wealth of the country should be seen in the health of all its citizens. He said he went to Kibera and was shocked by the squalor and unsanitary conditions the 100,000 inhabit-

ants are living in. He said it is false security to say Kenya is wealthy.

He said the goods and services as per GNP may be there, but there are hungry and sick people in the country. This false security has led bankers, lawyers and other people to steal the money entrusted to them by poor people.

The wealth of a society or individual is not measured by the number of cars, houses and farms an individual has but by the health and education of the people. "God's patience with the wicked allows them time to repent, but instead they take advantage of the patience as licence to continue exploiting the nation, depriving it of the health to resist Babylon."

The so-called prosperous end up corrupting the nation "like the bankers have done, and like the doctors and lawyers who price their services beyond what the average Kenyan can afford."

The preacher said every Kenyan has a right to enter into a debate on the Bible, the national constitution, ANU manifesto, the Session Papers and important laws. "Every Kenyan child has a right to receive answers concerning how his family, school and country was formed and is being governed, so that he can develop a reasonable rather than mystical loyalty and patriotism," he said.

It was dehumanising that leaders refused to engage in democratic debates. He said people have minds and must use them.

The good and bad

Dr Njoya said churches and similar organisations should speak out for the neglected and the down-trodden: "Our church agents, like the UCKC and AACCC, World Vision and World Council of Churches are in the world to help the prosperous Christians share their resources with refugees, the hungry, the needy, the sick and those alienated by their community so that they can share God's justice in the world. . . The wicked think of prosperity as being one of the ten millionaires in the sea of twenty million people plagued by poverty, disease and ignorance, while the righteous think of prosperity as a healthy community."

He accused the *Voice of Kenya* of bias, reporting only what politicians say about pastors but refusing to report what the pastors said in reply. He said the *Kenya Times* should cover pastors as extensively as it covers politicians.

"It happens that Church members are

also taxpayers and should not be denied any rights or opportunities given to politicians and others in society, as the *Voice of Kenya* has tried to do. . . In fact, the real voice of Kenya is found neither amongst the clerics nor politicians, but amongst the people, everybody with a mouth to speak and a pen to write. . . Let everybody who is persecuted against the church or persecuted against the church by denying them their rights say, as Hitler said when he became anti-cleric, 'Christians are insignificant little people'."

Prayers for Odinga, Njonjo

He said the church is loyal to only one person: God. "Instead of pleading loyalty to earthly rulers, it should plead with them to soften their hearts and get reconciled with one another."

"If the church cannot plead for the poor, oppressed, hungry, marginalised, if it cannot plead for those ostracised from politics like Oginga Odinga, Charles Njonjo and others, it has no reason to exist," the reverend said.

The pastor hailed President Moi's action in ruling that civil servants should not produce KANU cards before entering their offices in Karyuki and said that union leaders hold elections close to their workers.

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Swiss to ignore SA boycott

Switzerland's famously-guarded neutrality means it won't be joining in the trade boycott against South Africa, reports Emma Beck from Berlin.

Switzerland will have nothing to do with the growing international drive to isolate South Africa, it says. The Swiss Government has made it plain that the neutral nation will not adhere to resolutions or other demands aimed at Pretoria.

The price of oil bought South Africa will be set in a market of global economic lifeline investment with regional mining and shipping multinational corporations and position it as the world's biggest gold dealer. The economic role of the most important financial institutions of the South African Government.

Interested to sell its vast new investments in South Africa — its main aim is to counteract the most Western governments — the three major Swiss banks (Credit Suisse, Swiss Bank Corporation and the Swiss Bank) stress that they have trading relations between 1980 and 1984, moving in as other international banks pulled out.

According to the World Council of Churches, the Swiss now rate second in West European banks in the leading index. The Swiss also act as managers for assets floated on gold markets, using their network of connections influence and expertise to ensure success. About 20 per cent of all assets in South Africa are in Swiss hands. Double the amount in 1975.

Swiss firms in SA

Private Swiss firms are also active. More than 100 have subsidiaries in the country from multinational like Nestlé to pharmaceutical giant Ciba-Geigy. Swissair operates five flights a week to Johannesburg, and is expected to add more if other carriers are blocked from the route by sanctions. British Airways advised British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that banning British flights to South Africa would only add to Swiss profits.

Already, Switzerland is the fourth largest trading partner with South Africa.

Swiss money alone is not all that makes the Zurich connection vital. Equally important is how the money is spent. What bankers prefer to identify as "public works projects" include such crucial schemes as ESCOM, the Electricity Supply Company responsible for building the country's first nuclear power station at Koeberg, a potential source of plutonium for nuclear weapons.

In addition, \$5 million went to the Strategic Oil Fund for a coal-to-oil and gas facility whose products have helped main-

tain a strong military and strategic infrastructure.

Perhaps most important is Pretoria's role played by the Swiss gold market. In finding support for South African gold, the country's biggest source of foreign currency, more than 50 per cent of Pretoria's annual gold production is now refined and re-sold in Switzerland through the Swiss gold "pool" controlled by the three major banks.

The pool provides an efficient and anonymous outlet for the precious metal: national gold trading was no longer provided by the foreign government after the bank requested that the information be kept confidential. Figures from 1976 show that Switzerland bought 261 tons of pure South African gold for more than \$2 billion, and sent another 174 tons to London, most of it was believed to be of South African origin.

The Swiss stand ensures South Africa will be able to count on a crucial economic lifeline.

How do the Swiss maintain these close relations at a time of growing protest and condemnation of nations who wish with Pretoria? The Red Cross-inspired image of humanitarian help to a troubled world and Switzerland's carefully-nurtured neutrality encourage a sense that Switzerland should not be bound by the squabbles of other nations. It has not joined the United Nations or the European Community and remains determined aloof from EEC activities.

Until now the Swiss cabinet, the highest policy-making body, has met criticism by routinely stating its opposition to apartheid. It recently expressed "regret" about victims of violence in South Africa and

met called for the release of political prisoners.

But such pronouncements naturally add that neutrality and the doctrine of universality in trade relations provide strong justifications. Not just against South Africa — the Swiss refuse all such requests, including American pleas to boycott Libya.

And the gold market does not play favourites either, more than 300 tons of Swiss gold is processed here every year. For the Swiss, neutrality means business as usual.

Says a foreign ministry spokesman: "The government intervenes in economic affairs only in special cases, and then with great hesitation." A spokesman for the Swiss Bank Corporation put it this way: "We cultivate bank customers within the framework of the government's political relations, that is, with all states with whom we have normal diplomatic relations."

No Swiss opposition

The lack of a real opposition party, except for fringe left-wing groups, makes life easier for Swiss money merchants. Although government critics hold two cabinet seats, including the Foreign Ministry, they subscribe to the formula of collaboration wherein all parties in the government agree on an overall policy best for the nation.

There are some hopeful signs. A campaign to boycott South African products is underway in several cities, and the Swiss German-language television network recently carried two highly-critical documentaries which used phrases such as "South Africa's white dictators" — language usually avoided by the state-monitored channel.

But public opinion is still on the side of the banks, which employ one out of every ten Swiss workers. The government too is unlikely to turn against the tide, being well aware that the banks and their business with South Africa help maintain Switzerland's unparalleled prosperity and high standard of living.



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AFRICAN CONCORD 23 OCTOBER 1986

Southern Africa

Mozambique

More threats from Pretoria

South Africa has repeatedly violated the 1984 Nkomati Accord and is now threatening to stop recruiting Mozambican mine workers.

Following a land-mine explosion in the Kangwane Bantustan on 6 October in which six South African soldiers were injured, the South African Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, launched a verbal assault on the Mozambican Government.

Declaring that the Nkomati Accord (signed between Mozambique and South Africa in March 1984) and land-mines "cannot exist side by side," he threatened: "If President Machel chooses land-mines, South Africa will react accordingly." Malan said, "South Africa can no longer afford to be caught in a grip between the two super-powers, namely in an economic war from America on the one hand and a revolutionary war from the Soviet Union on the other."

Mozambique had to realise this, he claimed, and if President Machel "allows a Moscow-inspired revolutionary war against South Africa he must also be prepared to take the responsibility, if he chooses terrorism and revolution, he will clash head on with South Africa."

Other claims

Malan went on to claim that South Africa still stood for peace and conciliation, and suggested that the region should be declared "a neutral zone with no military access for the United States and Russia."

He then complained of an alleged Mozambican "propaganda campaign against South Africa." Without giving examples, he charged that "propaganda from within Mozambique has still got a lot of subversive messages against South Africa." "Against this background it is not uncommon that terrorist activities still take place across the border from within Mozambique." He offered no evidence to substantiate either this allegation or the insinuation of a Mozambican connection with the latest land-mine incident.

An official Mozambican source said that Gen Malan's threat was "an attempt by Pretoria to evade its responsibility for the non-implementation of the Nkomati Accord." South Africa had "never given any satisfactory explanation for the revelations contained in the Gorongosa documents" published in September 1985 which showed "that South Africa has never honoured the Nkomati Accord."

Prof Aquino de Braganca, head of the Centre of African Studies at the Eduardo Mondane University in Maputo commented that "those in power in South Africa push the theory that subversion is AFRICA CONCORD 23 OCTOBER 1986

external to South Africa, and they forget that practically the whole world, including many South African establishment figures and businessmen, understand perfectly that the causes of subversion are internal." Claims that Mozambique was to blame for violence inside South Africa were ridiculous, he added.

The US ambassador to Maputo said, "Obviously the United States Government rejects any threat against any frontline state." A spokesman for the British embassy said that he found Gen Malan's words "very disturbing."



President Samora Machel

On 8 October the Pretoria Government issued an announcement signed by four ministers to the effect that South Africa had informed the Mozambican Government that "no further recruitment of workers from Mozambique will be allowed as from today as a result of the activities of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party who are responsible for the continuing deteriorating security situation on the common border." The statement repeated the allegation of Mozambican involvement in "recent incidents."

The Pretoria Government had asked South African mine companies "to cease with immediate effect to recruit and employ any further Mozambican workers and to endeavour to employ South African workers." Mozambicans currently on the mines with valid work permits would "be allowed to complete their period of service, after which they will have to return to Mozambique and will not be allowed to re-enter South Africa."

From 1908 until 1976, there were never less than 80,000 Mozambicans in the South African mines in any one year, and in 1975, the year of Mozambique's independence, there were 118,000. Faced with an independent Mozambique, South Africa took measures to damage the country's economy, and one was a sharp reduction in the number of Mozambicans recruited for the mines.

South Africa has employed another sanction against Mozambique, reducing its use of the port of Maputo from a total of 6.8m tonnes of freight in 1973 to 4.3m tonnes in 1979 and only 950,000 tonnes in 1985. Diversion of cargo was selective — high value, high tariff cargo was moved to South African ports, for example shipments of steel were stopped in 1982, and the volume of chrome moved through Maputo was more than halved in the years 1980-82. Only shipments of coal, a very low tariff cargo, were increased, and it now constitutes the bulk of South African cargo shipped via Maputo.

Thus the current threat to end migrant labour from Mozambique is the latest development of a continuous policy by South Africa to damage the Mozambican economy that goes back at least ten years, and has been accompanied since 1980 by destabilisation through the armed banditry of the MNR.

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UNESCO

M'Bow bows out

Amadou Mahtar M'Bow recently dropped a bombshell when he announced that he would not seek re-election as Director-General of UNESCO. Tsede Abatehaka reports on the implications for the Third World.

After surviving three years of relentless questioning from the twin administrations of America's Ronald Reagan and Britain's Margaret Thatcher, Mr Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) has finally bowed out. But he has done so on his own terms and with the applause from the gallery was loud.

Even his Western detractors were stunned by the dramatic turnaround because until the last minute, M'Bow had been conducting a campaign for re-election. Barely three months ago, he sought and obtained the endorsement of the Organisation of African Unity during the summit conference in Addis Ababa. Again he was in Harare to lobby the leaders of the Non-Aligned states. Once more, he got a pat on the back from Third World leaders.

Then during a private meeting of UNESCO's executive council early this month which was called to deal with completely different matters, M'Bow told his colleagues that he would not after all be seeking re-election.



M'Bow bowing out at last

knowledgeable persons. M'Bow alone can improve his idiosyncrasy on the popular will.

Even before the US pulled out, one senior official of the US National Committee for UNESCO, Mr Samuel de Palma, had revealed to the press that the decision to withdraw from UNESCO had been made by "a very small group in the White House and State Department for ideological reasons." His Commission, established in 1946 by Congress, whose 100 members represent a wide range of American cultural and academic organisations. The commission issued a report opposing the Reagan administration's decision to pull out, with the unequivocal declaration: "We are not arguing that there is no need for reforms... but leaving the organisation is not the way to achieve them, particularly when just about every American body which has anything to do with UNESCO is opposed to the move."

The American suspicion that M'Bow is irredeemably anti-West was reinforced when the UNESCO boss enthusiastically endorsed a radical concept of a new world information order. M'Bow and his colleagues at the world body sought to break the unhealthy monopoly which for the past half a century has left the distribution of 80 per cent of the world's news to the whims and caprices of only four or five news agencies. M'Bow has also repeatedly said

that the problem of the world imbalance in communications and information has been a recurrent refrain during the 1970s by member states especially those from the Third World. "Their case", M'Bow states further, which produced much controversy to start with, is not unreasonably accepted. It can be summed up thus: freedom of information presupposes the possibility for everyone to hear the views of others at the same time as making himself heard."

In furtherance of this objective, UNESCO set up, by the unanimous decision of its members, the International Programme for the Development of Communications. The programme supplies technical assistance to those who want to create or expand a modern information system.

The debate on communications which the US found so unacceptable was a minor but significant part in the ideological tangle. The US has left the organisation before. In 1975-76, it withdrew in anger at UNESCO's general assembly vote to impose sanctions on Israel. It subsequently rejoined and repaid the two years' contribution.

Now that the dust appears to have settled, who steps into M'Bow's shoes? Mr Ivor Margan, the Yugoslav president of UNESCO's executive board, will now despatch letters to the organisation's 159 member states asking them to nominate candidates to succeed the Director-General when his term expires in November 1987.

Succession

The list will be made public at the May session of the board which will then chose a single candidate to be presented for election to the UNESCO general conference the following November. Already, several names are being bandied about as possible successor.

Among the names already being mooted are Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, a former UN High Commissioner for Refugees; Egyptian Foreign Minister, Boutros Ghali; Uruguayan Foreign Minister, Enrique Iglesias; former Australian Foreign Minister, Gough Whitlam; Finnish Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa who reportedly has the backing of the Soviet Union. The Uruguayan is reportedly the most favoured but his chances would be thin indeed if Mr Peres de Cuellar is reconfirmed as UN secretary general. This is because it is unlikely that two South Americans will get the required mandate to head two key international agencies at the same time.

Whoever takes over the mantle of leadership will still have to reckon with Third World sensitivities. As M'Bow insisted when making his surprise announcement, no director general could be appointed "if the Third World, and in particular Africa, does not want him."

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Response to enemies

Mr M'Bow who comes from Senegal, was unanimously elected Director General in 1974 and again in 1980. Announcing his decision, the UNESCO boss said he had in no way been influenced by the "unjust attacks and pressures" to which he had been subjected in the last three years. Indeed he insisted that he had taken his decision not to stand again at the moment of his re-election six years ago. He declared: "The facts have shown that those who wanted to kill off UNESCO have not succeeded... Despite the withdrawal of two member states (The United States and Britain) and despite the loss of a third of its resources, UNESCO has become a strong organisation."

To those who accuse M'Bow of poor management and autocracy, his supporters point out that he did not found UNESCO. The organisation has been in existence for 30 odd years before M'Bow came along. Secondly, the occasional bureaucratic paralysis that afflicts UNESCO also afflicts most government bodies and international organisations. Finally, they argue, it is preposterous to suggest that in an organisation with representation from 161 states and with a 61 member executive board of

Amnesty International '86 Report

The Amnesty International Report for 1986 documents the gulf between governmental promises to respect human rights and their performance in this regard during 1985. Our special correspondent summarises its contents below.

Amnesty International's 386-page report covering the calendar year 1985 contains entries on 128 countries, documenting killings, torture, detention without trial and abuses including imprisonment of people for expressing their opinions.

The absence of an entry on any country does not mean there were no human rights problems there, but rather that information was not available when the report went to press.

Amnesty International numbers more than 500,000 members and subscribers in over 150 countries, with more than 3,600 local Amnesty groups in 60 countries. Members work for the release of prisoners of conscience or prisoners who are in imminent danger of torture or execution.

Africa

Thousands of people were detained without trial in Africa in 1985, many as a result of non-violent criticism or opposition to government policies.

In South Africa the imposition of a state of emergency in some areas brought a dramatic increase in political arrests. Detention without trial was closely associated with reports of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, some of whom died in custody.

Torture and abuse of prisoners were widely reported from Uganda both under the government of President Milton Obote and the military-led administration which briefly succeeded it in 1985.

Deaths in detention as a result of torture or ill-treatment were also reported from a number of other countries, including Burkina Faso, Comoros, Namibia and Togo. In Zimbabwe many people detained after elections were reported to have been tortured.

There was positive action to restore or protect human rights in a number of countries, though sometimes only after abuses had been reported. In Sudan the year began with the public execution of Mahmoud Mohamed Taha, a 76-year-old prisoner of conscience whose trial had been grossly unfair. Within months, however, after the overthrow of the government, political prisoners were released, court-ordered amputations suspended and alleged torturers prosecuted.

After a military coup in Nigeria in August, prisoners of conscience were freed and there was a marked reduction in the use of the death penalty. In Rwanda former officials were prosecuted in connection with the secret killings of political prisoners.

In Guinea, however, where action to protect human rights had seemed likely at the start of the year, several people were reported to have been secretly executed in response to a coup attempt.

The death penalty remained a major concern. Death sentences or executions were reported from 18 countries. In Nigeria more than 140 people were sentenced to death. In Ghana public tribunals imposed 58 death sentences. A high rate of executions was reported from South Africa, where there were at least 137 hangings, and Somalia, where the total exceeded 100. More than 150 people were reported to be awaiting execution in Kenya at the end of 1985.

Asia

In Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and the Philippines (under the rule of President Marcos in 1985) troops and government security forces killed hundreds of non-combatant civilians.



Imprisonment and torture of hundreds of government critics was reported in Bangladesh, South Korea, Nepal, Pakistan and India.

Members of religious communities were imprisoned: Muslim activists in Indonesia, Christians in Nepal, the Ahmadiyya in Pakistan, Buddhists in Viet Nam, Roman Catholics and Tibetan Buddhists in China.

Europe

During 1985 there were at least 600 prisoners of conscience in the USSR; some 200 in Poland; several hundred were among the thousands of political prisoners in Turkey where torture was reported. Most of the 200 in the German Democratic Republic were would-be emigrants. Others were reported held in Romania, Albania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Conscientious objectors to military service were imprisoned by the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany,

Finland, France, GDR, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland and Switzerland.

Allegations of torture of prisoners came from countries including Albania, Bulgaria, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia.

Movement towards total abolition of the death penalty gained momentum in Western Europe. A bill was introduced in the Irish Parliament to remove the death penalty for all offences.

For the first time in the 1980s there were no executions in Turkey, although 108 new death sentences were announced.

The Middle East

There were at least 470 executions in Iran, and a disturbing increase to 45 in Saudi Arabia. Reports of torture of detainees were received from Syria, Kuwait, Israel, Lebanon, Libya and Iraq.

Libyan officials renewed calls for "physical liquidation" of political opponents and there were attempts on the lives of Libyan citizens living abroad.

In at least 15 countries in the Middle East prisoners of conscience are being held.

The Americas

Uruguay and Brazil returned to civilian rule after 11 and 21 years respectively of abuses still continue to be received. In Argentina the trial began of nine military commanders charged with killing thousands of people between 1976 and 1982, and efforts continued to trace some 100 missing orphaned children.

In El Salvador and Guatemala arbitrary arrests, torture and killings by the military and paramilitary appeared to be more selectively directed against opponents of the government than was the case previously: trades unionists, human rights workers and those helping refugees were the targets. In the USA people were put on trial for helping Salvadorian and Guatemalan refugees enter the country when deportation would have meant facing torture and death.

In Honduras anti-government irregular forces have carried out torture and assassinations, apparently with assistance from the USA.

Political killings increased in Colombia, Peru and Chile. Abuses and torture rose in Ecuador and were reported in Mexico. The use of the death penalty rose in the Caribbean. In Cuba some long-term political prisoners were released, but about 300 are still being held.

Cheaper way of strengthening old bones

Medicine has known for several years of a successful treatment for osteoporosis, the disease that leaves elderly people stooped and their bones brittle. Unfortunately, it costs too much. A Canadian genetic engineer has found a way to lower the cost and Francis Harawa reports from Ottawa that it could be of benefit to millions of sufferers.

Canadian genetic engineer Dr Wing Sung says he has synthesised the human hormone that could aim treatment of osteoporosis, the degenerative bone disease that results in brittle bones in older people.

The hormone, parathyroid (PTH), was shown in an experiment five years ago not only to prevent the bone disease but to cure it.

The problem was that PTH was expensive to produce chemically and in extremely short supply. Sung's success in synthesising the hormone will make large quantities available relatively cheaply for extensive clinical trials.

Says Sung, 37, who has been with the National Research Council's biological sciences division for the past eight years: "We have not discovered anything new in the treatment of osteoporosis. Our contribution is in using a biological method to produce the hormone."

Sung worked with Dr Cherk Tam, a pathologist at the University of Toronto's Queen Elizabeth Research Institute, who first suggested synthesising the hormone to alleviate the supply problem two years ago.

Universal problem

Osteoporosis or bone loss is a universal problem that reduces the rigidity and mass of bone in the sponge-like inner organic tissue, leaving the bone brittle. Because it mostly attacks the vertebrae, which carries the bulk of body weight, people lose height and become stooped.

With a fragile skeleton, many older people suffer frequent fractures, with hip bones snapping often because they are under more stress than other joints in the body. Canadian statistics indicate osteoporosis affects 60 per cent of women over 60 and 35 per cent of men over 65. A number of methods are used to treat the disease, but none so far have been able to cure it.

One method involves hormone injections. Women who have reached menopause are injected once a month with estrogen or calcitonin. The hormones slow down bone loss, but cannot replace the lost bone mass.

Other medical researchers have been using the tooth and bone-strengthening chemical, sodium fluoride. But, says Sung, the dosage required to treat osteoporosis is almost lethal. More experiments are necessary.

A third method is aimed at prevention

rather than treatment. Two years ago the US National Institute of health recommended people consume at least 1,000 milligrams of calcium a day — equivalent to three glasses of milk. The suggestion was that any less calcium could aid development of osteoporosis.

Lawrence Riggs of the Mayo Clinic says that advertisers are way ahead of the scientific evidence. He adds that the panel's evidence may have been premature.

Michael Parfitt of Henry Ford Hospital says that the calcium advice "was based on what was at best tenuous evidence that the mineral might help, coupled with the reasoning that, at worst, it would do no harm."

Richard Mazess points out that a high calcium intake can lead to kidney stones in susceptible people and that calcium supplements cut off vitamin D, which is necessary for the cellular activation of bone cells.

A number of studies have also shown that weight-bearing exercises can slow bone loss. Smoking doubles a person's risks, as does drinking as few as two alcoholic drinks a day.

However, Riggs notes that there is evidence indicating that calcium intake in childhood and adolescence determines pick bone mass in adulthood. These with greater pick bone mass are likely to develop osteoporosis. So far the only hope for osteoporosis patients lies in the human hormone PTH.

In a 1980 study involving medical centres in England, the US, France and Belgium, 21 osteoporosis patients were treated with a chemically-made shortened hormone PTH (1-34). The hormone cost \$1,000 a

milligram and each patient required 10-15 milligrams for the 6-12 month treatment period.

Clinical tests were discontinued because of the prohibitive cost of the hormone. However, the trial showed that PTH not only stopped osteoporosis, but could restore lost bone mass.

Before the patients received the treatment, doctors studied their bones and found cavities in the inner bone. After the experiment, they found that new normal bone had formed in the cavities, providing rigidity.

The experiment also showed that the hormone could increase bone mass more in the trabecular (inside) than on the cortical (outside) bone. Since the vertebrae is 80 per cent trabecular bone, many of the patients stopped losing weight.

PTH is made in the parathyroid gland which surrounds the thyroid gland in the neck. It stimulates bone tissue to fill bone cavities with calcium and vitamin D.

People seem to have enough of these ingredients when they are young, but they lose calcium from their bones as they grow older. No one knows why, says Sung. Researchers also do not know whether PTH production decreases in later life because they have yet to find an effective way to measure the process.

Discovery accidents

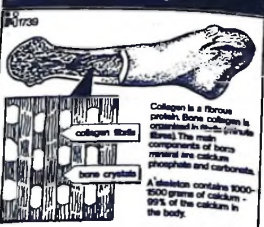
PTH is a protein hormone and the "recipe" is recorded in a gene. Sung synthesised the gene in fragments, then strung them together into a single gene with a "gene machine."

He then put the gene in E coli bacteria. Following the "recipe" of the PTH gene, the bacteria started producing the hormone. Since bacteria reproduces every 15 minutes, it can supply a continuous supply of PTH.

The discovery that PTH is involved in the maintenance of bone was made accidentally through studies of people whose glands were producing an excessive amount of PTH. Such people have extremely dense bone. Once their PTH production was regulated their bone mass returned to normal.

The hormone could also be useful for bedridden patients who lose their bone mass due to lack of exercise and for astronauts who lose bone mass through the weightlessness of space, he said.

Bred in the bone



Anti-locust campaign continues

Since the head of the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), Edward Seuma, made his first appeal for international aid to combat the locust and grasshopper scourge which has hit parts of Africa, US\$35m has been contributed. US\$23m is to go to West Africa alone, and the most immediate concern here and elsewhere is to save ripening crops and to reduce the threat to next year's harvests.

In West Africa grasshoppers have caused damage in all the Sahelian countries except for Cape Verde, with Mali, Senegal and Chad being the most seriously affected. The first phase of the campaign, involving ground control measures, began in June at the beginning of the crop season and was completed by August. Phase two, involving intensive spraying to protect ripening crops by aircraft and helicopters, began in September and will conclude in mid-October.

Some 800,000 hectares have been covered, though the extent of damage will only be known by the end of the month. The need for more control operations in 1987 will depend on the number of eggs laid at the end of the season. Therefore, the next immediate step in November and December will be to determine egg densities in preparation for a possible 1987 campaign.

In Eastern and Central Africa heavy infestations of three species of locusts (Red, Desert and African Migratory) appeared in 1985-86, creating the potential for rapid development of a major plague this year. High-risk areas of greatest concern include the Horn of Africa, northern Ethiopia, eastern and central Sudan, Tanzania and Zambia. In July and August Desert Locust swarms were reported in Eritrea and along the Red Sea Coast in Ethiopia, and bands invaded eastern Sudan. Red Locust swarms appeared in Tanzania in June and in Zambia as recently as last month. However, rainfall in August and September in Sudan was below normal and affected breeding, and preventative control measures were undertaken at the earliest signs of infestation.

As a result, the most recent assessment is that large-scale swarms of African migratory and desert locusts may not develop and the area of infestation in Ethiopia and Sudan will probably remain limited. However, continued vigilance is required since breeding is so rapid that a major upsurge can develop in just one season. Likewise, the Red Locust is now largely under control but will require continued monitoring. Therefore, a medium-level campaign is expected to continue in the region until the end of the year, and 1987 operations will depend on these developments.

In southern Africa the most dangerous threat from locusts is now to be found in Botswana, where a plague of Brown Locusts is now entering its second year. Breeding began unusually early last month as temperatures rose, and Swaziland could be invaded if swarms are not held in check. Botswana prevented crop damage this year by launching an effective control campaign early with FAO aid. Preparations for a second campaign are beginning and will last until next May or June. Eggs of the Brown Locust can survive in the soil without hatching for several years, and a new generation can be produced every six weeks. Therefore it will probably take two to three years to bring the situation in the region under control.

In Botswana itself, large areas in the southern third of the country are likely to become infested by Brown Locusts as eggs hatch this month. The government is planning to set up ten ground teams with five vehicles each for a campaign scheduled to begin November 1.

In Chad, the worst affected West African country, the situation is worsening as grasshoppers move into food crops. The area estimated to need aerial treatment has tripled to 160,000 hectares. Heavy locust damage to maize is reported around Koumra in the Sudanian zone, and there are reports of 100 per cent damage to individual fields in the eastern part of the country. Aerial spraying operations began

in mid-September and will continue to the middle of this month.

In Ethiopia, high density breeding of the Desert Locust occurred in July-August, but swarms were reported in July-August, but the extent of infestation could not be confirmed by surveys for security reasons. Preventative control measures were taken to limit infestations.

In Mali, hatchlings, hoppers and adults have been observed in densities of between 30 and 55 per square metre over more than half a million hectares. Aerial spraying began at the end of August. A fourth generation of grasshoppers is expected to cause continued damage in northern Mali until control operations end in mid-October.

In Senegal, there have been some reports of infestations. Further damage could take place, but on a reduced scale. Monitoring and control will continue.

In Sudan, the situation is complicated by the appearance of two types of locust (Desert and African Migratory) and medium-high density infestations of grasshoppers. Bands of Desert Locusts marched into Kassala province from Eritrea. Control operations began last month, and 90 per cent of the infested area has been covered. African Migratory Locust hoppers were reported from three localities totalling 10,400 hectares. Less heavy infestations than occurred in 1985 are now expected this year due to effective control measures and below-average rains in the East-Central grasslands. Regarding grasshoppers, very high density infestations are reported from Central Darfur.

Britain's 'racist' AIDS test

Only weeks after introducing controversial visa requirements for visitors from two African Commonwealth countries, Nigeria and Ghana, the British Government has become embroiled in another row.

It has been sparked off by its proposals to screen all visitors from Uganda, Zambia and Tanzania, also members of the Commonwealth, for the deadly virus AIDS.

The proposals are being widely interpreted in African diplomatic circles as a retaliatory measure against those countries who participated in the boycott of the Commonwealth Games following Britain's refusal to consider sanctions against South Africa.

But another ulterior motive is to pin the origin of AIDS on Africa. Although a number of African countries have experienced a number of deaths from AIDS, they are far outstripped by America, where figures have reached epidemic proportions. Yet the British Government has no plans to screen the many Americans visiting the country.

Even among British Government officials themselves plans for the compulsory AIDS

tests have provoked disagreement.

The UK source of evidence of AIDS in Africa is monitoring carried out by British High Commissioners and not health officials. Their report claims that the central and southern African countries hardest hit by AIDS have little means of controlling its spread. But, significantly, they fail to mention how many are infected.

The British also point to the many specialists who believe the killer disease originated in Central Africa, though this has not been substantiated. If, as the British claim goes, "the evidence of AIDS in Central Africa is well known," how is that reconciled with the very high prevalence of the disease in Europe and in America?

Some government officials have expressed the view that the compulsory AIDS checks for African visitors to Britain will almost certainly not be introduced because they are impractical.

At present only Tanzania has voiced its reaction so far. The government is threatening to submit British visitors to screening for the AIDS virus if the proposals go ahead.

≡ Around Africa ≡

Algeria

Visa retaliation

FRENCH citizens visiting Algeria will need visas after a French decision announced recently to demand visas from visitors from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

France had imposed visa requirements on all foreigners except those from the European Community and Switzerland. The measure was originally suspended for the three North African countries, which together have more than 1.5 million emigrants living in France.

Angola

Savimbi's European tour

JONAS Savimbi, leader of the South African financed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, is to visit France, West Germany and Britain and the European Parliament.

He is to visit France on 23 October, followed by trips to West Germany and Britain. Mr Savimbi has been invited to the European Parliament, based in Strasbourg, by a group of conservative parliamentarians.

The Angolan Embassy in Paris warned that as a result of the visit relations could suffer between Angola and the three countries. Mr Savimbi's guerrilla group has been receiving aid from the United States after he visited Washington earlier this year.

Cape Verde

Nigerian aid

NIGERIA has sent relief materials and cash worth over 200,000 US dollars to the Cape Verde Islands.

A statement issued in Lagos said that the aid package is made up of 100 tonnes of maize, 100 tonnes of millet and 50 tonnes of sorghum valued at over 100,000 US dollars. This was accompanied by a cheque for 100,000 US dollars.

The materials were taken to Cape Verde by a team led by the Minister for Special Duties, Air Vice Marshall Ishaya 50

Shekari. The minister said that the government's action was in keeping with her policy of coming to the aid of sister African nations who are faced with severe natural disasters.

Cape Verde has in recent years been affected by severe drought.

Ghana

Korean gift

THE Republic of Korea has presented 15 Kiamaster K2200 buses, 44 cases of assorted spare parts and 30 tyres valued at over 140,000 US dollars to the National Mobilisation Committee (NMC). The South Korean Ambassador in Ghana who did the presentation said his government recognised and appreciates efforts being made by the PNDC towards the Economic Recovery Programme.

Receiving the gifts, Commodore Steve Obimpe, secretary for agriculture and chairman the National Mobilisation Programme, noted that the South Korean Government has also donated drugs and stationery to be used in rural hospitals and schools.

Equatorial Guinea

Nguema reshuffles

PRESIDENT Obiang Nguema has reshuffled his cabinet following the July coup attempt that resulted in the conviction of some ministers. Hilario Nsue Alene has entered cabinet as planning and economic development minister, thus replacing Marcos Mba Ondo who was imprisoned for two years and four months. Alejandro Ovono, a former chairman of the oil company Total Guinea Ecuatorial, has replaced Mba Onaia (who was also jailed for two years) as public works and housing minister.

The post of minister of territorial administration and national security has gone to Monsuy Andeme who will now combine the portfolio with that of deputy prime minister.

Guinea

Secret executions

AN unspecified number of members of the former Sekou

Toure regime have reportedly been executed on the night of 4 July this year in the presence of several government ministers, the political monthly magazine, *Africa* has reported.

Quoting reliable sources among Guinean expatriates, the magazine said the executions followed the coup attempt by Prime Minister Toure. Those ordered to be shot were relatives of Sekou Toure and include the president's half brother Ismael, his nephew Siaka, his elder brother Amara and his cousin Abdoulaye; as well as Mamady Keita and Sekou Cherie, both Sekou Toure's relations by marriage. The Sekou Toure Regime ended in April 1984 with the death of the dictator and a bloodless military takeover.

Liberia

Reagan praises Doe

PRESIDENT Reagan has described as "courageous", President Samuel Doe's recent support for the United States at the Non-Aligned conference in Zimbabwe.

A government statement from Liberia quoted a message from the White House as saying "friends stand up for each other and your (Doe) defence of the United States, against the double-standard that is used Non-Aligned governments, is in the best tradition of our two countries' historic friendly relations." President Doe had said in Harare that he could not understand "why so many African countries condemn the US with one hand and reach out for US aid with the other."

Anti-alien drive

THE Liberian ministry of labour has launched an "operational Liberian employment" scheme which it claimed will seek and protect the interest of Liberians employed in both the public and private sectors. The chairman of the scheme, Mr Stephen Kolison, was quoted as saying that the exercise would identify aliens (namely fellow West Africans) illegally working in the country so as to provide more opportunities for qualified Liberians.

Libya

Prisoners swapped

ITALY has freed three imprisoned Libyans in exchange for two Italians released by the Libyan Government.

The Libyans were serving prison sentences after being found guilty on charges of murder of their compatriots in Italy.

The four Italians, two of them reportedly in poor health after six years in prison, were flown home in an international committee of the Red Cross plane. The deal followed long secret negotiations amid improving relations between the two countries.

Mozambique

Racist attack imminent

THE frontline states have expressed strong fears that the racist minority regime in South Africa plans to embark on a generalised war in southern Africa with its first target being the overthrow of the government of President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

Disclosing this at the conclusion of a one day summit in Maputo, leaders of the six states warned that South African forces are concentrated along the borders with Mozambique and Zimbabwe and that commando units have been infiltrated into Mozambique to carry out acts of terrorism.

The current threat to Mozambique is three-pronged. First, the South Africans have threatened openly, to "react accordingly" to alleged ANC activities. Secondly, the South African decision to expel Mozambican migrant workers would deprive Mozambique of about 50 million US dollars a year. These remittances accounted for a third of all Mozambique's foreign exchange earnings last year. Third, there is a big offensive by the South African financed rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance Army (MNR). The frontline communique denounced Malawi's complicity in the "terrorist campaign against Mozambique."

CONCORD BUSINESS FORUM

SFEM: Naira slides again

At the fourth bidding last week the Naira lost its gains

THE value of Naira depreciated by 10.50 per cent of the fourth bidding session in the Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) last Thursday, against expectation of an appreciation over that of a fortnight ago. The US dollar will exchange for N3.9101 this week as against N3.4999 last week. In real terms the value of the Naira has fallen from 28.57 American Cents last week to 25.57 American Cents this week. At the First Tier Market N1.8064 exchanged for a dollar — that is, a naira is equivalent to 55 American Cents. This shows a depreciation of 6.78 per cent against the dollar compared with

revised guidelines on SFEM — about 30 out of the 33 successful bidders, bidded for the three and five per cent allowed by the guidelines. The total money asked for by all the banks at the bidding session was 93.55 million US dollars, as against \$75.525 million at the third bidding session. Bankers claimed that the increase in demand is a reflection of high demand for funds by bank customers, and attracted by the seemingly low exchange rate of last week.

The high demand for fund spurred some banks to bid between N4.8000 (the highest bid) and

said that the emphasis should not be on whether the naira is rising or falling now because as in other foreign exchange market where currency is floated, it is bound to fluctuate. The business community, he said, should be concerned with the fact that the market is trying to stabilise. This is indicated by the fact that the bidding rates are converging at N4 to one American dollar. Twenty-nine banks offered bid rates that hovered between N4.8000 and N4.000.

The exchange rate of the naira to the dollar is converging at the rate predicted by the World Bank. The bank had projected that a Naira will exchange for 25 Cents during 1986 and 1987 compared with 30 Cents in 1985. The external value of the naira according to the bank will be 22 Cents in 1988, 18 Cents

transactions start from Monday and end on Friday. The change was announced by Mr. Sunday Sonoiki, CBN director of foreign operations.

Some bankers were against the sudden change arguing that given the present state of communication facilities, it is almost impossible for banks to communicate new rates at the ending of bidding sessions to their branches before 12.00 p.m. (bidding ends at about 11.15 a.m.) scattered all over the country. To the bankers' comment, Mr. Sonoiki replied that the change was effected at the instance of some chief executives of banks who found transactions starting three days after bidding and ending on Friday as unrealistic. Sonoiki also said that nowhere in the world does exchange rate become effective with three days lag. The usual practice is for new exchange rate to become effective immediately it is determined.

The CBN governor in his address, revealed that \$33,263,761.52 or about 74.0 per



Odote, Nwagwu: Putting heads together to ensure a successful bidding last week's rate.

Thirty-three banks out of 39 will share the 80 million US dollars offered for sale. While the 40th registered but did not submit its bid. The number of successful has reduced by three, and the amount offered for sale by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) increased by five million dollars compared with last week. The depreciation of the naira at the Second Window, says experts, is a result of increase in demand by banks. Almost all the banks at the fourth bidding session bidded for the maximum amount allocated to them by the

N4.0000 to a dollar. This was contrary to speculations that bank's bid rates will hover around the N3.4999 of last week as they had been reasonably assured of fund by the revised guidelines and the increase in supply of fund to the market. The highest bid was Bank ILX which asked for \$2.4 dollars, while the lowest bid was bank NMA which asked for \$1 million at N3.3450 — slightly lower than the marginal rate of last week.

Speaking to *African Concord*, Dr. Hussein, the World Bank resident representative in Nigeria,

CROSS RATE (M N)

Currency	2nd Tier Bid No. 3 Oct. 9	Bid No. 4 Oct. 16	1st Tier Oct. 16
Dollar	3.5175	3.9297	1.8064
Pound Sterling	5.0001	5.6588	2.6001
French Franc	0.5380	0.6078	0.2791
Deutsche Mark	1.7605	1.9907	0.9135
Swiss Franc	2.1600	2.4317	1.1171
Dutch Guilder	1.5581	1.7622	0.8084
Japanese Yen	0.0228	0.0254	0.0117

in 1989 and 16 Cents in 1990. The projections for the external value of the Naira is based on the current weakness of the Nigeria's economy occasioned by the cascading oil prices in the volatile international market. The convergence of the exchange rate in SFEM and the bank's projection has been greatly helped by the revision of the market guidelines two weeks ago and the increase in the amount offered for sale.

Other exchange rates fixed at the session is shown in the table below.

The Central Bank has made a change in the market week of transaction in SFEM. With effect from Thursday, October 16, transactions will begin with the new rate fixed at noon on Thursday and continue until the next Thursday. Hitherto,

cent of the total amount won at the first bidding session at the close of the week's business (3/10/86) was allocated to the public by the successful bidders. The 26.0 per cent short fall, according to Mr. Ahmed was due to incomplete documentation, especially the non-availability of Form C 188A and the import tariffs.

The external reserve of the country as at the end of August amounted to N1586.7 million, representing an increase of N121.3 million or 8.3 per cent above the level in July 1986. At the end of July, the reserves were N829.0 million. This figure is 109.4 per cent higher than the position in July 1985.

Nimi Wariboko

Abiola Farms in two pacts

Two agreements were signed within the last fortnight between Abiola Farms and foreign firms.

A NINE-MAN group of Bulgarian experts is to visit Nigeria within the next four weeks to lay the grounds for the establishment of a tomato processing plant in the country.

While in Nigeria, the group will prepare the final technical and commercial offer for the plant which is estimated to cost over US\$2.0 million.

The contract will cover the cost of designing, delivery, erection, commissioning, training of Nigerian personnel and maintenance of the plant, which is expected to be sited in Zaria, Kaduna State. These are the terms of an agreement signed in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, on October 4, between Abiola Farms Limited of Nigeria who are buying the plant and Bioinvest Engineering of Bulgaria, the manufacturers.

The Chairman/Chief Executive of Abiola Farms Limited, Chief M.K.O. Abiola, signed for his company while the General Manager of Bioinvest Engineering, Mr. Spartak Zharov, signed for the Bulgarian side. The plant will comprise three production lines, namely, a tomato paste production line, a canning line for peeled tomatoes and an aseptice storage facility for tomato concentrate.

The contract for the main plant is expected to be signed by the end of next month after the group of experts has completed its work. Formal commissioning is expected twelve months after. Speaking during the signing of the agreement in Plovdiv, Chief Abiola said that he was touched by the huge waste of tomatoes which Nigerian farmers experience every year during the harvest season. He said that on very modest estimate, over half of the country's tomato harvest is lost yearly as a result of the absence of processing plant. It is such huge waste, he continued, that the new processing plant is out to curb.

According to him, it is not the intention of Abiola Farms to go into tomato cultivation as more than enough tomato is already being grown in the country. The plant, he said, will get its material input from the local farmers. This will surely induce them to increase their production. During the visit,

Chief Abiola also attended the Plovdiv International (Technical) Fair which took place between September 29 and October 6. He was conducted round the stands by the President of Biotechnica Corporation, Mr. Petko Danchev, and Mr. Spartak Zharov, General

engineering/technological and commercial activities of all the economic organizations in the country. All other economic organizations such as Bioinvest Engineering are under Biotechnica Corporation. This is the second visit of Chief Abiola to the



Chief Abiola with Mr. Zharov of Bioinvest Engineering Company

Manager of Bioinvest Engineering, Biotechnica Corporation is Bulgaria's apex organization which controls all scientific research, implementation, investment,

People's Republic of Bulgaria within two months. He was at the head of a 16-man Nigerian trade delegation to the country in August. During both visits, Chief Abiola held discussions with the

Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Grigor Stoichkov, the Chairman of the Economic Council, Mr. Ognian Deynov and other top government functionaries.

Abiola Farms Ltd has also signed a contract worth US\$2.3 million for the installation of a maize drying and storage plant in Nigeria. The contract was signed in Thisted Denmark on October 8, this year with a Danish manufacturer, Cimbia Unigrain Limited. Mr. Lateef Kolawole Olatokunbo Abiola, son of Chief M.K.O. Abiola, who stood in for his father, signed for Abiola Farms Ltd. while Mr. T.T. Olesen, Managing Director of Cimbia Unigrain signed for his company.

The contract provides for the design, supply, installation and commissioning of a 10,000 tonnes maize drying and storage plant in Nigeria within twelve months from the date of signing. It also includes the training of Nigerian personnel to man the plant. The plant which is expected to be sited in Lafajaji, Kwara State, will be the first of its kind in the country. Though Nigeria is a large producer of maize, there are no maize drying plants in the country. Cimbia Unigrain Ltd which was founded in 1947 is one of the world's largest specialist manufacturers of grain drying, cleaning and storage equipment.

— Eserinune Mojaye

New Flight Rates			
Lagos-London Returns:			
Economy	N2,750.00	Lagos-Banjul	Economy 1,027.00
1st class	4,456.00	1st class	1,302.00
Lagos-Paris Returns:		Lagos-Conakry	Economy 902.00
Economy	N2,750.00	1st class	1,150.00
1st class	N4,456.00	Lagos-Cotonou	Economy 84.00
Lagos-Rome Returns:		1st class	104.00
Economy	2,445.00	Lagos-Dakar	Economy 1,087.00
1st class	4,222.00	1st class	1,383.00
Lagos-Zurich Returns		Lagos-Deualla	Economy 574.00
Economy	2,689.00	1st class	750.00
1st class	4,322.00	Lagos-Lome	Economy 153.00
Lagos-New York		1st class	193.00
Economy	2,845.00	Lagos-Monrovia	Economy 688.00
1st class	N4,676.00	2nd class	896.00
Lagos-Jedda		Lagos-Freetown	Economy 803.00
Economy	N2,063.00	1st class	1,011.00
1st class	2,728.00	East and Central Africa	
West Africa Route		Lagos-Nairobi	Economy 1,768.00
Lagos-Abidjan	Economy 409.00	1st class	2,462.00
1st class	521.00	Lagos to Libreville	Economy 658.00
Lagos-Accra	Economy 228.00	1st class	840.00
1st class	290.00	Lagos to Kinshasha	Economy 923.00
		1st class	1,170.00

Zambia warns Zaire and Malawi

In what could be a major development towards South Africa's economic isolation by the frontline states, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, has warned Zaire and Malawi of the consequences should they fail to co-operate with the frontline states. In an interview with the influential London newspaper, the *Financial Times*, on 8 October, the President warned that in the event of sanctions being imposed against Pretoria "there will be no transportation of goods to Malawi or Zaire."

Although he stopped short of saying whether that meant that the frontline states would militarily halt the flow of goods destined for Zaire and Malawi, it is believed that this is the thinking in some frontline government circles.

Angered by what they see as collaboration by Zaire and Malawi in the destabilisation of the governments of Angola and Mozambique, by the rebel UNITA and MNR guerrillas who are armed and financed (if not militarily led and officered) by South Africa, many in Mozambique and Angola would be happy to see action taken against Zaire and Malawi.

At the beginning of October, conclusive proof of Malawi's collaboration with the MNR was obtained when a 400-strong force of the MNR was encountered by the Mozambican army on the border with Malawi. A three-hour battle ensued after which the Mozambican force had to withdraw through lack of ammunition.

This brazen attack from across the border of a neighbouring country, follows Malawi denials last month in meetings with Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, Mozambican President Samora Machel and Kaunda, of its support for MNR. Should the decision be taken to isolate Malawi as part of the struggle against Pretoria, the logistics would be fairly straightforward, though it could mean pushing the country further into the arms of South Africa.

Malawi is the only black

Turning to Zaire, Kaunda said that the issue of Zairean support for UNITA would be discussed at a forthcoming summit between the frontline states and the Zaire head of state, President Mobutu Sese Seko. But he made it quite clear

that he was determined to see united economic action taken against Pretoria, and would not allow the struggle to be jeopardised by the actions of Zaire and Malawi.

On the recent US Senate veto override, whilst welcoming the

Cash crunch for SFEM

The dollar-strapped Second Window gets a \$452 million boost from World Bank

THE structural adjustment programme being implemented by the government to revamp the economy has got a boost from the World Bank. The executive Board of the World Bank last Thursday approved a trade policy and expert

development (TPED) loan of US\$452 million to fund the Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM). This is the biggest TPED loan ever made by the Bank in its history to an African country, according to Finance Minister, Dr.

OPEC

Quota deadlock

AT the time of writing, Tuesday October 14, the 37 member oil cartel OPEC are into their second week of their bi-annual summit currently held in Geneva. The conference seems fairly unanimous about the need to preserve unity and most delegates believe that eventually some sort of agreement can be hammered out. However, the deadlock on one of the most crucial issues, the redistribution of quotas, remains.

The August accord which reintroduced quotas under an OPEC production ceiling of 16.8 million barrels a day (b/d), runs out at the end of October, and three members; Kuwait, Ecuador, and Gabon, are demanding that with its expiry, they should be given an increased quota allocation. Most of the Arab Gulf states are also committed to a long term quota redistribution, though they are prepared to wait until the end of the year before their implementation.

The most likely outcome at this stage, is that the cartel will postpone any decision on quotas in order not to cause a conference split, and the current arrangement will be extended until January. The other objectors to the current quotas, Iran and Iraq, have indicated they

will go along with a quota extension under the present 16.8 million b/d, provided new quotas are agreed before the end of the year. OPEC's technical advisors are now locked in discussion about how to reallocate the new quotas.

One of the problems apparent when the subject was raised, was what basis should be used to allocate new market shares to member states? 'High absorber' countries like Nigeria and Indonesia, would like to see new quotas take national economic need, and foreign debt into greater account. But some of the gulf states like Saudi Arabia, want to see quotas reflect market share precedents established in the past.

These and other matters are being assessed by the technical group in Geneva, and the major oil companies are hoping that they will come up with a quota decision before Thursday 16 October. This is because 16 October is the last day for the oil companies to nominate the size of actual deliveries, for November. Unless OPEC agrees to something, even if it is to postpone the new quota decision, prices for the whole of November could drop appreciably.

Nnamdi Anyadike

decision to impose sanctions against Pretoria he was deeply critical of Western Governments' reluctance to impose African state to have full diplomatic relations with South Africa. It also uses South African trade links, in common with many other countries in the region.

Chu Okongwu.

Nigeria is also to get a quick disbursing loan of about \$500 million yearly over the next three years to finance the structural adjustment programme (SAP) from the World Bank.

The granting of the loan, said financial experts, is a reflection of the increasing confidence of the international financial community in Nigerian economy. And that it is a tacit approval by the World Bank of the efforts made so far by the government to restructure the economy. According to Okongwu, "the loan signifies an open endorsement of the economic policies being pursued by the Nigerian government."

Earlier in the week, Dr. Okongwu announced that an agreement had been reached between Nigeria and the Steering Committee of the commercial bank creditors on an outline of rescheduling the medium term debts maturing this year and 1987. The main frame of the rescheduling proposal involves a four year moratorium effective from last April to March 1990. The moratorium would be followed immediately by full repayment of the debts in four instalments spread over six years.

The minister disclosed that debts whose repayments would fall due in 1988 and 1989 would be reviewed next year with the hope of rescheduling them.

The minister also revealed that a new money package of \$320 million was agreed upon and that it would be regarded initially as one year loan with automatic conversion in 1988 into a medium term facility with a three year grace and four year repayment.

The injection of the fresh fund is, however, tied to two conditions. These are: an approval from the World Bank and the IMF of Nigeria's economic recovery programme and non-default on the country's agreement on medium term loans and letters of credit.

— Nimi Wariboko

Farida Karodia A writer in exile

She was dressed in green and black when I met her, comfortably ensconced in a leather sofa in the corner of a hotel foyer. Two businessmen were talking finance a few tables away, but otherwise the lobby was empty.

Farida Karodia has that unburied calm that seems to hint at years of introspection and perhaps a quiet conviction. She is a self-possessed, softly spoken woman in her mid thirties; curious, polite and sincere, though a little bemused at her sudden position in the limelight. She was recently in London for the launch of her first novel, *Daughters of Twilight*, published by The Women's Press.

Karodia was brought up in South Africa to Indian parents. She later worked as a teacher in Zambia for three years; then emigrated to Canada to complete her studies and eventually to settle there as a teacher, but later became a radio dramatist and is now a full-time novelist.

Daughters of Twilight is not quite an autobiographical novel, though as one might expect from a first novel the events in it are drawn from Karodia's childhood recollections of life in South Africa as well as from the consciousness of friends and acquaintances who shared similar experiences. It is sensitively written, and in its very simplicity of structure the plot achieves a far deeper emotional impact than many other academic novels on the same subject. Perhaps only a woman could have written such a novel. This could explain why so many of the important writers of the eighties seem to be women, particularly from the Third World.

Daughters of Twilight is the story of a typical "coloured family," industrious, self-disciplined traders eking out a precarious existence as best they can in an atmosphere of intense racial division. All initiative is penalised, and the family business "appropriated" by the state, the family dispossessed of their home and forced out of their white neighbourhood to the wilderness of Sterkstroom.

These events are seen through the eyes of Meena, the shy younger daughter, who watches the members of her family respond differently as the

pressure mounts from outside. Yasmin, her elder sister, desperately attempts to escape this constricted narrow world for the wider world of "horse riding and coming out balls," while the grim realism of her parents is sadly vindicated in her ultimate and brutal rejection of it.

Farida Karodia is the first creative woman writer, to my knowledge, to emerge from South Africa who represents the Indian and coloured populations there: up till now they have inhabited a neutral zone unnoticed for the most part by the world media. She is very conscious of this fact.



Farida Karodia: softly spoken, calm, with a quiet conviction

"We have always been in a difficult position, and by not giving us full recognition the conflict in South Africa has been oversimplified. In the past, there was always talk of repatriation to India. I don't know whether this has changed, but as a child this was always a constant fear for us. But we are all South Africans, third, fourth and fifth generation, still living in a no man's land. As a group we have come out in support of the blacks, I believe, although you are always going to find collaborators, but essentially they have thrown in their lot with the blacks. They no longer want to be distinguished as coloured or Indian."

Karodia left South Africa perhaps to avoid the fate of Yasmin. She felt that too many doors were being closed at her approach, and faced with a choice between compromise and exile, she chose a life of exile and the pull of her creative powers.

"A friend of mine was arrested in South Africa for "political" reasons, and at that point I felt driven to write a drama about his situation. That was how I started writing. Since then, my writing has become an all-consuming

passion. It is the most meaningful thing to me now, and though selfishly I might say that it gives me a lot of satisfaction, there is obviously a lot more to it than that.

I have a lot more South African stories I want to write...if only to get a lot of very bad things out of my system. But the more I write, the more I find that the rage gives way to indignation and then a kind of understanding of the whole situation. Still, whenever I listen to the news I become upset and angry all over again. But I feel that what I'm doing is something worthwhile, for the situation in South Africa is so complex.

"I was listening to Andre Brink the other day, and I agreed with him when he said that all South African writers should be writing now in such a way that they clarify the situation. They should write stories that ordinary people can relate to. It's all very well to be intellectual and cerebral, but the people that you want to reach don't understand this. But describing something as fundamental as losing your home, which happens all the time, everybody can relate to that. I don't know whether I succeeded, but I wanted to write something that was both simple and powerful."

Sterkstroom, the small dorp in South Africa where the story is

set, is described in the opening paragraph as "the type of town that you drive through en route to some other place, happily forgetting that you've ever been there." But can one ever really forget? Farida Karodia has been away for almost eighteen years, yet she still has a lot of emotional energy invested in her native land. She lives its crises in a vicarious though deeply personal way, concerned both with the rehabilitation of the past and the problem of safeguarding the future.

"As to what is to come. I find it painful to even speculate. Deep in my heart, however, I feel it inevitable that the blacks will get their justice. The present sanctions issue I find deeply upsetting. It is a form of tokenism. I realise it is difficult for one white nation to do something about the excesses of another. In Canada they are as ambivalent about the whole thing as they are in the UK. It is still in the power of the Western nations to bring about peaceful change in South Africa. As it is, they are just prolonging the agony. I just hope that the games will stop soon and that the transition is not made through violence and bloodshed."

Daughters of Twilight, by Farida Karodia, is published in paperback by The Women's Press, price £3.95.

Ike Onworld



'Nsimba Foguis' and 'Taxi Pata Pata' in action. Hot on the heels of their well received performance at the Africa Centre in London, the band have been selected as London Music Makers 1986/87; this entails a six month Greater London Arts funded programme of workshop/performance residences. Taxi Pata Pata offer sessions in their own Zaire/Congolese music, as well as other African styles, with the emphasis on improvisation and composition leading to performance. The offer of grant aided workshops is open to any London-based organisation. For further details phone 01-385 5447 (London).

The rigged election

The Agony of Uganda: From Idi Amin to Obote
By Francis A W Bwengye
Regency, £9.50

Francis A W Bwengye was a Democratic Party (DP) parliamentary candidate in the multi-party general election held in Uganda in December, 1980. He claims that this general election was manipulated by Obote and his Uganda People's Congress (UPC). In this book, he tries to justify his claim and attempts to "inform the world at large in detail about the agonising political situation and economic chaos that have existed in Uganda for a long time," blaming it all on Obote and his UPC.

The author traces the "breakdown of democracy" in Uganda back to the 1960s, just before the independence of Uganda in 1962. The historical perspective of the election process in Uganda is outlined in a shallow and haphazard manner. Starting with the 1958 Uganda Legislative Council elections, he tries to build his way through the 1961 parliamentary election up to the 1962 parliamentary election, which he claims Obote manipulated too.

An analysis is presented of the 1966-70 period in Uganda when Obote abrogated the constitution and declared himself President. He maintains that Obote clung onto power through the use of an ethnic military force. It was this same force under the leadership of Idi Amin which ousted Obote in 1971, continuing the despotic rule which he initiated.

In his so-called analysis, Bwengye does nothing more than quote from books which have been written on the political history of Uganda. His favourite among them is G S Ibingira's *African Upehvalds Since Independence*. There is no evidence of Bwengye's own original interpretation or analysis of events. He does, however, present good newspaper coverage of the events that occurred with the fall of Idi Amin's regime in 1979 and the emergence of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), formed to rule the country by groups of Ugandans who had been exiled by Amin.

At this stage, the book becomes more personalised and could easily be mistaken for a DP political publication

The author maintains that Obote, with the help of extraneous forces, controlled the successive regimes in Uganda under the UNLF until his eventual return to Uganda in 1980. Documentary evidence, although insufficient, is laid down in the book to show that Obote and his UPC party were bent on assuming power fraudulently and with force of arms.

From his account of the political events that preceded the general election in 1980, the reader is left to believe that Bwengye's political party (DP) contributed to Obote's assumption of power. Charts and tables of the election results take up the next part of the book along with his assessment of them.

This book leaves much to be desired. It is sloppily arranged and lacks continuity; many errors and assertions are repeated *ad nauseam* throughout. It appears that when the author was in the process of concluding his work on this book, there were changes on the political scene in Uganda which he is trying to keep abreast and, in so doing, got in a muddle.

An example of this is in chapter one where he states: "The coming elections supposed to take place in December 1985 shall not be free and fair at all." In the same chapter he further states that Obote's regime (the organisers of the December 1985 election) "was toppled by force of arms on 27 July 1985." This confusion is exhibited throughout the book and it leaves the reader wondering whether it was edited.

If the book were better arranged it would be a good account of the agonising political chaos that has occurred in Uganda in the past. The author, however, must be commended for some of his observations, especially the chapter on the aftermath of the rigged election, which depicts the terror and chaos that was unleashed by Obote's regime.

Bwengye concludes that the political and economic agony of Uganda can only be ended with the coming into power of a government democratically and genuinely elected by the people. He disagrees with the leadership of the National Resistance Movement Government in Uganda which he says asserts that "Ugandans are not yet capable of electing their own rulers and representatives through 'free and fair' elections because they have not yet been politicised and many are illiterate. Bwengye claims that

by saying this, the NRM is advocating gun rule.

By now, politicians like Bwengye should have learnt that a "hurried" election is not the solution for Uganda. If they haven't perhaps it is because their eyes are glued to State House, as he states they were, in 1980. Wouldn't this be a continuation of the agony of the people of Uganda, by ambitious politicians who want to achieve their own selfish goals?

The NRM Government should first politicise the masses before allowing freedom of political association. Otherwise Uganda will continue with its politics characterised by killing and political victimisation.

Donald Nyakuru

Beyond politics

Maps,
By Nuruddin Farah,
Picador, 1985, £3.50.

The neat title of *Maps* belies the complexity of its structure and its subject matter.

The political events in the novel concentrate on Somalia's battle with Ethiopia to retain the Ogaden as part of Somalia. A central motif in the writing concerns man-made cartography and the military and social conflict that ensues in attempts to maintain or change falsely imposed national boundaries.

But the thrust of the novel reaches far beyond the political arena; or, perhaps more accurately, it reaches into the realm of the inner life, brutally revealing that the iniquities perpetrated in the name of politics and nationhood have their source just as much in society's animal urge to survive as in the intellectual individual who betrays his life impulse in the name of a cerebral, collective ideology.

The problems raised by choosing allegiance to a politically-determined cause are dealt with through the relationship of the two main characters: Askar, a Somali child orphaned at birth, and Misra, an Oromo Ethiopian "maidservant." She finds him with his dead mother and adopts him as her own son. Their partnership is of the deepest intimacy: they each give life to the other, and thus can take it away.

When Askar is seven, in 1977 when the Russian backed Ethiopians win the war, he is sent away from their humble home in

Kallalo to the sophisticated *harem* provided by his relatives in Mogadiscio. Misra acknowledges the necessity of their separation — indeed, she calls for it, as part of the inevitable process of his growing to independent manhood. But she cannot forestall his emotional abandonment of her or his inevitable seduction into the category-bound formulae of so-called civilised adult life. His violent post-pubescent rejection of her as a possible traitor to the Somali cause seems all the more cruel for the violence of his early love for her.

In Farah's evocation of the intensity of Misra and Askar's archetypal mother-son symbiosis he reveals the power of his fearless and imaginative writing. He creates between his protagonists a partnership of mythological proportions.

The process by which he achieves this emulates the mysterious, visceral process by which a whole life is created in the womb. Like a single life, Askar and Misra's relationship grows before us, on the page, as though formed out of Farah's recurring images of the primal mess of the blood of a menstruating woman, or of an eviscerated headless hen, or of a newly-born child, or of the quivering raw meat from which Misra prophesies the violence of the future.

This is a book about the intensity and ambiguity of passion, passion which makes a mockery of map-making or of any attempt to contain and control within boundaries the tangled, earth-deep roots of our emotions.

Patricia Morris

Crossword

LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION

ACROSS:
1 Moon. 5 Mal. 8 Punt. 11 Anvil. 12 Novel. 13 Zeal. 14 Ace. 15 Ai. 16 AC. 17 So. 19 Ulna. 22 SUNA. 23 Ivory. 26 Pica. 27 Ugali. 30 DC. 31 Bail. 33 Key. 34 Aye. 25 If. 36 Quid. 38 Annoy. 41 OT. 42 Oedema. 46 Kiln. 47 Attire.

DOWN:
1 Mazrui. 2 One. 3 Ova. 4 Nil. 6 ANC. 7 Loess. 8 Pea. 9 Ultra. 10 Treat. 14 Accra. 18 Ouguiya. 20 Nip. 21 Avid. 24 Occlude. 25 Plato. 28 Glen. 29 Heft. 32 AA. 33 Kiosk. 37 Doc. 39 Nisi. 40 Yuke. 42 On. 43 Da. 44 MA. 45 AT.

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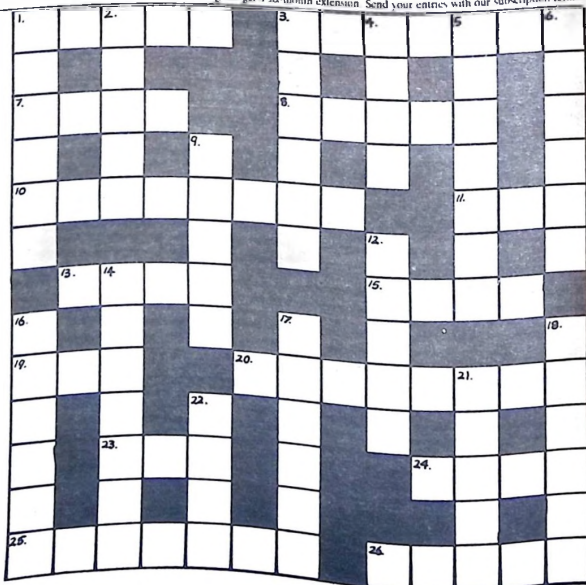
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DOWN:

- Cross out (6)
- Enclosure for cattle (5)
- Wild animal related to dog (6)
- Sour person (4)
- Country at the horn of Africa (7)
- Former president of Egypt (6)
- Once more (5)
- People from the Middle East (5)
- Forecast (7)
- Capital of Lesotho (6)
- Reduce to extreme hunger (6)
- Capital of Zimbabwe (6)
- Striped African animal (5)
- Pricking instrument used to urge horse (4)

ACROSS:

- Capital of Senegal (5)
- Black American activist (7)
- One who tells lies (4)
- Demand (5)
- Message (8)
- Sheltered side (3)
- West African country (4)
- Bring up (4)
- Donkey (3)
- Province of Mozambique (8)
- Mischievous child (3)
- Garment worn by Arabs (4)
- Dig up (7)
- Nkrumah (5)



AFRICAN CONCORD 23 OCTOBER 1986

'Unpopular' Sport

Raising N 0.7m became a herculean task for Nigerian in its bid to host Africa in basket ball.

NIGERIA Amateur Basketball Association (NABBA) felt relieved last week following African Basketball Federation's (AFABA) approval of their request to postpone the Sixth All African Junior Basketball Championship. Although no formal date has been fixed, NABBA insiders disclosed that AFABA has rescheduled the competition to January. The Cairo-based Secretariat of AFABA will communicate the new dates to the 12 participating countries.

Wing Commander Murtala Salami, the association's vice-chairman, who led a delegation to Cairo to press for the postponement, will not disclose the outcome of the discussion with Abdel Azim Ashry, AFABA Secretary-General. He contended that he had to report first to the Ministry of Sports, the sponsors of the trip. The last few weeks had been traumatic for NABBA who merely managed to swim out of financial guaquire. The association had to raise a staggering N700,000 to be able to host the championship. Last August, AFABA Secretary expressed dismay over the state of the facilities at the indoor-sports hall venue of the championship.

Since then, NABBA had undergone traumatic experience. Failure to host the championship would attract 10,000 U.S. dollars fine. In the Nigerian tradition of raising fund, the association launched an appeal. This, even then, could not realise anything near the target. When the original October 17 date closed up, only a paltry N60,000 got into NABBA's coffers. Most close observers saw the N700,000 out of tune with realities. Mr. Suleyman Habu, the co-ordinating secretary for the championship agreed that the initial estimates were very ambitious. He, however, tried to rationalise the amount. He said that NABBA wanted to host the championship in an atmosphere befitting Nigeria's image. The National Stadium Indoor-Sports complex is to be given a face lift.

Facilities to be provided include fibre glass and blackboards. Also, the playing court needs renovation and communication facilities needed for such continental events to take place. As a result of the obvious economic difficulties "we have slashed down the estimate to about N300,000," said Mr. Suleyman Habu. A bulk of the N60,000 realised so far came from a private businessman, Mr. Mike Umeh who donated N10,000. State governments of Lagos and Borno also made donations of N5,000 each. Anambra State government donated N1,000.

Contrary to expectations, no company has come to give financial assistance. "They all complain of lean purse" said Habu. Sports analysts lay the poor response to waning popularity of basketball in the country

NABBA's programmes run throughout the year without much knowledge by sports fans. Except in Kano where the game attracts a large crowd, basket ball still ranks among the least known sports in Nigeria. To further boost the game in the only state where it is still popular, Wing Commander Mohammed Umaru proposes a N1.1 million basketball complex in Kano.

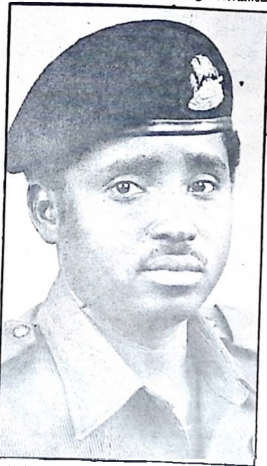
Although NABBA got the mandate to host the junior championship in December last year during AFABA's congress in Abidjan Cote D'Ivoire, the association was late in getting up machineries for smooth running of the championship. The Federal Government was not committed to the championship early enough. As at August, when Mr. Abdel Azim Ashry, AFABA's Secretary-General, came to inspect the facilities, practically nothing had been done. Mr. Ashry, although refrained

committees, yielded little result especially that on technical and facilities, sponsorship and accommodation. Only last week, officials of NABBA were expecting parts of the facilities for a championship which should have started last Friday.

Another flaw in the championship is the apparent unpreparedness of the Nigerian team. Although the association's secretary, Miss Deborah Urubusi expressed confidence in the team, officials closer to the team claimed that the players were yet to be exposed to modern techniques of the game. The team, being groomed by Ganiyu Otenigbagbe will, according to Suleyman Habu, be matched against other teams to provide their standard of play.

Nigeria had not fared impressively in the past tournaments. Although the African junior championship has its origin in 1974, Nigeria's first participation and the best so far was 1980 in Luanda Angola, where the country placed third behind Angola and Central African Republic.

Nigeria team dropped to sixth position in the final classification at the fourth championship in Maputo, Mozambique in 1982. Nigeria placed fourth behind Egypt,



Aminu: Donated to boost the game

from making pronouncement on cancelling the championship, could not hide his disappointment.

NABBA went cap-in-hand with only two months to the commencement of the championship. Although NABBA set up nine sub-committees on technical and facilities, medical, participation, sponsorship, publicity, security, protocol, ceremonial and accreditation, accommodation feeding and transport, the activities of these sub



Umaru: Proposes a basketball complex

Angola and Mozambique at the last championship in Cairo, Egypt. With such record some insiders at the NABBA are of the opinion that Nigeria is not ripe to host the championship. Past hosts emerged winners. Co-ordinating Secretary, Suleyman Habu disproved such claims, arguing that hosts are not necessarily automatic over all winners. But the extension of time could be to Nigeria's advantage.

— Kunle Solaja

FOR actress cum model Cella Adams, her first acting role in Nigeria could launch her to stardom. As the only female detective in the new, fast-paced NTA series Special Anti-Crime Protection Squad (SPACS), she thinks that it is quite a challenge. It is not that she is not up to the task, though. She was an actress on British closed-circuit television before she came to Nigeria. But the taekwondo (karate) and judo training sessions she had to undergo for her role, were just a little bit strenuous. "It has been painful but rewarding," Adams, who trained as a producer/director, said. Perhaps just so. Whenever she starts getting the attention of male admirers — which are inevitable — she can strike out a punch to their 'solar-plexus' and say that karate world of victory: "kiaii!"



Adams

LIKE Shakespeare's actors and actresses on the world stage, we all have our entrances and exits. Akintunde Oyajobi, author of the Delta Fiction Award winning book — "NOSTALGIA" believes he has made his entrance. The book won the 2nd place award.

Akintunde does not believe that God made man for nothing. "We are all individually created to achieve something." And according to him he is endowed with creative abilities which he intends to exploit to the limit.

The Young author believes that the stage was set for him right from the elementary school where he picked up readership to become a voracious reader and lover of words. He is undaunted by the fact he has no university degree. "The degree is not an enough measure of a man's abilities" he says and thinks he is the Nigerian answer to Hadley Chase, and Nick Carter.

"There is a dearth of Suspense thriller writers in this country and it is that gap that I am trying to fill."

He says winning the 2nd place in this year's (1986) Delta Fiction Competition

58



Oyajobi

was a delightful surprise because it was unexpected. And about the number of books he intends to write he says it would be hard to predict, "but as long as I have breath in my body, I shall continue to write." He has also presented his second book titled "ENIGMA" to his publishers and says he is hopeful about its success.

SELLING paints, for Bala Yusufu is quite interesting, though he says it is not easy.

Bala, a 1981 graduate of Unilag and presently the Manager responsible for the running of six out of ten Portland Product's Northern states, feels very comfortable with his heavy work-load. "This is the period for the younger men to take on serious responsibilities and we are proving ourselves."

At 28 and a Senior Manager in a multinational, he does not consider age a limiting factor.

A philosophy major, he was once the Lagos City Editor (or what he liked to call Bureau Chief, of 'The Dawn' magazine. A magazine, according to him, made a gradual journey into obli-



Yusufu

tion because of foreign exchange problems.

Bala, is a prince from Agbiede in Bendel State who thinks one should live and let live. "I like to surround myself with the finer things of life, human beings inclusive."

REV. Dr. Joshua Oyekan sees himself as a manager of people and feels his academic background has fully prepared him for the two major demands of his life (religion and psychology). That is not surprising for someone who has a doctorate degree in theology and another post doctorate degree in psychology. He however says: "I belong to the pulpit now, more than to the university." He thinks he can mould behaviours better from the pulpit than in the university. So he is the



Oyekan

Minister in charge of the 3,000 member strong 1st Baptist Church, Jos. "There is a wide spectrum from the foetus to the full human being and the church is the spawning ground," he says. He does not see religion as being divorced from government. "You can't have a government without a conscience and conscience is religion."

He says religion is big business and would like to see churches act involved in businesses like real estate, book-selling and the establishment of schools. Arguing that the returns from such businesses are tremendous and would further generate greater investment and development.

But he is tired of hearing about coups and counter coups, saying there is a need for a stable government for progress.

"Anytime I hear about another coup, I feel depressed because the new government would want to start all over again" Rev. Dr. Oyekan is pro-women's lib and enjoys watching people. He reads a lot of anything that is written, including the "Lagos Week end."

— Dimeji Popoola



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