

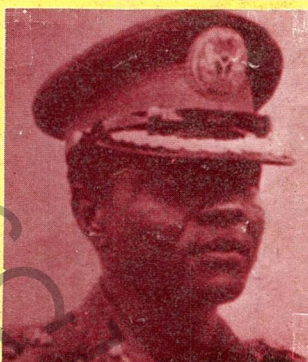
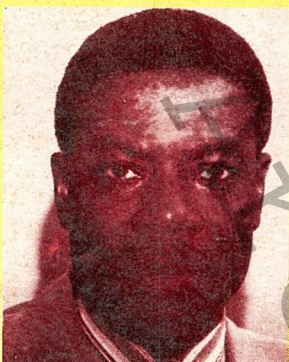
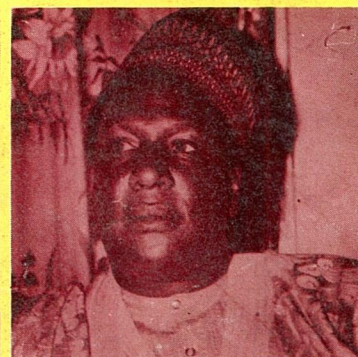
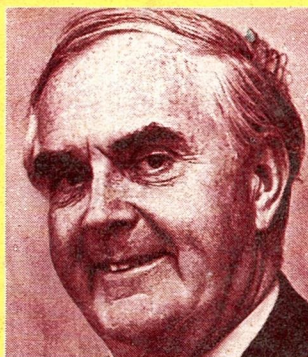
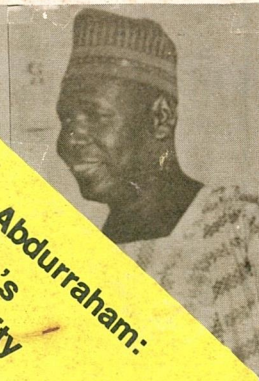
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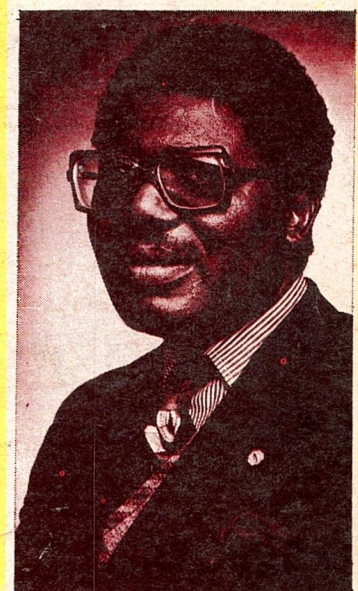
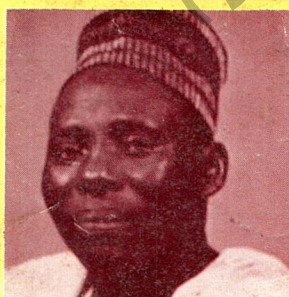
Vol.1 No.1

Shugaba Abdurrahman:
'Man's
Inhumanity
to Man'



COMPANIES IN NIGERIA:

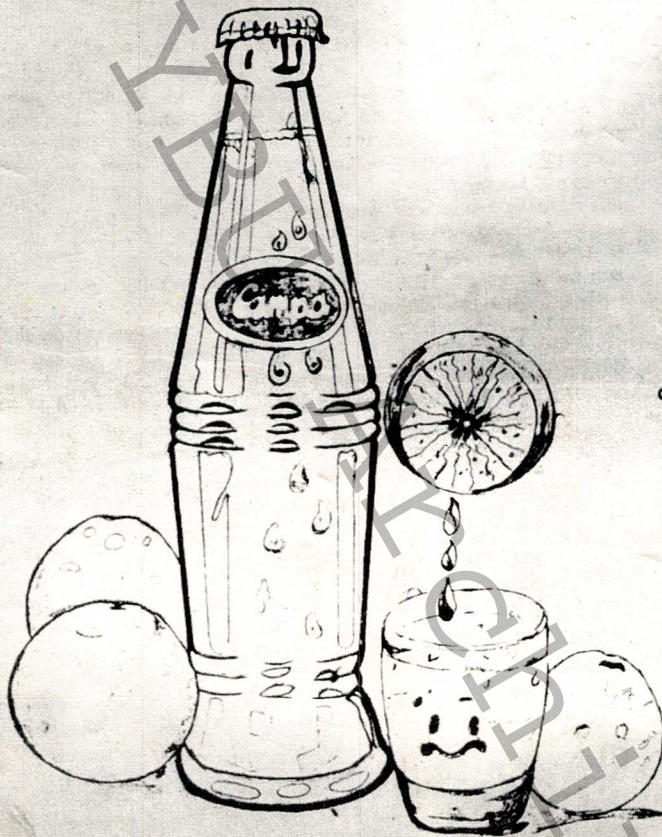
Who Owns What?



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Message From the Publisher

The ANALYST is being born at a critical stage in the development of this country. After 26 years of independence during which the country recorded little progress economically and still less socially and politically, Nigeria is searching for a new social, economic and political order which will move us forward and stand the test of time.

It is not by accident that *The ANALYST* is being born at such a time. We, its publishers, do not intend to stand by the sidelines and watch the same old, reactionary forces that misshaped our past to monopolise the debate and the search, and thereby jeopardise our future.

On the contrary we intend to be in the thick of the debate and the search. We intend to expose the real class origins and interests of all activities in Nigeria. We intend to help sift progressive ideas from reactionary ones. We intend to help remove all the fancy attire in which the old bankrupt ideas will be clothed, and show them up in all their naked ugliness. Likewise, we shall endeavour to give those who have anything truly new, fresh and progressive, the opportunity to air their views, within the limit imposed by space.

Our horizon will by no means be limited to the Nigerian scene. It will extend to all nooks and corners of Africa and the rest of the world, but especially where the struggle between imperialism and the people is sharpest. This means that much of our coverage of Africa will be taken up by the struggles in Southern Africa, specifically in South Africa, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. However, this concern with Southern African will not be at the expense of other people of our continent whom imperialism is so desperately trying to suppress; ready examples being Chad, just next door to us, and Sudan, Libya and Uganda, not all that far away from our borders too.

As in the case of Nigeria, so also in other parts of the world we are partisan on the side of the forces fighting for independence, freedom and social progress, whose cause we shall promote and whose struggle and daily sacrifice we shall publicise. On the other hand, we are partisan against apartheid, zionism and all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man. These we shall expose and condemn.

We shall, outside Africa, take special interest in the struggles of the peoples of the Caribbean, Central and South America against centuries of repression and exploitation. We shall not ignore the struggles of the black people and other oppressed people of North America and Western Europe. We shall highlight the struggles of the Palestinians, and other Middle Eastern peoples against imperialism, zionism and local reactionaries. We shall cover the conditions and aspirations of all the oppressed and exploited of the world.

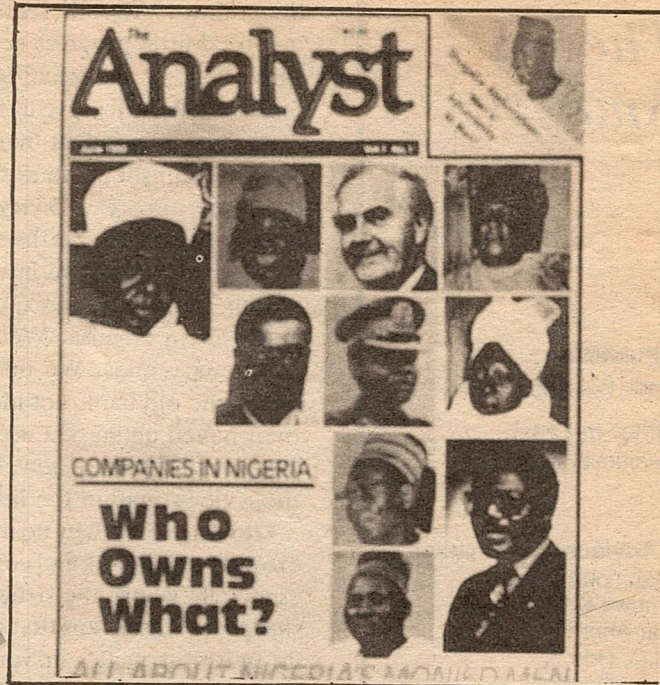
There are many journals and magazines which represent the interest of the reactionary ruling class in Nigeria. They do so under various guises. New ones are coming into the market every day. But there are very few journals which defend and promote the interests of the workers, peasants, artisans, petty producers and traders, and the revolutionary and progressive intellectuals and professionals. *The ANALYST* will complement and further develop the roles of this proletarian media by being more analytical, more democratic, more internationalist, and simple in style and use of language. It will particularly investigate and report on events, realities, and particularly conditions of life of the oppressed classes and the class struggle for a new social order. It will start publication in English but will eventually be joined by others to be published in Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba and other Nigerian languages as well.

The working masses will speak for themselves in their own language through *The ANALYST*.

ABDULKADIR BALARABE MUSA

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Who Owns What?5

That there are few rich people standing like islands in an ocean of poverty in their midst. Nigerians have always know. How really wealthy these Nigerians are, what their business interests and connections are, what their external links are how much political clout they can muster. etc?

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Recently, Burkina Faso's leader spoke at length to international journalists in Ouagadougou, about his success and problems since he came to power about three years ago.

Cover Pictures

Left: ALHAJI SHEHU MALAMI a Sokoto prince, Chairman, Union Bank and director of several companies. **First row L-R: CHIEF MOSHOOD K. ABIOLA** — Chairman ITT Nigeria Ltd., publisher, shipping czar, has landed property around the country. **MR. P. D. TUEART** — Director of Guinness (Nigeria) Ltd., and Joint Managing Director of U.A.C. International Ltd., and **ALHAJI BAMANGA TUKUR** — Former Chief Executive of Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA), ex-Governor of Gongola State, and part owner of Africa Ocean Lines. **Second row L-R: MR. A. C. I. MBANEFO** — a chartered accountant and senior partner in Akintola Williams and Co. (a firm of chartered accountants), and MD of AW Consultant Ltd. and has been a director of U.A.C. since 1978. **GENERAL YAR'ADUA (Rtd.)** — former No. 2 man in the Obsanjo regime, now a wealthy man, part owner of Africa Ocean Lines, (a shipping line), part owner of Habib Bank and a farmer. **ALHAJI SHEHU IDRIS** — Emir of Zaria since 1975, a director of many companies since October, 1980 and a director of U.A.C. **Third row: ALHAJI IBRAHIM DASUKI** — a Sokoto chieftain, a leading figure in the Islamic Council of Nigeria, a director of many companies and part owner of the fast growing Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI). **Last row: ALHAJI LIMAN CIROMA** — Former Secretary to the Federal Government, now a wealthy businessman with directorship of many companies. Also a chairman of U.T.C. and a director of U.A.C. **Right: MR. E. A. O. SHONEKAN** — a lawyer, now chairman and MD of U.A.C. since 1980, and a director of other companies.

NIGERIA: THE TRUTHS AND THE WAY OUT

TWO truths can be told about our country Nigeria. The first is that she is rich, in terms both of the availability of human and natural resources. The second is that only a very, very tiny per cent of Nigeria's over 90 million people, and foreign business interests, actually have real access to, and appropriate these riches. This last is central to much that happens, or doesn't happen, in this country. For, one of the most fundamental and enduring truths about any human society is that politics is based on economics. Which is to say that those who control a country's economy also control its politics and much else.

In this basic truth lies the key to the understanding of any society. And it is precisely why *The Analyst*, in this maiden issue, addresses the basic question of ownership in Nigeria. We in *The Analyst* believe that it is impossible, to analyse our society, to understand its problems and suggest lasting solutions, or even to merely make sense of the on-rushing events in the country today without first asking, and answering, the question of who owns and/or who controls what in Nigeria. In this maiden issue we are tackling the issue of the ownership of the big companies. In other issues we shall tackle other areas.

And we believe too that given the centrality of this ownership question, it ought, rightly, to be the starting point of the on-going struggles and political debate about our future. For, to ask this basic question is also to ask, about the configuration of forces in our society, about who really benefits or suffers from what, and about who is responsible for what?

We live in times full of crises. Of havoc being wrecked on the ecology by serious erosion in the forests and the galloping advance of the desert and animal diseases in the sahel and savannah — all posing direct threats to the lives and livelihood of millions of Nigerians. Of a battered and ravaged economy that wobbles, forcing even members of the middle classes back into the category of those struggling not for a decent living but merely to survive. Of a crushing but dubious external debt of about ₦20.00 billion, whose genuineness is in doubt, but whose servicing and repayment now mean increasing suffering and misery for most Nigerians. Of widespread official corruption that worsens our already critical situation. Of rising crime wave and the disintegration of social and moral values that have engendered widespread fear and cynism. Of political confusion and instability that has seriously slowed our progress, and in the form of religious and ethnic manipulation, threatens our unity, as a nation.

Yet, when one looks around today, one finds that in sharp contrast to the mass poverty and sufferings occasioned by these crises, a tiny minority of rich and powerful Nigerians and the foreign multi-nationals, have benefitted, and have been benefitting, immensely from the crises. At no other time than in these crisis-ridden years has there been as much concentration of wealth in a few hands. And at no other time than in the past few years have the profit margins of the subsidiaries of multinationals been so high, even as they retrench more and more workers and their turnover declines.

We are witnesses to how retired Generals come by sudden riches. We have seen and heard of a single businessman give ₦10

million at a go at an appeal fund launching, another build a private house that costs over ₦15 million, and yet another pay cash down for a jet that costs about ₦10 million, not to talk of those who buy hotels and estates in Europe and America that cost tens of millions of pounds and dollars.

As for the multinationals, the UAC's case provides a good example. In the thick of the economic crisis UAC's wages bill declined from ₦108.7 million in 1982 to ₦74.5 million in 1985, but its after-tax profits rose from ₦26.55 million in 1982 to a whooping ₦38.61 million in 1982.

This development is best described by the popular sayings, among workers, in Nigeria, that "**Monkey de work, Baboon de chop**", and its more recent and much sharper version, in Hausa "**Muna yi Suna ci!**" meaning, literary, "we are producing, they are eating!"

In order to hide the harsh truth of "**Muna yi, Suna ci!**" the very people who have plundered this country and amassed wealth beyond dreams in Nigeria and foreign countries, are again whipping up religious and ethnic emotions to set the common people at each other's throats, as they did exactly twenty years ago in 1965-66 and almost wrecked our country. They are doing this to cover up their crimes which they commit against God and man, and which they shamelessly exhibit in the opulence of the cars, palaces, planes and shops which they own.

Related to all this is another development: ownership of the means of production, of land in particular, and of such other important sectors as the media and the shipping and transport and food businesses, is becoming more and more concentrated in a few hands. Nigeria's two most influential newspaper stables for instance, are now owned by two people, who also have substantial interests in other sectors.

The Analyst believes that these developments are ominous, especially for the masses and working people of Nigeria. As the struggle and debate over our future continue, *The Analyst* believes that the question of private ownership of property in Nigeria and its implications, needs to be made central on the public agenda. This is a task that the workers, peasants and the progressive forces in the country must now set themselves. For, clearly, private ownership of property and the capitalist system which operates on it, are the root causes of the crises, suffering and virtual collapse of our country.

The Analyst believes that the survival of the people of Nigeria and the continued unity and independence of the country requires that the type of economy we have now built on private ownership and the private accumulation of wealth has to go. We have to dismantle it as it is leading to our destruction. In its place we have to build a system of collective ownership of the wealth of the country and of collective control of its future by all its people. *The Analyst* believes that the peasants, workers, petty traders, artisans, professionals and intellectuals of Nigeria have no real alternative, if they want to continue to survive, but to wake up and organise and transform Nigerian into a strong, united and independent socialist country, in which our wealth and destiny are firmly in the hands of all our people.

The Analyst

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June 1986

Vol. 1 No. 1

Shugaba Abdurrahman:
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COMPANIES IN NIGERIA:

Who Owns What?



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WHO OWNS WHAT?

The Multinationals and Nigerian Subsidiaries

LOVED and hated, praised and criticised in the same measure, feared at the same time as they are seen as unavoidable, the big combines, or the multinationals as they are now better known, have achieved a notoriety matched only by their dominance of especially the world capitalist economy.

They are everywhere and into everything — and becoming wealthier and more powerful by the day. Here, exciting passion and coming under fire, there welcome and given a free hand, and in most other places tolerated as a necessary evil, these multinationals have become a dominant factor in Third World politics and economy.

Allying with the dominant classes, and putting, or helping to put, paid to the tenure of any government that poses a threat, these multinationals exert — sometimes directly but more often through their subsidiaries — a tremendous control over affairs in many a Third World country. Through this control, the multinationals determine and shape the lives of hundreds of millions of people.

In Nigeria, this control is exercised through subsidiaries, which are fairly well known and whose dominance over the Nigerian economy is now becoming more widely known.

The United Africa Company (UAC), Shell, John Holt, Dunlop, Glaxo, ITT and many other subsidiaries of multinationals operating in Nigeria, are familiar names.

But just who own these multinationals themselves? And what is the specific nature of this control that these multinational exercise over their subsidiaries in Nigeria, and over our lives?

It is commonly thought that this control is exercised primarily through bribery and kickbacks. And stories abound of millions of naira or dollars or pounds sterling exchanging hands between representatives of multinationals or their Nigerian subsidiaries and top government officials.

But important and real as such

corrupt practices are, and true as some of the stories are, this is far from being the primary way in which the multinationals are able to control and direct the operations of their Nigerian subsidiaries even when their (multinationals) shareholding is only 40 per cent of less.

This control, well-organised and well-entrenched, is exercised primarily through the multinationals' control of the shareholders, directors and managers, and other Nigerians who they hire services, land, offices, vehicles or building from and give dealership and contracts to.

The major interest of these Nigerian shareholders, director, managers, landlords, transporters, dealers, lawyers, accountants and contractors, is to make as much money as possible, and keep most of this abroad, in the countries of these multinationals. Through their control over these people, these multinationals control those who run the governments of Nigeria, from the highest councils to the lowest functionaries.

Other means through which these multinationals control their Nigerian subsidiaries is through the integration of the organisational and financial structure of these subsidiaries into their world-wide operations, and through their control of machinery, spare parts, raw materials, patents and technology, and the training and orientation of their Nigerian staff.

In all these ways the multinationals in Nigeria ensure that even these enterprises, like NNPC, NITEL, NEPA, and others, which are owned by Nigerian governments, and are intended to serve Nigerian interest, actually serve their multinationals interest.

Since these multinationals determine and shape our lives so much, we should know who owns them. Let us start with the biggest of them all, the Royal Dutch/Shell, which dominates the Nigerian petroleum industry and looms like a giant over the other nine oil companies producing oil in Nigeria.

Up to the late 1960s it was virtually the only one producing oil in Nigeria.

Out of the 9.6 million tonnes of crude oil produced in Nigeria in the fifteen years between 1970-1984, this company produced 5.7 million tonnes.

The nearest to it, Gulf Oil, only produced 1.5 million tonnes! By producing over 60 per cent of Nigeria's total crude oil production in the last fifteen years, Royal Dutch/Shell has a near monopoly position over the Nigerian petroleum industry. In fact, it runs the Nigerian petroleum industry! Its role in refining, transport, exploration and various plans for petrochemicals assure it of this position.

Royal Dutch Shell: In Nigeria, its subsidiary in oil production is the Shell Petroleum Development Company (Nigeria) Limited, which has been in oil exploration in this country for almost fifty years. Exact figures of its turnover are not easy to get, but judging from the volume of its crude oil output, this is clearly well above the turnover of UAC (Nig.) Ltd. which comes second to it, in the top twenty league of the private companies in Nigeria. Royal Dutch Shell is the third largest multinational corporation in the whole world, coming only after Rockefeller's Exxon, and General Motors. Its total world sales in 1978 were \$45.5 billion and it had 155,000 employees throughout the world. It is made up of two companies, Royal Dutch of Holland, and Shell Transport and Trading Company of U.K. The board of directors on the British side is made up of the following: C.C.C.P. Pocock, P. B. Baxendall, Lord Armstrong of Standstead, The Earl of Cromer, Sir David Barran, and the Honourable Peter Montefiore Samuel.

Others are Sir Dennis Wright, Sir Reay Geddes, Sir Frank McFadzean, and P. J. Hart.

Through these directors, and at other levels, it is inter-looked with many other multinationals with subsidiaries in Nigeria. Sir David Barran is, for example, a director of Glaxo which is in pharmaceuticals in Nigeria,

while Sir Reay Geddes is a director of Dunlop, and Sir Frank McFadzean is a director of the Beecham Group, both of which operate in Nigeria, and all three are in the area closely associated with chemicals.

Unilever: In terms of importance, Unilever which owns the UAC (Group) comes next after Shell. It is also an Anglo-Dutch combine, and is the largest multinational corporation is food and beverages throughout the world. In 1978 its total world sales were \$19.0 billion and it employed 373,000. Africa is very important for its profits although little of its assets or investments are in Africa. In 1976 only 12 per cent of its capital expenditure was invested in Africa. But it made 24 per cent of its total profit in Africa.

It makes a lot of profits. In 1984 its pre-tax profit was £924 million on a turnover of £16.16 billion. Its shares of twenty five pence sell in the London Stock Exchange for twelve pounds and fifty pence!!

Its most powerful single group of shareholders are the Leverbulme and Carew — Poole families, which through the Lever-hulme Trust own 18 per cent of its share capital.

Its directors have included Pierce-Paul Schweitzer, a Managing Director of the IMF for ten years, 1963-1973; and a B. W. Briesheuvel, a one time Prime Minister of Holland and President of the Anti-Revolutionary party in that country.

Lonrho:

Far below these gigantic combines we find other multinationals which are also very powerful in Nigeria. One of them is Lonrho, which has the John Holt Group and Costain as subsidiaries. Lonrho was called the London and Rhodesia Mining and Land company, becoming Lonrho only in 1963, under the flamboyant Tiny Rowland. It has strong Southern and Eastern African connections. It is owned by Rowland and a Kuwaiti oil Sheikh, Sheikh Nasser Saba Al-Ahmed; although it is said that they have parted ways now. It maintains strong, direct links with the Tory party, through people like Patrick Duncan — Sandy and Edward Ducann, a one time Tory Party Chairman.

Lonrho also has strong links with other oil Sheikhs, like Al-Tajir, one of the richest men in the world, who is the United Arab Emirates ambassador in London, and whose brother was kidnapped in London recently and only released on the payment of several million pounds.

Lonrho operates in Zaire through one Mboti Litho, a cousin of Mobu-

tu's father, and in Kenya through Udi Gecaga, a cousin of Jomo Kenyatta.

Tiny Rowland's brash, buccaneering capitalism has led him into trouble with other multinationals and in 1976 the British government probed Lonrho, leading the Prime Minister of the time, Ted Heath, describing the company as representing, the unacceptable face of capitalism.

Corrupt as many African heads of state are, the involvement of an O.A.U. Secretary General N. Ekan-gaki with Lonrho, on some oil consultancy deal was so sordid that they forced him to resign in May 1973.

Such are aspects of the nature of the multinationals which control our economy today.

Shareholding in Nigeria: THE CASE OF S.C.O.A.

THE precise weight and distribution of Nigerian shareholding in these subsidiaries of multinationals in Nigeria is difficult to establish. Private wealth is usually shrouded in a lot of secrecy all over the world. This is more so in Nigeria, where a lot of it has been, and still is, acquired, illegally, or semi-legally.

Which Nigerians have a significant shareholding in which company can be guessed from the list of the directors of the company. For, Nigerian directors, are usually, also shareholders; whether they were given these shares to provide a cover for the company under the indigenisation



decrees, or actually bought these shares and paid for them.

Official statements made during the first indigenisation exercise, under the the Gowon regime, provide a list of those who, at that time, bought shares in one of the top twenty, that is, the SCOA. Following are the names of persons and corporate bodies who bought 40 per cent of the share capital in the SCOA which at that time amounted to ₦3 million: Chief M. A. Majekodunmi, Chief C. O. Ogunbajo, J. A. Cole, Esq., Chief G. O. Uhokan, A. O. Kusewe, Esq., Alhaji Garba Magaji, Alhaji Garba Bichi, and Mrs. K. S.

Majekodunmi.

Others are D. M. Akpokiniovo Esq., Alhaji Usman Jalo Waziri, Ajanaku Finance and Investment, Chief G. O. E. Aduroja, Standard Nominee Nigeria, I. O. Ajanaku, Esq., L. C. Amazu, Esq., Alhaji Baba Danbappa, Alhaji Aminu Dantata, V. A. Haffner, Esq., Master K. Majekodunmi, T. I. O. Nzewgu, Esq., Alhaji Dogara Yaro, Linkup Investments Ltd., and G. K. T. Amachree. The rest are Cheddi Corporation Ltd., Chief J. M. Echervo, Alhaji Mai Sango, Dr. E. O. Otun, Alhaji Mai Deribe and Sons Ltd., Hon Mr. Justice Dan Ibekwe, Chief J. O.



Edewor, Rear Admiral Nelson Soroh, Gmele Estates and Investments Ltd, Alhaji V. K. Kulu, J. O. Oguma, Esq., S. M. Eweneku, Esq. and Professor O. O. Akinkugbe.

That was in the early 1970s. But recently, in 1980-1981, the company was recording that its ordinary share capital, fully paid, was ₦24 million and that 60 per cent of this was owned by Nigerians, among whom they specifically listed the following as the major Nigerian shareholders: Alhaji Aminu Dantata, Chief R. V. Mbalewa, and Chief O. I. Akinkugbe. All these three are on SCOA's board of directors.

The Second-Tier Family

THAT there are a few rich people, standing like islands in an ocean of poverty in their midst, Nigerians have always known. But in recent months, the spate of appeal fund launchings across the country has awakened Nigerians to yet another fact about their country — a fact that stands out loud and clear above the babble of the praises and accolades showered on those who cough out millions (of Naira) on such occasions.

The fact is this: the concentration of wealth and power in a very few hands has reached frightening proportions. But beyond this generalized knowledge, much else about these Nigerians, who have millions and part with them with so much ease and without a thought, remains opaque.

Of course, the Nigerian grapevine, ever rich, is full of stories — often woven around a basic truth but laced with so much half-truths and exaggerations — that Nigerians relish in telling each other about the meteoric rise to wealth and power of these monied men, and about their exploits and high-fly life style.

One such story — told and retold so much that it now passes for truth — tells of a businessman/politician, now in exile, who as late as 1968 was only a lift attendant at one of Nigeria's foreign missions, but rose to become, in the seventies, a multi-millionaire, and a little later, a billionaire, who bought a Gulfstream executive jet worth £5.3 million and paid for it cash down.

Among the more familiar ones is also the story of someone who rose from a trucks salesman during the civil war into a billionaire, newspaper magnate, and shipping czar, riding around the globe in Hawker Siddeley 125 executive jets.

In this same genre, is the story that tells of a man who, in the late 60s and up to early 70's was said to be a pimp. This man, according to the story, became, in no time and without much sweat, a multimillionaire — with the help of huge military contracts — and a powerful political figure with an eye on the presidency in the second republic.

These stories, along with their sidelines centering on how some of these people squander millions on women or buy up estates in Europe and America, or smuggle in and out of Nigeria millions in their private jets, have

drawn remarks from Nigerians. Among these: "monkey de work, baboon de chop", and the sharper Hausa version of this, "Muna yi, suna chi", meaning "we are producing, they are eating".

But outside these stories and such comments, very little else is known, about how really wealthy these Nigerians are, what their business interests and connections are, what their external links are, how much political clout they can muster and, the real extent to which they influence and control the lives of other Nigerians.

Nor is the immense scope of the work done by the monkey and the

Holdings, the City Group, the Ribway Group, Bell Holdings, Hamada Holdings or Ugochukwu and sons. Even with the better of these second-tier conglomerates like the Ibru Organisation, the Isiyaku Rabi, Group, the Fanz Organisation or Alhassan Dantata and sons, very little is known. They are not quoted on the stock exchange, so information about them is scarce.

How many people in this country know that the Ibru group comes in as the seventeenth in the list of companies in Nigeria based on size of turnover. How many know that this second tier conglomerate. The Ibru organiza-



Mr. Joseph Wayas... exiled millionaire.

scale of "chopping" by the baboon grasped any better.

While the dominance of the subsidiaries of multinationals over the Nigerian economy is increasingly widely known, the second tier of this structure of foreign dominance in the form of the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few Nigerian businessmen, retired military officers, civil servants and some professionals and chiefs is not so well known, in its specific form.

While you can easily find people in Nigeria to tell you about what the U.A.C. group of companies consist of, very few have even heard of Ashamu

tion Ltd. is made up of the following Ibru Sea Foods Rutam Limited, W F. Clark Limited, Emesee Shipping Company Limited, and F. Staner and Company Limited.

Others are Mitchell Farms, A. J. Karouni, Aden River Estate, Lagos Sheraton Hotel, and the **Guardian Newspapers**.

The magazine **South** of March 1985 listed the Ibru Group as having a turnover of \$238 million in 1983 and as the 21st on the list of Nigeria's largest public and private enterprises by turnover.

How many Nigerians know that Isiyaku Rabi and sons group is made up of the following companies: Bagauda Textiles, Kano Vehicle Accessories Ltd., Kano Merchant Trading Company, Rabi Food Industries Ltd and Rabi Investments Ltd? And that they have been very powerful in some areas of imports particularly rice?

But even more firmly integrated with the subsidiaries of the multinationals in Nigeria are the Ashamu Group of Companies, under E. O. Ashamu and Sons (Holdings) Limited. Besides the 26.7 per cent shareholding this holding company has in Hoeschst (Nig) Limited which had a turnover of ₦48 million in 1982, this group includes: Oke-Aja Farms Limited, Oyo Feeds Company Limited, Pioneer Farms Limited, Agrotic Services Limited, Ikeja Real Estate Limi-

ted, and Laterite Product Limited. Others are Pharco (Nig.) Limited, Nigerian Explosives and Plastics Company Limited, Igbetti Mining Industry Limited, and New Age Shipping Line.

Another conglomerate of the second-tier which is also of significance in any understanding of the degree of the concentration of property and power in Nigeria is Fanz Organisation. These companies of Chief Authur Nzeribe include Fanz Holding Limited, Fanz Construction Company Limited, Frank and Frank Construction Limited, Fanz Water Resources Limited, Fanz Scientific and Educational Equipment Limited, Haven Nigeria Compiler Company Limited, and Zebra Consultants Limited.

The rest are: Feninsular Enterprises Limited, Twilight Public Relations Limited, Tribita Group (Nig) Limited,

Fanz Distilleries Limited, Fanz Transport Limited, Sentinedo Assurance Company Limited, Fanz Laboratories Limited, and Unifer Hose Nigeria Limited.

In 1978 this group was said to employ 4,800, with an annual turnover of ₦45 million.

The emergence of these second-tier conglomerates servicing and supporting the multinationals in Nigeria is an important development in the Nigeria economy over the last fifteen years. It not only has led to a greater concentration of property and power, but has entrenched the dependent capitalist relations more organically, than was the case before the civil war.

*Bala Usman with Rufai Ibrahim
and Danjuma Adamu*

BIG FISH SWALLOW SMALL FISH IN UAC

The Nigerian economy is like a sea with fish of different sizes: with the big ones swallowing up the smaller ones. The United Africa Company of Nigeria Limited is one of such seas that harbours both the big and small fish. The scenario at the UAC is like the jungle situation of the survival of the fittest, where the weak are destroyed. In the UAC the big fish swallow up the smaller ones.

In the company's 1985 Annual Report, its directors announced proudly, that "UAC of Nigeria Limited and its forebears have been involved in the economic development of Nigeria for over a century. It is the largest industrial and commercial organisation in the private sector. It is a public company with over 130,000 individual and institutional shareholders from all over the country."

True, U.A.C. has been involved in the Nigerian economy for over a century! But the question remains, "who is benefitting from the company's activities?" The Nigerian people? No! Its shareholders of over 130,000 people? Yes, but not all of them. Then, really whose

'growth' and 'development' is the company talking about? Whatever the economic situation, each year, the company announces huge profits. But those who benefit from this windfall are just a tiny minority of the company's shareholders.

For example on page 2 of its latest annual report are picture of hungry looking workers toiling away in two of the company's factories. In contrast, smiling broadly on page 4 of the same report, is the picture of its healthy looking and well dressed Chairman and Managing Director, Chief E.A.O. Shonekan. He is one of the big fish. It is Chief Shonekan (who celebrated his 50th birthday recently) and similar looking major shareholders who live fat on the fat profits of the company.

Nigerian workers need to know, the arithmetic of the economics and politics of U.A.C. in order to understand how big fish swallow small fish in the company, as well as Nigeria.

The United Africa Company (UAC) Nigeria Limited was incorporated in 1929 as a subsidiary of Unilever Limited, England. The company had long standing links

with the Royal Niger Company Limited which helped the British to colonise Nigeria. In 1955, UAC became United Africa Company of Nigeria Limited. The name was shortened to UAC of Nigeria Limited in 1973 due to the 1972 Indigenisation Decree. With a cosmetic adjustment, UAC survived as a major foreign company. Business boomed along with the oil boom of the 1970s. Through its over a dozen companies, UAC has continued to enjoy huge profits despite the current economic crisis.

Today, the company boasts of involvement in agriculture, agricultural equipment, timber and plywood, electrical equipment, foods, toiletries, (products for skin, hair, and body care) textiles, commercial vehicles, tyres, animal slaughtering and meat processing, mining, oil, clearing and forwarding, warehouses, building, packaging and a whole range of other activities.

One activity of UAC which deserves special mention is real estate. UAC was a powerful ally of the colonial government. It used

these links to take control of urban lands, mainly in the GRAs. Today, the company owns these vast landed properties throughout the major urban centres in Nigeria. Some exist as palatial guest houses.

Who enjoys these palatial houses and their lavish furnishings and other amenities? Again, it is the big fish. Many ordinary shareholders are not even aware of the existence of these palaces, neither are the ordinary workers of the company.

Nigerians ought to know that among the big fish of the company are the smiling Chief E.O. Shonekan with 16,125 shares. Smiling along with the Chief are such other members of the Board of Directors as A.A. Abidogun with 2,748 shares; Chief S.B. Daniyan with 9,375 shares; His Royal Highness the Emir of Zaria, Alhaji Shehu Idris with 5,506 shares; A.C.I. Mbanefo with 3,927 shares; Chief J.O. Omidiora with 12,160 shares; F.M.O. Osifo with 11,065 shares; J. C. Ogru-Akwaji with 7780 shares; and Lt. General W. I. Wushishi (rtd) with 1,885 shares.

These nine with 108 other major shareholders collaborate with the single highest shareholder — Unilever, with its 118,800,000 shares held on its behalf by CWA Holdings Limited — to swallow the smaller fish in the UAC cave. Essentially, it is these big 'fishes' with 72 per cent of all the shares that corner the company's profits which continue to rise despite Nigeria's economic difficulties. The following table shows the rising profits of the UAC (i.e. the profits of Shonekan, Emir Shehu Idris, Daniyan, Mbanefo, Lt. General Wushishi (rtd), Ogru-Akwaji, Osifo, Omidiora and Abidogun) between 1982 and 1985.

	1982	1983	1984	1985
	₦ million	₦ million	₦ million	₦ million
Profit after taxation	16.559	13.619	30.959	38.610
Dividends proposed	15.919	8.167	18.563	23.018
Earnings per share	8.94k	4.59k	10.42k	13.00k
Dividends per share	5.36k	2.75k	6.25k	7.75k

What should interest Nigerian workers about this table is this: Why does UAC continue to sack workers inspite of profits? Why

has UAC been raising prices of commodities and services? The answer is: to earn more profits for its major shareholders — the big fish!

How is it done? In 1982 UAC paid ₦108.7 million as wages. This was cut down to ₦101.5 million in 1983. The wages were further reduced to ₦81.7 million in 1984; and down again to ₦74.5 million in 1985.

Cutting down wages was done by retrenching workers. In 1984 alone, UAC retrenched over 1,000

In addition, the company's involvement policies deliberately keep many Nigerians out of jobs. For example, the company had, as of December 1985, a bank balance of ₦246.58 million which it has refused to reinvest in the country. Rather, the company is seeking ways of transferring this amount out of the country. Here, UAC is not the only culprit; several other companies are doing the same thing.

But it is not only the Nigerian



■ Ever smiling Shonekan, the biggest fish of the UAC with 16,125 shares.

workers. By so doing, they overworked the few that were left. In addition, they raised the prices of the commodities and services produced or offered by the workers, out of the reach of the ordinary workers, including UAC workers. Profits increased; the big fish

worker that the big fish in UAC are swallowing. They are also feasting on the smaller shareholders. Among these small or medium sized fish are managers, professionals, small traders, and others who have on average, 500 shares each. This group imagine that they have taken the first step to wealth and security. Yet, in the jungle of the Nigerian economy, the only thing secure about them is that they are ready food for the big fish.

Since the Indigenisation Decree, Nigerians are supposed to hold 60 per cent shares in UAC. Hence, it claims to be a Nigerian company. This Nigerian shareholding is said

swallowed. For instance, the company's after-tax profits rose from ₦26.559 million in 1982 to ₦38.61 million in 1985.

to be held by a total of 122,172 Nigerian individuals and corporate bodies. But the distribution of the shares is highly unequal.

Those owning between 1 and 500 shares are 97,014, that is 75 per cent of the total number of shareholders. Yet, they own only 14 per cent of the shares. Besides, their number is fast declining.

Those we refer to as the really big fish constitute only 0.1 per cent of the shareholders. Yet, together with Unilever, they control over 72 per cent of the company's assets valued at ₦776.141 million. They determine who should be on the board, who should enjoy the company's lavish facilities; how many Nigerians should be retrenched; and at the end of the year, coolly

'These minority shareholders are left to keep dreaming of one day becoming millionaires'

collect 72 per cent of all the profits and smile.

The details of how they share out profits is most interesting. In 1983, the company's shareholder, Ahmadu with 500 shares, got an average of only ₦19.65 from a total profit of ₦13.619 million. Ahmadu was not alone. He or she was among the 97,014 shareholders, who, though numerically in the majority, controlled only 14 per cent of the profits. Since 14 per cent of what was to be shared worked out at only ₦1.9 million, Ahmadu went home disappointed; his dream of becoming a millionaire through UAC shareholding shattered.

The biggest fish at the top — 166 of them as of 1983 — had ₦4.2 million to share. On average each one of them got ₦25,433.07. They smiled.



■ Other mackerels of the UAC:
Top L-R: J. O. Omidiora, with 12,160 shares; F.M.O. Osifo, with 11,065 shares. Below right: Alhaji Shehu Idris, the Emir of Zaria with 5,506 shares.

By 1985, the biggest fish had swallowed up even the sizeable medium fish, forcing down the number of the biggest fish from 166 to 117. With smaller numbers but increased profits, they had ₦12.3 million to share. Out of this, each received, on average, a total sum of ₦105,600.00. Chief Shonekan smiled! Lt. General Wushishi smiled! Alhaji Shehu Idris, the Emir of Zaria also smiled; so did the others.

While the Emir of Zaria and his fellow big fish in the UAC were carting home thousands of naira from UAC alone, UAC workers were either retrenched or living on a shoestring with members of their families.

What is happening in the UAC, "the largest industrial and commercial organisation in the private sector" reflects what is happening in Nigeria as a whole. What should be the wealth of all Nigerians is being divided as follows: 40 per cent to foreigners; and 30 per cent to about 200 unpatriotic Nigerians, who in turn loot it abroad. Of the remaining 30 per cent, most goes to about 1 million dreamers — such

as those with 1-500 shares in companies. These minority shareholders are left to keep dreaming of one day becoming millionaires. A good number of them are the most vehement defenders of free enterprise.

As they dream along, the one per cent big fish and their foreign partners continue to batter Nigerian working people with retrenchment, seizure of farmlands (making those in the rural areas landless), long hours of work, sweat, and industrial accidents that cause the flow of the blood of Nigerian workers.

It is the flowing blood and sweat of the Nigerian working people which this tiny minority solidify like salt and take away in the name of profits.

Zuwaqhu Bonat with
Iyorchia Ayu and Bala Usman

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SANKARA SPEAKS "Ours is a Popular and Democratic Revolution"

RECENTLY, at the Presidential Lodge at Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso's leader, Captain Thomas Sankara, hosted some international journalists on a United Nations sponsored visit to the country and Mali to a dinner, and later granted a lengthy interview. Among the journalists was RUFAY IBRAHIM, from whose compilation of the interview the excerpts below were taken:

On whether Burkina Faso has now mellowed, having learnt from the past:

SANKARA: May be other people have changed. Other people didn't want to accept us in the first place and took our position as systematic provocation. Today people realize that Burkina Faso, with its government, is a normal state like any other. We have a national anthem, we have a flag, we can have a council of ministers, we can chair Heads of State meeting, we can even have a Five-year Plan, and so on.

What I would like to say is that at the beginning, people thought that we were only here by accident. They thought that we were going to disappear within a month. I would like to invite you to read the most serious journal, *Le Monde* (of Paris) of August 7, 1983. Three days after we took power this paper wrote in black and white that France could not permit us to exist. Now I read some pages of *Le Monde* which think that Burkina Faso is giving a good example of the fight against desertification.

If the people had taken our message, our language, i.e. the cry of a people that wants to develop itself and to fight against enemies both internally and externally, may be we could have come to some kind of agreement. Unfortunately, to start with, they didn't even want to give us a chance. Every week, every month, they were forecasting our down fall. They plotted subversive movements and coup d'etats. Even witch doctors have been consulted for that purpose against us. And they ended up by accepting us as an unavoidable reality.

We are different but we sure do exist. Because they accept us, we don't need to raise our voices to affirm or reaffirm total different positions.

There are certain countries and certain leaders who were distrustful or sometimes hostile, initially but are now realising that Burkina Faso, even

being different from them and having a different orientation, could still be a partner. Therefore there is some kind of *modus vivendi*.

On the lessons drawn from mistakes made, and what other African States can learn from Burkina.

SANKARA: I am not sure that a country that might imitate Burkina Faso might be going to a good school. We have chosen a very, very difficult path. We think that we have made a lot of mistakes. May be, we have had successes. As I have said before, we make several a day. But we also draw lessons from our mistakes. To summarise, I would like to say that here are some of the major lessons that we have drawn.

First of all, there is underestimation of the capacity of the people to fight and win the battles. There were times when we have not completely involved the people, and sometimes we thought that they wouldn't even understand.

ourselves. We have not always been able to go as far as we should have done. We have to sacrifice ourselves more. We have to take into consideration the interest of our people rather than what other people might think about our own selves.

If I were to give you an exhaustive list of all the mistakes, we would never finish because there are so many mistakes, and there are many failures.

The day you come to Burkina Faso and realize that there is no sahel, then that would be one failure less.

On why he seems unbothered about his personal security:

SANKARA: I agree that it is necessary to take firm security disposition, but it doesn't serve much purpose to lock oneself up in a bunker, because they can get you even there. The more they invent new means to protect heads of state, like bullet proof cars, the more inventions are made on the other side to reach the Head of State. The best



■ Thomas Sankara ... at a literacy campaign.

And on this particular point, if somebody were to imitate us, we would encourage them to go further than us. All the people have got to feel concerned, ministers, presidents or directors.

The other mistake that we made, which is equally important, is on

protection for any Head of State is to feel like fish in water among his people. And the best protection is therefore to be permanently in agreement with one's own people.

The day when I feel that my people don't need me any more, it won't be necessary to bring troops here.

On how recent war with Mali has affected Burkina's efforts:

SANKARA: Unfortunately the war slowed down our efforts tremendously. We had managed to make a lot of economies in our budget because of our tremendous efforts. These economies were unfortunately not channelled towards the projects for which they were intended. We had to come to the rescue of some people, assist them. We have an intensive programme of fight against desertification and we want it to particularly work in the North at the border with Mali. Unfortunately, this programme was not implemented because our presence in those parts may have been interpreted as provocative.

The fight against desertification should not be viewed just as a national programme; rather it should be viewed as a global or international problem. And in this sense, the north of Burkina Faso is also represented by Mali and Niger. Therefore we need this re-forestation scheme to be implemented in both countries (Mali and Niger). Otherwise the efforts Burkina Faso would be useless. We need various successive barriers.

Because the dialogue with Mali could not be conducted constructively, we were unable to construct these successive green barriers.

What we are really serious about is that it's not the Heads of State of Mali and Burkina Faso nor the ministers who really suffered. It's the people who suffered.

On U.S. bombing of Libya:

SANKARA: We condemned in the strongest terms American aggression against Libya. Even during the bombing we phoned Ghadafi to express to him our support. We did not wait for the withdrawal of American forces to see which way the wind moved in order to express support accordingly. We happen to take a number of actions that OAU, the UN and some countries in the non-Aligned Movement took in favour of Libya. We did it not just because it's Libya, but because it is a people which was actually in its right, in its liberty and in its peace. If anybody were to bomb one day in the same manner a city of the United States, Burkina Faso would be the first one to condemn that bombing. These attacks are the manifestation of problems that were not resolved at the outset.

In the Middle-East, there is today serious injustice. To deprive a people of their homeland is courting trouble. Force begets force. Palestinians symbolize today the matter of a people to whom justice is metted.

Here is really no need for one to know Israelis or Palestinians to appreciate this. What is important is that people are involved and they have been wronged. As long as there is injustice, there is bound to be a struggle to end it. And bombings cannot solve the problem of Palestine. Some human beings must just stop aggression against other human beings.

On Burkina's Rural Development Strategy:

SANKARA: We in Burkina Faso are undergoing a democratic and popular revolution. Logically, it is the peasant farmer and the peoples in the rural areas who should be the most represented in our revolution. They represent over 80 - 90 per cent of the population. Therefore, all our programmes should be targetted towards the rural areas. The day when we would have sensitised all the peasant farmers and the masses to the real meaning of the revolution we would have won our battle. Over 65 per cent of our budget used to be devoted to the civil service. But the civil service is only 0.035 per cent of the population. This is serious injustice and we have to redress it.

To go to the peasant farmer, we have to first of all, give them the means to communicate. We teach them to read and to write. Some of you were able to attend the closing ceremony of 'Alpha Commando' (Burkina's mass literacy campaign programme). In the attempt to address ourselves to the Burkina peasant farmers, our goal is the complete transformation of the economy, and creation of a prosperous state. So, of course, we are thinking about industries. We are placing emphasis on agro-allied industries.

Therefore we are going to promote agro industries to transform the local condition of our producers and consumers. We prefer small-scale industries to larger ones. We do not need sophisticated equipment where you can just press a button and at the end of the assembly line, you can have some ready made things. Our emphasis is to put people to work so that the people can do things themselves. And once the people are able to maintain the equipment, then we will be able to forge ahead. This will have the added advantage of raising our rural production. And it will also enable our farmers to work throughout the year instead of 5 months which is the case now.

In Burkina Faso, as in the neighbouring states, there is a belief that ancestors do not like agricultural work to be done outside the rainy season. The greatest difficulty does not come from the peasant farmer.

The greatest difficulty comes from those who live in the urban areas. The small bourgeoisie and the small intellectuals. Such town dwellers will prefer to import rather than eat what has been produced locally. They find it offensive to have a meal without the best imported food. And what is produced locally they regard as second class product. The first measure that we take to protect some of our local products is felt by them as some kind of violence against them. And this is how they protest saying that Burkina Faso is a country of terror. And these are the type of people that you (journalists) make yourselves available to.

On the participation of women in the revolution:

SANKARA: Yes, she (Burkinabe woman) participates actively in the political life, and in the national life, but not enough, in my opinion. Traditions are still a break to the participation by women in the national life. We have the old beliefs which hold the woman to be inferior to a man. I can assure you that even our intellectuals cannot transcend these ideas. Don't let us even talk about the countryside because women are used there just like cows. They are used for work, they are used to make children, and when they are old, they are thrown out for new ones. Therefore you can see that under this condition, women are condemned to very, very difficult circumstances.

But each one of us has a compulsory respect for, at least, one woman in his or her life — if only your own mother. Therefore, there is no way we can talk about revolution without talking about the woman. Specifically speaking women are more numerous than men in Burkina Faso. Fifty-two per cent of the population of Burkina Faso is women.

Therefore, we may say that in Burkina Faso the woman carries the other half of the sky. We therefore have to deal with the problem in a violent manner. We have several women who occupy positions of directors since the revolution. We have several women who have joined the army and the police forces and the aviation. This is not because we have a lot of planes but we want people to see women piloting planes. It has symbolic value. We have therefore undertaken several actions to eradicate prostitution. We don't agree with those people who say that prostitution is the oldest job in the world, therefore, you can't do anything about it. I think that they are saying so in order to give themselves a good conscience and maintain prostitution because they would like it to go on. Prostitution comes from

social inequalities.

Prostitution is also a consequence of the anarchical development of capitalism. It is because some people have the money and therefore the capital that they can exploit other people. A woman becomes good that you can buy. And you don't feel any obligation towards that woman once you have taken your pleasure out of her. Thanks to the money, the capital that one has, one believes that one can make good of whatever one wants. This is the root of all the sexual perversions that we are witnessing today.

'A political party is created through the increased conscientisation of the people'

Just vote for me'. But after elections, you wait 5,6,7 years and you forget about everything. We think that our situation is more difficult because, for us, everyday is election day. Everyday we fight, not only to promise but to deliver the goods. When we are really tired and exhausted we shall create a political party, then we can have a rest.

On the debt question and the forthcoming UN special session on Africa.
SANKARA: The special session will just be an occasion for us to cry our woes and no more. The session is going

This goes on and on, with the villager having acquired a taste for coke and not wanting to do without it, and the creditors dishing out more and more money to him to keep taking coke and to pay part of the debt accumulated in order to maintain this taste for coke.

This, is how the relationship of dependence between the creditors and the African countries has started and developed.

I didn't ask for coke. But if someone gives it to me, I take it but refuse to pay.



■ Sankara

'I didn't ask for coke. But if someone gives it to me, I take it but refuse to pay'

On whether there are plans to establish a political party.

SANKARA: There is no hidden question in Burkina Faso but this one (laughter). You don't create a political party just because you want to be like other people. It's not through a simple decision from up to down, that you create a political party. A political party is created through the increased conscientisation of the people. If a political party is just created as a bureaucracy, you therefore create some kind of nomenclature. We reject this mechanical way to create political party. I can tell you that there are many countries in Africa where there are sometimes many parties or sometimes single parties, and I can challenge you to find a country where the people are as closely associated to decision making as they are in Burkina Faso.

One only remembers parties at the time of elections. During election time, everyone does his publicity work. 'Please vote for me and I'll build for you dams, schools, hospitals, etc.

to centre on the question of debts.

But the debts are unjust. That's our point of view. Someone has put us in the position to be debtors in the first place. The debts are a product of the operation of an unjust system.

To the French people I say, if you claim your debts I have nothing for you.

In all the projects for which the debts were taken, it is the French technician who came here, did all the feasibility and other studies, and then said all the projects were good.

I have no option in this matter.

Let me give you an example. Take a simple village man who drinks his well water and then he becomes exposed to coca-cola. Through such exposure he soon develops the taste for coca-cola. But, being poor, he has no money to buy coke. Then the producers tell him, don't worry we'll lend you money to buy the coke. He takes the loan and buys the coke, but then he has no money to pay back the loan. Then they tell him, not to worry, we'll lend you money to pay back the loan.

The debts don't make any sense. It's not the indebted nations that benefit from the debts, but the creditor-nations.

The situation is just like boxing matches, which expose the bad sides of human nature. The boxers beat each other to the point of death. The manager continuously pushes them on. He knows what's in it for him. At the end, after the boxers have almost killed each other, their two managers end up with millions in their bank accounts.

We in Burkina Faso want to agree to stop boxing. If the managers want it, let them fight among themselves.

It is important for African states to learn to resist. We either resist collectively or we die individually.

Islam, Christianity and Enslavement of Africa

AFRICA is one part of the world which has suffered considerable ravages of its human and material resources on a continuous basis for several hundred years. No people, throughout the history of mankind, have suffered more cruel human degradation and exploitation than the African people.

The single most important external factor which dominated African history between 650-1900 A.D. was the enslavement of the African peoples by outsiders. This enslavement was carried out at two levels. The first was the trans-Saharan slave trade which began at about 650 A.D. and lasted until the end of the 19th century. The trans-Saharan slave trade was undertaken by Arab rulers and merchants who had established economic, cultural and political links with part of Africa since about the first century A.D. Although these Arab rulers and merchants were muslims and were fully aware of the fact that Islam abhors the enslavement of muslims and deliberately encouraged the conversion and subsequent freeing of slaves, they continued to participate actively in the slave trade for their selfish economic and political interests. That these Africans were muslims was of no concern to them. For example, Egypt alone imported about 800,000 black slaves between 1700-1840. A.D. Other countries like Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria together imported a total of about half a million black slaves between 1700 and 1890.

The slaves in these muslim Arab countries were used both as domestic and agricultural labourers by the rich and affluent merchants while the Arab rulers created black and servile military forces to maintain themselves in power, and oppress and exploit their own people with this black

slave army. In spite of this however, their black warriors were themselves denied citizenship rights. One can illustrate this with the case of Egypt, whose capital, Cairo had a black slave population of 14,000 in 1840 out of its total population of a quarter of a million. Out of these black slaves 2,500 were active soldiers of Muhammed Ali. In fact, the *Alawites*, rulers of Morocco maintained an 18,000 man strong black army out of a total military force numbering some 36,000. All the other Arab countries in North Africa, as well as the Ummayyad rulers of Spain and the Abbasid rulers of Iraq created and used significant black troops of slave origin. This type of reliance on slavery was one factor that prevented economic, scientific, social and political progress in these muslims countries, since the progress of any given society requires a certain minimum level of security and civil freedom for its people among other factors.

started more than seven hundred years after the trans-Saharan slave trade, the trans-Atlantic slave trade had more profound economic and political consequences and played the key role in the under development of the African continent. For example it was undertaken on a large scale and on a daily basis for five hundred uninterrupted years.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade was undertaken by Christian Europe with the active support and participation of the Pope, Protestant Churches and organizations like the Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans. In 1455 for example, the Pope authorised Portugal to reduce to servitude all "infidel people". For this reason European slave traders systematically refused to allow their black slaves to convert to christianity in order to justify their continued enslavement. Even when slaves eventually became christians, religious leaders like Bishop Sherlock of London assured slave owners in

'The slave trade and slavery were merely instruments of divide and rule which were effectively used to undermine Africa's progress by dividing its peoples along ethnic, and inter as well as intra religious lines'

The second level of the enslavement of the African people was through the trans-Atlantic slave trade which is sometimes referred to as the triangular trade between Africa, Western Europe and America. This trade started at about 1400 A.D. and lasted until about 1900 A.D. Even though it

1823 that "Christianity and the embracing of the gospel does not make the least differences in civil property." The collaboration between church leaders and slave owners according to Eric Williams reached the extent that "the bells of the Bristol churches pealed merrily on the news of the rejection by

parliament of Wilberforce's bill for the abolition of the slave trade."

Apart from the active spiritual support and justification for slavery, certain christian organizations established sugar plantations cultivated by slaves. Thus, instead of setting examples by opposing slavery, if even for those who became christians, christian organizations like the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans encouraged the enslavement of the black people by following the footsteps of the plantation owners. This was ostensibly because they "considered that the best way in which to remedy the abuse of negro slaves was to set the plantation owners a "good example" by keeping slaves and estates themselves, accomplishing in this practical manner the salvation of the planters and the advancement of their foundations."

Like Walter Rodney lucidly demonstrated in his book: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, the foundation of Africa's present stage of backwardness was laid during the era of the slave trade, the trans-Atlantic slave trade in particular. For, while the trans-Sa-

haran slave trade lasted for more than one thousand years, it involved the transportation of only a couple of million people. The trans-Atlantic slave trade on the other hand, involved the transfer of about 20 million Africans into the Americas, excluding those who were savagely killed during slave raids, on their way to the coast and on the high sea. As Rodney put it, the slaves were therefore "stolen in Africa to work the lands stolen from the Indians in America." These blacks slaves shed their blood and sweat to build up the industrial power of Western Europe and North America.

In spite of all the contributions of the African people to modern civilization, the continent of Africa is today the least developed continent in the world. Like Mao Tse-Tung once pointed out in a message to the black people of U.S.A. in 1963, the explanation for this state of affairs lie in the fact that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism was built on the enslavement of negroes and the trade in negroes, it shall only come to an end with the complete emancipation of the black people."

The salvation of Africa and its peoples therefore lies in a united

struggle against this heritage of enslavement in which both Christian and Muslim powers actively participated. Nigerians must therefore shun all attempts to divide its people along religious lines; since deep commitment to religion did not prevent Africans from being exploited on a large scale by those who often lay claims to religious piety.

The slave trade and slavery were merely instruments of divide and rule which were effectively used to undermine Africa's progress by dividing its peoples along ethnic, and *inter* as well as *intra* religious lines. Perhaps, the best manifestation of this deep division was that Europeans found it easy to recruit soldiers from among slaves and ex-slaves to conquer and subjugate the African peoples. The demise of several African states and kingdoms such as the Alafinate of Oyo and the Sokoto Caliphate among others were therefore inextricably linked to the perversiveness of slavery and the slave trade.

Alkasum Abba

Analyst illustration by Alew T. leeb Ade



SHUGABA ABDURRAHMAN: 'Man's Inhumanity to Man'

NIGERIA's second republic (1979 — 1983), whose dark days will forever remain grimly stamped as such in the memories of most ordinary Nigerians has, as one of its index characteristics, the deportation of Shugaba Abdurrahman (Darman). This deportation, which was immediately described as "man's inhumanity to man", by Shugaba Abdurrahman's political friends, had been seen as politically motivated, and perpetrated against an opponent by those in power, to push and cower political opposition into submission and silence.

Deportation as an instrument of political repression was in use even during the First Republic (1960 — 1966), but the rush and sloppiness with which this one was executed must indicate how high the stakes had become; how brutal the means; and how confident the perpetrators also have become, since it had been the tradition in Nigeria that criminals, especially economic and political criminals, if they could retain power or could belong to the right party, were hardly ever punished for their crimes.

For the first time, a person who was easily recognized as a Nigerian, was "deported" as being "non-Nigerian". The deportation without any pretence of going through the processes prescribed by law, was perpetrated by a Minister who was also a lawyer by training, and a President who knew the correct procedure by dint of previous long term experience in government, but who, for reasons best known to him, had chosen not to follow prescribed procedures. What are the lessons for all of us? What are the chances that the lessons would guide the conduct of politics and of public affairs in Nigeria?

Identity:

Shugaba Abdurrahman, at the time of his botched deportation, was at the prime of middle age, born in Maiduguri some 49 years ago. He was born to a father called Mele, who, fleeing from the wars of Rabih (c. 1890 — 1900) left his native town called Chikina — somewhere in the present-day Chad Republic, and finally came to settle in Maiduguri in 1911 Maiduguri after first briefly settling at Dikwa in present-day Borno State.

In Maiduguri, Mele first settled with a reknowned Muslim scholar, Ibrahim Bida, as a houseboy. Later, he learnt trade as a bricklayer, moved to the Mafoni ward of Maiduguri where he bought a house, settled, and married a native, Kanuri — speaking woman named Ya Kolo. Mele got five children with this woman, the eldest a girl, followed by Shugaba Abdurrahman the deportee, and then later three others all of whom are now dead with the exception of Abdurrahman and a younger brother called Ibrahim. Abdurrahman was born in the same house at Mafoni.

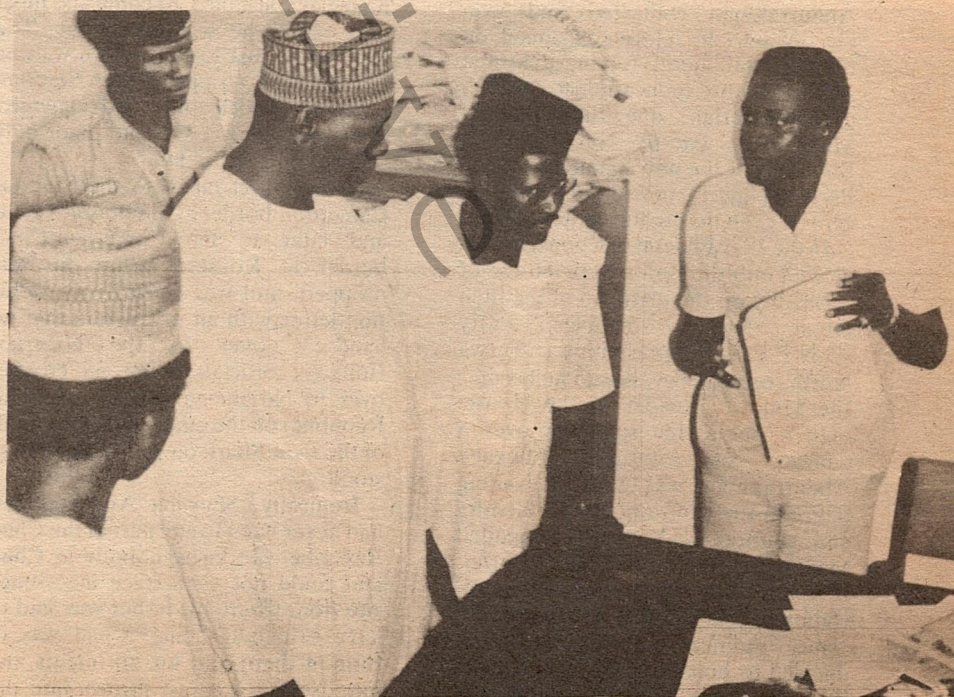
Abdurrahman himself lived from birth, and up to the time of his deportation in this very house. There were relatives and family friends who had seen the time when Abdurrahman's mother was first married into this house; when she conceived and delivered all her children, including Abdurrahman. They saw him grow from childhood to full maturity, and ultimately take up community leadership position not only in Mafoni ward, but in Borno State as a whole.

Abdurrahman's father never went back to Chad ever since he came to Borno. He had actively identified himself with the people of Borno, and had tried to bring up his children there, as evidenced from the Kanuri facial marks he gave his second child Abdurrahman.

Abdurrahman's mother Ya Kolo, whose both parents and entire ancestry came from Konduga district of Borno (40 kilometres from Maiduguri) is Kanuri and spoke no other language. Neighbours, family friends and relatives vouched for this also.

All his life Abdurrahman also has not seen himself as anything other than a Nigerian; a Kanuri of Borno, ready to contribute his best for the good of Nigeria his country and Borno, his state.

He first joined politics before the First Republic, in 1953, as a member of the then Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.). A year later he decamped to the Northern Peoples Congress (N.P.C.) of which he helped establish the Youth Wing and became its founding



■ Flash back: Shugaba (left) on a "Thank you" visit to one of the states after the botched deportation.



■ Ex-President Shehu Shagari (left) and Ex-Minister Bello Maitama Yusufu (right) — perpetrators of Shugaba's deportation.



Chairman. It was in respect of this he earned the sobriquet of *Shugba* (Leader).

He first held public office as councillor for his home-ward, Mafoni, and in 1958, was elected into the Yerwa Town Council.

In 1963 after the Independence Constitution came into force, he was again elected into the Yerwa Town Council, on the platform of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), representing the same Mafoni ward.

In 1966, after the collapse of the First Republic, the military who took over power also came to recognize Shugaba Abdurrahman's worth, and nominated him into a reconstituted Yerwa Town Council, of which he remained member up to 1977, when the council was again dissolved to give way to an elected council under the auspices of the 1976 Local Government Reforms. Shugaba Abdurrahman contested and won election into the reformed Council, on his personal merit, forcing Shettima Ali Monguno (educationist; N.P.C. parliamentarian; one time Federal Minister and latterly, National Vice-President of the now banned National Party of Nigeria) to withdraw from the contest even before the contest began.

In the 1979 Federal elections, he was elected into the Borno State House of Assembly on the platform of the then Great Nigeria Peoples Party (G.N.P.P.), representing Yerwa North constituency, where he became the Majority Leader in the House.

In a public life spanning over a quarter of century, Shugaba Abdurrahman was thus a leading figure in the centre of Borno identity and culture — Yerwa (also called Maiduguri), the capital city of Borno. It is indeed in recognition and appreciation of this fact that, when in 1969, some eminent Borno indigenes decided to bolster up Kanuri culture, then no doubt suffering under the insidious hammer of western cultural

imperialism, Shugaba Abdurrahman was invited to their inaugural meeting. He was also a founding member of one of the earliest and biggest modern Islamiyya School in Maiduguri, in Hausari Ward of Maiduguri.

Brutality:

This outstanding pedigree notwithstanding, Shugaba Abdurrahman was knocked out of bed at his Mafoni ward house in the early hours of the morning of 24th January, 1980 and without any prior caution or preparation, was led to the Immigration Office in Maiduguri. Only then was he informed that he was a security risk, a non-Nigerian, and was therefore being deported from the country to Chad, on the orders of the Federal Government.

The immigration officials would not allow Shugaba Abdurrahman to go back to his house to inform his family, and would not wait for a friend in the town to whom he had sent for some financial assistance, to come and meet him before he was taken out. The victim was just loaded into a waiting Land Rover, stripped of his Nigerian passport which he had lawfully obtained since 1968 and had duly renewed ten years later.

He was first taken to the Nigeria/Cameroon border at Gamboru-Ngala, and later to the Cameroon/Chad border at Kouserri where he was dropped, and was given his deportation letter with an instruction that he hand it over to the Nigerian Embassy officials when he crossed over to Ndjamen (capital of Chad Republic) on the other side of the bank of the river Shari, on which Ndjamen stood.

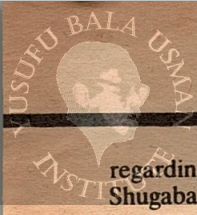
Ironically, Shugaba Abdurrahman had never been to any part of the Chad Republic. He knew nobody in Chad and could not even trace the village site from where his father was said to have originally come. Chad was in turmoil then; and for all intents and purposes he was just thrown into the wilderness.

In his own words, the deportee said "when he was taken out of Nigeria, he was confused." He felt he was thrown to another world because he left his wife, ten children, his old mother, his wealth and other friends behind. When he later heard on Radio Borno broadcast that since his deportation, his old mother at home could neither sleep nor eat, he cried.

He believed that his deportation was no doubt the machinations of top notchers of the N.P.N. He said he further believed that even after his deportation, they were far from having finished with him. They had intended to kill him, and had immediately sent paid assassins after him, immediately he had reached Ndjamen. For this reason, he fled Ndjamen. He remained in Cameroon until the deportation order on him was squashed by a normal court of law sitting in Maiduguri on 12th March, 1980.

While Shugaba's relatives and friends were struggling to restore Shugaba his citizenship and his other rights through the Borno State High Court presided over by Justice Ayo Adefila, his detractors were also fighting tooth and nail to keep him out. They not only insisted that his father, Mele, was a Chadian, but efforts were made in court to prove that Abdurrahman was not even the son of the woman he claimed to be his mother! His mother, it was insisted was one Achadi, a Banana woman (one of the Chadian tribes) who, now dead, was known to have pierced lips and four of whose teeth were removed — all in keeping with the custom of the Banana people. Nobody seemed to have known this Achadi except the witness Usman Moro, an ex-Nigerian serviceman of Chadian origin who had in fact since returned to Chad after his spell of service in the then colonial army, Borno N.A. Police and later, the Nigeria Police Force.

Apart from the allegations



regarding his non-indigency, Shugaba's opponents had also piled cases against him that he had participated in efforts to assassinate N.P.N. officials in Borno State. Neither this nor the fact of his non-indigency was based on any material evidence, then, or up to now, available to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf. Nor did Bello Maitama make any effort to ascertain these facts, either administratively, or through formal judicial procedures, as the normal routines of this nature would demand, before he signed the deportation order of 24th January, 1980.

President Shehu Shagari had to later admit that he was aware of this extremely high-handed act, and had in fact approved it himself before it was executed. This deliberate lack of concern for caution and due procedures by people who had every reason to know and do otherwise, had made Chief G. O. K. Ajayi (SAN), lawyer advocate of Shugaba

Chad, there was equally no doubt that the woman who all evidence had proved to be his mother, Ya Kolo, is a native of Borno; of Kanuri tribe, a community indigenous to Nigeria. The judge, in his words said:

'I find it proved that the applicant's mother is Balu Kolo, that the applicant was born in Maiduguri here in 1931. He was born by Balu Kolo who also by the evidence before me was born in Konduga in Borno State and she is Kanuri — a community indigenous to Nigeria.'

Thus, "under Section 23 of the Nigerian Constitution which defines Nigerian citizenship in precisely these terms, Shugaba Abdurrahman is a Nigerian citizen," the judge concluded. He further deposed that as under Section 38 of the Constitution, no citizen of Nigeria can be expelled, the deportation order of 24th January, 1980 under which Shugaba Abdurrahman was expelled from Nigeria was illegal, and therefore

'Brutal and shock as the act was, the question must be asked: What was the purpose?'

Abdurrahman, to submit in court that the act of deportation perpetrated against Shugaba Abdurrahman was "an act of utter bad faith — an act of political victimization", an act which, for purposes of settling political scores, "Borno State N.P.N. planned the deportation, and then sought the help of their counterparts at the Federal level", to execute the deportation. This is a conclusion which the trial judge found easy to accept.

As to the claim of Shugaba Abdurrahman that he is a *bona fide* Nigerian, Honourable Justice Adefila drew his conclusions in few easy words. He said that the evidence before him was quite clear that Shugaba Abdurrahman was born before 1960. There was also overwhelming, undisputed evidence that Shugaba was born in Maiduguri. Maiduguri has been, and still is in Nigeria. Shugaba was therefore born in Nigeria.

While there was no doubt that his father came from what later came to be

revoked. Only then, was Shugaba Abdurrahman, a clearly *bona fide* Nigerian, a public figure, a committed nationalist, retrieved from what the learned judge called "civil death" — deportation!

Shock:

Shugaba Abdurrahman's purported deportation no doubt sent shock-waves throughout the country. Nobody doubted its political motivation. But perhaps not many outside the N.P.N. cabal were prepared to go that far in dealing with a political opponent.

Even the Nigerian Peoples Party (N.P.P.) which was then sharing government with the N.P.N. through a special accord immediately distanced itself from the act by condemning it in its entirety and calling it an outrageous act. The party proceeded to call upon President Shehu Shagari to revoke the deportation order, bring back Shugaba immediately, and if need be, effect necessary steps through the due processes of law.

Perhaps it is this failure to effect the deportation through "the due processes of law" which shocked Nigerians even more than the physical fact of the deportation itself. The *Daily Times* editorial of 30th January, 1980 stated this fact very succinctly, thus:

"But, the fact of Alhaji Abdurrahman's citizenship is not the issue here. What we question is Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf's apparently injudicious exercise of his powers as the Minister of Internal Affairs."

Many people, including Shugaba Abdurrahman's party, the G.N.P.P., showed their shock and protested against the deportation, identifying it as "an act of inhumanity to man by people in government."

To the more profoundly discerning who would not like to limit the matter to the narrow and simplistic bases of partisan politics and political differences, the deportation of Shugaba Abdurrahman assaulted the very basis of our definitions of who we are, based on our history and culture.

It was not for nothing that the 1963 constitution of Nigeria as amended by Decree No. 33 of 1974, *inter alia*, insisted that any person born in Nigeria before or on 30th day of September 1960 is a citizen by birth if either of his parents or any of grand-parents was born in Nigeria (or, of a community indigenous to Nigeria).

Rendering this provision ineffective as the then Minister of Internal Affairs had tried to do in his botched deportation of Shugaba would have rocked the very basis of the pride and sense of identity of all those groups and communities, many of whose sons and daughters were in the Nigerian military and bureaucracies, and whose origins are traceable to the pre-colonial empires and kingdoms such as Oyo, the Sokoto Caliphate and Borno. Little wonder, therefore, when Chief Awolowo, leader of the then Unity Party of Nigeria heard of the deportation, he rose to the occasion with all his might, reportedly saying: "Who knows? It could be me next time!"

Objective:

Brutal and shock as the act was, the question must be asked: what was the purpose? The purpose, as the court of honourable Justice Ayo Adefila had found out, could not be anything but political. Shugaba Abdurrahman as the campaigns of the 1979 elections showed, was no doubt one of the most articulate and persuasive politician not only in Borno, but in the entire country. The defeat which the N.P.N. suffered was no doubt a major up-set

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NIGERIA'S SEARCH FOR FOREIGN POLICY

Last April, delegates from all parts of the country converged at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru, near Jos, and kept themselves busy for one whole week. Their mission: to review Nigerian foreign policy and make recommendation for a new one for the country up to the year 2000.

In reports, even while the conference was on, and in reviews and assessment later, it was generally claimed that the Nigerian Left hijacked the conference. Which was why, it was further claimed, the conference ended with a definite recommendation for the socialist transformation of the Nigerian economy as the only basis for an independent virile foreign policy.

Well, it was not quite so. And such reports missed out at least one very important fact. There was no hijack at

Kuru — at least, not in the crude sense of the word. And the left won the day at Kuru only because it worked for it. The left did its homework, came to Kuru not just with simple arguments but fully armed with well argued, fully documented papers rooted in the concrete experience of Nigeria.

The thrust of the Left's argument was that you can have an independent foreign policy only if you have an independent economy, and the only way to make our economy independent is to transform it into a socialist one. The Left argued its case well and got this position through. But above all, what happened in Kuru showed clearly the growing strength of radicalism in Nigeria.

Below, we publish excerpts from the report of the political committee of the conference, chaired by ABU's Bala Usman:

PRINCIPLES

Given these foundations and current conditions of Nigeria and its foreign relations and foreign policy, and given the fundamental interest and needs of its people:

* The first principle of Nigerian foreign policy is that all nations have a fundamental right to freedom and independence and the defence of their sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, free from any foreign interference.

* The second principle of foreign policy is that all nations have a fundamental right to freedom and independence and the defence of their sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, free from any foreign interference.

* The fourth principle of Nigerian foreign policy is that all nations have a fundamental right to secure and utilise all their human and natural resources for their own independent national development, free from imperialist or any form of foreign domination.

* The third principle of Nigerian foreign policy is the people of Africa, and black people everywhere have a common

destiny and their progress requires their solidarity and cooperation.

* The fourth principle of Nigerian foreign policy is that the defence and promotion of the independence, equality, and mutual respect of all nations requires the elimination of all forms of racism and of all relations of exploitation of man by man within, and among, nations.

* The fifth principle of Nigerian foreign policy is that the promotion of independence, equality, and mutual respect among nations requires respect for human dignity, human rights and social justice in all nations.

* The sixth principle of Nigerian foreign policy is that world peace can only be secured on the basis of equality and mutual respect among nations, and equity and social justice within nations, and total opposition to militarism and aggression in any form.

* The seventh principle of Nigerian foreign policy is that it shall, at all times, promote the unity of the people of Nigeria, on the basis of the secular nature of the Nigerian state and Nigeria shall not belong to, or have diplomatic

relations with, any international religious organisation or institution.

OBJECTIVES

Given these foundations, current conditions, fundamental interest and needs, and the seven principles arising from them, set out above, the objectives of Nigerian foreign policy until the year 2000 A.D. should be:

* The defence and promotion of Nigerian sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and national independence.

* The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa which will secure the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national independence of all African countries and their total liberation from imperialism and all other forms of foreign domination.

* The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa for the securing and renewal of all the human and natural resources of Africa, for the rapid, self-reliant and integrated ecological, economic, social, cultural and political development of all its people, and the building of a united Africa.

* The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in the rest of the world which shall ensure the independence, dignity, and self-reliant development of Nigeria, Africa, all black peoples, and all other oppressed peoples everywhere.

* The defence and promotion of world peace built on the freedom, equality, mutual respect, justice, and independence for all the peoples of the world.

STRATEGIES

Given these principles and objectives the strategies for the implementation of Nigerian foreign policy until the year 200 A.D.

* The first strategy of Nigerian foreign policy shall be the building of a solid domestic base of genuine democratisation of political power at the local, state, and federal levels, to enable every Nigerian to defend the country and its

resources, promote its foreign policy principles and objective and contribute in all other ways to foreign policy formulation and implementation.

* The second strategy of Nigerian foreign policy shall be the taking over by the people of Nigeria of complete control over the material resources and social wealth collectively produced by their labour for national development, and foreign relations based on these seven principles and five objectives. This strategy involves the disengagement of Nigeria, and the Nigerian economy from the existing relations, and structures of foreign exploitation and domination which now block the realisation of its potential.

* The third strategy of Nigerian foreign policy is to identify with and actively participate in the struggle against imperialism and all forms of foreign domination, the struggle for the unity of Africa and the struggle for peace, democracy and social process for all mankind.

INSTRUMENTS

Given these principles, objectives and strategies for the formulation and implementation of Nigerian foreign policy, the instruments for this implementation should be:

* The people of Nigeria constitute the core instrument for the implementation of Nigerian foreign policy.

* The organs, bodies, and institutions for the formulation and implementation of Nigerian foreign policy in the public service, and outside, including the media and private organisation and associations should be re-oriented to reflect and serve the interests and aspirations of the Nigerian people and to effectively pursue these principles, objectives according to these strategies.

* All international organisations, agencies, institutions and fora should be clearly seen as instrument for implementation of Nigerian foreign policy and Nigeria should be effectively represented in each and every one of them in pursuance of our foreign policy objectives.

* Other international organs for the pursuit of Nigerian foreign

policy objectives like clubs of countries with a common interest, associations, and various types of arrangement should be established and promoted for the effective defence and pursuit of our economic and other interests.

SPECIAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee after due consideration of issues and factors enumerated above, makes the following recommendations:

* That it is in Nigeria's interest to stand by other African countries in order to guarantee its own security and independence;

* That despite Nigeria's potential to lead Africa there is a need to negate its perception as an appendage of the West resulting from its ambivalent and ambiguous position as exemplified by its reaction to recent events in Libya;

* That with respect to South Africa, Nigeria should now take a definite stand giving support only to African National Congress as the only legitimate representative of the people of South Africa and urge all others to unite under its umbrella;

* That in order to achieve the above it is necessary to establish in the Ministry of External Affairs, a division to deal exclusively with regional conflict;

* That Nigeria should not only articulate an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial stance within the OAU, but should also join the progressive group which it should attempt to control as alliance with moderates tarnish its image and undermine its credibility;

* That for greater efficiency information officers be seconded to the Ministry of External Affairs as Nigeria's image makers abroad subject, however, to their being under the administrative control of the ambassadors;

* That *Voice of Nigeria* should be better organised, oriented and funded to enable it carry out its world wide functions more effectively;

* That, the danger in employing the services of foreign public relations firms in strategic places in the world should be avoided and where it becomes necessary to



■ Bolaji Akinyemi,
Minister of External Affairs

* That in view of failure of reformism to unseat apartheid, Nigeria's role in the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons is entirely unnecessary and uncalled for an General Obasanjo should be withdrawn;

* That Nigeria, by virtue of her neutrality in almost all African countries, should actively play the role of arbiter;



■ Malam Haroun Adamu,
Chairman of Organising Committee

* employ foreigners the services of friendly members of Parliaments, Congress and powerful pressure groups who have the interest of our country at heart should be sought.

* That there is a need to support UNESCO's document on New Information Order since it is in

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Shugaba *Contd. from Page 19*

to the NPN party barons in Borno, who, for the first time in living memory would be facing the prospects of living in Maiduguri with a government that would not be their own, and which they could not manipulate.

We have also seen, for the leadership of the second republic, to have government generally amounted to having the controlling share of a big business enterprise. To teach lesson to those who would deny them this, the punishment must be devastating, exemplary, and all embracing. All must feel the impact, and learn from it. The deportation had that effect. There was a time in the course of the Second Republic when many a proud Nigerian especially if he was not in the right political camp, had felt that he could be deported!

Any Lesson?

Had we learnt any lesson from the experience of the attempted deportation of Shugaba? We had not.

Principally, there are two reasons

for this assertion: the high stakes now involved in the game of politics (as conceived by the Nigerian bourgeoisie); and, the fact that political crimes of the elite were not pursued and punished.

Wasn't Shehu Shagari as the Minister of Internal Affairs, and through the then Federal Electoral Commission, in charge of elections in the country, as from 1962? It was during his tenure that the famous treason trials involving Chief Awolowo and Chief Anthony Enahoro were conducted, in the process of which certain British counsels, including Sir Dingle Foot, were "excluded" from the proceedings and in effect expelled from the country. During the period of the first republic also many members of the Sawaba Party of Niger (under whose guise, some opposition elements of Nigerian origin) were regularly expelled from the country, or were put in indefinite detention.

No one is today talking of bringing to book all those who had colluded in, and executed these nefarious deeds

against innocent and well-meaning Nigerians. Thus, while this major act of "man's inhumanity to man" remains uninvestigated and unpunished, its major objective, that is obtaining and holding public office for personal gain, continues to maintain its attractive prospects. To that extent, no lesson could be said to have been learnt from the vicissitudes of people like Shugaba Abdurrahman, and the Third Republic which we are yearning for, could be still-born, if no comprehensive attempt is undertaken to rid our body politic of these undemocratic and unprogressive practices.

In the difficult business of establishing a just, egalitarian and democratic polity which we say we are engaged in today, it is not the mere wish for good leadership that will usher in the *messiah*, but the certainty that all crimes against the people will be detected and punished, and the guarantee that public office will not be used for personal self-aggrandisement and comfortable life thereafter.

Dr. Kyari Tijani

Nigeria's Search for Foreign Policy

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Nigeria's interest;

* That Nigeria should promote and support a New International Legal Order and should not be deterred in the pursuit of its foreign policy by ethnocentric international law.

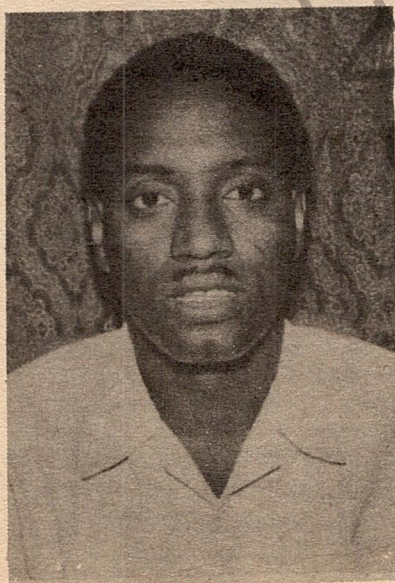
* That Nigeria should spearhead a convention on the recovery of third world resources corruptly or illegally transferred to foreign countries.

* That Nigeria's relations with Israel should be clearly placed on principled basis consistent with our opposition to racism and colonialism. Therefore given the racist nature of zionism and its links with apartheid South Africa, Nigeria should not have diplomatic relations with Israel;

* That Nigeria should not be subservient to any power and should aim at terminating its dependent relationship and developing an independent domestic foreign policy;

* That as a counter to the imperialist attempt to force Nigeria into exploitative bilateral relationships all such agreements entered

into by Nigeria must be carefully scrutinized and any new ones carefully negotiated to avoid clauses therein that may endanger our economic and political sovereignty;



■ Yusufu Bala Usman,
Chairman Political Committee

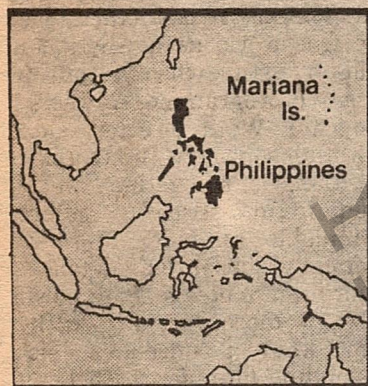
* That 'in the light of the above Nigeria should play a more dominant role in Third World relations, such as the South-South Co-operation, the Group of 77, the Non-Aligned Movement, OPEC, ECOWAS and other similar organisations;

* That Nigeria should withdraw from the Commonwealth and other such bodies since it serves to perpetrate capitalist world view and exploitation, factors which impeded the pursuit of a virile and independent foreign policy;

* That Nigeria should remain in the IMF and the World Bank in order to transform it in cooperation with progressive forces;

* That Nigeria should, through her bilateral relations with countries having black presence, seek to promote the interest of such blacks;

That Nigeria should reject privatisation of the media as a necessary condition for their playing an adequate and positive role in projecting Nigeria's image abroad.



US front line in the Philippines

Clark air base

13th Air Force

Area: 55,000 hectares
 Military personnel: 8,000
 Civilians: 800
 Dependants: 12,000

Injection into economy: \$115 m.
 Capacity: 800 aircraft

Subic naval base

Radar & supply depot of US 7th Fleet

Area: 26,000 hectares (11,000 water)
 Military personnel: 7,000
 Civilians: 500
 Dependants: 6,200

Injection into economy: \$200 m.
 Ships in port daily: 12

■ A map showing US bases in the Philippines

THE FALL OF MARCOS: What Lessons for Nigeria?

ON the night of 25th February, 1986, two U.S. Air Force C-141 planes lifted off from the U.S. airforce base near Manila. The first plane carried 89 members of the family, servants, friends and aides of Ferdinand Marcos (ruler of the Philippines for 21 years), fleeing from the regime of Corazon Aquino, which was installed by peoples power, in co-operation with the U.S. Government. In addition to the 89 people, this plane also carried the personal luggage of the Marcos family, including more than \$1,000,000 (₦1,000,000) in currency and millions in jewelry. The second plane was reported carrying more than 22 crates of new currency notes (worth more than \$5 million), gold bullion, works of art, stocks, shares and documents indicating vast foreign property holdings.

But this was only a tiny fraction of the total Marcos fortune. It is estimated that during his 21 years in

office, Marcos managed to accumulate a personal fortune of at least \$10 billion — almost all of it looted from the people of the Philippines. In fact, the widely publicised 'stability' of the Philippines under Marcos was nothing more than a front for the massive looting of the economy, and the increasing impoverishment of its workers and peasants.

Information is now emerging about the scale of Marcos' plunder of his country. Over 2,000 pages of financial documents carried out of the country by Marcos give details of his world wide property holdings in bank accounts, stocks, real estate and dummy (front) corporations. These papers reveal that Marcos and his associates made no distinction between public and private funds. The Marcos family freely drew on government accounts for personal expenses.

For instance, Imelda Marcos used the Philippines intelligence budget as

the equivalent of a credit card, to pay for over \$2 million in travelling expenses to Kenya, Iraq, New York and elsewhere.

There is also the revelation of an \$80 million payment made in 1976 to a Marcos associate by the U.S. based Westinghouse Electric Corporation, in return for a contract to construct the Philippines first nuclear power plant — a plant which up to now is not functioning.

A court in the U.S. is also investigating the role of close Marcos associates in receiving kickbacks for contracts financed out of U.S. military aid to the Philippines. The amount involved runs into hundreds of millions of dollars.

Newspaper reports in the U.S. have revealed that Marcos owns four large commercial buildings in New York city and a large country estate on Long Island, a posh suburb of New York. These properties are valued at about



■ A poster in Manila

\$350 million.

And in Hong Kong, the South China *Morning Post*, a leading paper, reported that for two weeks before Marcos fled the country, a privately owned Lear Jet had been carrying cargoes of cash amounting to tens of millions of dollars from Manilla to Hong Kong. Other reports indicate that huge amounts of gold bullion had been similarly shipped out by Marcos.

Just like the Nigerian politicians of the Second Republic, Marcos and his associates never invested a kobo in their own country, but devised all sorts of tricks to smuggle their stolen loot into foreign bank accounts and foreign investments. In order to hide this, Marcos and his friends set up many 'front' (fake) companies in the U.S., Netherlands Antilles, Panama and Europe, to channel and conceal their wealth.

But at the same time that they were hiding away stolen funds in all corners of the world, the Marcoses led an extravagant and opulent life style. When the Malacanang Palace in Manilla was opened to the public after the Marcoses fled, the following items were revealed in Imelda's bedroom: 3,000 pairs of shoes, 500 black brassiers, a huge collection of Gucci handbags (the most expensive in the world), and enough dresses to clothe half of the population of Manilla. (And this is only what they left behind!)

As at last count the sum stolen by Marcos totals at least \$10 billion —

more than 1/3 of the total national debt of the Philippines, which stands at about \$26 billion.

And all of this plunder was occurring in one of the poorest countries of Southeast Asia — in a country where 90 percent of the population are impoverished peasants and workers, where unemployment is currently running at 57 per cent, where the average urban income is only \$250 per person per year, and where most workers, peasants and unemployment were going barefoot while Imelda was hoarding her 3,000 pairs of shoes.

History:

The Philippines is an island nation of 48 million people. It was colonised by Spain in the 16th century, and was under Spanish rule for more than 300 years. After the Spanish-American War of 1898, in which the U.S. defeated Spain, the nation became a U.S. colony. Under U.S. rule, the Philippines became a classic colonial economy — producing agricultural products like sugar and copra (dried coconut) for export and becoming a market for American manufactured goods.

At the end of World War II, in 1946, the Philippines gained their formal independence, but remained very much as U.S. neo-colony, since the U.S. had the right to maintain over 20 military bases and installations in the country, and U.S. citizens acquired (through an amendment to the Philippines Constitution) equal rights with Filipinos to exploit the country's

natural resources. In 1948, non-Filipinos controlled 48.1% of total assets in seven major areas of the economy: forestry, transportation, mining, electricity, fisheries, manufacturing and commerce. More recently, the Chairman of the National Economic Council stated that non-Filipinos control 70 per cent of Philippines foreign trade, and 80 per cent of domestic trade. The Philippines continues to play a crucial role in U.S. economic as well as military strategy in Asia.

Ferdinand Marcos was elected President of the Philippines in 1965. Originally proclaimed as a reformer and a nationalist, over his 21 years in office he pursued policies which placed more and more control over the economic and political life of the country in the hands of the IMF and World Bank, as well as the U.S. government and the U.S. military. Widespread protest over these policies from urban workers, as well as rural peasants organised in the New Peoples Army, led him to declare Martial Law in September 1972, in order to give an illusion of stability so as to encourage increased foreign investment. Since declaring Martial Law, Marcos was maintained in power by a combination of political repression and rigged elections, all firmly supported by his U.S. allies.

Economy:

From about 1970, the economic life of the Philippines came to be completely dominated by the IMF and the World Bank. Economic policies in both industry and agriculture were determined by the Bank, and by government officials appointed and approved by the Bank. The World Bank strongly promoted the policy of 'export-led growth' in agriculture and manufacturing. As we will see, this policy of concentrating on production for export was to have fatal consequences for the economy, and above all for the working people of the Philippines.

From independence in 1946, the Philippines, like many countries in Latin America and Africa, had followed a policy of import substitution in the industrial sector. Tariff barriers were erected to protect local industries, and by the late 1950's, the Philippines had developed an industrial sector which filled the domestic demand for light consumer goods, processed food, shoes, clothing, etc. This policy also produced a small class of local industrialists and entrepreneurs, who wielded considerable power through the national legislature.

However, the policy of import substitution eventually led to economic

“What has been called ‘crony capitalism’ took the place of local industrialists. Marcos surrounded himself with friends and relations who became overnight millionaires’

stagnation, since industry was unable to grow beyond the limits of the relatively small markets; and by the 1960s, industry could no longer absorb the growing urban labour force. In agriculture too, the policy proved unable to meet the nation’s need for basic food. In 1960 the Philippines imported \$2 million worth of rice; by 1972 rice imports had risen to \$34 million. Moreover, income distribution grew more and more unequal, as a few entrepreneurs and rural landowners earned most of the national income, with the workers and peasants hardly managing to survive.

At the same time, U.S. business (under special protective regulations) continued to milk the country. U.S. enterprises were so lucrative that for every dollar invested by American corporations in the Philippines between 1946 and 1976, the net profit came to \$3.58. Of this amount, \$2 was repatriated to the U.S.

Into this situation stepped the World Bank and the IMF. The first move was a 60 per cent devaluation of the *Peso* relative to the value of the dollar. The immediate result was a huge increase in domestic inflation (from 1.3 per cent in 1969 to 14.8 per cent in 1970) and the bankruptcy of numerous Filipino businessmen, who suddenly had to pay more for the imported inputs for their products. At the same time, the merchants in control of sugar production and export trade made huge profits.

Foreign Capital:

The next step was to open the country to foreign capital, and induce production for export, by removing protective tariffs, and introducing policies to encourage foreign investment. These policies were implemented by Marcos and the IMF — World Bank experts who dominated economic decision making in the government. The immediate effect of these policies was to destroy the indigenous business class (who had built their base on import substitution) because the local entrepreneurs could not compete with more efficient and large scale production organised by

multinational business. These local industrialists became completely marginalised; moreover the declaration of Martial Law eliminated their political power base in the legislature.

What has been called ‘*Crony Capitalism*’ took the place of local industrialists. Marcos surrounded himself with friends and relations who became overnight millionaires as a result of their connection with those at the helm of affairs, through their access to government funds, and huge amounts of U.S. military and

Asian countries, the government implemented a policy of wage repression, which forced down the real value of workers wages by 50 per cent between 1960—1975. In 1977-78, the value of wages was again forced down by 25-30 per cent. Moreover, the government instituted a differential wage policy, whereby wages in the export sector were kept lower than those in industries producing for domestic consumption. Of course, the workers did not take this lying down; protests and strikes erupted. In response, the government banned strikes, prevented the emergence of independent labour unions, and resorted to imprisoning, torturing and murdering labour leaders who dared to oppose government policies. Political repression of the most brutal type, as well as increasing impoverishment, was the price the Philippine working class paid for the policy of ‘export led growth’.

In the rural areas too, World Bank — IMF policies spelled trouble for the peasants and agricultural workers. Export agriculture was promoted at



■ Mrs. Corazon Aquino with her Vice Presidential candidate, Salvador Laurel.

economic aid. The Marcos’ personal fortune, and that of their close associates, came largely from this stealing of public funds, rather than from participation in any productive enterprises.

The consequences for the working class of this policy of growth through exports was even more disastrous. Export industrialisation can only attract foreign capital by providing a cheap labour supply (and hence high profits). In 1971, Philippine labour was priced at an average of 30 cents (U.S.) per hour, while in the U.S. it was about \$7.50 per hour. To make the Philippines competitive with other

the expense of food crops. Multi-national agribusinesses like Dole moved in to produce bananas and pineapples for the U.S. market, and thousands of small peasants were dispossessed of their lands. By the beginning of the 1970’s, the Philippines had one of the highest land tenancy rates in Southeast Asia: about 3 million of the country’s food producers were tenant farmers, many of whom had to turn over 50 per cent or more of what they produced to their landlords.

As self-sufficiency in food disappeared and the Philippines became a major rice importer, the

World Bank turned its attention to rice production, using sophisticated irrigation technology and expensive inputs like fertilisers, pesticides, herbicides, etc. However, small farmers could not afford the costs of the new technology, and more and more of them fell into serious debt or had to sell their lands. So that by the end of the 1970's, we saw the ironic situation where agricultural growth was averaging 5 per cent a year, but according to World Bank figures, the number of families living in absolute poverty increased by 23 per cent between 1965 and 1975. Between 1976 — 1979, the real income of rice farmers declined by 53 per cent. Like workers, peasants and small farmers too paid a high price for the policy of 'export-led growth.'

In fact the whole policy of growth through exports was not only a disaster for peasants and workers, but it did not even achieve its desired goal of revitalising the Philippines economy. In fact it was a total failure. It was a failure first of all because foreign investment did not come into the Philippines, despite all the incentives offered. Rather, foreign firms financed new investment mainly from local profits and borrowing from domestic sources. Between 1973 and 1977, U.S. corporations borrowed \$1.1 billion from local sources in the Philippines. So that local capital was used to secure high profits for multinationals, who promptly repatriated these profits overseas, leading to a drain of capital from the economy. Moreover, the policy failed because internationally, protectionist policies were becoming widespread in the industrialised countries, thus closing off any markets for products produced in the Philippines and other third world countries.

In addition, the policy failed to introduce any transfer of technology, or develop local sources of raw materials. The Ford Motors assembly scheme is a good example: as part of an Asia-wide 'complementation programme', it assembled different automobile components in different Asian countries. In the Philippines, the Ford plant manufactured (or rather assembled) wheel rims, brake shoes, tie rods, and interior assemblies, while other components were assembled in various other Asian countries.

Collapse:

Finally, the collapse of export-led growth policies led the Philippines into enormous debts, and into an economic recession which in 1980 drove more than 21,000 businesses into bankruptcy, and threw thousands of workers out of their jobs.

The political outcome of these



■ Ex-President Marcos

policies was to strengthen opposition to the Marcos regime by peasants in the New Peoples Army, by workers and urban unemployed, and even by the urban middle class who found their standard of living declining rapidly. The crisis was followed by a rigged election, and a political stalemate, which was resolved when the U.S. Airforce airlifted Marcos and his friends out of the country to exile in Hawaii, from where they have tried to take refuge from a constant stream of accusations and exposes which have documented the monumental scale of their plundering of the Philippines economy.

In the Philippines itself, Mrs. Corazon Aquino, a millionaire in her own right, but whose husband was murdered by Marcos' henchmen, is trying to put together a government to 'reform' the situation, and bring about the stability that the U.S. and imperialist interests require for their continued exploitation of the country. But the problem of the Philippines has gone beyond cosmetic solutions — only a fundamental change in the exploitative structure of the society, and the building of an independent economy, free from the influence of the U.S., the IMF, World Bank, etc., can create true stability. The workers and peasants of the Philippines have not struggled for so long only to accept the crumbs while leaving the Filipino elite and their foreign masters to enjoy the cake.

Lessons:

The recent history of the Philippines holds important lessons for all Nigerians, because what has happened in the Philippines over the past 15 years looks like it is about to repeat itself here. The same export-led growth strategy, which failed so dismally in the Philippines, in Brazil, and in every other country where it has been tried, is the very strategy that the present Nigerian government is proclaiming as the road to economic salvation for Nigeria. Just like in the Philippines, this strategy spells disaster and immiseration for Nigerian workers and peasants. Just like in the Philippines, no government can implement such policies without resorting to brutal repression, because just like in the Philippines, Nigerian workers and peasants will not sit idly by and watch government policies deprive them of their land, their jobs, and their livelihood. And just like in the Philippines, the rulers of Nigeria will learn that no amount of foreign political, economic, or military support can perpetuate in power an unpopular government, or one whose policies have been declared bankrupt by the working people of this country.

N. D. Bariki



■ Protests in Cap-Haitien

HAITI: Property, Poverty and Peoples' Power

Until February this year, the small Caribbean island of Haiti with a land area of just 27,750 square kilometres and a population of six million, was little known outside Central America. The little that was known about the country outside the Caribbean was for the most part, provided by American soap operas and cheap movies — which portrayed the country more or less as the bastion of an archaic and primitive black religion called Voodoo.

However, the explosion of riots demonstrations, strikes and other forms of popular protests which rocked the country in January and

February this year, and which led eventually to the deposition and flight of the country's dictator, president 'Baby Doc' Duvalier, has changed all that. Haiti has now moved into the centre-stage of world attention and the conditions there are now the subject of debate and discussions in homes and offices across the globe.

Haiti was the first independent black republic to emerge in the modern world, having been created in August 1791 after a general slave uprising led first by Boukman and later by Toussaint L'Ouverture. During the first six weeks of this uprising, some 200

sugar plantations, owned by French and Spanish colonists were burnt down. One thousand whites were butchered and about 10,000 slaves lost their lives in the course of the struggle.

In modern times therefore, Haiti gave the first example of humanity's rejection of the principle that you can treat another human being as a property to be owned and alienated at the whims and caprices of another human being just as any other animate or inanimate objects so treated. Yet, it is an irony of historic proportions that this small country which in 1791 showed the world the limits to which society can tolerate the tyranny of property, itself became for more than 28 years the

whimpering victims of the excesses of a tiny of group of people under the oppressive headship of the Duvalier dynasty and the general supervision of U.S. imperialism.

Francois Duvalier — father of Jean-Claude Duvalier (Baby Doc) who fled the country last February — came to power in 1957 on the crest of a popular discontent with the inept and corrupt government of President Magloire. By 1971 when Duvalier died, Haiti had become the personal estate of the Duvalier family, and a system of “arbitrary personal control” over the nation’s finance had been established. His then 19-year-old son, Jean-Claude Duvalier succeeded him as President of Haiti. In the fifteen years that Jean Claude reigned as Haiti’s ruler the system of repression, state corruption and the concentration of wealth in a few hands became even more entrenched.

In 1980 Jean Claude married Michele Benneth, daughter of one of Haiti’s wealthiest men engaged in coffee and cocoa exports and the country’s sole BMW agent. This marriage further cemented the propertied classes in the country. Meanwhile, official corruption continued unabated. In 1982, former world bank official-turned Finance Minister, Mr. Mara Bazin, was sacked from the cabinet for revealing that 36 per cent of Haiti’s state revenue was corruptly diverted into private hands. An IMF team which visited Haiti’s capital, Port-Au-Prince, in 1981 discovered that 16 million US dollars had disappeared from various government establishments over a period of three months. The team also discovered that Jean Claude Duvalier himself had taken 20 million US dollars from government coffers for his own personal use in December 1980. This was not all, the Haitian Central Bank had also been instructed to pay his wife, Michele, a salary of 100,000 United States dollars a month!

The result of all these has been an incredible concentration of wealth and property in a few hands. The book, *Haiti: Family Business*, published in 1985 by the Latin American Bureau in London



■ Port-an-Prince slum: The miserable class in Haiti is larger than all other classes combined.

reveals that “out of Haiti’s estimated 6 million population, just 24,000 people own 40 per cent of the nation’s wealth. One per cent of the population receive 44 per cent of the national income but pay only 3.5 per cent in taxes.”



■ Ex-President Duvalier

While the country is the poorest in the western hemisphere and one of the 25 poorest in the world, there is an extreme and widening gap between the rich and the poor. The personal fortune of the Duvalier family is said to amount to some 400 million US dollars while the country’s Gross National Product (GNP) for 1983 stood at a mere 315 million U.S. dollars.

According to *Haiti: Family Business*, the commercial and business sector of the country, concentrated in the capital, Port Au Prince, is dominated by 3,000

families who enjoy a fabulous standard of living, with an income of more than 90,000 U.S. dollars per year. The country is said to have 200 millionaires residing in Port Au Prince in luxury air-conditioned villas in the cool suburbs in the hills above the city, complete with tennis courts, swimming pools, and carefully tended gardens.

This is the Haiti that bubbled and boiled over in February this year. Considering the high level of corruption and concentration of wealth and property in a few hands, it was inevitable that something would give way. What has happened to ‘Baby Doc’ Duvalier can provide an object lesson to the people of many African countries, especially Nigeria — both the propertied and the impoverished and dispossessed. Whatever happens however there can be more doubt that time is on the side of the oppressed.

Richard Umaru

Mandela's Reply to Botha

On Sunday 10 February, 1985, Zindzi Mandela read her father's statement in reply to Botha's offer of conditional release to the people gathered at Jabulami amphitheatre in Soweto. Below we reproduce full text of the statement.

My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone. And that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor prison, but he hopes he also speaks for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

My father says "I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly fifty years. If there is any one among you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine."

My father says, "I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country but that was ignored.

"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored.

"When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a National Convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

"It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid.

"Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

"I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom. I owe it to the widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these long lonely wasted years. I am not less life-loving than you are. But I can-



■ Mr. Botha



■ Nelson Mandela

not sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organization, the African National Congress, which was banned. What freedom am I being offered while the organization of the people is banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence? What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so."

My father says, "I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return."

Zindzi Mandela

Radical Shift in Theatre Arts

The Sixth Nigerian Theatre Arts Festival hosted by Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria witnessed the emergence of Zaria and Benin as the new centres of dramatic arts and criticism in Nigeria. This illustrates a *radical* shift in Nigerian drama both in confronting the reality of a new structure of performance (the Mud Brick Theatre which is unique in Nigeria), and also in terms of the thematic and ideological focus of the productions.

When this festival was held in Jos in 1982, the dominant tradition then was the "Ibadan Model", in which productions excelled in the flamboyance of the arts of the theatre without much projection, beyond entertainment, into the struggles of the majority of Nigerians. In ABU the delegates seemed aware that they were encountering a tradition of alternative popular theatre which commits theatre practitioners to some form of political action. This type of theatre is viewed with apprehension by the establishment and marginalized. The festival was therefore an opportunity for the participants to confront the history, theory and practice of establishment theatre.

The theme of the festival was *Drama and Theatre as Mirrors of Socio-Political Realities in Nigeria*. The participants were also introduced to the process of play-making as it projects into the community, a process which has been the focus of the Zaria work. They went into Samaru to collect data, did data analysis but could not go beyond this stage because of the pressures of the night performances. However, they were able to watch a local group from Hayin Dogo (one of the local groups with which ABU is doing popular drama work) perform in another village Giwa (35 km from Zaria) along the Zaria-Sokoto road. This in practice provided the basis for discussion-workshops in the daytime.

At night, the drama village came



■ A scene from ABU's "Mother Die For Me"

to life with two performances of each entry-production held every night: one between 7 and 9 in the evening and the other between 9 and 11 in the evening, to ease congestion. Every night, about seven hundred people watched the performances, the most impressive audience turn-out since this festival started in 1980. The climax of the festival came with the performance by the University of Ife of Teju Olaniyan's "How long?", a musical with a live band on stage. Over one thousand, three hundred people watched the Ife performances.

Eight universities participated, with Nsukka as observers. The entries were mainly drawn from plays by the second generation of Nigerian dramatists. Despite the dominance of the pioneer dramatists such as Soyinka, Clark, and Rotimi on the university curriculum, they rarely feature in these festivals. The plays performed: Femi Osofisan's plays — Benin's *Once Upon Four Robbers* and Port-Harcourt's *The Chattering and the Song*; Akanji Nasiru's "The Bold Choice" (Ilorin); Ibadan's *The Shattered Bridge*; "The Dreamers" by Calabar and ABU's "Mother Die for Me", ex-

emplify the pre-occupation of the emergent Nigerian dramatists with the exploitation of the people. This however, imbues the plays with a rhetoricist tendency which stifles characterization.

Mention must be made though, of the professional quality of Ben's *Once Upon Four Robbers*, and their dance drama which came on the last night of the festival, executed with so much aesthetic finesse that it contrasted sharply with another dance drama by the University of Ibadan.

There were also lectures; Egwugwu Illah's theme lecture: "Drama and Theatre as Mirrors of Socio-Political Realities in Nigeria", Jenkeri Okwori's "Children in the Theatre: Towards a Re-Definition of Theatre for Children in the School Curriculum"; Mbulelo Mzamane's "Theatre and the People's Struggles in South Africa"; and symposia; the symposia on the critic as a builder or destroyer featuring A.B.U's Awam Amkpa and Tanimu Abubakar, Ilorin's Ayo Akinwale, Benin's Pat Idioye, Jos' Zack Amata, and Ife's Teju Olaniyan was the most interesting.

Egwugwu Illah

Capital and Labour in the Nigerian Tin Mines

Author: Bill Freund

Publishers: Longman, 1981.

Price: Not indicated.

Reviewer: Monday Mangwat

“*Capital and Labour in the Nigerian Tin Mines*” is an important work for two major reasons. Firstly, it is the first researched historical study of the subject it deals with. Secondly, the framework within which the book is conceived and written represents an important landmark in Nigerian historiography. For these reasons, a review of the book is long overdue.

Drawing from his experience of similar historical developments in Southern Africa, the author, Dr. Bill Freund — both a teacher and colleague of this reviewer — has aptly assembled, sifted, and analysed an enormous body of data on the tin mines of the Jos Plateau which he collected from within Nigeria and in the United Kingdom. The book which covers some 266 pages of print is organised into eight carefully planned chapters which, together, reveal both the internal logic and the historical conjunctural processes which governed the relationship between mining capital and peasant labour from the beginning to the near-end of this important extractive industry.

The book is profoundly Marxist in its theoretical grounding and in its treatment of the subject matter despite the author's reluctance to admit this (p.3). Evidently, therefore, the author has penetrating insights into the key concepts and elements which together give meaning to and which make the political economy approach the most scientific mode of understanding and studying all human societies, particularly, neocolonial socio-economic formations and how they can transform into higher and better systems and conditions of human existence. The book therefore does not suffer from any conceptual confusion nor evasiveness.

The first chapter surveys the nature of the tin industry prior to colonial conquest in terms of the quality and volume of the tin ore smelted and used in the manufacture of a number of items. It notes the existence of an advance tin technology involving prospecting, smelting and smithing — which contained up to 70 per cent purity locally. Strangely enough, it seems that the

Berom and Anaguta, in whose territories the tin ore existed in abundance did not know how to smelt the mineral. This was curious in view of the wide knowledge of iron smelting in the Jos Plateau region. The pre-colonial tin industry was, therefore concentrated in Ririwen Dalma organised by Hausawa settlers from Kano and Bauchi who had moved into that area in the earlier decades of the 19th century.

This is followed by *Chapter Two*, which, drawing largely from the Public Records sources in the United Kingdom — particularly, the Colonial Office — tells the pathetic story of how the European, mainly the British mining companies took over the tin industry of the Jos Plateau. This was done initially through an extremely brutal conquest of the Plateau by the colonial state, but also later through a series of mineral legislations, including official fraud on the part of British colonial officials. The major point of emphasis of this chapter however, is the role of the colonial state in the conquest of the Jos Plateau, the destruction of indigenous miners through legislation, the provision of infrastructure, and the recruitment of labour. The totality of these resulted in a complete rupture of the indigenous economy based on peasant “subsistent” agriculture and the forcible reallocation of peasant labour to the tin industry as unskilled labour.

Then follows *Chapter Three* on the life of labour. The chapter is devoted to the sources and manner of recruitment of labour and the appalling health, housing and wage conditions under which it operated. It also deals with the categorisation of labour in terms of levels of skills as well as its nationality characteristics. What comes out very clearly and correctly also, is an overwhelming documentation of the collaboration of the colonial state and the mining companies to deliberately create and perpetuate a cheap reservoir of proletarianised peasantry whose culture is characterised by extreme alcoholism, gambling, prostitution, *uwar tuwo* (feeding

'Peasant resistance and the Berom question are treated; and ... workers' resistance

through trade unions are taken up'

on debts), theft, indebtedness and mass poverty.

The book then pauses to describe and discuss the business of tin in *Chapter Four*. The chapter deals with issues concerning proprietorship (identification of the major mining companies and their external connections), the expansion and contraction of the tin business, profits, production as well as the mechanical and physical infrastructure employed in the tin business. All these are discussed with a view to answering an important question posed at the beginning of the chapter and whose answer Freund does not take for granted, namely: who profited from the establishment of Nigerian tin-mining on a capitalist basis, why and in what form?

Rather disappointingly, Freund does not answer the question directly; instead, he allowed the mass of data on ownership of mining enterprises, production tables etc to speak for themselves.

The next three chapters then return to a discussion of labour. First, the recruitment of forced labour during the second world war is examined; secondly, peasant resistance and the Berom question are treated; and, thirdly, workers resistance through trade unions are taken up. It is instructive to note that the second world war was the catalyst in all these developments.

In this regard, Freund correctly points out that, apart from the war conditions and needs which affected the importation of machinery adversely, the lost of Malasian sources of tin by British, in 1942, led to a complete dependence on the Nigerian tin.

In order to double production, colonial officials gave out more and more prospecting and mining licences which, in effect, closed in on the little that was left of the Berom and Anaguta farmlands. Under these harsh conditions the Berom peasantry became irritated and began to demand for land compensation and organised the Berom Progressive Movement (BPM) in pursuit of this and other matters. Similarly, mass desertions and protest became rampant among the conscript labourers

while the regular company employees began to organise trade unions which demanded improved wages and condition of service.

These important developments are discussed in detail but they are largely based on the archival records to a relative neglect of the oral sources. Consequently, the actual degree of suffering which was inflicted on the Berom peasantry and the mines labourers was only mildly brought out since the colonial records deliberately down-played these events in their documentation.

The last chapter returns to an explanatory discourse of the main theme of the book, namely, the nature of relationship between capital and labour in the Jos Plateau tin mines. Titled: "The political economy of tin and the role of the state 1945-79", the chapter overviews the major developments in the tin industry after the world war, particularly the fluctuating inter-national market; the gradual Nigerianisation of some of the managerial posts in the mining companies including an increasing participation of the Nigerian state in the tin business in terms of the purchase of shares and an increase in the rate of royalty to the Nigerian government. These are discussed within the frame work of underdevelopment theory, but drawing attention to the class issues which underdevelopment theory, in general tends to ignore.

On the whole, there are a few problem areas such as the discussion of the pre-colonial socio-economic formation on the Jos Plateau (pp. 10-12— which do not fit the region. Similarly, there are a few mistakes of documentation. For example, the reports on farm surveys of Berom villages by J. G. Davies — an important source for reconstructing the process of Berom impoverishment, is cited as SNP 17/4/ 42667 and 42668, instead of 62267 and 62268 respectively. However, these do not in anyway affect the vigour of analysis nor validity of the thesis which the book argues through successfully.



■ Marie Laure Edom

A Festive Forum

Affirming the inevitable triumph of collective, creative and committed genius over difficult economic realities, overt racism and ascendent fascism, London's **Fifth International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books** was coming of age and, for us first comers, a pleasant surprise.

We expected books and more books. We got books alright, as well as poems, plays, politics and people. Lots of people: actors,

dancers, poets, novelists, publishers and activists, mostly committed to using their respective skills for social transformation.

Organised by New Beacon Books, Race Today Publications and Bogle L'Ouverture, the book fair and the accompanying festival lasted a week — from Sunday, 2nd March to Sunday, 9th March, 1986, and had as the central themes "Nkrumah — 20 years after," and "The struggle for Southern Africa." Other sub-

themes were "India After Indira — New Directions in the Indian State and Society," "Racist killings and the Rise of Fascism in Europe", and "The Tale, the Short Story, the Novella and the novel: What is Emerging?"

At the session on India after Indira, Darryl D'Monte, Meghnad Desai and Farrukh Dhondy focused on the current crisis in that country and the attempt by Rajiv Gandhi to carry out what massive popular opposition prevented his mother from doing: handing over the state to private capital. They also spoke of the massive export of agricultural commodities out of India, in the face of persistent draught and starvation in more than twenty states, in pursuit of foreign exchange for the hi-tech programme. The disastrous environmental effects of the Indian experiment was also highlighted.

The seriousness of the theme "**Racist Killings and the Rise of Fascism in Europe**" was rudely brought home to participants when one of the speakers, Mogniss Abdullah, was stabbed by a racist on the boat from France and had to be rushed to hospital. Discussions focused on the rise of a new wave of European fascism, its internationalization, the emergence of its global strategy and its combining institutional means (using the police, judiciary, parliamentary organs) as well as the usual arson, knifing, murder and bombings. Events in France and other European countries, increasingly co-ordinated from USA were highlighted. So was the rising oppositions to these, particularly in Britain, where the class nature of their unpleasant reality is fast becoming apparent to a significant section of the white unemployed youth.

Besides the other themes (to be discussed in a subsequent write up) there was an open panel on publishing, focusing mainly on the problems of distribution between soft and hard currency countries and what possible options to pursue, though clearly no viable solutions emerged.

There were some disappointments though. The renowned Cuban poet Nancy Morejon could not



■ Big names at the festival: L-R: John la Rose; Darcus Howe and Errol McLeod; and Ama Ata Aidoo.

make it to London. The ANC missed both the Forum and the panel on Southern Africa, leaving the stage to the Black Consciousness Movement — who, by assuming we were all some white liberals they should shock into feeling guilty and by a series of contradictory and even confused statements, managed to lose the night.

As we have pointed out earlier, there were things besides books and discussions. Souleman Cisse's film FINYE (The Wind), was something. So was Stuni Moodley's play "Prison Walls" which was brought all the way from Johannesburg. Cameroun's Paul Dakeyo, Nigeria's Odi Ofeimun, Pakistan's Faraz Khan,

Edward Glissant (Martinique) Jaki Seroke and Benjy Francis (both South Africans) performed powerfully at the poetry evening, except that one needed an excellent command of French to follow some of these, as translation was not really available.

The concert night, dedicated to the struggle women of Southern Africa, was quite simply the best we have seen for years. It opened with a rather uninspiring cabaret — type dance, and built up fast, with the 'Creative Messengers' Lioness Chant, continuing the black oral tradition with moving lyrics; Vara Bramah in the Hindustani classical tradition, Marie-Laure Edom's dance which was to be seen to be believed, Ghana's

Ama Ata Aidoo and Jamaica's 'dub' poet Jean Binta Breeze, both delivering powerful poetry and serious social commentary on our times. The traditional Afro-American group 'Serious Bizness' winded up with songs of protest and freedom which we all joined.

We all left with new facts, new ideas and many new acquaintances. And memories of Sarah White, Gus John, Michael La Rose, Darcus Howe, Leila Hassan and others who made this event possible; of Errol McLeod who opened the Bookfair and stayed to the end; of Mathew Butler who can the van, the tape recorders and the cameras and managed to retain enough energy to circulate; and lastly memories of the director, John la Rose, who miraculously managed to find the strength not only to lead but also to remain a reservoir of information, ideas, humour and warmth, making the Albert Road "hotel" a festive forum to the early hours of the mornings.

We left with one clear convictions: *The Sun Will Rise.*

'We left with new facts, new ideas and many new acquaintances'

**Sanusi Abubakar with
Siddique Mohammed**

Rinderpest Still Alive in Africa

Cattle-rearing in Africa is being threatened by two killer diseases rinderpest and Contagious Bovine Pleuropneumonia (CBPP). The diseases, which occur in selected parts of East, Central and West Africa and across the Sahel zone are reported to be killing scores of cattle daily.

Recently, laboratory technicians and field workers from Nigeria, the Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya held a one-week seminar on rinderpest, combined vaccine and quality control at the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) in Muguga, about 20 kilometres from Nairobi, to address the deteriorating situation.

The seminar, organised under the aegis of the Pan-African Rinderpest Control (PARC), was sponsored by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) as part of the FAO's technical assistance to Africa.

Kenya was chosen as the venue for the seminar because, unlike other African countries, it has managed to keep rinderpest at bay. Another factor which qualified Kenya as the undisputed host is the fact that her vaccines are rated to be of the highest quality in Black Africa.

During the seminar, participants were taught new techniques and polished methodology on vaccine production, and quality control. They were also shown films on how to produce vaccines.

The PARC, which is a follow-up to a project undertaken in Africa some 22 years ago, has a similar objective-controlling and eventually eradicating rinderpest. During the earlier project, approximately 70 head of cattle were vaccinated against rinderpest in some 22 African countries.

However, not all the countries instituted the necessary follow-up measures, and the net results is that over the last years the disease has bounced back, making the situation much like what it was in 1962.

Rinderpest is today prevalent in Northern and Southern Nigeria, Uganda, Eastern Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, and the Sudan. Experts believe that the disease entered the continent from Europe through North Africa at the beginning of

last century.

Kenya exports her surplus vaccines to these countries and some Middle East countries. According to the Director of the Veterinary Research Department in the KARI, Dr. Dadson Kariuki, Rwanda alone bought vaccines worth US \$59,375 from Kenya during the month of April alone.

A Nigerian participant, Dr. M. M. Ajayi, told the seminar that rinderpest outbreak in his country reached its peak in 1980, "but now the Federal Military Government, through its own initiative and that of donor agencies, has launched a vigorous campaign to step up vaccine production".

'Vaccine quality is very important in rinderpest control and it should always be maintained'

step up vaccine production."

He said the FAO recently donated equipment, which in addition to those provided by the Military Government, have enabled the country to be "flooded with rinderpest vaccine." Nigeria, which before 1980 was not under pressure of rinderpest, today imports about 80 per cent of rinderpest vaccine raw materials from Kenya and overseas.

The killer disease occurs mostly in Northern Nigeria, which has about 18 million head of cattle scattered all over the place. Nigeria also has pockets of cattle in the south. Dr. Ajayi, who is Nigeria's officer in charge of rinderpest vaccine, said rinderpest had now greatly minimised following the closure of his country's borders last years.

The FAO representative in Kenya, Dr. J. C. Phillips, said cleanliness played a major role in producing high-quality vaccine and that many developing countries had fallen off the mark because of working under difficult conditions. "Sometimes wind blows dust across our labs and this

consequently lowers the standards", he said.

"Vaccine quality is very important in rinderpest control and it should always be maintained," he added. Pledging the FAO's support to the PARC, Dr. Phillips told participants that they had the task to eradicate rinderpest since they were directly affected.

Kenya's Deputy Director of Veterinary services in the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, Dr. W. K. Ngulo, noted that the two most worrying cattle diseases in Africa today were rinderpest and CBPP and that it was due to the

seriousness of the situation that the first preparatory meeting for the PARC was held in Nairobi in 1981.

At this meeting a programme on the subject was adopted and subsequently presented to the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) summit in Nairobi the same year. The summit approved the programme.

Dr. Ngulo said Kenya did not have rinderpest problem, but added that she could not claim to be free from it when the disease was looming around. He admitted that a few cases of CBPP had been identified in Western Kenya.

Said Dr. Ngulo: "The obvious is that as long as the two exist on this globe, no country can be secure. We would therefore, like to request the FAO and the OAU to put the point across to the international community with the aim of securing the necessary funds to help Africa launch the PARC."

It is hoped that African countries will this time work hand in hand to realise the objectives of the PARC, especially after suffering a devastating blow following their indifference to the first programme.

Fuelwood Crisis Deepens in Uganda

IN Western Uganda those who can no longer afford firewood or its by-product charcoal are reverting to inferior fuels like agricultural waste or cowdung for cooking.

But these alternative forms of energy, which now seem a boon, are in fact intensifying a nationwide environmental destruction whose scourge is beginning to take its toll.

As cowdung and agricultural waste like shelled maize cobs, groundnut pods, husks of coffee, rice and millet find their way into more kitchens, the soil fertility declines as it is deprived of vital manure.

Electricity, gas or kerosene can hardly serve as options since they are beyond the reach of most Ugandans. According to the energy breakdown for 1982, electricity serve a mere four per cent of the population while on 21 per cent can afford the petroleum by-products or gas or kerosene. Firewood and charcoal meet 75 per cent of the nation's household energy needs.

Unlike in the past, firewood is no longer free for the taking in many parts of Uganda. Quarrels among neighbours are increasing as women encroach each others' "fuelwood domains" which, amidst plenty in the past, were open to all. Fuelwood reserves are rapidly diminishing as more land goes into farming and human settlement.

Consequently, rural women are using more time and physical energy combing wider areas for wood. A number have been forced to rely heavily on charcoal like their urban counterparts.

Currently, the consumption of fuelwood in Uganda is fairly high. 95 per cent of all tree cut in the country are used as fuel. Burning charcoal from using traditional methods is quite uneconomical considering that 12 tons of firewood produces a mere ton of charcoal.

With the minimum of Uganda shilling 6,000 in the civil service the country's biggest employer — buying enough charcoal to last a month is a task. Monthly an average family of five needs at least four bags of firewood, each costing U sh. 1,300. Since people have to cook, the money has to be

raised somehow.

To buy enough charcoal and other essentials, an increasing number of Ugandans now engage in petty trade to supplement their incomes. According to a national who chose to remain anonymous: "The man with an average family might just manage on U50,000 shillings a month." In Uganda's economy where US\$1 is equivalent to Ush. 500 a bottle of beer is USh. 1,000.

As the fuelwood crisis deepens, the price of charcoal escalates. A sack of charcoal is now going at sh. 1,300. It cost sh.800 at the beginning of 1984, and only sh.200 in 1980.

At a seminar on energy conservation measures for Uganda, Mr. Walulya Mukasa, Chairman of the Joint Energy Environment Projects (JEEPS), pointed out 98 per cent of the country's population cooking with wood or charcoal has caused gross

many areas in Uganda were frustrating efforts in rural development.

Mr. Mukasa partly blamed environmental destruction on population explosion. Uganda's population is among the fastest growing in the world, with an annual increase of nearly four per cent. Twenty years ago Uganda's human population was only 6½ million; today it is double that figure.

It is estimated that between 1960 and 1980 Uganda lost two thirds of its forests and woodlands. "We'd be lucky today if we still had six per cent 'of the former forest cover'", remarked Mukasa.

The increase in demand for fuelwood is projected at 6.2 per cent; but this estimate seems low considering the mushrooming bakeries, jaggery mills, brick industries and other wood-consuming business.

"It is a fact there are no serious afforestation programmes either by the government or by the public in

'Quarrels among neighbours are increasing as women encroach each others domains'.

deforestation. The widespread indiscriminate felling of trees has led to soil erosion, drought and eventual desertification.

JEEP is a voluntary organisation based in Uganda's second largest town, Jinja, which is 50 miles east of Kampala. JEEPS aims to protect and conserve the environment. At the seminar, its chairman delivered a paper entitled "Household Fuel Crisis in Uganda." The seminar was jointly organised by Makerere University, UNESCO and UNDP.

The seminar objectives included strategies to increase public awareness of the relation between environmental conservation and development; to initiate research for a reference book on the strategies and to bring together bodies to enhance work in this field.

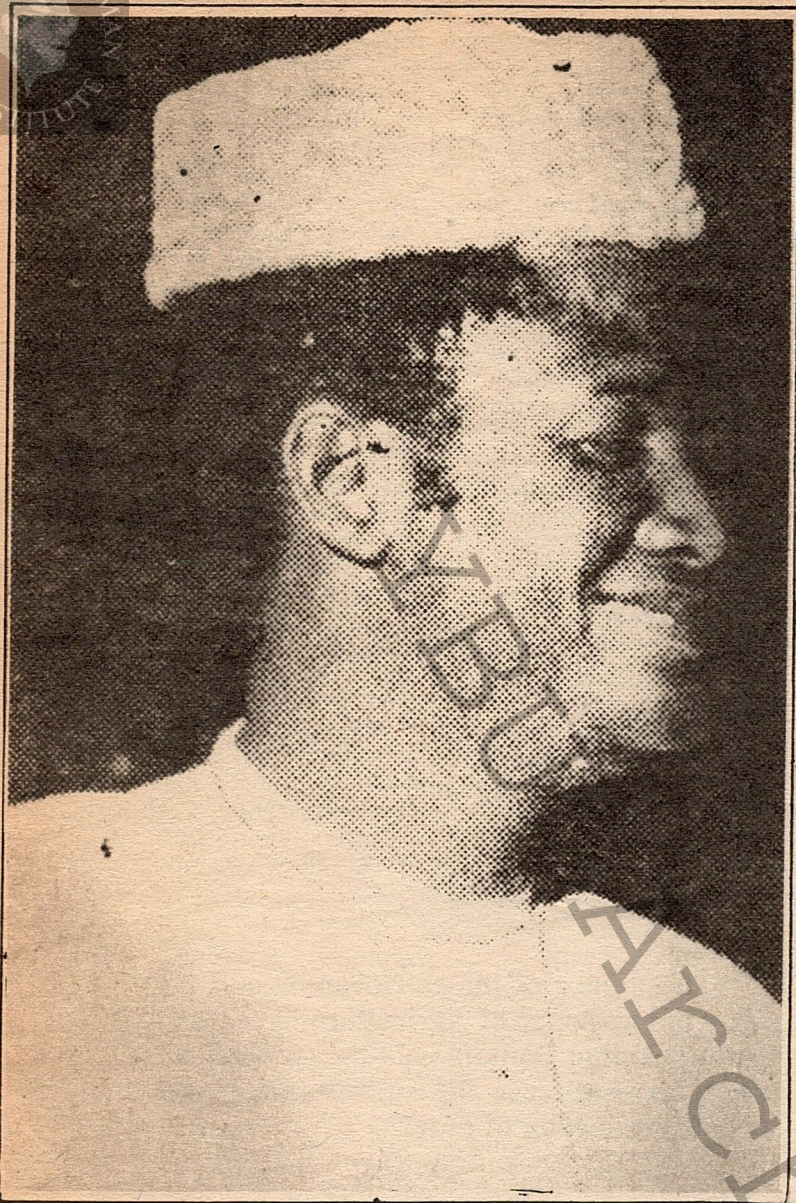
Mr. Mukasa expressed concern that though Uganda was hurtling towards a woodfuel catastrophe, few were doing anything about it. He said trees were being cut at a rate of country's forests and woodlands would not sustain. He also said severe wood shortages in

Uganda yet numerous trees are being cut without replacement. In future we will have to reckon with the reality that trees take long to grow", lamented Mr. Musaka.

In discussing the solutions to Uganda's fuelwood crisis, he emphasized the necessity to develop local sources of renewable energy, coupled with fuelwood conservation technologies. He highlighted the need to introduce more efficient charcoal kilns and cooking stoves for rural and urban dwellers.

The efficiency rate of the wide-used East African metal charcoal stove is only 20 per cent while the traditional three stones are 10 per cent efficient, yet lots of firewood is consumed.

Mr. Mukasa cautioned that woodfuel would continue to be the major source of household energy for years to come. He called for more economical measures in its conservation and utilization. He stressed that Ugandans would only ignore these measures at their own peril, with the repercussions affecting future generations.



AMINU DANTATA: The Plundering of Kano State

EVERY month, THE ANALYST will, in this column, take you out on a historical excursion into the vast, almost forgotten land of probes and enquiries. The purpose: to refresh your memory and enhance your understanding of our recent past so that you can understand the present better and plan better for the future. You can move forward only as far as you understand the past, they say.

In this first outing, we bring to you, the report of the commission of inquiry into the Kano State Tenders Board and the Ministries of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Finance, Health and Social Welfare and Education for the period 1st January, 1970 to 9th July, 1975.

This judicial commission was chaired by Mr. Justice A. W. Wheeler and sat from October 7, 1975 to January 4, 1976.

Below is part of the report as it affects Alhaji Aminu Dantata, the popular Kano business tycoon, who was a Commissioner in charge of Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources in Kano State during the period.

"This Ministry was a very important Ministry not only because of the vital role it traditionally plays in a predominantly agricultural economy like that of Kano State but because of the particular interest shown in its affairs, almost on a day to day basis, by the ex-governor, Alhaji Audu Bako.

The Ministry handled very big contracts during the period under review by this Commission (January 1970 to July 1975), with some of them on a recurrent annual basis (fertilizers).

As it is also a service Ministry to the entire farming population, it provided services of two types: free services to which every farmer was entitled, for example, advice on various aspects of farming; chargeable services, for example, irrigation systems, clearing of farms, cultivation, ridging and weeding, construction of dams, etc., which had to be paid for by any individual, high or low, for whom they were performed. Similarly, supply of materials and livestock such as foods, chicks, cattle, equipment, etc., were to be fully paid for by the individual concerned.

All these aspects of the Ministry's activities in the period under review were examined and the irregularities investigated in detail as will be seen in the succeeding account of events.

LOAN: This is the very strange but true story of the Kano State Ministry

Agriculture and Natural Resources lending its own super phosphate fertilizer to a private company — namely Alhassan Dantata and Sons Limited — for sale by this Company to the North-Central State Government so that the company would not be in default of its contractual obligations to that Government. This arrangement was entered into by Mr. R. B. Woodroffe, then Kano State Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, on the one hand, and Alhaji Aminu Dantata, Chairman of Alhassan Dantata and Sons Limited (“A.D.S.”) on the other. This was in March 1970 — Exhibit 65.

At the time of this transaction in March 1970, Alhaji Aminu Dantata was serving as Kano State Commissioner for Trade and Industry and a member of Kano State Executive Council. These facts were confirmed by Alhaji Aminu Dantata himself (witness 41) in his own testimony before this Commission. His explanation was that the Kano State Government stood to gain by getting rid of old and deteriorating fertilizer which it did not need, but this was untrue as Mr. Woodroffe’s letter on page 3 of Exhibit 71 shows that both old fertilizer from Kano depots and new stock ex-Lagos were supplied to ADS for their supply to the North Central State Government.

The conditions for this loss of fertilizer to ADS were that within six months, ADS was to return to the Kano State Government an equal amount of the same type and quality of fertilizer out of the quantity allegedly ordered from overseas by this company and which was being expected soon thereafter.

165: As it turned out, the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources supplied a total of 6378 tons (worth £134,963: 12: 0d = ₦269,927.20) to ADS as per Exhibit 71.

When it was time to repay the Government with an equal amount of the same type of fertilizer as earlier agreed by the two parties, ADS defaulted. The various Permanent Secretaries tried to secure repayment but it was all in vain. Initially, these officials were supported by both their then Commissioner of Agriculture, Alhaji Inuwa Dutse, and the then Governor, Alhaji Audu Bako, to both of whom the matter had been reported. Various efforts were made over the following three years to recover this outstanding amount of ₦269,927.20 from ADS. These efforts involved Alhaji Zakari Bello and Alhaji Sulaiman Baffa (both

Permanent Secretaries, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources), the then Commissioner for Agriculture, Alhaji Inuwa Dutse, Alhaji Tanko Yakasai (ex-Commissioner for Finance) ex-Governor, Alhaji Aidu Bako and the former Attorney-General, Alhaji Zakari Muhammed.

Sometime before December 1971, Alhaji Inuwa Dutse had ordered his Permanent Secretary, Alhaji Zakari Bello to withhold an amount of money totalling ₦178,693.60, standing to the credit of Northern Amalgamated and Marketing Company Limited (NAMCO), another company of which Alhaji Aminu Dantata was Chairman, and Managing Director until his other company, ADS, should have settled their debt to the Government. This instruction was carried out.

In December 1971, Alhaji Inuwa Dutse travelled abroad and a very curious thing then happened. The Governor appointed Alhaji Aminu Dantata “to sit in” as Commissioner of Agriculture and Natural Resources in Alhaji Inuwa’s absence. During this period, Alhaji Aminu Dantata “persuaded” Alhaji Zakari Bello to

balance in favour of NAMCO of just ₦83,786.22 and Alhaji Zakari Bello then ordered this to be withheld against ADS’s outstanding debt to the Government.

There was no further progress in efforts to recover this money from the ADS until suddenly in August, 1973, as per page 78 of Exhibit 71, Alhaji Musa Waziri, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Works and Survey wrote to Alhaji Zakari Bello informing him that following the ex-Governor’s directive, the Ministry of Works and Survey find selected machinery worth ₦171,038.-000 from NAMCO against the fertilizer account of ADS. Subsequent to this, Alhaji Zakari Bello wrote to NAMCO informing them that following instructions to his Ministry, they had examined the brochure received (alleged by Alhaji Zakari Bello’s testimony to be direct from ex-Governor to him personally) and his Ministry was ready to order machinery to the tune of ₦98,470.00. This, plus ₦83,786.22 withheld already by the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources plus ₦92,390.50 due to ADS as Adebo fluctuation awards from Ministry of Works (which ADS had earlier agreed

‘The failure of the ex-Governor and the ex-Commissioner of Agriculture to see that Alhaji Aminu Dantata paid the government back its fertilizer or the equivalent in money was a dereliction of duty’.

release this amount of ₦178,693.60 to NAMCO on the grounds that NAMCO and ADS were two separate legal entities and so that money due to one could not be held against money owed by the other. Alhaji Zakari Bello instructed his Ministry’s Accountant, one Mr. Khaja, to release this amount and this was done. In their testimony, Alhaji Aminu Dantata, Alhaji Zakari Bello and Alhaji Inuwa Dutse all concurred on this account of events.

On Alhaji Inuwa Dutse’s return to his desk in January, 1972, he queried Alhaji Zakari Bello for releasing this money to NAMCO and on hearing (allegedly for the first time) that NAMCO and ADS were both under the Chairmanship of Alhaji Aminu Dantata, Alhaji Zakari Bello professed his shock that Alhaji Aminu Dantata should have “deceived” him in getting him to release that money to NAMCO. At this time, there was a

to release to the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources) would liquidate the old fertilizer debt against ADS. NAMCO never replied to this letter.

The next communication to the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources from NAMCO was a letter signed by Alhaji Aminu Dantata informing Alhaji Inuwa Dutse as Commissioner for Agriculture that NAMCO had supplied machinery to the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources to the value of ₦175,560.00 and to the Ministry of Works to the value of ₦110,964.00 thus totalling ₦286,544.00. NAMCO was also claiming ₦16,616.80 being the balance above ₦269,927.20 in the old fertilizer account as in Exhibit 71, page 92.

At this juncture, the ex-Commissioner of Agriculture wrote to the ex-Governor informing



■ Aminu Dantata

him that the Government had taken machinery from NAMCO worth more than the amount outstanding against ADS by ₦16,616.80 and they were intending to pay this extra amount to NAMCO.

the ex-Governor was also informed that the amount of ₦83,786.22 withheld against NAMCO was being released to that company: see Exhibit 71, pages 94 — 95.

Despite Alhaji Zakari Bello's protest over the two amounts as stated above, Exhibit 71 pages 96 and 103, Alhaji Inuwa Dutse overruled him on page 97 and eventually these sums were paid to NAMCO and the matter closed.

In their evidence, all experts from the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, who testified, i.e. Malam Nagoma Usman — Witness 13 and Mr. Abdulrafi Mahmood — witness 15 - described the machinery as "useless", and "not standard," and all agreed that they were never able to obtain spare-parts and that all the machinery were not functioning within six months of purchase as there was no dealer in Nigeria to provide the necessary maintenance and spare-parts.

It was also confirmed by Mr. Mahmood and Alhaji Zakari Bello that both Alhaji Audu Bako and Alhaji Inuwa Dutse knew the very unfavourable report of the Ministry's experts before the machinery were purchased.

As shown throughout the file, Exhibit 71, Alhaji Aminu Dantata personally represented both NAMCO and ADS at all meetings on this matter be it with his fellow Commissioners or with various officials of Government between early 1970 and late 1973, throughout which period he was a Civil Commissioner and member of the Executive Council in the same Government.

Irregularities — The irregularities on these transactions are several and are as follows: The original loan of Kano State Government superphosphate fertilizer by Mr. R. B. Woodroffe to Alhaji Aminu Dantata's ADS following a private arrangement between these two top functionaries of Government was of scandalous proportions and no language is too severe to use in its condemnation.

When eventually Alhaji Zakari Bello was queried by the ex-Governor (Exhibit 155) on the release of this

money to Alhaji Aminu Dantata, the ex-Governor was unable to apportion any blame to Alhaji Aminu Dantata. Even in his testimony before this Commission, he could not give any reason why, throughout the whole episode from 1970 to 1973, he never called Alhaji Aminu Dantata to account for the various misdeeds of the latter with regard to this fertilizer transaction in spite of the fact that Alhaji Aminu Dantata was serving as a Civil Commissioner under him throughout the period. The behaviour of the ex-Governor in this respect was both grossly irresponsible and mystifying.

The failure of the ex-Governor and the ex-Commissioner of Agriculture to see that Alhaji Aminu Dantata paid Government back its fertilizer or the equivalent in money was a dereliction of duty.

The culmination of the affair, in the government being "repaid" with machinery which the ex-Commissioner of Agriculture and the then Governor had been well advised, were worthless, constituted gross abuse of office by these two high office holders.

* Accepting these "worthless" machinery to a value which was ₦16,616.80 more than the debt owed by ADS was an abuse of the powers of their two offices.

* By totally disregarding the recommendations of his Permanent Secretary, Alhaji Zakari Bello, that only machinery to the value of ₦186, 140.98 should be taken as the sum of ₦83,786.22 due to NAMCO was withheld by the Ministry to off set part of the debt owed by ADS to the Ministry, the ex-Commissioner for Agriculture and Natural Resources, Alhaji Inuwa Dutse, committed a dereliction of duty.

* In allowing Alhaji Aminu Dantata to carry on his business open and with the various Ministries of government while serving as a Civil Commissioner and member of the State Executive Council, the ex-Governor was openly condoning the violation of the Code of Conduct for Federal and State Commissioners of which, as he himself testified before the Commission, he was aware. Moreover, we note that it was on his instruction that this Code of Conduct was distributed to the Civil Commissioners with their letters of appointment in 1968 and thereafter (see Exhibit 325, pages 12, 13, 16 and 17 and also pages 39, 40, 41, 43 and 44 of the same Exhibit).



The Triumph of Benue Workers

AS workers all over the world were preparing for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of May Day, workers in Benue State of Nigeria were re-living the sad but memorable Chicago events of May 1, 1886. On May 1, 1886, the United States government despatched armed police to put down demonstrating workers who were protesting against long hours of work — 14 to 18 hours a day — overwork, child labour and extremely low wages. The U.S. police gunned down four demonstrators and injured several others to protect the interests of capital. The people were murdered by a government that claimed to be a government of the people.

Today, in 1986, that is exactly one century after, Nigerian workers are still faced with 19th century labour conditions, laws and governments as bad as those of America of the 1880s. But just as the gains of Chicago workers of 1886 have remained the gains of the working class as a whole through out the world, the triumph of Benue workers two weeks to the hundredth anniversary of May 1, 1886 must be seen as the coming triumph of the Nigerian working people as a whole.

The history of the ordinary working person in Nigeria is a very sad and disturbing history. Even then, some parts of Nigeria cut a more disturbing picture than others. Anybody familiar with the grim history of the workers of Benue State will weep for them. More so when one compares the blood-sucking behaviour of its tiny elites, including the successive rulers who have persistently crushed them with further burdens.

Very recently, one observer, Ejoha Odah gave a chilling picture of the situation in Benue State when he wrote that:

'In Benue State, wages, especially primary school teachers' salaries continue to lag behind for

upward of three or more months. Workers and non-workers alike are subjected to additional new levies in the name of development levies outside the mandatory Federal Government salary deductions.

"Costs of food, transportation and other essential items needed for daily survival have gone up, following government's unpatriotic withdrawal of subsidy to the tune of 80 per cent on petroleum products. Shylock landlords and school proprietors are given free hand to milk the people dry through inefficient or non-existent monitoring of their criminal extortionist activities.

"All these are burdens big enough to make living in Benue State (one of the least developed industrially in Nigeria) an equivalent of living in hell for the vast majority of the have-nots." (THE STANDARD. Wednesday, April 23, 1986, p. 3).

This is why Governor Jonah Jang's 'locomotive' attack on Benue workers resisted despite intimidation and crude divide and rule tactics. Already, Benue workers were in hell. Therefore cutting their allowances (transport, housing and overtime) was simply putting more petrol in the hell that was their lot.

But a denuded Benue working class, united in solidarity against the repressive administration of Governor Jang forced the 'locomotive' Governor to not only restore the allowances but to increase them. Humiliated and humbled by the power of the working people, the Governor turned round to hand-pick the leadership for victimisation. It is reported that, so far, over 40 workers have been dismissed as a result of the Governor's defeat. One is not very certain, but, may be, these are the people the Governor has consistently referred to as 'destabilisers' and leakers of 'official secrets'.

Behind this struggle was hidden a scandalous information. Reports have it that while many workers were retrenched, wages cut, levies imposed, costs of transport, food, housing, education and

health escalated beyond the reach of Benue workers, the Governor and his Commissioners were busy increasing their own household allowances. For example, the allowances of Commissioners were jacked up from ₦450 a month to ₦750; while the housekeeping allowance of Governor Jang's wife was increased from ₦2,000 to ₦10,000 a month. These are the "official secrets" which have so enraged the authorities of Benue State. Ironically, they angered the workers who have borne all the austerities since the colonial times.

Not surprisingly, Benue workers realised their common plight — suffering for Jang and his class to feast and oppress them. They forgot their artificial differences of tribe, religion and sex and fought for their survival.

The situation may appear to be unique to Benue. But as I have said, it is not. It is a problem for all Nigerian working people. Also, many people will mistake the problem as a Jang problem. It is not, though people like Jang are part of the problem.

What Jang did was simply a continuation of what successive rulers have been doing to Nigerian workers since colonial times. Besides, Jang was simply experimenting what was to be visited on all Nigerian workers. It was a test that failed, but will be tried again.

The Jang experiment tells me that there are hard times ahead for all Nigerian working people. As the 1986 IMF budget bites workers harder in the months to come those in control of state power and their associates will seek to defend their right to feed on ₦10,000 a month allowance; companies like UAC will insist on declaring bumper profits of ₦38.6 million a year for Shonkan, Lt. General Wushishi, Alhaji Shehu Idris — the Emir of Zaria, Mbanefo and their English

shareholders. As this bazaar goes on, the Federal Government will insist on paying clearly dubious debts of over ₦20 billion; and paying lip-service to the recovery of huge fortunes starked away by ex-political criminals. Of course, more arms will be bought to defend "the interests of the nation."

Under the prevailing situation, workers will continue to die in drones with the members of their families. Inevitably, they will have to act as their Benue comrades. As a matter of course, many will be bitten by police dogs, arrested or even shot. This is why the dreaded Decree 2 has not only been dusted off the shelves, but strengthened and handed over to the dreaded police and Commodore Ukiwe to check the possible outrage of the workers. The Decree is a useful companion to the harsh labour laws that have remained in the statute books.

By now, it should be clear to all Nigerian workers, that no ruling class anywhere voluntarily hands over **human rights** to the people. Human rights is demanded, fought for and won. It is not charity.

The workers of Benue, like their counterparts in Chicago of 1886, have demonstrated to the Nigerian working people that in spite of the might of the state, and in spite of the so-called division among the people, it is quite possible to unite, stand firm, fight and win important victories.

The message from Benue is that, Nigerian workers must unite, take a stand against their enemy capital and the state-stop believing in false messiahs that turn round to oppress them, and move from sterile trade union demands to the difficult task of political struggles. It is either they do this or perish as a class while their enemies live lavishly like pigs on George Orwell's *Animal Farm*.

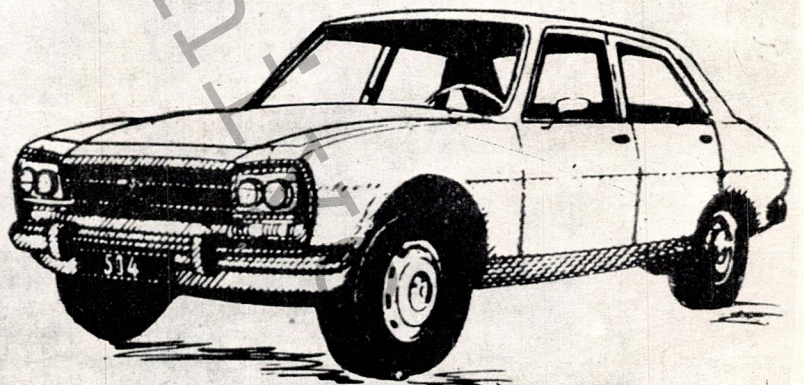
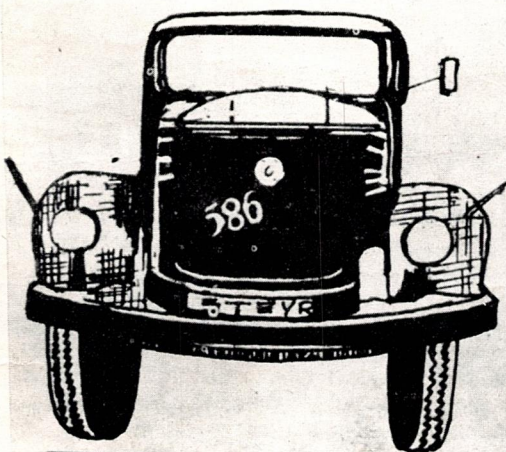
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