

# African CONCORD

20 November 1986 No 117

The Premier Pan-African WEEKLY



**Governing Kaduna:  
My mission, and my  
frustrations — by  
Abubakar Umar**

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# African Concord

The Premier Pan-African WEEKLY

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Youngful Governor of Kaduna state, Abubakar Umar talks to *African Concord* on his aspirations to mobilise the state into a model. He also speaks on his problems and frustrations since he saw himself at the centre of power in the state... 14



Hopes that the appointment of Sadiq el Mahdi as Sudan's new leader would bring an end to the protracted civil war between the north and south of the country are rapidly diminishing. El Mahdi's initial conciliatory stance has changed to intransigence as he grapples with a hounding economy and increasing social unrest. *African Concord* examines El Mahdi's seven-month-old government and looks at how famine in the south is being used as a new weapon in the war 21

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# Letters to the Editor

## Irreplaceable Giwa

Sir,  
Dele Giwa was a great Nigerian. His death has removed an irreplaceable part of Nigerian journalism.

Dele did not die in the quest for truth, as he was determined to bring justice to Nigeria in the presence of his nation. Nigerian journalists are finding it difficult to do the same in the two years since Dele died. It is the wrong of the government of Nigeria.  
Anthony A. Akintola  
Oxford, UK

## Secrets breed rumour

Sir,  
It was with a sense of awe and respect that I read the news of the death of Dele Giwa, the late Chief of Newswatch magazine.

Your report states that the reason for his death was murderable evidence. The investigation revealed against him by the security agents — some being his proposals to publish the other side of the story in the removal of Commodore Edeko Okoro. Without doubt, the Government was negligent in not releasing information on his removal and in allowing that vacuum to be filled by rumours.

Does the Government have the right to withhold information from the people they claim to govern, in fact the right to deserve to be held in contempt and to prevent the true facts being given. Why don't they want the other side of that story known?

Since the advent of military rule in the country in 1966, one reason after another has been used by agents of the state to suppress or control vital evidence or reports of public interest. National security has often been used as the convenient excuse for press censorship. It is often used to conceal questionable official plans, policies and actions. Indeed with so much evidence of exposure of corruption and inanity being suppressed, no citizen can be certain any longer that national security is in his own best interests. National security must not be confused with political security.

Gabriel B. Aghonika  
Cardiff  
Wales

## Dele's death must not remain a mystery

Sir,  
Dele Giwa's death has surely robbed Nigerian journalism of one of its precious jewels.

Will his murderers ever be found? Up to today, Sergeants Musa Yele and Danda Usman, who poured bullets into General Murtala Muhammed in Lagos street have

vanished into oblivion. Up to today, no one knows the killers of Dr Ademola. Neither can anybody say who was involved in the abduction of the nationalist trade unionist, Ogoje Oluwatoyin, during the civil war.

It would be marvellous if President Ibrahim Babangida could break the chain by unearthing Dele's killers. If this is not done the people's hammers will strike again and with greater accuracy.

Maximilian Y. once advised that those who are engaged in the crusade to rid society of injustice and oppression should be prepared to face either of two situations — either going to prison or going to the grave. Dele Giwa has indeed paid the price.

Ebenezer Babalope  
Buckingham  
England

## Find the killers

Sir,  
The assassination of Dele Giwa represents a major escalation in the cycle of violence in Nigerian life.

In the past, the country has lost lives unnecessarily through coups, civil war, armed robbery, road accidents etc, but never through letter bombs.

It is a fact of contemporary history that it is much easier to start any type of violence than to put an end to it. Nigeria's recent history, and the on-going fratricidal feud in Lebanon, among others, amply demonstrate this. There is every danger that this latest atrocity might catch on.

It is a cruel irony which will not be lost on the rest of the world that barely a week after the international community honoured Nigerian intellectual genius through the award of a Nobel prize, another talent should be so abruptly snuffed out.

The sophistication with which the killing was carried out definitely narrows down the number of suspects. Giwa was not killed by a common criminal, but by someone with access to bomb-making devices.

Whether the killing was sponsored by international businessmen or by Nigerians of any description, the least the government can do is find out who killed Giwa, Nigerians, and indeed the world, expect nothing less.

Bright E. Okogu  
Oxford  
UK

## Whence cometh help?

Sir,  
Some ten years ago, the giant of Africa, Nigeria, was on the brink of despair, but today it is nearly swallowed in an abyss of hopelessness with no visible sign of rescue on the horizon.

Nigeria is now a country where students are shot down merely for taking part in a demonstration, accountants are killed for refusing shady deals, auditors are maimed

for refusing to cook the books; governments are sacked for fearlessly carrying out their duties; and journalists killed for exposing too much dangerous truth. There are only a few of the tumours on the Nigerian body politic.

Who is going to save this non despatch and pathetic giant? Nigeria cannot allow itself to sink to such depths and at the same time still lay claim to being the leader of the black Africa.

Olumide Oyesanya,  
London,  
UK.

## A true pan-African

Sir,  
The coming to power of Uganda's leader, Yoweri Museveni, brought into the limelight a number of questions regarding the Rwandese refugees who have been residing in Uganda and other East African countries for the last 25 years. Uganda's last 24 years of independence have been characterised by dictatorial regimes.

Now that a redeeming administration has come to power to rescue the people of Uganda from misrule, the enemies of this regime are trying to say that Museveni's concern for the refugees stems from Rwandese blood in his ancestry or that his father emigrated from Rwanda.

I am not questioning the validity of these reports, because that would drag us back into the old colonial politics of divide and rule, politics of who belongs to which side of the border line and who is entitled to which nationality; a problem that has become a plague to the entire continent of Africa.

What I am questioning is: how long will tribalistic interests be allowed to thrive in our midst? How long will politics in Africa continue to be dominated by ancestry, ethnicity, race, tribe and migration?

The Rwanda Government's persistent refusal to accept the return of her nationals who have been living outside the country for two and a half decades is pathetic. And its claim that there is nowhere for them to live is absurd.

We hope that sooner or later Rwandan authorities will see sense and face the realities of the problem. We also continue to give full support to President Museveni and assure him of our co-operation with the Government of Uganda.

B. Gasana  
University of Jos  
Nigeria

## Pen pals wanted

Sir,  
I am 20 years old and my hobbies are reading, music, soccer, art and travel. I would love to correspond regularly with one of you readers.

Hector Ampah  
PO Box 533  
Cape Coast  
Ghana

## Nigeria

### We don't need traditional rulers

If Nigeria is to be united, the government should retire all traditional leaders, writes Philip Ikomi.

Now that there has been a debate on the future form of government to be adopted in this country, we need to re-examine the status quo. Without shedding certain institutions which for a long time have wreaked havoc to our plans for Nigeria, there is very little we can do to usher in progress, unity and faith. I am referring specifically to the various tribal or ethnic chieftaincies.

Nigeria adopted republican status in 1963. With that status, there is just no room for obas, chiefs, emirs, obongs, okagbues, ohus or what have you. We are not the United Kingdoms of Nigeria.

We have many problems, but tribalism, which seems to be the bedrock of all the unwanted 'isms', is rooted in our traditional rulers. It is they who really keep tribalism and separatism in vogue. They are supposed to be the custodians of our culture and traditions. If we want traditional dancers to perform at festivals, we do not need obas, chiefs or emirs to supply them.

Traditional rulers have no place in

modern Nigeria simply because all their traditional jobs have been taken up by the state governments. They cannot legally collect taxes, for example, without the permission of the government. They cannot legally stand in judgement over anyone or settle disputes without permission from the government. And they cannot sell people into slavery any more without being dragged to court. But they wield enormous power by maintaining social barriers between various ethnic groups.

If we want Nigerians to move freely across tribal or ethnic boundaries and in so doing promote unity, we do not have to continue to pay traditional leaders to remind us of our differences. We cannot continue to undo with one hand what we make with the other.

If we are really serious about finding a new way to proceed forward after 1990, we should dismantle the institutions of traditional leadership. Natural rulers should be disbanded and, since taxpayers across the country have been responsible for building

their magnificent palaces, these buildings should be acquired by government and used as offices and museums. Traditional rulers create fear and anxiety.

In the distant past, foreigners colluded with them to send slaves to the Caribbean and the Americas. When the British first arrived they banished a number of them in order to rule directly. However, when they saw they could use them to divide and conquer, they re glorified the institution.

Traditional leaders, though they seem innocuous, wield too much power and breed suspicion, superstition, fear and anxiety. Their kingdoms have been the breeding ground for corruption, particularly with regard to chieftaincy titles. In order to get these worthless titles, people have been known to embezzle large sums of money.

Nigerians, too, have blindly and fanatically followed religious dogma simply because the local ruler subscribes to it. The government, by allowing them to be religious leaders too, is indirectly giving sanction to what religion should be patronised. And it is no secret that natural rulers are believed to be connected with the many unexplained ritual murders.

Without their traditional rulers to rally round, the tribal groups will readily support the state government. There will thus be a faster integration of our diverse peoples.

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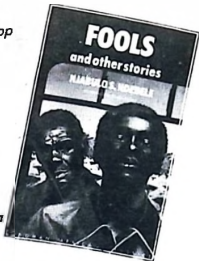
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\* The essay should be between 800 and 1,000 words and must reach African Concord before 30th March, 1987.

\* Send entries to either African Concord, 5/15 Cromer St, London WC1H 8LS or African Concord, 42 Concord Way, PO Box 4483, Ikeja-Lagos, Nigeria.

\* The winner will be rewarded with books donated by our sponsors, valued at over £500. The remaining books, valued at over £500, will be shared among eleven runners-up.

\* The competition is open to all African Concord readers except the staff of Concord Press of Nigeria and their relatives.

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We seize this opportunity to thank Longman publishers, sponsors of our 1986 competition. For the 1987 competition we wish to thank Longman once again for their support, as well as Heinemann, Women's Press, Penguin, Faber and Faber, Helm, Hamish Hamilton, Yale, Allison and Busby, André Deutsch and Pan.

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Abubakar Dangiwa Umar was probably the only one that had a clear idea about his assignment.

He was well prepared. He had everything cut out, an idea about the format and content of the kind of regime he would institute in Kaduna State, the reforms he would introduce, a manifesto of some sort. Have these ideas changed 15 months after; has Governor Umar himself changed?

Before his appointment, he had cut a media image of a radical, a man impatient with the slow pace of reforms, with cosmetic changes, a courageous man that had the audacity under a conservative military oligarchy of Buhari-Idiagbon to advocate public control of means of production, to crave fundamental changes. He even nearly committed heresy when he advocated for something akin to socialism.

As the administrator of the Federal Housing Authority, he ran the affairs of the place with military precision, exposing corruption and striving to end the hitherto unabated fleecing of the treasury through the awards of contracts for everything that had to be done. Umar sought to block this brazen milking of government by contractor-suckers and introduced direct labour system, whereby workers of the authority would do some projects they had the competence to do.

### FHA

Umar left the FHA, cleaner than he met it, more purposeful, more functional. He even went to the extent of calling on government to be more involved in public housing, as it is the responsibility of government to shelter its people. In the 21 months or so of his tenure in the FHA, Umar became a man to watch and on him, the media focussed as he took the oath of office as governor of Kaduna State, a volatile political area harbouring a cream of northern Nigeria political and military elites.

As the new governor departed Lagos for Kaduna that September, Umar began to live true to his image and public expectation. He fired a warning signal to trouble makers and political cliques in the state, to steer clear of his administration. He would not be their puppet or a man — Friday and he would not be diverted by their bickerings. He blamed the faceless cliques of the state and promised them a rough time. It was a good showing, tough. The media were thrilled and made a feast of it in screaming headlines, the day after. And everyone began to await more toughness from the new governor, and particularly see how he would use Kaduna as the guinea pig for his radical ideas.

But Umar had hardly settled down in the state when he watered down his tough stance of a few days earlier. He



Umar: Cut a media image of a radical

## Blue for a radical

Lt-Col. Abubakar Umar, the idealistic straight-talking former boss of the FHA, is coming to terms with reality as Kaduna state governor.

PHILOSOPHERS have never suffered any illusion about our world: that a hiatus separates the ideas in the head and reality, distances the world of vision and praxis. Every revolutionary of repute, every person imbued with reformist ideas always struggle to disprove this maxim. It is their unwanted nightmare, a crucible they have to pass once they have the opportunity to

translate the ideas into reality. And no visionary goes through this haunting experience without being changed — theorists become pragmatists and they soon begin to re-tailor their perceptions of society to fit the reality that now stares at them.

Among the 19 governors sworn into office last year September by President Ibrahim Babangida, Governor

## Cover Story

said his speech was directed at no group, that he had been misquoted, that his speech was not meant to castigate the Kaduna mafia, which some overzealous newspapers erroneously concluded was the group Umar castigated.

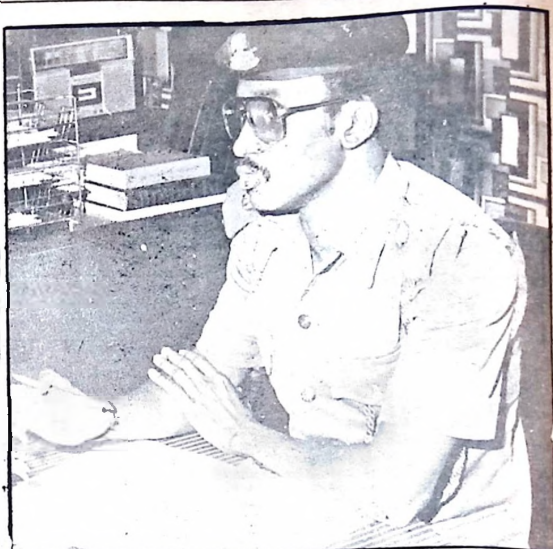
The newspapers admitted their error and corrected it, but the Kaduna based *New Nigerian* newspaper, apparently capitalised on it when it wrote an editorial, making an issue out of the governor's youthfulness and that of some other governors who then held the rank of Major in the army. The newspaper argued that age and experience might hamstring the competence of the governors to administer their states. Although the editorial did not mention Umar, it was clear that he might be the person it had in mind.

It's more than a year now that Umar has been administering the state and within the time he has also moved a step up in the military ladder — he has become a Lieutenant Colonel. What has been his experience in governing? Umar bursts into smiles and replies: "It has been quite beneficial. It has been tough. But not the impression people create as if Kaduna is too big a coat for one to wear. We have been able to manage Kaduna."

### Record

His record in office the past 15 months seems to be in support of this. Immediately he began duties, Umar brought some of his experiences at FHA to bear. He introduced the direct labour system, abolishing contracts for simple projects. About 50 roads in Kaduna metropolis have been repaired and new ones built. Through this, Umar has been able to save N4 million and that is not the only monetary gain. Umar's government is also using direct labour to build two warehouses for the distribution agencies. The cost of the projects as a result has gone down from N2.44 million to N850,000. In addition, workers of the state ministry of works are also building an extension block in the Governor's office. Rural roads, rural electrification projects are also being built by direct labour. Repairs of vehicles are done by the hitherto redundant workshops of the works ministry. Supplies of stationery and equipment are procured directly from the sellers, rather than through contracts. A spin off from the direct labour system is the provision of more jobs.

Although, the system has brought some benefits to the state, Governor Umar is quick to admit the several constraints that are being faced, the scepticism and impatience of the people who expect things to be done, more quickly. Some of the problems centre on the lack of equipment and Umar explains: "As you know, we came at a very poor, dif-



Umar: Power is very fragile

ficult time, when there was no money to buy these items. What we have done was to salvage those that had been abandoned and repair them. I keep telling people that they should not expect a lot of monetary savings as of now. The fact is that a start has been made."

Some other things the Umar administration has been able to do are: the launching of the People's Re-orientation Campaign, the introduction of self-accounting systems for ministries, parastatals and government commercial companies.

The Re-orientation campaign was launched last January and its central message was not only to enlighten the nine million people of the state about the workings of government, but also to teach the lessons of self-reliance. It was also designed to mobilise the citizens to be more productive.

"Unless people were involved in planning of development, all efforts would remain unco-ordinated and irrelevant to the society," he said at the launching on January 10.

To realise the goals of the campaign, to be able to reach the people, the Umar government recently gave out N2.72 million for the building of TV and radio booster stations in Katsina, Southern Zaria, Saminaka and Birnin-Gwari. Governor Umar told *African Concord*

that the campaign was catching on and yielding fruits. One most visible gain has been the increase in cotton production. In the past, the state was reputed for cotton, but the people in the time of the oil boom and importation spree, abandoned cotton, growing food crops such as sorghum, millet and maize. Umar says the campaign has achieved a re-orientation from food production to the production of cash crops. The price of cotton has been increased from N700 to N1,400 and an edict has been enacted that makes government and two other agents, the sole buyers of the produce. Umar says the step was taken to stop the peasants from being exploited by middlemen who would buy their produce at cheap prices only to sell to the textile companies at high prices.

This year, Governor Umar expects the state, along with Kano, Sokoto and Bauchi to supply 50 per cent of Nigeria's needs. Next year, he hoped that the production would triple. In the meantime, farmers brigades or co-operatives have been formed in the rural areas to enable the farmers benefit optimally from the inputs and equipment supplied by the Farmers' Supply Company, owned by the government. To encourage mixed-farming, work-bulls worth N1.4 million, have been bought and loans valued at N5 million distributed to farmers.



Kofun Umar, former head of the World Bank for Nigeria.



Ikenna Eze, former head of the World Bank for Nigeria.



Hassan Katsina, former head of the World Bank for Nigeria.

Umar, Umar served in the capacity of a chief economist, adviser to the director, the World Bank's representative in Nigeria. He has been very instrumental with the government in the sector. And, he has been in a similar position with the World Bank, administering a \$100 million project in the state for revamping of the power sector. Umar worked in the completed project, and he retained the Bank's services over the release of funds. Every state that ought to be spent on the project had to get the approval of the World Bank. Umar saw this as a deliberate plan to slow the project and make for exhaustion of funds. He complained bitterly to the World Bank, saying that the bank's dominating control of the project was itself an intriga-

tion to take power to government. Umar's quarrel with the World Bank started for him the wrath of some powers in the state who accused him of antagonizing with a golden goose. But Umar says he was not bothered by such accusations as he believed they came from ignorance fueled by the "psychology of superstitions." And he was then not ready to be ruled by such psychology. A feud has now been rekindled by the Bank and Governor Umar. It's officials have given the assurance that the project would be completed at the new target date, 1999.

Umar's quarrel with the World Bank brought to the fore the rebel in him. He is a man who abhors the subtle way at which giant external economic institu-

tions attempt to control sovereign countries. He abhors, too, the political influence of the multi-nationals, wherever they operate.

Perhaps this visceral opposition to them, informs his objection to moves by the Federal Government to sell off its companies to private entrepreneurs. Umar does not believe this is the answer to Nigeria's economic problems. He thinks government has to take the lead in industrialisation, by investing its resources. His government has demonstrated this belief by buying two Federal companies — a livestock company and a dairy. The companies and others owned by the state have been asked to operate like other private companies — make profits and be self ac-

## Umar: Quotes

"The son of a rich man is taken to government school. The son of a millionaire is taken to government school. Even housing, you find the private sector asking for houses from the government. With all these, I felt, if we are going to continue with the mixed economy in a positive way, then it's only right that government controls the means of creating the wealth. This to me could sound socialist."

"People have been talking about the public sector not being efficient. Can we really be efficient simply by privatizing, by saying government should hands off? Can't we for example make government companies more efficient? I think we can."

"Government has to insist that the private sector participate in housing. At the same time, I think the government, no matter how small the venture is, should continue with the construction of housing."

"This is why I support the ban by the Head of State on the importation of some raw materials required by the industries."

Even though it is going to put some industries into problems and cause prices of things to go up, it is still a good development. Things must get worse before they get better."

"Sometime you allow things to pass, because you are a member of a group. But where you disagree in a major way, the best thing to do is to drop from the group. There are some things I will like to see done which if they are not done, all I can do is to think about how I can do things better by myself. I have been given a state and my major concern is how I can run the state so that I can contribute to its growth."

"General Babangida may not be a socialist, but I think he is socially concerned to the extent that whatever policies he promulgates, a person like me has so much faith in him."

"This is why I continue to say that if we want an economic take-off in this country, we can bring it about. Many of us don't want to do that... The things we are driving at is that in the near future we should be self-sufficient in the raw materials that we can grow and the food crops we consume."

## Cover Story



**Ibrahim Makarfi, Commissioner for Information and Home Affairs.**

counting. Additionally, his government has plans to embark on seven industrial projects out of the 14 abandoned by the civilians.

His answer to proponents of privatisation has been to crave more government involvement, crave the removal of impediments that clog the efficiency of public companies, crave relaxation of excessive government controls. "What I believe is that we can make the public sector very efficient by bringing about right sanctions against people that delay things in government. With more government support, state and federal, I am sure the public sector will be more efficient."

That stance should not be surprising to watchers of Governor Umar. It is a position that derives from his ideology — an unshaken belief in the need for government to control the means of production, of creating the wealth of this state. He was of course known for these views before coming into office. In fact,



**Dalhatu Tafida, Commissioner for Agriculture.**

Umar studied Political Science at the Bayero University, Kano between 1979

and 1981. But he has been very careful in not allowing people to give him the socialist or communist label: "I think it is not wise for me to take any label at this time," says Umar to the *African Concord*.

His cautiousness and shyness for ideological labelling is, of course, understandable. Umar belongs to a conservative army that does not seem to have room for officers with radical bent. Officers are trained to follow their commanders, to follow their footsteps, a practice the Kenyans call, "Nyayoism."

However, Umar's radical critics do not seem to understand all this. Having watched Umar on the governorship saddle for 15 months, critics believe that he has married the conservative natives, glamour of office. The critics point at how Umar has gone soft on the Kaduna Mafia, how he has made himself



**Hallma Adamu, Commissioner for Health and Social Welfare.**



**Hansen Donli, Commissioner for Justice.**

## BIODATA

**Name:** Dangiwa Abubakar Umar  
(Lt. Colonel)

**Birth:** September 2, 1949

**Place:** Birnin Kebbi, Sokoto State

**Marital Status:** Married

**Education:** Primary School, Birnin Kebbi 1957—1963

Government. College, Sokoto 1964—1968

Nigerian Defence Academy 1969—1972

Nigerian Army School of Armour 1972

US Army Admin School, Fort Benjamin, Harrison, Indiana, USA 1976

Royal Armour Centre, England 1977

US Army Armour School, Kentucky 1977—1978

Bayero University, Kano 1979-1981

Command and Staff College, Jaji 1981—1983

**Posts Held:** Troop Leader

Squadron Leader (Armour)

Battalion Commander

Aide-de-Camp to Deputy Chief of Staff SHQ.

Brigade Major

Military Administrator Federal

Housing Authority

**Present Position:** Military Governor of Kaduna State

**Hobbies:** Polo, Golf and Squash

**Countries Visited:** UK, USA, Saudi

Arabia, Egypt, Iran, Jamaica,

France, Italy and Belgium.

**Greatest Influence:** Retired Major General Usman Hassan Katsina.



**Governor Umar**

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amenable to dictates by the retired general, most of whom live in Kaduna. They point at how he too is fast developing a taste for acquiring property like the propertied class — such as building a house. They point to his unqualified support for President Babangida, who made headlines in the Buhari days for warning soldiers against undue indiscipline.

Umar's response to the heap of accusations is like that of Jesus to his commentators: "Father, forgive them for they don't know what they are doing." Umar in the interview with *African Concord* does not use the same words, but his self-absolution is in the same spirit.

He says the revolutionary fire in him is yet to flicker, although he will not allow his critics whittle him to the killing ground by wearing a socialist garb.

"When I have continued to say is that I am socially concerned. I don't want a situation where I find the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer. There should be equal opportunities in the society. We should try and build a society where you can rise in spite of your birth, in spite of your connections and non-connections." He says it is not a question of one's declaration that determines where one belongs in the ideological spectrum. He adds that he still belongs to the spectrum where he us-



Musa shok, Commissioner for Education.



Daura, Commissioner for Works

ed to belong, regardless of his refusal to wear the ideological garb, regardless, of the office he occupies.

He has ignored the Kaduna mafia because he doesn't consider it the state's problem, but a national malaise. He pooh-poohs suggestions that some Generals are teleguiding him. He is not a man to serve as any General's robot.

And on the noise being made over his four-bedroom house, Umar described it as a non-issue.

"This kind of thing is very irritating. If I were a teacher in a secondary school and I built a house, no one would have talked about it."

Umar says he will not bother himself with the tantrums of his critics; he will

## 'We call him a socialist'

How far has Lt. Colonel Abubakar Umar succeeded in Kaduna State? Some of the people he governs assess him and return mixed grades.

Comrade John Dawah, Kaduna State Chairman and National Vice President, Civil Service Technical Workers Union of Nigeria: Honestly speaking Governor Umar's administration is fantastic viewed from the way Kaduna State is being developed. We've not had it like this. Roads are being tarred, people are being taken care of. Honestly, Comrade Governor Umar is a man of words and action. People can now drive on some Kaduna roads.

His relationship with the workers is cordial. The only problem we have is the archaic rule making it mandatory for professionals to pass their civil service examination before they are promoted. And I am sure Governor Umar did not initiate this rule. We have written to him and we trust and hope something will be done.

He is making efforts to provide drugs in hospitals but, as you know, he cannot satisfy the demands of all the people.

Umar has embarked on rural roads to farms. I know this because I am a part-time farmer. Apart from the first republic and the administration of impeached Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe

Musa, this is the first time we have got a governor who cares for the masses. We call him a socialist and the name suits him.

Steven Adeyi Adikwu, a Journalist:



Umar: FHA more difficult to rule

Umar in my estimation has scored above average.

The Kaduna township roads are being revamped and his rural development and direct initiative have been commendable.

The new impetus towards the resuscitation of cotton as an export com-

modity and his bold agricultural initiatives have been encouraging.

Timothy Oyemobio Azubike, a barman at Kaduna Press Centre: His administration is fair — he improved on mass transportation between Kaduna and rural areas, repaired the roads in Kaduna metropolis, introduced direct labour as an avenue for the unemployed to get jobs, and has done much to assist the police to reduce crime to the barest minimum.

I am however appealing to Governor Umar to extend his road repairs to the neglected rural areas, control prices of essential commodities and rents in Kaduna State because everything in the market is now beyond the reach of the ordinary Nigerian. The government should also improve on the conditions of primary and post primary schools especially in the rural areas because they are in total state of disrepair. He should also provide more drugs in hospitals and radio/television services in Southern Zaria, Birnin Gwari, Saminaka and Katsina areas.

Miss Siri Jogai, a Teacher: Governor Umar has not done much to reduce graduate and post primary school leavers' unemployment. They are still roaming the streets, including science graduates. I know of many who have no employment and they are state indigenes trained with public funds.

He needs to provide sufficient



*It has been quite beneficial*

not even consider asking for his redeployment, for he has a mission for the state. And this is to make the people of the state more conscious of their civic responsibilities, more productive. Eventually he plans to turn Kaduna into the envy of other states.

Time, of course, may be a great deterrent for Umar to translate his vision for

the state into reality. Umar is a soldier and his governorship is a military assignment, not permanent. Tomorrow, he might be transferred, and this might bring to an end his experiment in the state.

Umar is certainly not a man to be cowed down by the many criticisms of his government. "The good thing is to

maintain your good relations with God. If your conscience is clear, and what you are doing is right, forget about detractors."

And that seems to be his resolve. But there is a criticism that Governor Umar can not ignore. This centres on one element of his social concerns. Umar once said it was the responsibility of government to house its people. But now, he has modified his position, giving the vintage excuse that idealists, like he, give when they bump into the thick wall of reality. "It is one thing," he says, "to say it is your responsibility to do something. Another thing is your capacity to do it. As you know today, the Federal and state governments are barely able to pay salaries. As much whatever real, whatever desire you have to construct housing for the people, you have a limited resources to practise this. You need money. It is not just the desire."

Surely, 15 months of governorship has tempered at least one of Umar's glittering ideas. The tone of his response is certainly that of the radical in close encounter with reality. It must be one blue for the radical governor of Kaduna State.

**— Bayo Onanuga with reports  
by Timothy Bonnet**

drinkable water in Kaduna metropolis and most of the rural areas where there is still scarcity of water.

Most of our primary and post primary schools are in a state of disrepair and there is need for government to vote money to repair them, provide desks, chairs, electricity and books. I know of a so-called special science unity school where students do not have light in the classrooms to read at night.

The standard of education is fast declining because of lack of proper attention to the needs of our schools. The state hospitals are still consultancy institutions where drugs are not provided after prescription.

I however commend the government for introducing direct labour in execution of government projects and the repair of Kaduna roads, but I want this to be extended to the rural areas.

Government should also move fast to provide radio/television services to Southern Zaria, Saminaka, Katsina and Daura to enable the people know what the government is doing.

Yusuf Abubakar, a Broadcaster: I must commend the governor of Kaduna State for the way he has been handling the affairs of the state, especially the Zaria/Katsina political dichotomy despite his youthful age.

I also commend the government for its repair of roads in Kaduna township

and reviving the abandoned 14 PRP administration industrial projects.

But I will like to advise that he should make industries in the state contribute materially and financially towards the development of the state, make the impact of the state distribution agency felt or scrap it because commodities are allocated to selected individuals instead of organisations.

Local government chairmen should match their words with action in terms of provision of amenities to the rural areas.

The primary and post primary institutions are in a dilapidated state. They should be repaired and electricity and water provided. The state government should scrap the employment of Nigerians on contract — it is not good, at least for national unity.

Comrade Alhaji Bello Abu Kano, Secretary, Kaduna State Civil Service Technical Workers Union of Nigeria: I give Governor Umar a pass mark because for what he was able to do within the period of one year, more than any previous administration in the state.

Though people are saying he is executing programmes of past administration, but, to me, the man who executes the programmes should get the credit. He could have set them aside and planned his own but he did not.

I praise him for his direct labour policy because it is the best way to sustain the workers and ensure more solid job. Lugard Hall, Hamdala Hotel, the government and the state houses were built through direct labour and you can see the quality of the work.

I disagree with the government for taking World Bank loan to develop agriculture, because the bank provides the staff and they insist on telling us how to use the money especially on the imported staff called experts. Government should stop taking such loans with strings attached.

Mallam Mohammed Ibrahim Sokoto, a Civil Servant: As you can see, roads are being constructed or reconstructed, water is available and efforts are being made to increase its supply in Kaduna and other major towns. Also noticeable are improvements in transportation system and in agriculture. More of such projects are being set up and are beginning to yield results.

Direct labour is very important. It is a chance to reduce the unemployment gap. I'd like all states of the federation to implement the policy to help reduce the number of unemployed graduates, secondary school leavers and those retrenched.

**— Timothy Bonnet**

# “My mission, my frustrations, my irritations”

**A**N interview with Governor Umar Question: Before you were appointed governor, you were an avowed socialist. And as governor, you have continued to advocate socialism. What kind of socialism do you want for Nigeria?

Answer: I think the first paper that brought out this socialist idea about me is the *National Concord*. We had an interview with *Concord* in 1985. What I was talking about was more and more government control of means of production. And of course, one of the chaps there said this sounded socialist. I told him that it didn't matter what he called it, that he might decide to tag it socialist, communist or whatever. My reasoning then was that I looked at the mixed economy system that Nigeria has been running, and I discovered that it is a confused system.

Question: You recently expressed disgust on Kaduna and the difficulties in administering it. What prompted you into saying this?

Answer: There is no question of throwing in the towel. To me, as a military officer, from what we have been doing in the state, I don't want to be egocentric, we have been doing our best. People are bound to judge by the time we leave. Even they can start the judgment now. But for anybody to suggest that Kaduna State is difficult to run is really getting the whole point wrong. I never said anything like that. I found the FHA more difficult to rule than Kaduna State. We have got very good civil service here and things are running very well. We have received commendations verbally and in writing on what we have been able to achieve within one year. The whole issue is that once in a while, you get frustrated. There is a lot of rumours circulating around. This happens everywhere. Kaduna being the centre of the media, being a centre of enlightened people, you find here and there, so many comments. Today, you will receive a letter telling you this. The next day it may be the rumour is far reaching to the centre, the Federal Government. Here and there, when you sit as a governor, you get irritated. You start asking yourself, all for what benefit? If it is serving the people, you get irritated that the same people you are trying to kill yourself to serve start citing things that may tantamount to mud slinging. Then you feel irritated. You feel that to hell! What is it in living actually when you get frustrated? When you make that kind of statement, people should take it lightly that it's some irritation coming. This is exactly what happened. This was misconstrued to mean that Kaduna State was difficult to govern. Certainly if the head of state has not made a comment that Nigeria is difficult to govern, how could a military governor in Kaduna State make mention of such a thing?

From what has happened in Kaduna State, definitely people see that we have been ruling Kaduna State with ease. It is quite normal, things become difficult sometimes and sometimes it becomes easy. Sometimes you lose sleep over lesser issues. Sometimes you can sleep over very difficult issues. The way it was reported, that I was throwing in the towel, I have never said anything like that. Anyone who knows me will know that I will be the last person that will throw in the towel in a place like Kaduna State.

What I said was just a passing statement. Sometimes you feel like really saying you can't go on. That doesn't mean it's because of difficulty of running the state but because



Umar: People have been trying to rope me

of certain personal reasons.

When for example I said to protect my image and family, I feel that sometimes I should relinquish this job. When for example you find people trying to mess you, you feel deprived. It's not that you don't want to serve the nation. But you ask yourself, why? The imagination that everyone has, if you are a governor, is that you are surrounded by a lot of privileges, that it's a kind of favour to you. When people see you going in a motorcade, there is that envy. But what is in it really? Believe me, my life was more comfortable when I was a student in BUK than the life of a governor. From outside it looks comfortable, people tend to envy, people tend to say a lot of rubbish. May be I am sensitive, over-sensitive if you want, about the slightest show of envy towards me, because I know the kind of hot seat I am occupying. You may be comfortable if you are a man that wants to enjoy privileges, a man that wants to blow sirens. Sometimes, even when people greet you, you feel irritated. You feel you are now dehumanised.

As a governor, the fact that you don't have peace in yourself, you just work, and you know that in the end a slight comment from the press or the people may destroy your reputation. What is then in the post of governor if I collect the whole for this country? The ultimate end for me is that I am going to die and be buried in a grave. What is in material things, what is in the power? Then people think you enjoy power, that you have now changed your ideology, things like that, when people say that I have changed my ideology, that I have this and that, it is very irritating. It is when you don't know the person you are referring to, it is always better to be close to him and know rather than just make a detached analysis of what that kind of person is. I am hardly one of those people that love this kind of transitory power. As you know, power is very fragile, be it economic or political, modern power is so fragile. It shouldn't give anybody any joy. If you are very comfortable in the office of a governor, then you are being a fool. Some of the respect given to governors, I find it most unnecessary. It dehumanises them. It is most unfortunate. I don't want a situation where today because I ride within 20 minutes to the airport, while I leave the office, it will take me about one hour to get to the airport. You know it will be dangerous for me to have these privileges in-built. Because I cannot sustain them when I leave the office. I think people should sympathise with these public officers, rather than think they are privileged, because most of them leave the privileges in the end. There is nothing as bad as this, it can be traumatising. Sympathy, is what many of them require. Of course those that have acquired wealth, will continue to enjoy the privileges when they are out. The idea of throwing in the towel, believe me, I have not come across any obstacle that is insurmountable.

Question: There is this rumour going on in Kaduna that within the short time you became governor you have been able to put up a house. And that you have even built a road to it. I believe this kind of rumour is enough to upset you. And I want to know if the Zaria-Katsina dichotomy is a factor in your frustration?

Answer: I was telling somebody that if I were a university lecturer today, I will not think of constructing a house. In fact, when I got in touch with my bank and told them I wanted to borrow money and build, some of them were advising that the second-tier was starting and that I should not think of embarking on construction of a house as it may not be viable now. I told them that supposing I woke up and was no more a governor. Do they expect me to go back to my father's house in Gwandu and share the house with them? As a governor, it would be downright unrealistic to expect you should not have a house you should retire into in case of any eventuality. This is the reality of the situation. So when I came to Kaduna - (I had negotiated for a plot before coming), I

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decided to construct a 4-bedroom house. As soon as I started building the house people started talking, he is building a house. If I were any normal person, why should that building raise any eyebrow? This is simply the irritation, it's because I am governor today, that is why people are talking about the house.

Where I built my house, there are more than 16 plots there. And it is in the process of getting the Certificate of Occupancy that you will get the infrastructure, water, light, road on the site. Of course all the plots there had not been opened up. The NDA (Nigerian Defence Academy) place which was allocated to people about two years ago was left because there was no road, no light, no water. We decided to provide infrastructure so that those who got plots there will start developing. There are over 16 plots in the area where I got my own land—I decided also that that place should be opened. The road is just about 50 metres. And it is not servicing my plot. If my plot is in some isolated island in Kaduna State, then I constructed a road leading to the place, then people should raise eyebrows. But you know the situation in Nigeria is that once you are governor—that is what is most irritating—anything you do is subjected to negative interpretation.

For goodness sake where could there be a plot in this Kaduna which is totally isolated? The place I built my house is not a close. There is no question of just the road leading to my house.

About the house, anyone who wants to know whether I built the house through a bank loan or not, I will tell him to go to the Union Bank in Kaduna, and ask them how much money did I take? This is for public consumption. Let them ask how much I have taken. If the bank is willing they will tell them. But you know the speculations you built a four bedroom house and somebody will jump to the conclusion that you didn't take a loan.

The first plot I asked Abba Musa Rimi to give me, opposite General Hassan's house, when I discovered there was no owner. When it was built by its actual owner and I became the governor, they said, oh, this is the plot of the governor of Kaduna State. So I said may God bring earthquake to the place if it is my plot.

This kind of thing is very irritating. But it is not the main thing that made me make the statement. If I were a teacher in a secondary school, and I built a house, no one would have talked about it. How many roads have I constructed in this town really?

All the undeveloped plots, who will go there and build houses if there are no roads or drainage?

To me, it's a non-issue. The thing is your conscience. If you have satisfied your conscience that what you have done is right. Let them go to the Federal Housing Authority, if they go to a plot of land or a house, may God own a plot of land or a house, if I wanted bring earthquake to the place. So if I wanted to build a house in Lagos, I would have done so. I was influential in Lagos and I could so. I was influential in Lagos to build a house. Have gotten all the facilities to build a house; I have retrenched so many people in FHA; I have written me threatening letters. If they

know I had acquired a house or plot they would have published it in the newspaper.

As far as the Zaria-Katsina dichotomy is concerned, it has not given me any problem since I came to this place. I think it will be downright naive for anyone not to expect this seeming dichotomy between people anywhere. There must be this division be it in Gongola, Ondo State. People beating dead horses, there is no need. What I know is that I can mobilise Kaduna State to be one of the most developed in the Federation. And this is exactly what I am gearing towards. I don't want to be drawn back by this talk about the existence of a mafia, or the existence of the Zaria-Katsina dichotomy. People have been trying to rope me, to put me in the killing ground that I must accept and say the existence of the mafia, that I must accept the existence of the dichotomy. And I always tell them, I know the way I am heading. And

sake, let them refer it to me. And if they want, they can bring it open to the public.

If tomorrow I am retired or dismissed from the service, particularly with these people that are saying, say this, say that. If I tell you I don't have a house to go into they will say, I am covering up, he has got a house in London or New York. The good thing is to maintain your good relations with God. If your conscience is clear, what you are doing is right, forget about detractors. I have said so much that today if I have done the wrong thing, I would have been crucified. I walk head high.

**Question: I want to ask about your great loyalty to Mr. President. You were once quoted as saying that you could follow him to war blind-folded. What are the qualities you see that make you say you could die with him?**

**Answer: People that had known me since**



*We have been able to manage Kaduna*

I will not allow the forces of retrogression to get hold of me. I will not bother myself about talking about the existence of the mafia, I will not talk about the ideology I have. I will not bother about the Zaria-Katsina dichotomy unless it is jeopardising peace and security of the nation.

The Kaduna mafia the way it is described seems to be a national problem. For me as a governor to sit here and start singing that there is a mafia I am going to destroy, I think that is just some kind of rhetoric which I am not going to start.

What I can tell you is that I have a mission in the state. My whole mission is to mobilise people to be more productive, to develop the state. This is what I have started. God willing, I hope I am going to have a breakthrough. I am going to leave this place just as I was telling people at FHA, if by the time I left people discovered anything, for goodness

my secondary school, know me as a very rebellious person. They wonder sometimes how I can work in a government. Sometimes my utterances people asked me in 1984 I was castigating government, now all of a sudden, I don't. The statement I made, I still maintain it. It will not be fair now, may be when all of us are retired, I will say exactly what it is that I have seen which makes me say what I said. I may not be modest to say this. I don't want to appear to show subservience to anybody. God is the only person you should submit yourself to, I assure you if for any day, I find myself in conflict with what the head of state is doing, then I will not go on for any day. I don't want an association where it will appear as if I am quite subservient.

Of course, you know, we must have disagreements every now and then. To mention some of his qualities is for people to judge. At the right time, I will say what it is.

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# Giwa: Gani continues battle

Lagos lawyer, Chief Gani Fawehinmi continues his legal battle to dock suspects in the Giwa murder puzzle

**R**ULING will be given this week by Lagos Chief Judge, Justice Candide Ademola-Johnson on an application asking for an order to compel the Director of Public Prosecution to reply to a request for the prosecution of two security chiefs alleged to be the murderers of Mr. Dele Giwa.

A Lagos lawyer, Chief Gani Fawehinmi brought the application last Tuesday and argued that he had the right to do so. Chief Fawehinmi's application came a few days after the DPP, Mr. James Oduneye rejected the request in the November 3 letter, in which the Fawehinmi asked him to prosecute the suspects or give him the licence, as a private prosecutor.

Oduneye had said on November 5 that he was in no position to accede to either of Fawehinmi's requests as a prima-facie case was yet to be established against the two suspects mentioned in the letter. Fawehinmi told Justice Ademola Johnson that the law does not give the DPP the power to refuse to prosecute and deny licence to a private prosecutor.

"I submit that since the discretion of the Director of public prosecution is one vested in him by law, he has a legal duty to exercise the discretion one way or the other. He cannot sit on the fence by neither taking a decision to decline to prosecute at the public instance, upon an information being submitted by a private person", Fawehinmi said.

Twice, the chief judge interrupted him to clear two issues. First, he asked about the person who has the power to prosecute in a situation where the state has no attorney general. Fawehinmi replied that precedents have conferred such a

responsibility on the DPP. Fawehinmi said the DPP could exercise it when a private prosecutor has submitted evidence, even if weak.

In Fawehinmi's case, he submitted statements of Kayode Soyinka, the sur-

position, particularly when the case was that of the murder of a citizen and in which the citizens were expecting some action to punish the felons. "Crime is an offence against the corporate state," he said.

He said the application he was seeking, a mandamus, should compel the DPP to exercise his discretion one way or the other, to prosecute or not. If the DPP declined, Fawehinmi said he should endorse a certificate to make him the prosecutor.

Ruling on it will be given this Wednesday.

Last week, Fawehinmi raised the alarm of police harassment at his chambers at Ajao Road, Anthony. He said a police helicopter, at about 2.11 p.m. on Wednesday, hovered at a low level, three times at the chambers and almost menacingly touched the roof.

The lawyer, who in his resolve to find Giwa's killers, had filed his will with a Lagos court, interpreted the incidents as an intimidation. "I take this incident as a brazen act of intimidation by the police, an arm of the Federal Government."

The police have reacted, assuring Fawehinmi not to be scared. "The flight has nothing to do with his (Fawehinmi's) safety or day-to-day activity. The two flights went out on trial flights of aerial surveys that would soon begin in Lagos," a police officer, Mr. Pullen Agbon-Ifo said.

The Inspector General of Police, Mr. Muhammadu Gambo gave a similar assurance.

— Bayo Onanuga



Fawehinmi: Continues legal battle

viving witness of the bomb blast that killed Dele Giwa on October 19, Funmi, the deceased's widow, Billy, Giwa's eldest son and Giwa's letter to Chief Fawehinmi asking for his intervention to save him from harassments by men of the State Security Services (SSS).

Oduneye, in his reply to Fawehinmi, had said the evidence was weak, that it was one-sided as it contained no statements from the security chiefs being alleged to be Giwa's killers.

Fawehinmi said, last Tuesday, that the DPP had no right to take such a

# Press Council at last

After eight years of palavering, Nigeria seems ready for a check on the media

**T**HERE were indications last week that the much-disputed Nigerian Press Council might soon swing into operation following the disclosure by the new Information and Culture Minister, Prince Tony Momoh, that the differences over its operation have been resolved. The decree establishing the council was promulgated eight years ago but it had not been possible for the body to take off because of disagreements between the government and the press about its composition and working.

Journalists had consistently campaigned against the council. They argued that the decree establishing it ensured the domination

of the council by government. They also kicked against the adjudicating role granted to the council as well as its power to register journalists. They contended that the disciplinary powers which the decree gave to the council over practising journalists was capable of abuse, and that it could easily be used as a censorship machinery to doctor information on the government's behalf. They saw the council as capable of threatening press freedom.

Government, it now seems, has finally given in. Prince Momoh told pressmen last week that the main job of the council would be confined to adjudicating on

complaints brought before it against the press. Except for this mediatory role, the council has been completely divested of other powers granted it under the 1978 decree.

"Journalists for their part will discipline their erring members in accordance with the code of conduct of their profession," said the minister. In addition, journalists have also been granted the right to register their members; but would have to deposit the list and a copy of their code of conduct with the council. Prince Momoh disclosed that the composition of the council had been reviewed to ensure that its representation was comprehensive. Those to be represented now include the main media organisations in the country, as well as public and private sectors. The original decree, according to the Minister, would now have to be amended or replaced with a new one.

Prince Momoh who resumed office only last month, also used the occasion of the briefing to announce structural changes in his

ministry. There are now seven main departments which include those of Policy and Management, Domestic Publicity and Film, Production, External Publicity, Public Enlightenment, Printing, Culture and Archives. The minister said that the restructuring was in line with his earlier undertaking to evolve a multi-dimensional Communication/Information policy for the country. He said that a national seminar on the policies and strategies for the implementation of the new structure slated to go into operation next January was already being organised by his ministry.

Last week's announcement by Prince Momoh did not indicate any radical change

**"Journalists had consistently campaigned against the council. They argued that the decree establishing it ensured the domination of the council by government. They also kicked against the adjudicating role granted to the council as well as its power to register journalists."**



Momoh, Information minister

of course from the path set by his predecessor, Colonel Anthony Ukpo, in the ministry. The new approach to the prosecution of the War Against Indiscipline, WAI, with the theme 'Patriotism and national economic recovery' would continue as before. Prince Momoh announced that the WAI scheme was in the process of being

transformed into a National Orientation Movement (NOM). When fully established, NOM was expected to accelerate the attainment of "our collective goals and aspirations."

The external publicity scheme started by Col. Ukpo is also to be sustained by Prince Momoh. The Nigerian Information Service charged with the responsibility of disseminating information about Nigeria in overseas countries has been strengthened, Prince Momoh disclosed. It will maintain 19 posts abroad and officers would be dispatched to man them before the end of the year. The Minister bluntly told the pressmen that it would be ensured that those to be sent would be good ambassadors of Nigeria and not necessarily the representatives of the Nigerian press.

To achieve this, the minister disclosed that an Inspectorate Bureau had been set up in the Ministry of Information and Culture to plan appropriate orientation programmes which would ensure the effectiveness, good conduct and discipline among the NIS officers in an effort to reshape the country's image.

Arrangements to streamline Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria along commercial lines have been speeded up. The decree establishing the corporation was being reviewed, according to the Minister. A similar undertaking was made by the former Minister of Information and Culture.

—Oluwamho Balogun

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AARTI

Sudan

# Peace through compromise, not war

Sudan's leaders have concentrated on imposing solutions to the country's North-South divide rather than arriving at a consensus, argues Fidel Odum.

It would be simplistic to reduce the problems of the Sudan to merely political leadership, much as certain past leaders must be blamed for their lack of foresight in moulding the nation's destiny, including the British colonial administrators.

The latter had an opportunity in the post-Second World War period to influence the fate of the country by either integrating the South with East Africa or by insisting on a federation between the North and the South. This failure by the colonial regime to do either, or decisively to influence a workable political arrangement, is one of the basic reasons for the continuing strife and underdevelopment of the Sudan.

Since independence in 1956, one leader after another has come and gone and Sudan's fundamental problems persist. After he came to power, following a military coup in May 1969, it seemed at first that Gaafar Nimeiri, who was himself overthrown last year, was the leader needed to change the course of Sudanese history. His assent to the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 with the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) was the first ever sincere attempt to appease the South by granting the region certain features of autonomy.

The establishment of a regional government, with an assembly and an executive council, was felt by the Southerners to be an essential kernel in working out a *modus vivendi* with the Government in Khartoum. Nimeiri's revision of the Agreement in 1980, empowering Khartoum to select regional administrators, with four successive governments in three years as a result, followed by its total abrogation in 1983, was one of his worst mistakes.

But Nimeiri has more follies to his discredit than his bungling of the Southern problem, which in itself is only one of the country's perennial headaches. In addition to the many self-inflicted wounds usually associated with bad governments, such as mismanagement, corruption and staggering debts, he compounded matters by the introduction of a religious legal code to govern a multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural entity. He was so over-zealous in doing this that he had the hands of petty thieves amputated. In the end, it was riots by the hungry which sealed his doom.

The military rulers who took over from Nimeiri, led by General Swar el-Dahab, were in every respect mediocre. They had no intention of formulating a framework to evolve a new and acceptable national structure to accommodate the Southerners before a return to civil rule. Thus their handover of power in May to a coalition government headed by Sadiq el-Mahdi of the Umma party cannot be hailed beyond what it was: sheer magnanimity of armed soldiers mercifully handing over power to civilians.

Since he took over last May, el-Mahdi has not distinguished himself as a politician. His interview with *Newsweek* in May reflected that streak of chauvinism and philistinism that now seems to be the hallmark of certain leaders in the artificial post-colonial national entities. In the Prime Minister's own paternalistic words, "Non-Muslims can ask us to protect their rights — and we will do that — but that's all they can ask. We wish to establish Islam as the source of law in the Sudan because Sudan has a Muslim majority."

This kind of rigidity forecloses discussion with the opposition, and without room for dialogue one wonders what kind of Sudan el-Mahdi envisions.

From all indications, it seems that the coalition government seeks nothing but a military solution to the national question, in spite of any official pronouncements to the contrary. Also, the Government's dismissal of all the peace talk overtures

by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) or its army (SPLA) cannot promote the search for settlement.

It is even sadder that the Umma party's ally in power, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), led by Ali Marghani, is in no position to be a moderating force on el-Mahdi. The leadership of DUP has repeatedly and publicly espoused chauvinistic and reactionary ideas that seem even more unworthy than the Umma party's. A DUP position paper has been known to describe Southerners as "pagans" who need to be "civilised" by the North. The party looks forward "to a point when the whole area of Equatoria (the Southern region where black Africans live) may be converted into an Arab and Muslim land from which the light of Islam can spread into the jungles of Africa south of the Sahara." The document was issued by the General Secretariat of the DUP in its contribution to the search for solutions to the problems of the South.

In issue 90, we carried a report on how Arab support for the North is complicating the Sudanese crisis situation. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Oman, Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organisation are among those who have continued to give military support to the Khartoum Government.

## The problem in the Sudan is one that touches on the heart of Afro-Arab co-operation.

It must be said, though, that the SPLM/SPLA is not without blemish. But whatever their fallibilities in waging their "war of liberation" it is only a matter of political and social justice that the laws and principles under which their nation is governed be the outcome of a consensus reached by all the significant component groups, instead of being an imposition from one section.

For a country as diverse and large as the Sudan — the biggest in Africa — it seems that only a federal constitution along the lines of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement can be a permanent solution. Federalism, as most scholars have agreed, is a melting pot of peoples of divergent and opposing values who, mainly due to geographical propinquity, wish to have a central government on larger issues of salient common interests such as defence, trade and international diplomacy. Federalism allows local and ethno-cultural values to thrive at lower levels of rule.

As pointed out in an earlier edition (15 May, 1986), the problem in the Sudan is one that touches on the heart of Afro-Arab solidarity and cooperation. How it is resolved, or not resolved, can decide the quality of Afro-Arab relations in the decade ahead. For this reason, it is high time the Organisation of African Unity and the Arab League sat down to find a permanent solution acceptable to both the North and the South. Going through the back door to arm Khartoum or the SPLA, while remonstrating statesmanlike rhetoric in public, is self-deceit which African and Arab leaders alike must eschew. And there can be no wishing away the problem, nor merely explaining it away by brilliant exegesis of colonial blunder. What the peoples of the Sudan, North and South alike, deserve is durable peace. And now is the time to act.

The SPLM position on Sudan's future is contained in the so-called Koka Dam Declaration of last April in Addis Ababa, agreed upon by both the SPLM and the National Alliance for National Salvation. The least the Khartoum Government can do is to compromise with the rebels and see reason in some of the SPLM's six main recommendations for a national dialogue leading to a new social order.

## North Africa

### Sudan

# Riots reflect general unrest

Sadiq el Mahdi's problems are increasing, reports Obinna Anyadike.

**K**hartoum was rocked with fierce rioting last week reminiscent of the disturbances which led to the overthrow of Jaafar Nimeiri 18 months ago.

In the week-long disturbances, involving mainly students from the two universities in the city, road blocks were set up, property was burnt down and government cars were stoned. According to the director of police, Lt-Gen Mohammed Yusuf, the police used tear gas to disperse the rioters and made more than three hundred arrests. The government later added that some of the students admitted to hospital were suffering from gun shot wounds.

The trouble began when a protest march staged by the student unions of Khartoum and Carro branch universities was stopped by police. The demonstrators had intended to deliver a memorandum to the Council of Ministers. In it they complained about the high cost of living and demanded "an urgent, specific economic policy to be

announced to tackle living standards and control the market."

The government afterwards condemned the "so-called General Union of Sudanese Students" as a "movement isolated from the masses" and not representative of "true" student views. And Sadiq el Mahdi accused "agents, spies, enemies of democracy and the remnants of the May (Nimeiri) regime "of being behind these incidents with the aim of obstructing democracy." He went on to say that current investigations will reveal who the enemies of the people are" and they will be "isolated further by the security forces."

But the riots highlight the government's current beleaguered position. Deeply enmeshed in a chronic economic crisis and a costly and destabilising war in the South the unrest reflects, in particular, the growing instability of the North, the government's political constituency.

El Mahdi's accusation that "remnants of the May regime" were behind the disturbances, is a veiled reference to the Muslim fundamentalist Islamic National Front (INF), the official opposition party in the Constituent Assembly. In their previous guise of the Muslim Brotherhood, they were Nimeiri's allies and the architects of the generally despised Islamic law, which were used as an excuse for greater repression.

The INF's success in the general election in April, finishing as the third largest party, is due mainly to the appeal of Muslim fundamentalism to the younger sections of society. This was despite intensive campaigning against them by the Modern Forces, a grouping of political parties, trade unions and professional bodies who had been instrumental in the downfall of the Nimeiri regime. Foremost among those opposed to the INF was Mahdi's Ummah (Nation) party.

As Prime Minister, el Mahdi excluded the INF by forming a coalition government rather than a national government as was generally expected. He justified this move by saying "the INF adopts views that fail to



SPLM leader, John Garang: an indispensable force in the country  
AFRICAN CONCORD 20 NOVEMBER 1986



Sadiq el Mahdi



# Prospects of peace diminish

Khartoum's new hardline stance against the SPLA has lessened the hopes for a peaceful solution to the civil war, writes Obinna Anyadike.

Three years ago two battalions of the Sudanese army stationed in the south suddenly mutined and fled to the bush. They were rebelling against the Nimeiri Government's harsh Islamic laws which were imposed on the Christian south as well as the Muslim north, and unpopular plans to divide the south into three provinces.

The mutineers' numbers were swelled by further desertions and civilian volunteers and the Sudan People's Liberation Army, as it came to be known, was soon a force to be reckoned with. Its constant military onslaught played a significant part in Nimeiri's overthrow last April and rebel leader John Garang was hailed as a hero. But he refused to co-operate with the interim government which he said had "hijacked the revolution."

With the election of Prime Minister Sadiq el-Mahdi in April, it was generally believed that the conflict could be speedily resolved. Sadiq appeared willing to scrap Sharia (Islamic Law), and both sides had reiterated their desire for peace. Why then has the war paradoxically increased in intensity?

whose main points called for the repeal of Sharia, the abrogation of the military pacts with Egypt and Libya and the convenion of a constitutional conference between all parties.

But the Sharia remains a stumbling



Prime Minister Sadiq el Mahdi (centre) puts forward the Khartoum Government's position on the situation in the Sudan

A formula does exist for a possible ceasefire. In April in Addis Ababa, delegates from the National Alliance for National Salvation, a Sudanese pressure group comprised of political parties, trade unions and professional bodies, met representatives of the SPLA. The outcome of these talks was the Koka Dam Declaration

block. The SPLA insists on a return to the secular constitution and while el Mahdi is willing to repeal "Nimeiri's laws" he is committed to replacing them with "sound Islamic laws." He has stated, "non-Muslims can ask us to protect their rights — and we shall do that — but that's all they can ask." He added: "We wish to establish

# Military stalemate continues

The political and military situations in the south are both changing as the protracted civil war being waged against the Khartoum Government by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) continues to split the country.

The main towns, Malakal, Juba and Wau are still under the control of government troops and the SPLA has the upper hand in the rural areas. But support for SPLA leader John Garang among his own people appears to be wavering.

It is believed that the shooting down of a civilian relief plane in August has triggered off some sort of rebellion against the colonel. It was even rumoured that a leading member of the SPLA had tried to shoot Garang. And Major Arok, a member of SPLA's Inner Council told *African Concord*, "John Garang is not the movement. There are others with the same abilities and knowledge."

But the SPLA is still strong militarily and the ANYA NYA 2 fighters, who have been fighting alongside government troops, are unhappy with the lack of peace initiatives.

They are particularly disappointed with

the government's failure to convene a long promised 'constitutional conference' to



John Garang, SPLM leader (front row left) at a press conference

resolve the country's regional problems. "We feel that the government has not done anything about the conference which was promised in April," said Hoth Luak, foreign affairs spokesman of ANYA NYA 2 a southern based rebel movement.

He also indicated that the movement's troops felt they were being used to clear the way for government fighters because of their expert knowledge of the bush. ANYA NYA 2 have also been demoralised by SPLA propaganda which dismissed them as a rebel force because of their new allegiance with Khartoum.

But while the military stalemate continues, Sadiq el-Mahdi, the prime minister has been busy on the diplomatic front. And the Eritreans, who are seeking independence from Ethiopia, might be the losers of this fresh offensive. While they are receiving help from Khartoum, Addis Ababa is assisting the SPLA. Sadiq el-Mahdi has made concrete proposals to the Ethiopian government which could lead to its abandoning the Eritrean cause on condition that support to the SPLA is dropped, that support to the SPLA is dropped, Ethiopia has not yet made any formal response.

Eva Dudrian

## North Africa



Sudanese and Ethiopian refugees at a Red Cross camp

Islam as the source of law in Sudan because Sudan has a Muslim majority."

A return to a secular constitution would be an almost impossible move for el-Mahdi. It would be resisted by his main coalition partners, the Conservative Democratic Unionists, and by the fundamentalist Islamic National Front. And the election results proved that Muslim law is popular. Its repeal would be taken as an appeasement of Garang which is not the message the government wants to deliver in its new headline approach to the SPLA.

The abrogation of the defence treaties with Libya and Egypt is also unlikely. The SPLA regard them as "infringements on national sovereignty." But they have enabled the army, desperately short of equip-

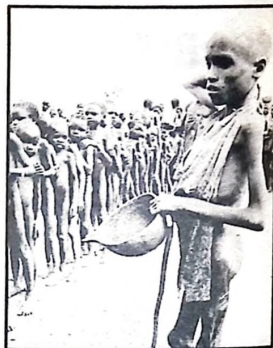
ment, to continue the war. The defence packs have also multiplied the amount of aid Sudan receives because of its strategic importance for the two countries. The Libyan connection has complicated relations with Washington, but following el-Mahdi's US visit last month, financial aid has been resumed.

**"We wish to establish Islam as the source of law in Sudan because Sudan has a Muslim majority." — El Mahdi**

El Mahdi's determination not to talk to the SPLA has made the proposed constitutional conference meaningless. It was billed as a forum for national dialogue to shape the political future of Sudan. According to a government spokesman Khartoum "is determined to hold a constitutional conference for the whole of Sudan, not just for the South." The conference, scheduled for last month, has now been adjourned by the Assembly until January.

**"We are fighting to participate in the decision-making of our country." — John Garang**

El Mahdi has stated that "neither a Museveni-type take over of power, nor a Biafran style secession are possible outcomes of this war." The SPLA is quick to point out that it is not waging a secessionist struggle. As a representative, John Luk



A refugee stands with his empty bowl beside a food line recently at a Red Cross centre in a camp in southern Sudan.

Jok, told *African Concord*, "The north cannot survive without the south, nor the south without the north." The war is fundamentally about a more equitable distribution of power in the country. Sudan has been traditionally governed by a northern political elite. Wealth and power are based in Khartoum and the prosperous central region, while the south has remained underdeveloped and alienated.

The SPLA claim that they are fighting for a "new Sudan" for all the minorities in the country. According to Garang, "We are not fighting to be invited to dinner. We are fighting effectively to participate in the decision-making of our country, in the restructuring of political power in Khartoum.

## Famine — civil war's new weapon

"It took everybody by surprise," said a relief worker after 100,000 tonnes of desperately needed food arrived at the besieged town of Malakal. Its 70,000 residents had reason to be happy — they had waited since February for it.

They are among the six million southerners who have up until recently been ignored by both the government and the relief agencies in the effort to bring relief to famine-stricken areas of the country. The reason for this is the three-year civil war between the southern-based Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the government.

Today, as two million people face imminent starvation, a bitter battle to control famine relief to this newly designated 'disaster zone' is being waged. The crisis surfaced when the SPLA announced in August that the airspace over the area was out of bounds. On

16 August a Sudanese aircraft was shot down over Malakal with a loss of 63 lives. The SPLA accused Khartoum of using civilian and relief flights to transport ammunition and supplies to its army.

But their action had also been prompted by the government's refusal to allow the aid agencies to fly in relief to the areas under SPLA control which includes 90 per cent of the south's population. John Garang urged the agencies to channel food through the rebel movement's own relief scheme. He said: "International agencies distribute food to our people with a teaspoon and to government-held areas with a shovel."

From mid-August to the end of September a World Food Programme project called Operation Rainbow has been stranded on the tarmac of Khartoum Airport waiting for permission to fly out food supplies. Despite international pressure, Prime Minister Sadiq el-Mahdi

remains adamant and went as far as to expel last month the head of the United Nations Emergency operations for Sudan, Winston Prattley, for "contacting the rebel movement as regards airlifting relief supplies."

Despite this, food has managed to break through the blockade being imposed by the SPLA and the government, some of it coming in trucks via Zaire and Kenya. The small quantities of food to reach Juba have also been transported to Wau where people are said to be reduced to eating roots and leaves. One relief plane which tried its luck was forced to land by SPLA ground fire.

One relief agency spokesman said: "It is imperative that we help these people. No matter which side is right and which is wrong, our commitments are to the famine-stricken people. We do not want to get involved in political disputes."

*Eva Dadriani/Ohinwa Anyadike*

# World labour on the offensive

Pete Chingaipe reports from Lusaka on an anti-apartheid conference on international trade unionists.

As international pressure on mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa mounts, international labour union organisations recently held a three-day conference in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

The conference which drew trade unionists from Europe, the United States, Africa, Australia and Asia, was organised by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which has a membership of 80 million workers throughout the world, and the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). Also involved in the conference was the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council (SATUCC).

The meeting, whose theme was 'Beating Apartheid and Strengthening the Frontline States', was opened by Zambia's President, Kenneth Kaunda, who urged trade unions inside South Africa to continue to flex their muscles against the apartheid regime.

South African workers should show

Pretoria that the time for docile obedience was over. He said workers in any country hold the key to the success or failure of the economy. "They should therefore not underestimate their power and the contribution they can make to the eradication of apartheid," President Kaunda said.

## South African goods boycotted

And the chairman of the International Committee of the Trade Union Congress (TUC), Mr Ron Todd from England, informed the conference that workers in Britain were being mobilised to stop handling South African goods to step up sanctions against the racist regime.

Mr Todd, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), the biggest union in Britain with a membership of 1.5 million, said ship workers at Grimsby, a fishing port, had already started refusing to unload South African goods.

The Frontline states require US\$6 billion

spread over a three-year period to help them withstand the effects of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, it was stated by delegates.

They drew up an international programme to strengthen the Frontline states' campaign. Among its points were:

- Restoring transport routes to enable the trade and developing a regional energy programme independent of South Africa. This should involve Dar-es-Salaam, Nacala, Beira and Maputo transport corridors and new transmission lines;
- Creating new job opportunities for up to 380,000 migrant workers that will be expelled from South Africa;
- Creating a trained and equipped international defence force to guard key routes and installations and;
- Special aid to Lesotho which is totally encircled by South Africa.

The conference observed that South Africa saw the southern African region as an area for its economic domination and

## Decline in maternal deaths

Improved health care is reducing the maternal death rate, reports F Mwanza from Lusaka.

Zambian women are beginning to enjoy the success of improved ante-natal care and maternal and child health mobile services. The advance has been especially striking in the agriculturally productive Eastern province which is now served by eight hospitals, two urban health centres, 86 rural health centres and two mobile clinics.

In 1971, maternal mortality in the province was 19 per 1,000; by 1981 the rate had dropped to 1.5 per 1,000. The improvement, according to a current draft report by United Nations Children's Fund, is attributable to improved health care.

With a population of nearly one million, Lusaka province has only four hospitals, 36 urban centres, 19 rural health centres and seven mobile clinics. Yet it has also registered a decline in maternal mortality, which the World Health Organisation defines as death of a woman while pregnant from any cause related to pregnancy or its management.

The multi-million Kwacha University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka which also acts as Zambia's national referral centre, despite the public outcry of general negligence, has shown tremendous improvement. Its maternal death rates dropped

from 15 per 10,000 live births in 1977 to 6.2 and 5.2 per 10,000 live births in 1982 and 1983 respectively, according to the latest figures.

The importance of Zambia's initiative is backed up by newly published statistics on health risks to mothers and children by the World Health Organisation. The fact sheet, titled "Mothers and Children," says that more than 500,000 women in developing countries die annually from causes related to pregnancy and childbirth, leaving at least one million children motherless.

In some parts of Africa, the maternal mortality rate may reach 1,000 per 100,000 births. While significant drops in maternal mortality have been recorded in Zambia where services are actively earned out, Zambian Ministry of Health officials say mothers' deaths could be reduced further by over 50 per cent nationwide with "good management and good community cooperation."

The risk to mothers is aggravated by poor health conditions, maternal malnutrition exacerbated by frequent pregnancies and lack of access to medical care. Midwives and other maternity staff posted to

rural health centres are often insufficiently qualified.

Since the recording of maternal deaths became compulsory in all health institutions in 1982, haemorrhage contributed to 74 per cent of mortality in 1982, 57 per cent in 1983 and 69 per cent in 1984. Post-operative causes of deaths due to sepsis, haemorrhage, pulmonary embolism and laparotomy were also high. Obstetric findings have shown widespread disregard of medical procedures during the critical stages of labour especially in most rural health centres.

Now a rotation system of qualified midwives in both rural and urban health institutions has been suggested together with regular workshops on ante natal and post-natal care for rural health staff.

The decline in Zambia's mortality rates in areas where health care services for women have improved has heartened health officials who are making comparisons with other countries in Africa. Zambia's national maternal mortality rate was 14 per 10,000 live births in 1982 while in Tanzania uterine rupture cases alone accounted for 40 per 10,000 live births. Generally, maternal mortality in Nigeria is reported at 72 per 10,000 live births.

## East Africa

wanted to make it secure for its exports, investments and to entrench its apartheid system. It had dominated the transport system by consistently destroying key routes and installations directly or through proxies such as the Mozambican National Resistance Movement (MNR) and UNITA of Angola.

The cost of such destruction to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was estimated at US\$7 billion per year.

Trade unions had an important role to play in mobilising and influencing action to strengthen Frontline states.

To this end the following proposals were made:

- World trade unions should support

SADCC programmes particularly those involving port corridors, pipelines, petroleum storage, electricity-generation and transmission:

- They should assist SADCC member states in re-orienting trade away from South Africa including mobilising export credit to replace Pretoria;
- Provide sufficient funds to formulate and implement programmes together with trade unions on re-training and re-deployment of migrant workers;
- Break all contacts with and close all offices of South African proxy bodies such as MNR and Unita;
- Support an international or regional force to protect Frontline states from

South African-backed rebels. The force should be from independent countries which are not interested in permanent presence in the region.

The conference urged the international community to impose sanctions against South Africa and establish official monitoring systems to catch sanctions busters.

Oil producing and exporting countries should accept legal responsibility for ships that fly their flags which are found breaking the law.

The participants felt that this could only be effectively enforced with the co-operation of the International Maritime Organisation, Lloyds Register, and the Shipping Research Bureau.

## Uganda

# Binaisa returns to the bar

David Musoke reports from Kampala on a former head of state's new life.

After staying away from the courts for 14 years, Godfrey Binaisa, a former President of Uganda, has resumed practising law in Kampala.

The amiable Mr Binaisa is the only Ugandan Head of State who has returned home peacefully from self-exile abroad and willingly chosen to lead an ordinary life.

After the fall of Milton Obote's Government last July, Binaisa heeded Tito Okello's call to Ugandan exiles to return home and contribute to the task of rebuilding the war ravaged country. He returned home from England last December, praising Okello for his attempts to reconcile the country's divergent groups.

Since then Binaisa, who headed an interim government for less than a year in 1979-80, has been living quietly at his country home at Mutundwe Hills, a few miles from Kampala, where he has set up a farm.



Former President Godfrey Binaisa, QC.

The former president, who studied law in England and was honoured with the title Queen's Counsel, has now resumed his once flourishing law practice.

Accompanied by an armed escort provided by the Museveni Government as part of an ex-head of state's privilege, Mr Binaisa climbed the steps of the Uganda High Court in Kampala to appear in the Chamber of Justice A N Karokora for his first case.

He was defending Manjeri Kabalisa in a dispute over a house in the Kololo suburb of Kampala, which Nazir Hasham Mangalji claimed to own. Mr Binaisa appealed for an adjournment to enable him to study the papers saying, "It is necessary because I have not been in practice for the last 14 years."

Mr Binaisa served in Obote's first administration from 1962 to 1971 as Minister of Justice and Attorney General. He was responsible for drafting and publishing the 1967 Constitution which replaced the Federal Independence Constitution of 1962 and made Uganda a Republic.

Obote, who was made president under that constitution is now living in exile in Zambia.

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# Probe into earthquake threat

Kenya lies in an area geologists say is unstable. Now the country's scientists are looking more closely at the dangers. **Moussa Awuonda** reports from Nairobi.

The tragic emission of deadly gas from a volcano below Lake Nyos in Cameroon, which left 1,500 villagers dead, has sparked concern about the instability of the Great Rift Valley, which cuts across much of East Africa to the Red Sea.

The area is rich in wildlife, tourist attractions, valued environmental areas and land formations. But it is also dotted with potentially dangerous geological faults.

According to Frederick Theuri, chief geologist at the mines and geological department of Kenya's Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, over a third of the country "is prone to adverse seismological movement which can result in earthquakes or volcanic eruptions."

Theuri's concern is shared by other experts, including leading Kenyan geologist Dr Isaac Nyambok, chairman of the geology department of the University of Nairobi.

## Kenya's granary

The scientists fear an eruption could be a serious danger to human and animal life and the environment. The threat, according to Kenyan geologists, is not confined to Kenya but to the entire Rift Valley system, which stretches from the Red Sea through Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and down to Zambia and Malawi. It is a zone inhabited by over 30 million people.

The valley has been described as the granary of Kenya. It includes important farm areas, such as Kitale, Nakuru and Eldoret, which produce 90 per cent of the country's maize.

It has also become a crucial attraction in the important tourist industry, visited by thousands of people a year. Kenyans and foreign tourists alike are attracted by its hanging escarpments, crested craters and volcanic lakes.

The valley has likewise become a mecca to conservationists and natural scientists. The floor of the valley teems with wildlife: giraffes, elephants, rhinos, buffaloes and lions are just a few. Lake Nakuru can be like a vast pink blanket, home to millions of flamingos.

The southern flank of Kenya's share of the valley is also the home of the cattle-rearing Masai people. Many archaeologists believe the bed of the valley contains some of the answers to the origins of mankind.

In one of the crooks of the gorges Kenyan archaeologist Richard Leakey has unearthed human fossils dating back millions of years.

## Did man originate here?

Although it took place more than 3,000 miles away, the disaster in Cameroon sent shivers through the Rift Valley countries. Nyambok warned that beneath Kenya are trapped gases such as carbon-dioxide, argon, carbon monoxide, fluorine, sulphur dioxide, hydrogen sulphide and also steam.

He says that "constant shifts in the physical balance deep inside the earth, coupled with chemical reactions, generate heat that forces its way through the weak points." When this occurs, eruptions of gas or hot lava may take place.

Nyambok says recent observations of volcanic behaviour suggest the areas most prone to eruptions are the younger land formations on the southern flank of the valley in central Kenya. Longonot crater is 600,000 years old and still regarded as active. Others, such as Mt Kenya, range from 1.5 to 20 million years old.

Other young structures known to contain dangerous hydrogen sulphide include Lake Bogoria, Ol Kario where a geothermal harnessing plant is built, and the Menengai crater which occasionally spews steam and carbon dioxide.

Apart from chemical reactions, volcanic eruptions can also be accompanied by seismic movements or earthquakes. Theuri said the latest seismological tests show several areas of weakness in Kenya. He

said large chunks of Kenya are prone to instabilities due to earth movements. An example is the Loitokitok plains at the foot of Mt Kilimanjaro.

The worst earthquake in Kenya history occurred in Homa Bay on the edge of Lake Victoria in 1968. It killed several people. It registered 4.9 on the Richter scale, which measures the relative magnitude of earthquakes. The largest quakes measure between 8 and 9 on the scale.

Research carried out by a team of geophysicists and geologists from Britain's Leicester University four years ago catalogued 380 "micro" earthquakes within the Rift Valley and the outlying areas. Most of the quakes measured no more than 1.35 on the Richter scale.

More worrying to Kenyan experts is the country's lack of facilities for detecting seismic and volcanic movements. Theuri says Kenya lags behind other countries in its monitoring of earth movements.

Geologists say the country requires a seismological network with modern equipment, tilt metres and seismographs to keep an eye on movements taking place inside the earth. The equipment should be stationed in three centres so as to accurately detect movements.

At the moment there is only one monitoring centre, located in the university. Comments Theuri: "It's totally inadequate." If the government was able to convince a richer country to donate a package of the expensive equipment needed, Kenya could supply the personnel, he adds. Leading seismological equipment producers including Finland, West Germany, the US and Japan.

## Quaking in East Africa





# RONCAGLIA OPR: SPACE AGE TECHNOLOGY FOR GRAIN MILLING

Ever-increasing energy costs compel the flour milling industry to give serious consideration to the daunting economic prospects involved in new plant-buildings for transportation and services.

In many instances, the returns associated with conventional mills do not warrant the investment because of the inevitable influx of capital for long periods. But now there is a solution that solves many of these problems. It is the Roncaglia OPR System, internationally patented.

As the world moves towards the 1990's, Roncaglia OPR System meets the challenge of this decade by giving the flour milling industry a concept of production enjoyed by many since 1953 that at the same time meets the need for space age technology. Roncaglia OPR mills can be part of an existing plant or they can be turnkey operations from cereal intake to final packing and bulk handling.

Roncaglia OPR mills can be housed with a minimum of fuss in any simple building of 5 metres height. They can be producing flour from wheat or from maize, oat, barley, rice, rye, sorghum, millet in a matter of months from first ordering the plant. Even mills as large as 500 tons of wheat per 24 hours capacity average only 12 months from inception to full production of the project is entirely due to the unique Roncaglia OPR Milling System.

The first consideration is the elimination of the plant-sitter which requires large buildings with conventional installations. This need has been overcome by the patented air-sifter, which uses air currents and a simple sieve. The air-

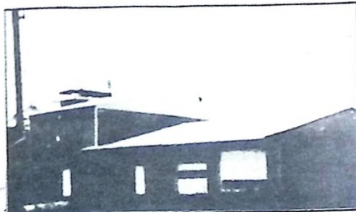
sifter obviates the need for the multi-storey concept thus making economic considerations viable.

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

remodelling for changes in flour specifications. No other mill-building company can guarantee its products for 10 years nor can anyone assure a breakroll life of as long as six to eight years without refuelling. It reduces maintenance to minimum levels and offers economies in staffing. The concept of large buildings inevitably means high energy and maintenance costs on top of the cost of the construction itself. Site selection and preparation can involve much expense and difficulty, especially if there are environmental complications.

The Roncaglia OPR System eliminates many of these difficulties, not needing much more than a simple foundation for a portal framed structure that complies with regulations of planning authorities. In many instances it saves up to 70% in capital costs. Every Roncaglia OPR

System, whether large or small includes erection and commissioning expenses, and training of staff to operate the mill effectively. To ensure confidence in the investment, Roncaglia has a comprehensive after-sales service to achieve the highest level of production at all times.



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0039

## Southern Africa



Boer gunners during the war of 1899-1902 between the Boers and the British

### South Africa

## When a Boer is not a boer

Ruth Weiss shows how words in Southern Africa's turbulent race politics have subtly changed their meaning.

Words have a way of changing their meaning. Sometimes the change is so subtle the world misunderstands its new usage.

Recently a Zimbabwe television programme on South Africa talked of a divided "boer" camp. "Extremist boers", followers of Eugene Terreblanche, wanted to fight to the last black. "Capitalist boers" wanted an end to apartheid because it would pay to have a stable and permanent work force.

When President Machel was killed Mozambique statements referred to the "boers" of South Africa, meaning the whites generally. Use of the word boer in this way, spelt with small 'b', shows the change of meaning the word has undergone.

Blacks in South Africa long ago began to use the term to mean "the enemy" — those who introduced, supported and maintain apartheid. It had been the Boers' National Party, which in 1948 won the elections on

the apartheid ticket. Today the party draws support across both language groups, Afrikaans and English.

Badly defined, "boers" stands for "whites". But then in today's South Africa "black" also has to be re-defined: it means blacks and browns and those who identify with their cause. That includes whites like "the Boer" Dr Christian Beyers Naude, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, or the Hanekom family who are held in South African jails for defying apartheid laws.

### Free burghers became 'boers'

Boer comes from the Dutch, the language of the whites who arrived in 1652 as servants of a Dutch trading house, the Dutch East India company, to settle at the Cape.

Their desire to be independent of irksome company rules led to permission for a

handful to be treated as free burghers — and thus to the establishment of the first "boers", white farmers, in the Cape.

The word was then extended to cover the trekboers, the restless and independent people who thrust ever deeper into the interior, taking up land promised by the company, which usually measured around 6,000 hectares. The land was not the company's to give, but belonged to the original black inhabitants.

The trekboers formed the frontier society of settlers who lived along the ever expanding Eastern Cape frontier and clashed almost continuously with the Xhosa, the African peoples who had settled there.

The conflict did not end with the coming of the British to the Cape in 1815. But the frontier Boers, worn out by quarrels with the company and their successor governments, differences with missionaries and outright defiance over the freeing of slaves, were among the main body of the so-called Great Trek of 1836.

### British and Dutch conflict

Some 10,000 Boers trekked into the interior, most from the frontier area, where before the British took over the Cape rebel republics had been set up in places like Graaf Reinet and Swellendam.

The Boers took with them their racial prejudice, their 16th Century Calvinism, their families and black servants. They had evolved a life style not very different from that of their hated black rivals. Both groups were pastoral people, cattle owners, hunters. Both needed land, game, water supplies.

Once the new Boer republics established themselves across the Orange in today's Orange Free State Province and across the Vaal first in Potchefstroom, later around Pretoria, the homes, food and living standards of the Boers had more in common with those of their Sotho, Tswana or Pedi neighbours than with the Boers in the Cape.

In 1853 the Cape received self-government, a first step towards independence. Cape males, irrespective of colour, were all given a limited franchise, dependent on status, education and income. There was little to gain from open rebellion.

Besides, the Cape continued to be of economic importance for the sheep farmers of the Orange Free State, the diamond diggers, and developing goldmining area. The Cape supplied goods and outlet routes. The Dutch East India Company had laid the foundation of a trading settlement and that the Cape continued to be.

There were political conflicts over the years between the two peoples of Dutch and British descent within the Cape colony. Parties formed along national lines. Early on, British governors tried to

## Southern Africa

press Dutch as a language of communication and Anglicise the Cape. They failed, as did post-War efforts to establish English as the only official language in the whole of the future South African territory.

The parties in the Cape adopted the term Afrikaander while the people in the Republic continued to use Boer to describe themselves. Afrikaander as an Afrikaans-Bond, one of the Cape political parties, evolved into Afrikaaner. Just as the dialect derived from Dutch became Afrikaans.

At the turn of this century, an Afrikaans identity and territorial unity of a kind had been forged between all Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. The unity and national fervour survived, despite constant quarrels and splits within the Afrikaaner "volk". Thanks to the prejudice against the descendants of the Boers by the descendants of the British. Nothing unites as much as outside commoner.

Division within the Afrikaaner group survived as well. No Cape Afrikaaner relished the thought of his daughter marrying a "trekboer".

Sometimes surnames identified the northerners — names such as Van der Merwe or Pienaar. South Cape names often had a Huguenot touch, such as De Villiers Graaf or Du Plessis — even if there are Bothas in all four provinces.

### Divisions amongst Afrikaaners meant that no Cape Afrikaaner relished the thought of his daughter marrying a 'trekboer'

The verligte (liberal) and verkrampde (conservative) split of the early Sixties was along geographical lines, with the Cape Afrikaaner representing the "enlightened". Traditionally the strong leaders of the larger and conservative Transvaal National Party became the national leader and Prime Minister — though this is not true of today's President Piet Willem Botha, a Cape nationalist.

Having changed the label of Boer for Afrikaaner, the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans refused to let that label be attached to blacks. The blacks were referred to colloquially as kaffirs until the Sixties, while their official title was "native". However, realising that division into "natives" and "Europeans" denied white South Africans the right to the land they claimed, "natives" became "Bantu" and "Europeans" were turned into "whites".

This, too, is an unhappy choice. Bantu is the plural of Muntu (man) and thus means "the people" in the group of African

called by ethnologists Bantu

carries

a racial slur and is rejected by Africans. In the Eighties, blacks and whites are the tags most often used, which includes the browns — the so-called Coloureds; and Asians.

The turbulent Seventies required a word

stronger than "whites" to describe the oppressor and so in the black townships the word "heer" was coined to stand for just that: the apartheid regime and its supporters, not the Afrikaans-speaking South African as such.

## Zimbabwe

# Religious sects a problem

Religious sects are becoming a cause for concern, reports Charles Rukuni from Bulawayo.

The activities of a growing number of religious sects are causing concern among Christian leaders in Zimbabwe. Since independence in 1980, they have increasingly commercialised religion.

The Rev Murobedzi Kuchera, secretary-general of the Zimbabwe Christian Council (ZCC), says these sects are luring people to become members by using their considerable financial resources indiscriminately.

He has not named the organisations, but they are believed to include such sects as the Moonies (the Unification Church) and another called Acts. The ZCC has called these bodies "the world dreamers" because they are seeking to create an impossible world.

They became particularly active during the recent Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Harare. Groups of youths distributed green printed leaflets headed: "NAM summit, a power movement seeking to change our world and establish equality, justice, prosperity and peace."

The leaflet was not exactly what it purported to be on the front page. The real message was on the back; readers were told they should align themselves to God through Jesus Christ and those who wished to do so had to send their names and addresses to "Global Literature Lifeline." A Harare box number was provided.

The leaflet called for the creation of a just society, an end to poverty and corruption and peace — things which the Non-Aligned Movement is striving for.

But its solution was too simple: "To create a perfect society, each individual within that society needs a change of heart, a change within." This could be achieved if a person aligned himself or herself to God through Jesus Christ.

Other religious organisations took advantage of the huge gathering in Harare to spread the gospel. The Baha'i Faith took a full-page advertisement in the *Sunday Mail* — Zimbabwe's biggest newspaper — to spread the message of peace, which it said was "not only possible but inevitable."

The advert cost the religious sect about US\$3,000, and concluded: "We appeal to the leaders of all nations to seize this opportune moment and take irreversible steps to convolve this world meeting."

Another sect, Nation-at-Prayer, set out a programme for the whole two-week period. People were to pray for a specific object every day, but the organisers did not forget to remind readers, at the bottom of the advert, that donations were welcome.

While there was basically nothing wrong with any of the adverts, they reflect the commercialism which the ZCC condemns because the advertisers "leave their so-called converts in more confusion than ever and it is the local church which in the long run has to face such a pastoral problem."

Secretary-General Kuchera says: "Some of the sects are reactionary forces hell-bent against our socialist approach to life. They are therefore not favourable to our government and its ideals of socialism. It is not the church's intention to advise our government to restrict their activities, although we sometimes feel that we have a duty and obligation to do so."

He pointed out that sources of income of some of these evangelical organisations are doubtful and need scrutiny. He claimed that some had connections with the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and at least one was South African-funded.

Another disturbing aspect was that while initially the organisations had concentrated on recruiting membership from ordinary people to build up numbers, they were now going for intellectuals. This was dangerous, because most Zimbabweans were vulnerable, especially where big money was involved.

The government has been largely silent, but the President, the Rev Canaan Banana, who is a Methodist minister, has shown great interest in the role of the church in Zimbabwe. He has consistently reminded his fellow clergymen that since the constitution of Zimbabwe guarantees freedom of worship, the future of the Church is not determined by government policy, but by the ability, or inability, of the church to communicate with the people — by interpreting the Christian message within the context of the African experience.

The Christian Church, he says, should be in the forefront of the socialist transformation of Zimbabwe because it "has a longer history of socialism than the six or so years of Zimbabwe's independence."

## Africa Abroad

### Grenada

# Back to square one

Three years after the US invasion, Grenadians are back to square one, writes Mije Barnor.

October 25 marked the third anniversary of the US invasion of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada. It marked the end of the four year old People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) which had transformed Grenadan society along socialist lines after overthrowing the US puppet, Eric Gairy. Three years after the invasion Washington effectively rules the island through the pliant Herbert Blaize and the gains of the PRG have been rolled back.

When the PRG seized power in 1979, under the charismatic Maurice Bishop more than half the island's 95,000 people were out of work. Twenty three doctors served the entire nation and education was costly and under-resourced. And reliant on a few cash crops for its revenue earnings, the Grenadan economy limped along. What little money there was in the national coffers was milked by Gairy for his increasingly wild self-aggrandisement. Any opposition was dealt with by the hated state thugs, the Mongoose men.

The US government were both shocked and appalled by Bishop's arrival on the scene. It was as if another Cuba had sneaked in and set up shop in what they regarded as their 'back yard.' They did all that they could to undermine to his government and isolate him among his conservative Caribbean neighbours.

It helped to prevent Grenada winning an IMF facility for \$6.3 million which would have been sunk into agricultural and housing schemes. Grenada's access to \$3 million in concessional funds from the International Development Agency earmarked for a public investment programme was also blocked.

But even more extraordinary was the US' reaction to the PRG's request for financial support for its new international airport at Point Salines. It was intended to revolutionise the island's tourist industry and so bring in much needed hard currency. But both the State Department and the Pentagon claimed that the airfield would be used as a launch pad for Cuban and Soviet "aggression". Fortunately such allegations were dismissed by European Community members who stepped in to help.

While the PRG was making radical improvements in the lives of ordinary Grenadians, the hawkish Reagan Administration continued to claim that Grenada, along with Cuba and Nicaragua, was a Soviet satellite committed to exporting revolution to the Caribbean. As if gearing up for a practice run, the US held its largest naval manoeuvres since World War



Late Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop

II called Ocean Ventura in Caribbean waters in 1982.

Ideological rifts within the PRG led to the tragic murder of Maurice Bishop and the US swiftly took advantage of a situation it had helped to create. Their justifica-

tion for the invasion — to protect the lives of American citizens on the island — clearly proves that they had planned and waited patiently for such an eventuality.

Three years after the invasion, Blaize's New National Party (NNP) is now beset with problems. There has been a 35 per cent decrease in the real living standards and the price of basic commodities has risen by 20 per cent. Unemployment has almost doubled and those that have work are having to take a 35 per cent cut in real wages with an increase in working hours.

Since 1983, the right of Grenadians to control their economy democratically has been lost. The 'middle man' is now back in full swing exploiting market forces at the expense of ordinary Grenadians. And civil liberties have also been attacked. New regulations now guide the formation of unions, the bureaucratic regulations being designed ensure that new unions will stumble at the hurdles that have been placed before them.

Bishop doubled the number of doctors on the island and established health clinics in every parish. He also set up dental clinics. The PRG sought to make health a community responsibility with preventive medicine being a cornerstone of this policy. Today the American doctors brought in to replace the Cubans complain that they cannot live in the "primitive" rural areas where the majority of the people are. Free medical care has been abolished.

Education has met a similar fate. The PRG extended a programme to assist the poorest families to pay for their children's school books and uniforms. One hot meal was provided to school children as well as free milk. The PRG was on the way to making education free and available to all.

## World

### USSR

# Revolution in trade policy

Charles Quist Adade, reporting from Leningrad, outlines the USSR's radical new trade policy.

A new foreign trade policy to restructure the Soviet Union's economic ties with the rest of the world has been published by the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda*. The policy, adopted by the Communist Party's Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, aims at fostering new forms of relations with firms in capitalist countries and to expand existing scientific and technical cooperation with socialist countries and the Third World.

The new policy spells out a number of measures dovetailed to replace "obsolete methods" of controlling external economic activities and "lack of unity" between industry and foreign trade. From the New

Year over 20 ministries and departments, as well as 70 associations and enterprises are to be permitted to handle direct export-import operations. Associations and enterprises, which hitherto had no direct link with external markets, will henceforth import and export on a contractual basis with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade and its subsidiaries, as well as other ministries.

Called "Measures for Improving the Control of Foreign Economic Ties and Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation with Socialist Countries," the new policy will allow the designated enterprises and associations to set up funds of "currency deductions" to finance their operations.

## World

All receipts from export-import marketing operations will remain virtually at the disposal of these enterprises and associations.

The new policy forms part of Mikhail Gorbachev's package reform measures aimed primarily at revamping the Soviet economy, and it is seen as the Soviet leader's burning desire to design what he has called a "flexible and up-to-date economic mechanism." But because international trade is a continuation of domestic commodity production, the Gorbachev Administration realises it cannot hope to make any significant breakthrough with its new foreign economic strategy without radical improvements in domestic administrative economic management and pricing policy. The government's primary objective therefore, is to achieve perfection in the whole economic mechanism and the overall system of (economic) administra-

### "Radical improvements needed"

tion. This is to be propped up by the infusion of modern technology and the streamlining of production methods.

Gorbachev has spoken of the need for "radical improvements" in Soviet price formation, and in January the State Committee for Prices introduced a new procedure for establishing higher wholesale prices for new machines in order to "create incentives for manufacturers."

Unlike its East European allies, the Soviet Union has carved up its foreign trade into exclusive monopolies for over 50 foreign trade organisations. The new trade policy is to end this monopoly and inject some competition into the export-import business in order to improve the marketing of Soviet industrial goods. The USSR is second to the United States in the volume of industrial output, but occupies seventh place in the volume of world trade with a rather negligible 5 per cent share. Soviet economic analysts have sought to explain this by referring to the expansive nature of the Soviet internal market and the country's reliance on her own rich natural resources.

However, Soviet leaders have of late admitted that Soviet export goods have become increasingly less competitive because of obsolete technology. Furthermore, even though Soviet industrial exports continue to grow (machinery, equipment and other industrial goods exports for 1983 alone topped US\$33 billion), the Soviet export structure is dominated by raw materials and fuel. Under the Gorbachev strategy it is hoped the picture will change.

Recently what is called "economic diplomacy" looms large in Soviet foreign policy overtures. Together with calls for universal disarmament, Soviet leaders have pointed that the heart of detente is economic, and



Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev

have made urgent appeals for economic cooperation between East and West. Recent Soviet diplomatic offensives have been directed at normalising relations with neighbouring China and Japan. In a speech in the Soviet far-east, Vladivostok, in July, Mr Gorbachev called for the setting up of joint enterprises in adjacent regions of Japan. He also told the Chinese that "the historically established detente is economic, and have made urgent appeals for economic cooperation between East and West. Recent Soviet diplomatic offensives have been directed at normalising relations with neighbouring China and Japan. In a speech in the Soviet far-east, Vladivostok, in July, Mr Gorbachev called for the setting up of joint enterprises in

complimentarity between Soviet and Chinese economies offers great opportunities for expanding ties, including the border regions." The two countries share the world's longest border.

In August, the USSR applied to take part in talks by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The Soviets wanted to participate in the talks which were held in Punta del Este, Uruguay, in September as an "experience-gathering experiment before deciding whether to apply for full membership to the 92-member organisation. But a BBC report said the Reagan Administration opposed the Soviet request on the grounds that the Soviet internal trading system was "at variance with the principles of GATT." Four Soviet bloc countries, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania are members of GATT.

After the Geneva Reagan-Gorbachev summit last November, the superpowers agreed to normalise trade relations.

Trade talks between Washington and Moscow have already been held in Moscow. But Soviet leaders say there will be no normal large-scale development to bilateral trade or other economic ties until the US changes its policy to grant the USSR the same "Most Favoured Nations Status" (MFN) which is enjoyed by 120 countries. Under the MFN the US offers competitive import tariffs and reasonable import quotas.

The Federal Republic of Germany is the Soviet Union's biggest trading partner while East Germany holds first place in the socialist community. Africa's share in Soviet foreign trade is about 4 per cent. Its leading trading partners on the continent are Libya, Egypt, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Morocco and Algeria.

## Hands across the seas

Co-operation between the Soviet Union and Africa is on the increase, says our guest writer, Pyotr Koshelev, deputy chairman of the USSR state committee for external economic relations.

The priority given by the USSR to co-operation in the field of industry and power engineering is in full conformity with African countries' strategy mapped out by the Industrial Development Decade for Africa for the 1980's and the Lagos Action Plan geared towards the development of national industry as one of the major links of overcoming economic backwardness, raising the economic potential of newly free African countries and satisfying the population's main requirements. Industry and power engineering account for about 75 per cent of the Soviet assistance to Africa.

Since 1970, the volume of co-operation between the Soviet Union and African states has risen by more than six times. The

Soviet Union has signed inter-governmental agreements on economic and technical co-operation with 37 African countries and the USSR also renders assistance to many African states with which no such agreements have been concluded. More than 300 projects have been built and put into operation in Africa with Soviet assistance and nearly the same number of projects are under construction or are on the drawing board.

Soviet aid to Africa in the 1980s is increasingly being placed on a planned basis. In this context, mention should be made of long-term economic co-operation programmes signed with Algeria, Angola, Libya, Mozambique and Ethiopia and inter-governmental commissions on

## World

economic, trade, scientific and technical co-operation (with Algeria, Angola, Libya, Congo, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique, Tunisia and Ethiopia).

Experience shows that Soviet technology at Soviet projects in the field of power engineering, geology, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and other branches is not inferior to and often surpasses the technology and technical-economic performance of equipment received by Africans from developed capitalist countries. For instance, the aluminium plant built at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, after Soviet design and fitted out with Soviet equipment has reached its design capacity within a short period and is now one of the most profitable enterprises of the Egyptian industry. It meets the country's requirements and besides, due to exports, annually gives big receipts in hard currency — 120-130 million dollars. Its main technical and economic performance is higher than at similar projects built with the aid of Western companies.

Another example is Ajaokuta in Nigeria where the Soviet Union continues to build a steel plant which will be the largest in tropical Africa. The plant will have a full cycle production with an annual capacity of 13 million tonnes of steel. Incidentally, Soviet specialists helped here to discover deposits of iron ore and partly coking coal and to determine favourable prospects for non-metalliferous raw materials.

### Britain

# 'McCarthyist' attack on BBC

The BBC, for long thought of as the Establishment's TV station, is under attack from the Tory Government for its 'left-wing' bias. Derek Ingram examines the background to this astonishing turn of events.

When British governments start knocking the BBC, you can be sure of three things, that they have been in office a long time, that a general election is in the offing and that they are uncertain that past performance is going to produce enough votes for them.

The Labour Government of Harold Wilson got into collision with the BBC in its later years and for a time virtually broke off relations. Now the Tory Government of Margaret Thatcher is getting into a similar tangle, although this time it is a more serious affair.

No one ever thinks they get a square deal from the media — and sometimes they do not — but when it comes to political objectivity who is to be the judge? Certainly not party leaders, who will always suspect sinister motives behind one piece of political reporting or another.

Nobody is fallible and not every report is going to be straight down the centre because everyone has a different idea of where the centre is.

The current argument about the BBC, in

Thanks to the giant plant at Ajaokuta, by 1990 Nigeria's self-sufficiency in ferrous metals will increase up to 34 per cent as against 13 per cent in 1984 while by the year 2000, the expansion of the plant's capacity to give five million tonnes of steel a year will mean there will be practically no need to import ferrous metals.

Socially too, the construction of this plant and related enterprises is of great importance, ensuring employment and training of national personnel. Upon the completion of the third commissioning phase, it will be possible to employ about 15,000 people at the plant and up to

### Employment opportunities

140,000 people at related enterprises. At present, over 10,000 Nigerian workers are engaged in construction. A training centre has been set up at Ajaokuta which annually trains 2,000 skilled workers in 27 specialities. More than 1,500 Nigerian workers will undergo training at Soviet metallurgical enterprises.

In the near future, Soviet assistance is to play a prominent role in developing such industries in African countries as power engineering (Algeria, Angola, Morocco, Tunisia, Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea-Bissau), ferrous metallurgy (Nigeria, Algeria, Libya and Zimbabwe), the mining industry (Mozambique, Morocco, Congo, Mali, Ghana and Madagascar) as

well as the oil and gas industry (Algeria, Libya and Ethiopia) and the building materials industry (Angola, Algeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, the Seychelles, etc).

Over the next few years, the USSR will give closer attention to assistance in the development of agriculture and to the elimination of the food crisis. In this field the Soviet Union is helping 16 African countries where it is envisaged to set up 155 projects (of which 60 projects have already been put into operation).

Soviet assistance in the development of the agro-industrial sector envisages, in particular, the reclamation of lands and the comprehensive use of water resources; mechanisation of agriculture and the establishment of centres for repair of agricultural machinery and equipment; the construction of enterprise for processing and storing agricultural produce, and aid in the development of marine fishing, assistance in training agricultural specialists. On the whole, prospects for the development of economic and technical co-operation of the Soviet Union with African countries, for the 1980s and '90s are favourable. Plans for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1986-1990, and for the period ending in 2000 provide for the extension of co-operation with developing countries, for the continuation of the consistent implementation of agreed long-term programmes of trade, economic, scientific and technical ties with these states.



Conservative Party chairman, Norman Tebbit, who is leading the anti-BBC campaign

the very week it was celebrating the 50th birthday of its television service, revolves around its TV reporting of the American bombing of Libya, which because it was carried out from British bases has been a hot topic ever since it took place last April.

British Government complaints that the BBC reports were unfair were made not by Thatcher but by Cabinet Minister Norman Tebbit in his capacity as chairman of the ruling Conservative Party.

The rumpus has had a more sinister quality than quarrels with the BBC of other years because it came as the culmination of months of almost daily sniping on a whole range of subjects from the right of the party and from the right wing press.

On the surface these were part of the campaign to change the whole BBC setup, aimed at making it financially less dependent on public monies, abolishing the licence fee and introducing advertising — in short, changing a system of operation which is internationally unique and has over the years been widely admired for the checks and balances on its independence.

## World

Below the surface it was a manifestation of something else much more disturbing: A rising intolerance in the country with symptoms not dissimilar from those that took root for a short time in the United States in what is now called the McCarthy period.

The unspoken charge is that if 'reds are not under every bed' then they are certainly behind every BBC microphone. Generation of such an atmosphere has taken place over several years under the umbrella of

### Right-wing press bias

the Thatcher Government with the assistance of the press, a large part of which at least now makes no pretence of practising the kind of objectivity it says the BBC lacks.

In a country roughly divided in half politically, the weight of the press has always been on the right. In recent years, this imbalance has markedly increased.

In the fifties Labour had two national newspaper champions — the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Herald* — and the Liberals had two — *The News Chronicle* and *The Guardian*. *The Times* was usually a little to the right of centre.

More recently only two papers could be said to be centre or left: *The Daily Mirror* a much less reliable Labour ally than of yore) and *The Guardian*. *The Times*, under Australian publisher Rupert Murdoch, had

moved far over to the right.

Now the picture has suddenly changed. Earlier this year the tabloid newspaper *Today* was born, politically of the centre and now taken over by entrepreneur Tiny Rowland. And then on 7 October came the birth of *The Independent* — a newspaper that already promises to be of rare quality.

Both are products of the new technology that has at least begun to engulf the British press, which means financial viability is easier to achieve. *The Independent* says it will be truly independent, making up its mind on issues as it goes along and not being swayed by party allegiances.

Its ownership is diffused, with no one being allowed to hold more than ten per cent of the shares. It is a journalists'

### The unspoken charge is that there are 'reds' behind every BBC microphone

newspaper — and it reads and looks like one. But it also seems to be a readers' newspaper. It is already a great success, having launched itself with immense self-confidence. The first issue bore no marks of an experiment or signs that everything was not quite ready.

The paper looked from the outset as if it had been around for years. At a time when foreign coverage has been on the decline in

the entire British press except *The Guardian* and *Financial Times*, along comes a newspaper with a wide spread of foreign reporting.

And the public are responding. Sales of *The Independent* are higher than expected at launch and holding up. Plainly dissatisfaction at the way the British press has drifted in recent years has been widespread.

It is an encouraging sign. So also is the wave of criticism Norman Tebbit has encountered for the way in which he has attacked the BBC. An opinion poll showed that only ten per cent of voters believed the BBC was biased.

And a woman who was a governor of the BBC for seven years, Lady Faulkner of Downpatrick, said in a letter to *The Independent* that during her term of office she often criticised programmes, but "never at any time . . . could I complain of political bias in those responsible for them."

She added: "If there were trendy, long-haired left-wing intellectuals working for the Corporation, or for that matter close-cropped right-wing fascists, they left their red ties and their jackboots with the doorman."

Public reaction to the BBC affair and the launch of *The Independent* are hopeful indications that any attempt at McCarthyism in Britain is doomed to failure.

## THIRD ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF ORGANISATION OF NIGERIAN PROFESSIONALS IN THE UNITED STATES

The members and the National Executive of the Organisation of Nigerian Professionals (O.N.P.) in the United States cordially invite individuals and organisations in and outside the United States to its third annual national convention planned to take place in Washington D.C, USA, on Saturday, November 29, 1986.

Lecture and symposia topics are welcome. For additional details, interested persons and organisations should contact:

National Headquarters  
Organisation of Nigerian Professionals (O.N.P.) in the US  
1827 Gentilly Boulevard  
New Orleans, Louisiana, 70122  
USA

TELEPHONE No. (504) 948-9769 OR (504) 288-3550

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# Behind Bulgaria's dynamic socialism

**PRESIDENT** Todor Zhivkov, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria spoke with *African Concord* on several national and international issues. Below are excerpts of the interview.

**Question:** *The economic achievements of your country during the recent 30 years in many respects represent a miracle indeed. How did you manage to organize your countrymen for such a remarkable economic upsurge and stability?*

**Answer:** Yes, during its short economic development and particularly during the recent three decades, Socialist Bulgaria has turned into a country of modern industry, of highly developed agriculture, of culture that is valued worldwide. You ask how we achieved this "miracle?"

In the socialist restructuring of economy, we emphasized its accelerated industrialisation, without understanding agriculture in the least. Relying on the advantages of the socialist economy and the labour activity of our people, implementing direct co-operation first of all with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as with a number of newly liberated states, and with capitalist firms and countries, we have managed to develop important trends of scientific-technological progress — in electronics, machine-building, chemistry, and have achieved international recognition and specialization in these fields.

Certainly, our development further and higher is not anything like a march of triumph. Its progress has met with difficulties, unsolved problems, contradictions. We are studying them most carefully and are striving to overcome them in due time. We proceed from the prerequisite that socialism is strong with its ability to criticize and self-criticize.

One thing more. Our experience demonstrates that the winning of great battles in the history of our party — the victory of the socialist revolution and the successful construction of the new society are only possible when the ties between party and people are strong, unbreakable. That is why we strive, in the settlement of all questions — both big and small, to take the advice of the people, to take account of its opinion, to get it involved into management.

For the formation of a new consciousness and attitude to labour in our people, of particular importance today is the fact that our contemporary is not just a person who is socially provided for. He is entitled to free health protection and education, has employment and living quarters assured to himself, and the questions of his food and dress concern not so much quantity, as they do his growing requirements towards their quality.

What is more important now is the immediate connection of the social



*President Zhivkov*

policy, of the growing social acquisitions with the activation of the millions of people for their fuller participation in the management of the new processes of the social development. To this purpose, we have granted the working people the right to be hosts of the socialist property, to independently decide how to make more efficient use of the resources, the equipment and the results of the activity they are engaged in with a view to their collective interests and the necessities of society.

In order to enhance the rights and responsibilities of the working people as hosts of the socialist property, we have adopted a course for turning the socialist economic organizations into self-dependent organizations. Their working collectives chose their leading organs by themselves. It is with a secret ballot that the working collectives themselves elect their managers amongst the best equipped and worthiest candidates.

**Question:** *In 1986, in Bulgaria, certain economic reforms have been carried*

*out, as a consequence of which some ministries were closed and certain types of activities were re-structured. What could be the reason of these changes and what is the ultimate purpose of the new economic policy?*

**Answer:** The essence of everything which is now being carried out in this country, is prompted by the necessity that on the basis of our achievements we should pass over to a qualitatively new type of growth in economy, in the social and spiritual sphere. We envisage that by the end of the century the national income and respectively the labour productivity should grow 3—3.5 fold, and still by 1995 — about 2—2.5 fold, which would ensure us an eligible place among the leading forces in the world. That, of course, is an extremely difficult task, having in mind the short period of its implementation as well as the fact that our country is poor in natural resources. Here is why we envisage that the rates of economic growth, as well as the questions of production and technology, and the provision of resources should be settled on the basis of the scientific technological revolution. That would allow us to further develop electronics and machine-building, to establish a new raw material basis, etc.

Now we are about to, in the short term, achieve serious changes both in the production relations and in the style and methods of state and economic management, as well as in the structure, functions and activity of the state and economic organs.

The reform in which you show interest, envisages that these organs should be freed from a number of functions and activities which are not inherent to them in the new circumstances that limit the independence of the self-managing organizations. The main thing is that all units of the social management should by their activity guarantee the achievements of the socio-economic purposes through the implementation of the scientific-technological policy, by means of assisting the development of the actual possibilities of the immediate participants in all units of the process of reproduction, the complete eradication of the narrow-bureaucratic approach, of excess centralism. Here is why we proceeded to the closing of some ministries or essential changes in those amongst them which we kept, to the establishment of fundamentally new organs of

management of the economic, social, spiritual and scientific development of the country.

I well understand that for a person who is not closely acquainted with our problems, with our aims and tasks, it is difficult to make out the details. Here is why I would like to immediately make clear and thereby conclude that the main thing in the changes undertaken is the further development of the socialist democracy, of the socialist self-management, the turning of the working people and their collectives into hosts of the socialist property, into subjects of management.

**Question:** *We know about the great assistance rendered by the Soviet people to your country after its liberation from the monarcho-fascist regime. Let us presume that there are also other reasons for the exceptionally good relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the Soviet Union except the feeling of deep gratitude. Could you elucidate them?*

**Answer:** There are many reasons but I have to be brief. One of the main reasons for the excellent Bulgarian-Soviet relations lies in the traditional friendship between the Bulgarian and the Russian peoples. It dates far back in history. We are of a common, Slav, origin, our languages are related, we use the same alphabet. For centuries the destinies of our nations have been closely interlinked, for centuries our friendship has been gaining strength in the common struggle for freedom and social progress. As is known, in 1878 Russia liberated the Bulgarian people from the 500-year-long Ottoman oppression.

Another major, perhaps paramount, reason for the present most close relations between our countries is the fact that we share one and the same sociopolitical system, one and the same outlook and objectives. That, too, has its deep historical roots.

The years of the Second World War — following the invasion of fascist Germany in the Soviet Union — offer numerous eloquent examples of solidarity and interaction between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Soviet Communist Party. And further on. The victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria in 1944 could materialize with the crucial contribution of the Soviet Army. The revolution opened a new state in Bulgarian-Soviet relations based on the principles of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. For over four decades these relations — relations between a small country and a great coun-

try — have been developing on the basis of full equality and mutual respect. Our achievements in the socio-economic and cultural spheres are a result, as I pointed out, of the persistent efforts of the Bulgarian people, but they would have not been feasible without the amity and cooperation of the socialist countries and, first and foremost, without the policy of all-round cooperation and close links with the Soviet Union. The 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, held in the spring of 1986, reaffirmed our determination to follow this policy steadfastly, as it is one of the conditions and guarantees for a further overall advance of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

I would also like to note that our



**Zhivkov**

country maintains an active cooperation, with many countries — socialist, capitalist, advanced and developing. — and is willing to expand this cooperation wherever it is mutually advantageous and serves the interests of peoples, the cause of peace.

**Question:** *Having in mind your experience in the armed resistance during the Second World War, in the "cold war" period, as well as your long experience as politician and statesman, what would be your "recipe" for a lasting world peace?*

**Answer:** The present international situation has no analogue in the past. Today humankind is faced with the fateful dilemma: to be or not to be. The threat of nuclear annihilation hangs over the whole world as never before, mountains of weapons have been stockpiled. Our planet is powderkeg which could explode any moment. The spark might be kindled by any of the numerous hotbeds of tension in different areas. Or by a

casual mistake. This alarming situation is further aggravated by the complex economic problems, the deterioration of global ecological conditions etc. But along with its exacerbated contradictions, the present world has another, not less important, characteristics — the mutual inter-dependence of states, of socio-economic systems as entities. The dialectics of the present evolution is such that we shall either live together, or perish together.

Therefore, the search for ways of establishing durable peace in the world demands a fundamentally new political thinking, completely new perceptions and approaches in the field of international affairs. This approach has been exemplified by the courageous and radical proposals on nuclear weapon cuts put forward by Michail Gorbachev in Reykjavik. Regrettably, this summit

**"The present international situation has no analogue in the past. Today humankind is faced with the fateful dilemma: to be or not to be. The threat of nuclear annihilation hangs over the whole world as never before, mountains of weapons have been stockpiled. Our planet is powderkeg which could explode any moment."**

missed a historic chance to mark a new step on the road to elimination of the nuclear plague by the end of the century.

We are optimists, however. New political realities have taken and continue to take shape. Mighty forces stand behind them — states, governments, politicians, movements, public figures, peoples — forces which the handful of war-mongers cannot ignore and have to take into consideration ever more. I believe in the future of humanity. And I am deeply confident that mankind will be able to reverse the dangerous course of development and to live in peace, security and cooperation.

**Question:** *Your country and our country, Nigeria, share some viewpoints on the world situation, especially with regard to the brutal system of apartheid practised by the South Africa junta. What support could the African continent expect from Bulgaria with a view to wiping out apartheid and all other forms of discrimination in South Africa?*

**Answer:** I am pleased to speak about the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Federal

## World

Republic of Nigeria because they are good, friendly relations. For more than 20 years now, they have been developing in a dynamic and mutually advantageous way. I hope you will not interpret it as lack of modesty, but I think that my visit to your country in 1978 and the ensuing dialogue on government level stimulated our bilateral contacts in many directions. The results are obvious. Nigeria became our biggest trading partner among the countries south of Sahara. Bulgaria participated in a number of construction projects in Nigeria, highly skilled Bulgarian specialist work in your country. Many examples could be cited but these would suffice in way of illustration of the upward trend in Bulgarian-Nigerian relations. I do believe, however, that we have not achieved the limit of our possibilities.

Our country has manifested its solidarity with the indigenous African population in South Africa in its struggle, under the guidance of the African National Congress, for freedom and human rights, for elimination of the regime of apartheid. We share the positions of the African countries, outlined at the UN, OAU and other international

forums, including the conference of the Non-aligned countries, held in Harare. The People's Republic of Bulgaria stands for a strict implementation of the UN resolutions calling for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, and denounces the policy of "constructive engagement," followed by the USA and some other Western countries vis-a-vis the racist regime of South Africa.

We firmly oppose the policy of destabilisation and aggressive actions pursued by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho, demand an unconditional termination of the violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the frontline states; support their struggle in defence of their national independence.

Bulgaria insists on the effective and comprehensive implementation of Resolution 435, 1978 of the Security Council, as well as the other UN resolutions on Namibia, and backs the struggle of the people of Namibia for national liberation and independence guided by SWAPO, its sole legitimate represen-

tative.

Our country has invariably supported and will continue to support the African peoples in their fight against colonial oppression, for consolidating their political and economic independence.

*Question: Your Excellency, you have turned 75. Congratulating you on this fine anniversary, we would like to ask you about the secret of your life, considering the fact that politics is a rather strenuous and exhausting occupation.*

*Answer: Thank you for your congratulations. Quite frankly, I am not familiar with the secrets of human longevity as I am only 75 and feel young. Political and state activities, though strenuous and exhausting, as you put it, are not burdensome to me because I engage in them in the name of the Bulgarian people, its prosperity, in the name of peace and social progress. They say one of the secrets of remaining young is to dedicate one's energy to great ideals and live with the plans for the future.*

May I, in conclusion, take this opportunity to greet the state leadership and people of Nigeria, to wish the Nigerian people success and prosperity along the path of development it has chosen.

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Central African Republic

## External aid boosts economy

After years of mismanagement under the Bokassa Regime, the CAR's economy is now picking up — with the help of outside finance, reports a special correspondent from Bangui.

**LANDLOCKED** Central African Republic is gearing up for a turnaround after many years of economic mismanagement under "Emperor" Jean-Bedel Bokassa, who is now in prison in Bangui on human rights charges.

The Government of Gen Andre Kolingba is carrying out a broad structural adjustment programme designed to promote a faster rate of growth and allow for a more productive use of the country's ample natural resources.

The Central African Republic is the heart of Africa, with a population of about 2.6 million and a per capita income of US\$270. About 70 per cent of the population live in rural areas. Agriculture dominates the economy and in 1984 accounted for about 41 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product.

The Government aims to achieve its goals by adopting policies that give priority to agriculture and progressively opening up the economy to free market forces. The strategy also includes reducing the size of the public sector and reorientating it to activities for which it is best suited, increasing domestic savings and adopting a financial plan to support the programme.

The Government's programme is expected to achieve an annual rate of growth of 4 per cent in the Gross Domestic Product. Its emphasis on increasing rural incomes will lead to improvements in the standard of living of the majority of the population.

In the past the country's reputation had been tarnished by the excesses of the Bokassa Regime, 1966 to 1979. Serious mismanagement of the economy in the 1970s resulted in a decline in production and in individual incomes between 1978 and 1980. The country's main producer

prices for cash crops, excessive state intervention in virtually all economic activities, inefficient rural development agencies, and rapidly deteriorating services and communications caused a drop in agricultural production. The decline in the world price of cotton and coffee, the major exports, was an additional blow.

Unsound public investments, a bloated civil service, non-viable public enterprises, and expensive loans led to high budget deficits. These deficits, together with accumulated arrears in servicing public debts, caused substantial drops in both official aid and private foreign investment.

The short-lived government that succeeded the Bokassa Regime, initiated an emergency programme for 1980-81 to deal with the most urgent problems of the economy. It emphasised the rehabilitation of infrastructure and resulted mainly in the improvement of road networks. But the economic situation continued to deteriorate and led to social disorder and political instability.

Serious attempts at resuscitating the economy began early in 1982 under the leadership of President Kolingba, who assumed control of the country in September 1981. The efforts of the Government to stabilise the economy have been supported by three standby credits from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The economy has responded positively to the Government's programme and the trend of declining per capita incomes seems to have been arrested recently. But observers in Bangui believe that the economy has still performed below potential. The growth of the GDP has remained marginal, the rise in exports has been

limited, and domestic savings have not increased. The Government's development programmes have been financed largely by external donors.

The adjustment programme now being introduced has been prepared in close consultation with the World Bank and the IMF.

Credits of US\$30 million will finance about 5 per cent of the import bill and the external capital requirements of the country during 1986-87 budget year. They complement co-financing from several other donors.

To support the adjustment

effort, detailed programmes will be implemented over the next 16 months for macro economic management, agriculture, forestry, small and medium-scale enterprises, mining, public administration, and public enterprises. Specific measures include improving public investment programming and raising the level of investment, particularly in the private sector. International trade will be liberalised and public borrowings will be tightly controlled.

Subsidies to cotton farmers will be reduced and the production and export of commodities, especially coffee, will be increased. Coffee planters, mainly smallholders, will benefit from a big jump in official prices. A new investment code will stimulate activity in the private sector; the role of the Government in production and in the commercial sector will be curtailed and the size of the civil service will be cut. With the current efforts being undertaken, the prospects of success are good.

## GM to maintain close ties

DESPITE the news last month that General Motors would divest itself of its South African subsidiary, the company nevertheless has announced that it will still maintain close ties with the now South African-owned subsidiary, through its international operations. This latest news confirms the doubts expressed by cynics that the pull-out was not as total as many at first thought.

It appears that by selling off the South African subsidiary to South African ownership, the company has killed two birds with one stone: they have retained business links with the South African subsidiary, without having to pay the political penalty of anti-apartheid legislation at home. This analysis is strengthened by GM's decision to appoint Robert Price who was managing director of the then wholly US-owned South African subsidiary between 1971-74.

Part of the divestment strategy entails writing off debts estimated to be well over £59.3 million. This is part of the deal currently being worked out by

GM managers and South African shareholders. The result of this wheeler-dealing is that when the new South African-owned subsidiary gets off the ground on January 1, it will do so on a new slate and ironically be in far better shape than when it was part of the US parent company. Already plans are underway for the subsidiary to introduce a new model, the OPEL Monza.

However, the 'South African escape route' might still be endangered, by a combination of internal and external developments. Demands by the black South African labour force for company board representation by at least two trade union delegates, were recently rejected by the rest of the board, and this has led to a strike by more than 2,400 workers. The other factor that could in the longer term prove significant, is if the growing demand within America for US companies to cut trading links as well as divest proves overwhelming, then South African subsidiaries would be well and truly isolated, and divestment become a more meaningful economic term.

### Oil politics

#### After Yamani

With the firing of Sheikh Zaki Yamani, Saudi Arabian oil minister since March 1962, the chapter is finally closed on his ambitious, ultimately selfish, and now discredited attempt to regain a greater market share for Saudi Arabia at a time when the oil market as a whole was going through one of its worst periods, for exporters, in living memory.

By refusing to play the role of swing producer any longer, whatever the justification, and insisting that Saudi Arabia could no longer sit idly by while lesser producers deliberately exceeded their quotas, he gambled that his 'tit for tat' weapon could be sustained by the international oil market without precipitating an almighty price collapse.

The result of that gamble is evident today, with oil prices half what they were this time last year, on the eve of Saudi

Arabia's output increase, and during the summer, at low as \$8 a barrel.

For the gamble to have succeeded, two things were needed. First, fellow OPEC members needed to accept with some penance that Saudi Arabia could destabilise the oil market sufficiently and affect their oil-based economies to such an extent that they would be cowed into submission and reduce their output accordingly.

Secondly, non-OPEC producers, principally North Sea producers Britain and Norway, needed to be sufficiently frightened by the prospect of tumbling oil prices to call a halt to their own increasing production, and agree to a deal with Saudi Arabia and the rest of OPEC on a production cutback. The stakes were high, with several national economies at risk, and everybody waiting to see who would blink first.

In the event, it was Saudi Arabia that was forced to climb

down. By midsummer, still insisting on 'the principle' of greater market share, Saudi Arabia had to resign itself to the fact that with prices as low as \$8 a barrel, they were suffering more than the UK or Norway which both gain only a fraction of their national revenue from oil. They now also had to contend with the fact that low prices were threatening to cause a split within OPEC, because poorer members simply could not survive at those prices.

Thus began the long climb back up the road of restricted oil output to try and revive oil prices and restore faith in OPEC's abilities as a major force to be reckoned with.

The first serious attempt to control production was the reintroduction of 1984 quotas in August, and the determination to follow that decision by the introduction of a permanent quota based on a "percentage formula." These should be in

place by the start of the new year.

With the failure of Yamani's 'greater market share policy' it was only a matter of time before he was relieved of his position as oil minister. Observers at this year's OPEC conference have noticed how subdued the remarks have been, and how several statements of his on Saudi oil policy have been officially "corrected" by the ruling Saudi royal family. This was so marked at the last Geneva summit, that correspondents couldn't help but comment on how often Sheikh Yamani had to refer back to Riyadh before elaborating on his country's position.

With Yamani's removal and his temporary replacement, by planning minister Hisham Nasser who is now holding both portfolios, conjecture about future Saudi oil policy is rife. There is as yet no word on what the new minister's intentions are, save to say that he wants to see an oil price of above \$18 a barrel.

#### Ghana

### Boom time for cotton

James MacCauley reports from Accra on the government's efforts to boost its cotton output.

Ghana is getting to grips with the problem of precious foreign exchange being spent to import cotton for the country's textile industry by boosting its own cotton production under the second phase of its Economic Recovery Programme.

The long-awaited proverbial shot in the arm of the cotton industry follows many years of neglect and poor harvests, forcing the nation to dig deeper into its foreign exchange reserves to import thousands of bales.

The ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) has launched a medium term recovery programme (1986-1988) geared towards stepping up raw material production to provide the crop to the local industries.

Dr Francis Acquah, Secretary for Industries, Science and Technology, said it was very important for Ghana to boost its cotton crop because of its importance as a raw material for industries.

"There cannot be any talk of a true recovery in the economy if the nation is still dependent on imported raw materials (such as cotton) for her industrial development. We must aim at near sufficiency in raw materials," he said.

The Government liquidated the state-owned Cotton Development Board last March and established the Ghana Cotton Company (GCC) which has 30 per cent state shares and the rest split between private textile firms and others.

Early this year, GCC launched a major nationwide campaign to boost production. Small scale farmers, especially those in the major cotton growing areas of Upper East, Upper West, Northern

and Volta Regions, are being assisted by GCC to cultivate the crop. According to official figures, more than 10,000 hectares have so far been cultivated in the Northern Region alone.

Besides giving assistance to cotton farmers, GCC has also entered into partnership with textile firms in the Amanin Cotton Project. Already some 200 hectares have been cultivated under this project.

The various firms have also started to develop their own sources of cotton supply besides their investment and interests in the Amanin Cotton Project. The textile companies are sponsoring and financing peasant farmers to encourage them to expand their farms or give more room to cotton crop. Other firms have acquired their own land and deployed part of their labour force to cultivate cotton. Juapong Textiles Limited is one such firm which has acquired 100 hectares and deployed part of its work force to cultivate the crop.

Cotton constitutes 80 per cent of the raw material base for textiles. The nation's annual requirement of cotton is more than 120,000 bales, of which 115,200 bales — 96 per cent — are imported.

The Government sees this importation as a considerable strain on its foreign exchange reserves and is unable to meet the requirements of the textile industry. The overall result is that the firms are forced to produce far below capacity.

The Akosombo Textiles Ltd, for example, is capable of producing 3 million yards of textile prints a month but, as Mr Walter Esposito, the company's Managing Director said it is producing only 400,000 yards.

To date, Ghana has been helped out by a number of overseas countries in meeting its cotton production shortfall. The United States recently donated 12,000 bales from the total of 31,000 pledged to the Accra Government.

GCC's target for cotton this year is 7,700 tonnes as against a mere 686 obtained in 1985.

## Business Forum

higher than today's average prices, and he has called an emergency meeting of OPEC's ministerial committee on prices to be held this month.

His pronouncements that he will endeavour to gain a higher oil price have been construed in some quarters as meaning Saudi Arabia will move closer to the radical bloc headed by Iran, entailing a sharp cut-back of OPEC production to force the price of oil higher.

On the other hand, Yamani's removal may have been prompted by his not adequately pursuing his country's interests during the October Geneva conference when he declined the larger share he originally demanded for his country in order to get consensus on the Kuwaiti demand for a 10 per cent rise in their quota. If this is so, his removal could mean a renewed attempt to pursue a higher market share.

Either way, the forthcoming summit in December has been dealt one additional unknown card to add to the already difficult task it is facing on the new percentage quota formula.

Nnamdi Anyadike

isation (ICCO) annual summit held in London in September. However, for one major West African producer, Nigeria, which hosted the Cocoa producers Alliance (CPA) that ended on 31 October, problems associated with the disbanding of the Nigerian Cocoa Board (NCB) have led to a discounting of its crop by London traders.

Speaking at the 47th CPA meeting in Lagos, Nigeria's agriculture minister, Major-Gen Mohammed Gado Nasko, spoke of the unfair position in which producers found themselves vis a vis consumers. The various commodity agreements left producing countries "holding the short end of the stick". He called on producers to work together and renew their faith in themselves and in their ability to secure the right process for their products. Chairman of the alliance, Mr J A Onuorah, urged the members to translate their cooperation into "concrete and concerted action" to enable them to obtain a fair price for their cocoa.

### Coffee

THE market continues to be uncertain as to the underlying strength or weakness of coffee and this trading week like those of the past few weeks, showed marked price fluctuations for future contracts.

At the start of the week, Monday 3 November, prices were November £2271.5 a tonne, January 1987 £2275.5 a tonne, and March 1987 £2162.5 a tonne. By the close of the week, Friday 7 November, prices were November £2312 a tonne, January 1987 £2285 a tonne, and March 1987 £2165 a tonne.

News from the world's largest 'robusta' grade coffee producer, Cote d'Ivoire, is that they aim to boost their output significantly in the coming years. The news was announced by agriculture minister, Denis Bra Karon, who said his country plans to invest some £60 million in order to raise annual output by 150,000 tonnes by the year 2,000. In order to achieve this target the government has set a planting schedule of 10,000 hectares a year in order to partly

replace the country's ageing plantations. Cote d'Ivoire produced an estimated 280,000 tonnes in the 1985-6 season which ended on 30 September.

### Copper

COPPER prices fell sharply on the London Metal Exchange (LME) for most metals following news that a five month strike at the Noranda zinc refinery in Quebec, Canada, had been settled. The prospect of renewed metal supplies caused prices to dip in both London and New York.

At the start of the week, Monday 3 November, cash grade A copper was £921 a tonne, and grade A three month copper £946 a tonne. Standard cash copper was £903.75 a tonne and standard three month copper £975.5 a tonne. By the close of the week, Friday 7 November, grade A cash copper was £900 a tonne, and grade A three month copper £951 a tonne. Standard cash copper ended at £886 a tonne, and standard three month copper at £910 a tonne.

### Gold

GOLD rose slightly during the course of the week, Monday 3-Friday 7 November, taking it above the \$400 an ounce through which at one point it threatened to fall. But despite the rise, long term forecasts continually assert that the future price trend can only be down.

The latest figures from a New York research company, Christian, Podleska and Van Musschenbroek, say the USSR will export 50 per cent more gold to the West this year, bringing the total to 365 tonnes from the previous year's 236 tonnes (which in itself was double 1984's output).

The increase in exports confirms the views of informed analysts that the USSR has decided to increase gold exports to partly offset the loss of oil revenue since the 1986 price collapse.

At the start of the week, Monday 3 November, gold bullion opened at \$400.75 an ounce, and closed on Friday 7 November at \$408.5 an ounce.

### Sugar

SUGAR rose on the London markets and at one time looked as though it would reach a five month high. Traders offered no real explanation of why sugar moved upwards, except to say that there is an expectation of a sharply reduced Brazilian crop this year due to drought in the growing region. As with coffee, Brazil is the world's largest sugar producer and can affect the market significantly merely by announcing how much of its crop it will be putting onto the market. Because an increasing promotion of its sugar goes towards its 'alcohol' (cane sugar-into-fuel alcohol) programme to fuel its motor vehicles, the price has been kept higher than it might otherwise have been.

At the start of the trading week, Monday 3 November, the London Daily Price (LDP) for raw sugar stood at \$143.5 a tonne, March 1987 \$161.2 a tonne, and May 1987 \$163.6 a tonne. By the close of the week, Friday 7 November, the LCP was \$152.5 a tonne. By the close of the week, Friday 7 November, the LDP was \$152.5 a tonne, refined sugar \$185 a tonne, and futures contracts December \$146.6 a tonne, March 1987 \$158.6 a tonne, and May 1987 \$161.2 a tonne.

### Tea

AT the latest London weekly tea auction held on Monday 3 November, prices for all grades advanced over the previous week's auction. There was also more tea on offer, a total of 30,522 packages. Apart from 30,522 packages of the new season's Assam tea from India, the African teas that did best were East African 'bright liquoring' blends which advanced by 3-5 pence a kg. There was no mention of how well Central African teas fared, though in general they have been doing even better than East African varieties. Price quotations were 98p a kg for quality teas, 100p a kg for medium teas, and 132p a kg for low medium teas.

AFRICAN CONCORD 20 NOVEMBER 1986

## Commodities

### Cocoa

COCOA had a fairly dull week on the London commodity exchange and future contracts did not undergo any significant price movements. At the start of the trading week, Monday 3 November, prices were December £1488 a tonne, March 1987 £1518 a tonne, and May 1987 £1540.5 a tonne. By the close of the week, Friday 7 November, prices were December £1488 a tonne, March 1987 £1520 a tonne, and May 1987 £1541 a tonne.

The price stability of future contracts comes in the wake of the International Cocoa Organ-

# Lagos fair, export hope

Nigeria has a lot to export but habits die hard.

THIS year's Lagos International Trade Fair which ended last Sunday did not only create public awareness of exportable home-made products. It also boosted the export promotion aspect of the structural adjustment programme. The Fair portrayed in tangible manner vast opportunities of generating much needed foreign exchange. A vast array of agricultural products on display included cocoa beans, cocoa products, palm kernel and palm kernel oil, cake and pellets, rubber, canned vegetables and fruits, tobacco, groundnuts, cotton, tea and gums.

The manufactured commodities that had potential for export were glass products, paper products, textile products, leather products, light consumer goods, fabricated agricultural machinery, lightening equipment, aquarium products, mats, ropes, footmats and fermented drinks.

African Concord investigations conducted at the Trade Fair revealed that local manufacturers are responding positively to export promotion. They seem to be taking full advantage of government's current trade liberalisation measures especially the cancellation of export licence.

At the Delta Steel Company Limited stand, (DSC), Dr. P. Atanmo, Deputy General Manager, Iron Making, revealed that countless trade enquiries have been pouring in. The DSC displayed exportable products such as direct reduced iron (DRI), cold banded iron (CBI) and finished/rolled products like plain and rib bars. Dr. Atanmo told African Concord that his company has commenced the export of DRI to India and Europe. The company's DRI, he said, has cost advantage over those produced in these countries. The DSC also has the capacity to produce brake disc and brake drum for Peugeot cars. But Atanmo regretted that Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Limited (PAN) still imports these items.

Delta Steel Company Limited also displayed Hydrated lime which can be used in water treatment, paint making, bleach and leather manufacture. It was gathered that DSC is the only producer of hydrated lime in West Africa, and hence has good potentials for export.

At the Odua Group of Companies stand, agricultural products such as palm kernel oil — which can be used for making soap, detergent and cosmetics — palm kernel cake were on display. The representative of the company at the stand told African Concord that enquiries have been made by foreign buyers interested in these products. African Concord also learnt at the Borno and Bauchi States stands that hundreds of

Another indigenous company, OX4 Systems Limited based in Abe Road in Lagos was inundated with trade enquiries. The company's director, Mr. Olumide Odunaiye revealed that aquarium companies from West Germany have placed orders for aquatic fishes of Nigerian origin. He said, "they want us to export to them aquarium products worth 8,000 US dollars." He further disclosed that the response to his company's products has been tremendous.

Almarine Nigeria Limited, African Concord investigation revealed, will soon start to export its boats to some West African countries. The brewery industry was also represented, and made brisk business. For instance, Mr. Ben Itari,



Tochta Jooji, DSC Boss

enquiries have been made with respect to Arabic Gum, leather products and other agricultural products. And that many of those who made enquiries are interested in exporting the products.

An indigenous company that caught the eyes of many visitors to the Fair is Eleganza Group of Companies. The company displayed quality household products — coolers, hot buckets, flasks, food jar/ice buckets. Although the officials of the company agreed that no significant enquiries have been made by foreign importers, their products are in high demand in the country.

General Manager of PABOD Breweries the brewers of Grand Lager Beer revealed that arrangements have reached advanced stage to export Grand Lager Beer to Togo, and the company is exploring markets in the ECOWAS sub-region and United States of America. He said the arrangement to export the company's product was boosted by the cancellation of export licence by the Federal Government.

However, most of the exhibitors disclosed that virtually all those who have called at their stands were Nigerians who would want to buy the products for domestic consumption. Nigeria's effort to

change her profile of exporter of primary products to the exporter of manufacturers and semi-manufacturers seem to be set on rough terrain. Investigations at the Trade Fair revealed that most manufactured goods produced in Nigeria cannot compete effectively in the international market because of their high prices. "Thus if we are to make our mark", emphasised Dr. Oyejemi Adegbite, Chairman, Enterprise Consulting Group Limited, "in the export of manufactured goods, the government needs to rethink its industrial development strategies for the 1990s. The key to success in this area is to identify a number of export-oriented industries and make the necessary investments in such industries so that say 5,10 or 15 years time, such projects would have come on stream producing for exports."

Though economic experts who visited the Trade Fair agreed that an International Trade Fair like the just concluded one has the potential of boosting Nigeria's export trade, they nevertheless predicted that Nigeria's current export will still be predominantly agricultural in origin with the quantity and value of goods exported being relatively small when compared to oil export.

The World Bank resident representative, Dr. Ikhara Hussein has noted that even though the incentive structure in Nigeria is quite adequate, a country used to such administrative controls and cumbersome bureaucratic procedures cannot be expected to shed off its habits and attitudes overnight just because a new decree has been enacted or a new policy has been announced. He also noted that the task of export promotion is a difficult task. "Unlike import substitution where the market is assured, export promotion requires identification and penetration into markets under pressures from other competitors. Equally important is the sustenance of those market shares overtime in the wake of economic, political and technological uncertainties and risks."

— Nimi Wariboko

# Strapped for cash

Cash crunch on buyers and sellers as Naira appreciates and CBN reaches for escrow accounts.

THE value of Naira appreciated by 2.03 per cent at the eighth bidding session in the Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) last Thursday. The US dollar will exchange for N3.4993 this week as against N3.6000 last week. In real terms, the value of the Naira has risen from 28 American Cents to 28.57 American Cents — about its value at the third bidding session. At the First Tier Market, N2.1387 exchanged for a dollar — that is, a Naira was equivalent to 48.75 American Cents.

The appreciation of the naira. According to bankers, was due to the liquidity crunch in the economy. Earlier, Mr. Sunday Sonoiki, CBN director of foreign operations had warned banks to fund their accounts before 12.00 noon on Monday. He noted with regret that banks are finding it difficult to pay for funds bought at the market.

All the banks that participated at last bidding session were successful. Thirty-six banks shared the 75 million US dollars offered for sale. The total demand stood at 76.65 million American dollars as compared with \$69.25 million. The marginal rate, which was also the lowest rate, was supplied by Allied Bank of Nigeria Limited which bid for \$2.25 million but went home with \$1.60 million. The highest bid — N4.2013 — was offered by Bank of the North which also requested for \$2.25 million.

Last week's bidding also saw the disqualification of some banks. Two banks, Nigerian International Bank (NIB) and International Merchant Bank (IMB) were disqualified for different offences. The IMB was barred from bidding because it did not submit its bidding form on time but NIB was barred because its bidding form did not carry the required number of signatures.

The CBN announced that from next bidding session, the amount available for bid will be targeted at escrow of Brazil and Austria.

Speaking to newsmen in his office, Chief Cletus N. Nwagwu, executive director of operations and that under the countertrade agreements Nigeria entered into with Brazil, Austria and France the countries lifted crude oil from Nigeria in exchange for goods and services that will be bought from their countries by Nigeria. The payment for the oil was put in escrow accounts, and that the proceeds of the accounts were to be used for purchase of goods from those countries.

Answering reporters' questions, Chief Nwagwu revealed that the fact that the government is making use of escrow funds does not mean that it has exhausted the bridging loan. He emphasised that the government cannot continue to allow about 500 million dollars in escrow accounts to lie waste.

Chief Nwagwu further revealed that the \$320 million new money package agreed upon between Nigeria and her creditors, and announced by the Finance Minister, Dr. Chu Okongwu on October 10, 1986 has not been received. However, he was hopeful that the loan money will arrive next week. Also Nigeria's inability to meet all the conditions demanded by the World Bank is holding up the disbursement of Trade Policy and Export Development (TPED) loan of US \$452 million. He said negotiations are still going on. For instance, the World Bank wants to be furnished regularly and promptly with the weekly operations of SFEM. He said this was the reason why the CBN had to disqualify some banks two weeks ago for failing to submit their weekly returns. Also, the loan is tied up with reaching an agreement with the London and Paris Clubs of Creditors. For this, he said, negotiations are at advanced stages and that a basic agreement has been reached; what remains is "dotting the i's crossing the t's."

Earlier, the CBN governor, Mr. A. Ahmed emphasised that foreign allocations amounting to \$143.7 million had been

made as at 3rd November, 1986, from the purchases of the first three bidding sessions. Out of the \$143.7 million, a total sum of \$113.7 million or 79.1 per cent was allocated to productive sectors, that is for

industrial raw materials and machinery spare parts. A sum of about \$8.3 million, or nearly 5.8 per cent was allocated to food while services items were provided with \$3.3 million or 2.3 per cent of total allocation.

## CROSS RATE (IN N)

	2nd Tier bid	Bid No. 8	First Tier
	No. 7 Nov. 6	November 13	November 13
Dollar	3.6000	3.4993	2.2492
Pound Sterling	5.1408	4.9848	3.2040
Swiss Franc	2.0912	2.0879	1.3419
French Franc	0.5353	0.5298	0.3405
Dutch Guilder	1.5477	1.5358	0.9871
Japanese Yen	0.0221	0.0218	0.0141
Deutsche Mark	1.7450	1.7332	1.1141

—Nimi Wariboko

# German-Nigerian Business

German and Nigerian business leaders agree to boost economic co-operation.

THE Federal Republic of Germany was one of the leading trading partners in Nigeria in 1985, holding the second position after the United Kingdom. During the last ten years, German imports from Nigeria have risen from 2.4 billion Deutsche Mark in 1976 to 6.3 Deutsche Mark billion in 1985. Over the last four years, Nigeria has enjoyed a favourable trade balance, showing a trade surplus of 5.1 billion Deutsche Mark in 1984 and 4.5 billion Deutsche Mark in 1985. However, there was dramatic 48 per cent decline in German imports from Nigeria in the first half of this year.

In spite of the volume of two-way trade, there was no formal body that could be the authoritative forum with the aim of fostering and developing economic and commercial activities between Nigeria and Germany.

Recently, therefore, an association was established to work towards the mutual advantage of both countries. The association was Nigerian-Germany Business Council. It was formally inaugurated on November 12 by the Minister of Industries, Lt. General A.I. Akinrinade (rtd).

Apart from fostering the interest of its members, the council's aim among others, was promoting bilateral trade and investment between Nigeria and Germany.

The minister stated Nigeria's need for capital flows and noted with delight, the vital role which German funds, capital equipment and technical know-how can play in the restructuring and diversification of the productive base of the Nigerian economy.

Chief P.C. Asiodu, the president of the council, in his keynote address noted that Nigerian export to Germany has mainly been petroleum. But the council, according to him, will strive for a profile joint venture in agro-allied, petrochemical and engineering industries that would lead to greater Nigerian imports of German machinery and technology. The council will also work for other Nigerian exports of processed and manufactured goods to complement petroleum exports.

The government of the Federal Republic of Germany was said to have approved the establishment of the council. Dr. Hans Schuessler, director-general in the Federal Ministry of Economics, Germany said the establishment of the council is a correct decision at the proper moment - a time the Nigerian government has embarked on structural adjustment programme. He appeals to the responsible Nigerian authorities to create conditions for Germans to help build Nigeria.

—Nimi Wariboko

# U-Roy out of cooler

After a prolonged cool out, Jamaican reggae star, U-Roy, had a weeklong outing in Nigeria last week.

**U-ROY**, whose real name is Asnua Beckford, 44, was a reggae super star in the international scene in the '70s. He arrived Nigeria with a group of 50-odd artists from the West Indies who are performing in Nigeria for one week and I got a chance to talk to him.

**Question:** *Lately, particularly after the death of Bob Marley who was one of your contemporaries in the music industry, you seemed to have given up on music. Why is this so?*

**Answer:** It was not a matter of give up. I just cool out, because I have a sound system — a discotheque called 'Stur-Gay Hifi' in Kingston, (West) which another Jamaican interviewee said is one of the top clubs in Jamaica — and sometimes, I pay more attention to it.

Since my contract with Virgin Records expired, I wasn't interested in any small recording company.

**Question:** *How did you start your musical career, and how have you benefited from it?*

**Answer:** As a youth, I always wanted to be something in life; not just ordinary me — someone somebody can look up to.

There was nothing more important to

come from, you don't have far to go, ya man.

**Question:** *What is your impression about Nigeria?*

**Answer:** *The people in Nigeria and Jamaica are the same, only different accent. Especially the girls — they behave the same.*

Since I come to Cameroon and Togo



U-Roy: Just cool out

in 1984, it give me real confidence that I can live in Africa and be comfortable. That is one of my vision to live in Africa.

**"In Jamaica, when I was small, the older people used to say 'take us back to Ethiopia... to Africa where we belong.' It was like a national anthem. We believe all black people are from Africa. Even if your personality is from another place, your grandmother or ancestors come from Africa."**

me than music, except Jah. True, music is a thing that I really love. I used to sing in the school choir and in concerts... but I never knew I would come to Africa, go to America and London through my music. And that is why I always give thanks and praises to Jah for he has made all these things happen.

**Question:** *Are you still the rebel you sang about in your hit song 'Natty Rebel'?*

**Answer:** You can't forget where you come from, man. When we speak of rebel in Jamaica, we speak of people in the ghetto. There you have to hustle for your bread in very desolate places, to stay alive. "The ghetto people, then suffer the most. Every country in the world have a ghetto... You can't forget where you come from; if you forget where you

Apart from Jamaica, only Africa I want to live.

In Jamaica, when I was small, the older people used to say "take us back to Ethiopia... to Africa where we belong." It was like a national anthem. We believe all black people are from Africa. Even if your personality is from another place, your grandmother or ancestors come from Africa. That is one belief which if somebody beat everything else out of my head, nobody can tell me anything else about my African heritage.

**Question:** *What are your views on apartheid?*

**Answer:** *This is one thing I pray to Jah everyday — for Jah to stop this thing. There will not be any different even if Reagan and Thatcher impose sanctions.*

until Jah stop this thing, or Jah show us how to stop this thing.

**Question:** *Do you have family?*

**Answer:** Well, I am not married, but I live with my woman. It is the same responsibility that a husband would have. As long as you and your woman have an agreement, that is the key... I might marry her though. She describes me — she has been living with me for 10 years.

I have six children from 3 different

**"Every country in the world have a ghetto... You can't forget where you come from; if you forget where you come from, you don't have far to go, ya man."**

ladies: Garvin (16), Delroy (18), Wayne (14), Everton, Dawn a girl, P. and Shanek, also a girl (6). Wayne and Everton live in America with their mother.

**Question:** *How well-off has made you?*

**Answer:** I am very comfortable, and I am satisfied that it is enough to live with and take care of my family. I am far from being a millionaire, though.

As I told you before, I have a discotheque in Kingston which keeps me going. But apart from that, I manage a football team, the 'Natural Youth', a youth team, and I am responsible for providing their outfits, refreshments and first aid after matches for almost 22 players in the team.

**Question:** *What are your other hobbies?*

**Answer:** Oh, I take care of my birds and dogs. I have 7 guard dogs — all dobermans and Alsatians. And about 12 different kinds of budgerigars.

**Question:** *What plans do you have for releasing a new album and what trend will the album take?*

**Answer:** I am working on a new album with a company called Shelly Record. And if I get a good deal with some people I will discuss with while I am here, the album will be marketed in Nigeria.

I never like to follow people. So although the style of music will change, the lyrics will be the same... I like to talk about things that are appealing to people; things to make people love each other; things to uplift people. For example, I have lyrics on my album that says "wipe out apartheid." Music is a thing I really love. There's nothing more important to me than music except Jah, True, man.

— Demola Oguntayo

## Books

### Poetic heritage

*The Heritage of African Poetry.*  
By Isidore Okpewho.  
Lanham, 1985

Students taking GCE and School Certificate in West Africa during this academic year will find Isidore Okpewho's novel *The Victims* among the set texts. In future years students may find his *Anthology of African Poetry* set. It is 'designed for all students of African poetry in schools and colleges, especially those taking O-level and equivalent examinations'. Novels may come and go from the syllabus fairly quickly, but anthologies tend to stick around. Okpewho could be boosting his income from sales to examination candidates for several years to come.

The anthology brings together one hundred poems, some from the oral tradition, some from the literary tradition. They are presented with notes on each text and, when the poet can be identified, on the author.

Okpewho's principle aims in compiling the volume were 'to introduce students of African poetry to the major topics which have occupied this attention of African poets whatever their medium of expression', and 'to give the oral traditional poetry of Africa its deserved place both in the literature curriculum and in our general understanding of what poetry tries to do'. He brings to this task years of teaching at university level, considerable research on myth and the epic in Africa, and, very important in this context, enthusiasm.

Inevitably there will be voices raised in protest at some of the poems chosen. Okpewho states his belief that his selection gives a 'representative picture not only of the major concerns of African poetry but also of the varied achievement of that poetry across generations and communities. This I suppose is an excuse — not a convincing one — for the inclusion of "What is Death Like" by the only Tanzanian poet in the collection, Erio S Nig Manyo, and of Denis Osadebay's "Young Africa's Plea", much anthologised but no less embarrassing, don't you think?

The notes, ideally as to which give a very clear idea as to which generation the 'Plea' is meant to represent, reproducing a statement that dates from 1930 and

1950: 'I would much rather have had something from Kofi Agyi-doh than the poems reproduced in Okpewho's anthology from Kwesi Brew and Atukwei Okai. But part of the interest in reading an anthology is to challenge the editor's selection.'

In presenting the entries from the oral tradition, Okpewho occasionally includes comments by other scholars and provides brief references to his sources. But there is no apparatus for systematically pointing teachers and students in the direction of further reading or supplementary material. Curious readers will find themselves creeping painfully through the small print of the 'permissions list' for enlightenment.

I would have liked to know where to find 'recordings of the poems in their original languages, indeed selection could well have been affected by the existence of available recordings. The renditions of African oral poetry into English are frequently uninspiring, rarely the work of poets, or even of experienced translators. It would be a considerable advantage if one could hear the original, even if in an unfamiliar language.

Preparing the notes on the poems must have posed many problems. There are few detailed studies of African verse; there is a variety of opinion about meaning, background, and level of achievement. Many of Okpewho's notes are authoritative; teachers, lecturers and school children will find them illuminating. But there are times when they provide (inadvertently) provocative discussion starters rather than adequate annotation.

I would challenge the following: the definition of 'slag as "particles of crude iron (which are) beaten out from the metal as it is being knocked into shape" (187); the translation which includes 'eider' and then defines it as 'beer locally brewed from cashew fruits' (200); the absence of a quotation from the protest song 'We shall not be moved' as background to 'Yes, Mandela, we shall be moved' (217); the explanation of the dash at the end of line 12 of 'The Sweet Brew at Chitakale' ('I don't think it indicates that the poet cannot complete his observation because of the sudden departure of the bus', rather than they are meant to 'read in' the letting fall of the calabash, 200); the gloss on 'deshabille' which defines the word as 'house-fitting dress,

carelessly worn' (229); and the suggestion that the streamside grass on which his river bird perches was the 'reed in the tide' which gave J P Clark the title for his collection of poetry (229).

That read had, I think, pushed its roots down into the mud, and moved, sensitively and distinctly in the tides, and currents and waves. Looking down into the water of life. I can see it swaying this way and that, a more suitable image for a poet than the 'hook' on which the river bird sits 'all day long'.

James Gibbs

### Where's the action?

*The Lights on the Hill,*  
By Garth St Omer,  
Heinemann, £3.50

"He was a spectator, always on the fringe, from childhood, of the groups he mixed with. In the country they called him 'ti heche' and in the town, when they had wished to hurt, 'white nigger'. He was, could only have been, a spectator, supported by no weight of tradition or lineage." Thus is Stephenson, the central character in this short novel which was first published in 1968, described.

However sympathetic one might be to the notion that a novel doesn't have to be about anything, it is certainly the case that where the central character is as passive as Stephenson, the absence of any action makes for tedious reading. A young man grows up on a small island in the West Indies; he gets a job as a teacher; he wins a scholarship to the university.

In the process of all this he meets, makes love to, and abandons a series of women. The women themselves remain shadowy figures differentiated from each other merely by their Christian names: Thea, Laura, Rosa, Moira. They may as well be figments of Stephenson's imagination for all it matters. Meanwhile, we are told nothing about the island and very little about Stephenson himself since the possibility of his growth through experience is ruled out by his very passivity. The novel is static.

Feminists will take objection, and rightly so, to his portrayal of women, who are merely vessels for the hero's sexual frustrations: "Rosa was in her room in bed. At first she pretended to resist. Then

she opened her legs and clasped him to her. He left the marks of his shoes all over the white sheet."

All in all this is a depressing, inconsequential, irrelevant novel. One wonders why Heinemann bothered to reprint it.

Adevale Maja-Pearce

### Caribbean writers Against the clock

As part of Caribbean Focus '86, a three-day conference on Caribbean writing was recently held at the Commonwealth Institute in London, undoubtedly the highlight of a year devoted to art and culture from the Caribbean. Certainly it was the most august gathering of Caribbean novelists, poets and playwrights to be assembled under one roof. To say simply that it was about Caribbean writing is an understatement.

As with most conferences, particularly close attention was given to the clock, resulting in the endless passage of small slips of paper to speakers rather rudely being informed that they were intruding on someone else's time. This produced one of the more memorable statements of the entire conference by James Berry, convener of a workshop on Black British writing which, inevitably, began late. Berry's remark that, since it was imperative that they conclude on time, this was the perfect justification for person to person exchanges, rather than immerse themselves into the hurlyburly of the organiser's scheduling.

John Figueroa, the Jamaican poet and academic, seemed to have the most reasonable response to the limitations of the clock, noting with something less than mild indignation that since he had come so far to deliver a lecture, the courtesy was due him to be allowed to finish, particularly as he wasn't being paid to do so. And indeed, finish he did.

One thing the conference was not about, in any case, was the type of disagreements which writers come up against in regard to the meaning of what they write in relation to those for whom their work is intended. Samuel Selvon, the author of the *Lonely Londoners*, seemed to provide the opening for debate by his reference to the effect that the present generation of younger Caribbean writers expressed a level of bitterness unknown to his own generation. The fact that no such debate ensued might well



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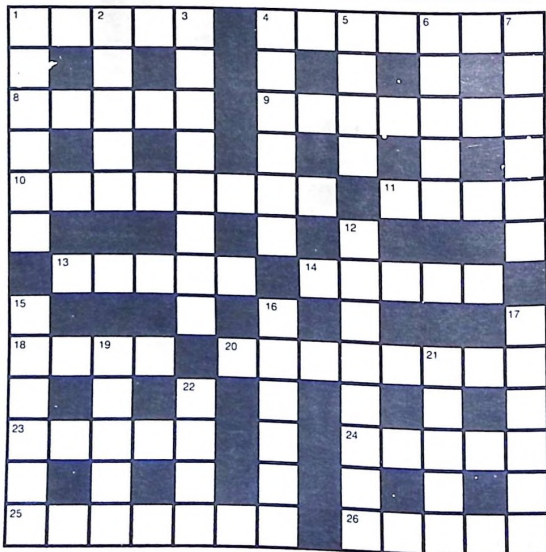
## African Concord Crossword Puzzle

**DOWN**

1. Correct (6)
2. African tribe (5)
3. New President of Mozambique (8)
4. President of Botswana (6)
5. Vehicle of war (4)
6. Roll of tobacco-leaf (6)
7. Move in an ungainly way (5)
12. President of Ghana (8)
15. President of OPEC (6)
16. Capital of Central African Republic (6)
17. Lower in rank (6)
19. Duplicate (5)
21. A colour (5)
22. W African tree (4)

**ACROSS**

1. Souvenir (5)
4. Currency of Mozambique (7)
8. Mushrooms (5)
9. W African country (7)
10. Insure again (8)
11. Set of three (4)
13. Musical instrument (5)
14. Town in Tanzania (5)
18. Little (4)
20. Liable to err (8)
23. Underground railway (5)
24. Opposition leader in Zimbabwe (5)
25. Town in Mozambique (7)
26. Quick appreciation (5)



## Egypt seeks home revenge

Nigeria's Flying Eagles will face a vengeful Egyptian side on Friday.

**E**GYPT, acknowledged as the cradle of African football, enjoyed tremendous successes at the club level in the past half a decade. Two clubsides, Zamalek and El-Ahly National are already in the finals of the two continental clubs championships. But the national teams still continue to experience fluctuating fortunes.

The national team, after 25 years in the limbo, bounced back to win the Nations Cup in Cairo last year. But the Under 21 team removed the icing from the cake a fortnight ago when they crumbled miserably, 4-0 in Lagos. Egypt had experienced a similar heavy defeat nine years ago in Lagos, but the significance of last match was that Egypt has never presented such a spineless squad before.

The Egyptians, overwhelmed by the Flying Eagles started casting doubts on the ages of the Nigerians. Abdelhamid Badawi who led the delegation remarked that the Flying Eagles were the best team to have come from Nigeria. But he chipped in: "They are definitely over 20 years."

Like the national team, Egypt under 21 squad is built around galaxy of stars from clubs whose fame cut through the continent. Ahly National, who are after an unprecedented three consecutive wins in the African Winners, have four players in the Under 21 team. Another formidable Cairo team, Zamalek and Arab Contractors account for three players each.

But the team lacked the clan and glamour these clubs are noted for. Team Manager, Omar Khataab admitted the Nigerian technical superiority of the Nigerian team. Except the Inside-Left, Nassr El-fat who made some inspiring solo fat who made some inspiring solo fat moves, and occasionally, combined well with Rasab Ahmed and Haimayola Ahmed, the Egyptians did not play to the form that saw them beat Ethiopia 4-0 in Cairo.

This week-end, Egypt attempts the almost impossible task of redeeming four goals. The troubled team, which appeared disconsolate as the goals started sailing in, will need to muster all started sailing in, will need to muster all forms of confidence and courage to outwit the better blended Nigerian team.

But they draw consolations in the fact that no Nigerian team has escaped in Cairo with less than two goals defeat

since Rangers' 1-3 loss to Mehalia Al-Kobra in 1975. Egypt were in 1977 almost wiping off a 4-0 deficit when they took a 3-0 lead before Nigeria's



Eagles: To face a vengeful Egyptian team?—

Godwin Uwelimo converted a spot kick.

Egyptian teams draw strength at the huge Nasser Stadium where support is best organised in the continent. But the trade mark of African football had been the ability to have tremendous recovery and wipe off heavy away goals. Examples could be gleaned from some past matches. The Nigerian Flying Eagles last year replied the Cameroon Lioncuccu's 3-0 win in Yaounde with 5-1 massacre in Lagos.

Also, in December 1980, the Flying Eagles did not expect unpleasant surprise in Tunisia after their 4-0 win in Lagos.

But under the chilly weather of the town of Sousse, Nigeria miserably lost 1-4. Team coach, Jelissavie Tiko remarked then that if a team has the chance of winning at home, it should do it well.

In another surprise result, Tonnerre Kalara of Cameroon nullified a 4-0 defeat by ICC 2 years ago. Such has been the characteristic of African football. El-Alfi, one of the Egyptian officials has already promised a 5-0 reprisal in Cairo. A major instrument, apart from the harsh weather, could be the anticipated 100,000 Cairo crowd which easily unsettles opposing teams.

North African teams have never failed to exploit the cold weather in the region against teams from the tropics. Enugu Rangers were victims in 1976 when they met Mouloudia Chullia in Algiers. In the

final, Guinea's Hafifa had a bright start in Conakry. But their 3-0 win was easily nullified by the Algerians.

Egypt, which has only qualified once for the World Youths Football finals, holds the aces. Assembled last January, the team had parts of its training in Europe. The team was fresh from a training tour of West Germany when they beat Ethiopia 4-0 last month and

prompting last year's African zone semi finalists to withdraw.

— Kunle Solaja

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## Soccer:

## 'We lack finesse.'

Jackson Ekwugum examines a number of factors militating against soccer in Nigeria.

THE lucrative business which football in Nigeria has turned stands at variance with the sharp decline in the standard of the game. No where was this deficiency more glaring than in the recently concluded Challenge Cup series.

Of the four teams that reached the semi-final, three of them — Abiola Babes, Leventis and Iwuanvawu Nationale — are believed to represent the best in Nigeria's football. Besides being funded by powerful financial private organisations, the three teams have a good crop of talents in their folds. Despite these, the finals were all feet and no feat. There was a total painful absence of finesse, skilful displays and the sweet, dreamy mind uplifting approach to the game that makes football the world's number one sport.

The final which featured Leventis and Abiola — first and runners up in the premier league respectively — looked anything but a final. It was devoid of the terrific rebounds, powerful drives, nail biting misses, the spectacular saves and the magical moments that add to the beauty and excitement of the game of football.

The football purist's agony was compounded when the better side lost. Perhaps that Abiola Babes lost in that memorable final in which they dominated for most of the 90 minutes encounter underscores the lack of depth in our game. Goals are oftentimes not the result of previously well rehearsed and co-ordinated build-ups but of chaotic goal mouth scrambles. Just like in the National League, the Challenge Cup was spectacle of unfancy amateur kickabouts; the players just clear the ball off their dangerous zones and expect more luck to put in the goals for them. There is no pattern, no flair, no depth, no uniformity. The fans who throng the stadium as early as 11 a.m. each time there is a big match do not get value for their money — and time.

Our players and coaches do not seem to realise that the days of the long expectant lobs are over in football. It explains why on the international scene we have remained good, hardy triers. We may win a championship or two but we still lack the finesse, the glamour and the tactical approach which are the trademarks of champions.

The astute football fan in Nigeria will tell you the only national team we have had was the 1976 squad that narrowly missed the 1978 World cup in Argentina,

and, sadly, through an own goal. That was a national team in every sense of the word, complete — and formidable — in every department of the game. Even the 1980 cup of Nations winning team cannot be compared to that squad.

Many sports enthusiasts interviewed cited poor coaching, selfishness of players and lack of facilities as reasons for the declining standard. Mitchell Obi the *Guardian's* sports editor, told *African Concord* that "there is a structural problem which must first be identified, corrected and even perfected". Mr. Obi cites the lack of facilities such as good pitches, training equipment and "well equipped gyms as part of this structural deficiency.

The issue of good playing grounds has been raised many times by Segun Odegbami, one of the stars that lit the sky of Nigeria's football in the 70s and early 80s. In his column in the August/September issue of *Complete Football*, the veteran footballer argued that the essence of a good pitch "lies with its positive contribution to executing good control, fine runs and previously planned and rehearsed orchestrated movements". Except the lushy Liberty Stadium, the Nnamdi Azikiwe Stadium, and the National Stadium on its good day, other football pitches in the country's stadia are only fit for horse riding. "A player's concentration", Odegbami reasons "should

be on what to do with the ball when it comes to him, not how to put it under control".

The non-availability of staminal-building machines, and such like equipment are other handicaps to the growth of soccer in Nigeria. The consensus is that our coaches lack the intellectual capacities to cope with the sophistication and complexities in modern day soccer. It is believed that it is why they have been unable to impart any new knowledge into their teams. The irony today is that the game pays more now that its standard is falling.

Some coaches earn as much as N25,000.00 yearly, a figure which their colleagues in the past couldn't dream of earning for five years. Some others are winning fantastic offers ranging from N30,000 to N75,000. Even when master footballers like Odegbami could only boast of N6,000 after ten years of dedicated service to the IICC, today's players despite their mediocrity are offered cars as incentives to join new clubs. Some of them are earning as much as N30,000 per annum. Consequently the country's football seem to be lying at the middle road between amateurism and professionalism.

The underlying belief is that given the appropriate material incentives, players will perform better. That is why philanthropic sports lovers promise players various categories of gifts ranging from cash to cars or houses as incentives. The competition among the top clubs to sign the few players who have exhibited flashes of brilliance has caused some players to be overpriced. Not many people for instance understood IICC's rationale to lure Samson Ozogula to its fold in the 1985 season with a peugeot 505 car. Though in devastating form when the offer was made, Ozogula was never worth that much. Mr. Mitchell Obi says the overpricing of players arose from the attitude of our coaches "who do not want to do the job with an eye for the future of the game. They are more concerned with winning at the moment, instead of giving depth to their game, they shop for players who have shown some traces of brilliance."

But there is a public yearn for improvement in our football. Majority of the sports enthusiasts interviewed say professionalism will bring out best in Nigeria's soccer. For Mr. Obi, with professionalism, a club will think of having its own pitch, training facilities and a gym equipped with the latest technology.

Our coaches definitely need a reorientation. Presently, they are just feeding fat on their employers money without producing positive results. They need more training and education to appreciate that there is a whole world of technology in present-day football. Training does not just consist of making players run around the pitch.



Bayo Lawal, Sports Minister

# Rufai's likely return.

A Trojan at the goal post, Peter Rufai, now in Benin Republic, may lace his boots once more for a Nigerian club.

**E**STABLISHED as a good successor to Okala after his retirement few years ago was Peter Rufai—one of the burgeoning goalkeepers in the continent. A fine distributor of the ball, Rufai is a creative goalkeeper whose sharp reflexes and long reach enable him make difficult saves.

His major attribute lies in the ability to stop penalty kicks. In 1981 when he had his first international experience with Stores during the African Winners Cup, Rufai was instrumental to the club's berth to the final. He made spectacular penalty kick saves against A.S. Bengazi in Tripoli, Zimbabwe's CAPS United in Lagos and Union Sportive de Douala in Yaounde.

But the most spectacular of his penalty kick saves were in 1983 at Rabat, Morocco. Rufai saved two penalty kicks to give Nigeria a 5-1 win in the last qualifying match for the 1984 African Nations Cup finals. It was the match in Rabat that gave Rufai international recognition.

But in the past two years, Rufai escaped the glare of international attention. First, he moved from Stationery Stores of Lagos to a relatively unknown Femo Scorpion of Eruwa. Then another plunge into obscurity: he crossed the border to play in an unenthusiastic soccer nation of Benin.

His Beninois clubside, Dragon L'Oueme, formed as an amalgam of three clubs of Etoile, Asvo and PTT, had captured the Coupe du Benin, the equivalent of the Nigerian Challenge Cup. With the season in Benin ending this month, Dragons, parading four other Nigerians, are five points ahead the two other league title contenders, Les Requins and Borgou. Rufai has kept a clean slate so far in the season. He has been over-strengthened in the season as the reserve goalkeeper. Gomaria Jean-Louis had been laid up due to injury.

The erstwhile Green Eagles first choice goalkeeper was at the National Stadium to watch the quarter final encounter between

Nigeria and Egypt. He left the stadium with high impression of the standard of Nigerian football. "The defence fascinates me most." He argued that if the defence had blundered, especially in the opening minutes when the Egyptians were daring, the scoreline might have not been as comfortable. The frequent sorties kept the Egyptians at bay.

It still beats the imagination of soccer pundits why Rufai chose to continue his career in Benin. He admitted that the standard of play is lower in the country of less than five million people. Rufai's movement was based, not mainly on monetary pawns, but to expose his talents in the tiny country. He explained that there are international tournaments in Benin at about four or five months intervals.

The latest was the Marlboro Tournament

which involved Dragon L'Oueme, ASSEC of Cote D'Ivoire, Central African Renaissance Aiglon (CARA) of Congo Brazzaville and Agaza of Togo. It ended on November 2, with hosts, Dragon, emerging winners.

Because of these tournaments, Rufai contended that he was not competition starved. "It could have been the same if I had gone to Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana or Cameroon". His clubside, Dragon, may not easily be the best in the continent, but they made a surprise berth into the final of the African Winners Cup in 1983.

The recruitment of five Nigerians at the



Rufai

start of the season was to improve on their 1983 continental achievement. With the services of former Ghana's Chief coach, Fred Osei of former Ghana's Chief players—Abedi Osamuduru, and Black Stars players—Abdi Pele, Papa Arko, Ben Keyede, Abdul Aziz and Georges Gormachi, Dragon got to the final, only to lose to hat trick chasers, El-Ahly National of Egypt.

Rufai's contract with Dragons ends this month. But the robust goalkeeper is not regretting his stay in Benin. But tongues are wagging that he may sign for the Owerri based Iwunyawu Nationale, a probable contestant in the WAFU Cup. He recently said that coming back home, although has been his other programme, adversely affect his other programmes.

Once aspiring to be Africa's number one goalkeeper, Rufai's international career had been intermittent. Starting as a reserve goalkeeper to Best Ogedegbe in the final World Cup qualifying match against Italy July 1981, Rufai was a regular player until July last year when another World Cup hope was dashed.

He contended that he is not exposed enough for a professional career in Europe. In fact, of the great goalkeepers the continent has produced, Cameroon's Antoine Bell, playing for Olympic of Marseille in France and Thomas N'kono who defends the goal post for Spain's Espanola Barcelona, are

the only ones who have turned professional in Europe.

Rufai easily concedes the top rank to Thomas N'kono. "He is a master in his world of goalkeeping", he declared. But Rufai asserted that he has not reached his peak yet. His last outing for the national team, and incidentally his most disappointing match was last July at the El-Menzia Stadium in Tunis. Rufai kept a clean slate in Lagos, Nigeria managed a lone goal win.

Back in Tunis, the North Africans nullified the goal in 30 minutes. Peter Rufai could not understand what happened on the fateful night of July 20. The attack was uncoordinated. The defence was disorganised. He was, no doubt, badly protected by the footed defenders. Jeridi Bassam had the clay-diy, hitting the back of the net twice, in the eighth and 29th minutes. Rufai, clad in his famous yellow shirt and black trousers, persistently called on defenders for cover.

Defenders in his team have often left him unprotected—the result of the unalloyed confidence they have in him. But on some occasions like the Tunisian match and on another one involving Stores, his teams paid dearly.

In the final of the 1981 African Winners Cup against Union Sportive Douala of Cameroon, Rufai in goal for Stores collapsed under pressure. He had come out the match saved a penalty kick to stalemate scores he 0-0.

Back makers easily tipped Stores for the cup in the return match. But the unexpected happened. Ekoule Ekoule struck twice within five minutes to put the visitors up with two goals. Rufai was carried off the pitch. With Rufai out, the laxity in the defence was apparent as every one gave the untested reserve goalkeeper a good protection.

As Rufai recollects the match against Tunisia was the most disappointing the match against Egypt in Abidjan remains evergreen in his mind. In the tension-soaked evergreen 14th Nations Cup finals, Suleyman Mohammed and Taher Abou Zeid put up North Africans up mid-way in the first half. Stephen Keshi pulled a goal back through the controversial penalty kick just before half time.

At half time, the whole blame fell on Stephen Keshi and Peter Rufai. "Too many would listen to our explanation. The goal was so much that Keshi burst into tears." It was the attributes of good goalkeepers. Rufai needed his courage to withstand a waxy shorts in the second half. He was able to draw level in the 74th minute. The penalty shoot-out. Here, Rufai was more again in the area of goal-keeping. He excelled in the goal. He parried Saleh Alhasan's shot over the bar and held Ibrahim's specialist grounder.

Although Peter Rufai is held in high esteem by soccer analysts in this country, most still contend that he is not the best to emerge out of the country. He takes his position behind others before him.

—Kunle Solaja



Dele Oke

**T**OR Dele Oke the erudite Editor, Current Affairs, NTA, Jos, being in broadcast journalism was purely accidental. Although during his undergraduate days at the Bayero University, Kano, he was Editor-in-Chief of two campus publications, the MEETA magazine and the SPECTRUM, he never say this as a pointer to his current vocation.

His discipline was English and his love was drama. He had written, produced and staged two plays as a student in the university. So when the time came to look for work, he applied to the drama unit of the NTA. But at the interview, according to him, the GM of NTA, Jos decided on the basis of his past output and employed him to the News and Current Affairs Division.

Dele sees his job as highly demanding because he has to create topic for discussion, go into research, meet people and like a connoisseur, choose his guests. "This unit is the intellectual unit of the television station". He says "people see you as very well informed and infact you are because you're bound to do a lot of research".

His productions over the years include LEGAL ANGLE, NIGERIA TODAY, TALKING POINT and the political programme: FACE THE PRESS. His most successful production, he says was the long running documentary: ASSIGNMENT.

He thinks journalists in Nigeria are relatively freer than anywhere in the developing world and that although the Buhari's era marked a turning point in the history of journalism, journalists nonetheless "had a fairer deal". He is



Akeem Olajuwon

annoyed by behaviour of journalists in Nigeria today. "Some journalists mortgage their conscience for pittance and think nothing of it. That is why people outside the profession see us as never-do-wells.

Twenty-nine year old Dele, who also holds a master's degree in International Relations and Strategic Studies says of himself: "I am a moralist, not an ideologue". And he feels that the quality of human beings operating our various system must be transformed if any system we operate must work.

**W**ITH Akeem still on top out there, in the USA, we might all as well have a long snooze and sweet dreams — of dollars (of course), and at SFEM rates too. Because the big-league Nigerian basketballer is making even bigger leaps in pay cheques and laurels. Just into his 3rd year of playing professional basketball in the States, Jim Olson sports editor of Voice of America has said of him, "I can't see anyone out there who can challenge him. Not Abdul Kareem Jabar... Not Moses Malone.. nobody." Akeem Olajuwon took his team, the Houston Rockets into the finals of the National Basketball League in the last season just ended, narrowly losing to the Boston Celtics. Still, Olson is so impressed, he has declared Olajuwon, "the world's number one basketball player today."



Slinger Fransisco a.k.a. a Might Sparrow

**E**NTER the Mighty Sparrow — only 1.75 metres tall. That made somebody moan: "I can't see anything mighty about him." Perhaps that fellow doesn't know him well enough. When the Sparrow, whose real name is Slinger Fransisco 51, takes to the stage, he literally tears the whole house down.

Now it's okay for him to do that, but 30 years ago when he first started, his late father nearly didn't allow him to continue. He was born in Grenada but his family moved to Trinidad when he was just 1. There, nearly everybody could dance, sing, act or play music. So, he grew up wanting to be a musician. But when he told his father, he looked at him and said: "your voice sounds good, and you're not bad looking... but No, you're not going to be a musician. You're going to be a doctor." But the more pressure he put on, the more determined Slinger became, until at 20 when he could make his own decision, he became a full-time musician.

'Jean and Dinah' was his first hit song in 1956. Then hits like 'Mr. Walker, 'Village Ram', 'Man in the Queen's Bedroom', 'Coke (cocaine) is not it 'I'm Afraid of the AIDS,' and 'Invade South Africa', have made him burst many charts.

He is married to Margaret and they have children, Karen, Michelle, Tony, Leon, Gina, Sergio and Alicia.

— Ademola Oguntayo  
— Dimeji Poopola

**ON THE RECORD**

**F**UNMI Adams, senior producer, Voice of Nigeria on her record 'Kuzo Kuji Nijeriya': "It will soon be released, after being delayed for some time due to unforeseen circumstances."

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