



WESTERN NIGERIA



# **WHITE PAPER**

on

## **THE NEW POLITICAL ALIGNMENT**

### **IN WESTERN NIGERIA**

*containing*

*serious charges against the  
NCNC as an enemy of Western  
Nigeria by some of the lead-  
ing members of the Party.*

*Western Nigeria Official Document No. 1 of 1964.*

**PRICE: THREE PENCE**

W2C.3

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## FOREWORD

Events have proved that there is no doubt in the minds of the public about the truth behind the policy statement contained in the broadcast made on the 11th of March, 1964, to the people of Western Nigeria in particular, and the whole of the Federal Republic in general, by the Honourable Premier, Chief S. L. Akintola, on the occasion of the launching of the new Political Party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party, which is now in control of the Government of the Region. The policy statement epitomizes the attitude of the Government of Western Nigeria to current events in the Republic. A careful study of it would reveal a re-orientation of ideas and a basis of new inter-Regional relations in the country. The policy statement heralds the dawn of a new day in Nigeria. For this reason the printed version of this broadcast, entitled, "A New Deal for Western Nigeria" is in general circulation. The Honourable Premier in the broadcast catalogued a number of events and occasions, whereby he was able to establish charges of betrayal and bad faith against the NCNC as a Party. The new Government Party, that is, the NNDP, or in other words the Government of Western Nigeria, based its irrevocable decision on the fact that unless the people of Western Nigeria made conscious efforts to unite and work out their own salvation, then they would never be able to enjoy a fair share of the riches and good heritage of their own country and fatherland, in comparison with the people of the other Regions of the Federation, where greater degrees of internal cohesion have been achieved.

This White Paper unveils another gloomy picture of the activities of the NCNC which prove beyond doubt that its Leaders from another Region have been taking their erstwhile Yoruba colleagues for a ride. These Leaders in order to feather their own nests, and, to advance the cause of their clans, cleverly manoeuvred the bulk of the people of Western Nigeria into a position in which the NPC, the majority Party in the Federal Government, regard them, not only as opponents, but, as enemies as well. In other words, as these Leaders made friends in the North, they created in the minds of the Northerners an image of a Yoruba man who must be regarded as a foe. The result of these clever manoeuvres is that the bulk of the patronages and benefits from the Federal Government go to the Region of origin of these Leaders, to the detriment of Western Nigeria. Those who complain of population imbalance in Nigeria often gloss over a more reprehensible form of imbalance, that is, inequity and unfairness in the distribution of the resources of the Republic among the Regions. Those who suffer most are the people of Western Nigeria. To remedy the position, the people must be united, and the Government must re-orientate its own ideas, in order that it may be better able to discharge its obligation to the Region. That is the *raison d'etre* of this statement of new policy.

We have suffered immensely as a result of absence of internal cohesion among the people of Western Nigeria. In what ways have we suffered? Numerous cases of nepotism and other irregularities against the interests of Westerners in the appointments to Federal Boards and Corporations have been unearthed. But what makes these revelations most distressing is that the political heads of these Institutions seem to have adopted a uniform policy of discriminating

flagrantly in favour of the members of their clan in spite of the established practices and regulations which one has learnt to recognize as being inviolable and almost sacrosanct, at least in democratic countries and societies.

The Federal Republic is, in a sense, a Commonwealth. Its resources must be accessible to all its citizens, regardless of creed, clan or tribe. It is a matter for regret that there are among Leaders of a certain part of the Federation, who do not share this view, and who appear to regard the Federal Government as a limited liability company, of which only their kith and kin should be the sole shareholders. Although they do not hold even a quarter of the shares at the moment, they apportion to themselves and, to the detriment of the people of Western Nigeria, more than a lion's share of the dividends. The imbalance must be removed. To succeed in doing so, those who suffer as a result of it, that is, the people of Western Nigeria, must band themselves together. The objective is not to organize a conspiracy against any other group, but to fight constitutionally as comrades in arms, in order to establish in the Republic an egalitarian society in which every individual, as well as every group, would have its own fair share. That is the essence of "A New Deal for Western Nigeria".

In the days when Western Nigeria comprised of Yoruba and non-Yoruba people, appointments and promotions to posts in the service of our Institutions were made purely on merit. In fact, in relation to their population, the non-Yorubas occupied posts both on the lower and on the upper segments, out of proportion to their number. This was so, when the bulk of the people of the Midwest were voting solidly for the NCNC, and when another Party was in control of the Government of Western Nigeria. Even now, the Government of Western Nigeria has in its service a large number of officers of Eastern Nigeria origin. The Boards and the Corporations belonging to Western Nigeria can also claim to be a model in this regard.

The people of this Region deserve to be treated with equity, and justice. In order that they may be so treated, some of them, in the interest of their people and their Government, have discarded their former political badges and jettisoned fruitless prejudices. Old gaps in the political sphere have been filled. A common bond of brotherhood has been forged. The impact of this New Deal upon the people of Western Nigeria and their Government will, no doubt, be great. There are those who may wonder as to the morality of the change of political alignment. To those who wonder must be explained that political parties and adherence to them are only a means to an end and not an end by themselves. The desirable end is the greatest good of the largest number of our people. If adherence to a Party does not assist in the furtherance of this desirable patriotic objective then it becomes immoral. The need at that stage for a change is not only urgent but imperative.

It is hoped that the exposures contained in this White Paper would prove conclusively that the people of this Region who have transferred their allegiance from the Party which deprived them, their people, and their Government, of their

legitimate share of available amenities and benefits, acted wisely. Their action is, in fact considered to be most patriotic in that it will contribute towards the removal of innumerable and embarrassing political divisions in Western Nigeria.

The following statement made by some leading citizens of Western Nigeria, who cannot be accused of political inexperience, during the time when most of them were still full members and Leaders of the NCNC Party, more than justify the new statement of policy referred to above as "A New Deal for Western Nigeria". At least, two of the signatories to the statement are still active and loyal members of the NCNC. That in itself, coupled with the enviable record of the other signatories, lends tremendous weight to the veracity of the statement. Since the statement speaks for itself, it is commended to the people of Western Nigeria and to others concerned. Further comments would be superfluous.

## CHARGES OF TRIBALISM, NEPOTISM AND IRREGULAR PRACTICES IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS

*The Statement by certain NCNC Leaders—*

“At the last meeting of our Central Working Committee, we raised the thorny and vexing question of tribalism, nepotism and administrative irregularities in a number of statutory boards and government departments in which our members are in control, which we felt are undermining the prospects and very foundations of the party. Today, we present the facts and figures of glaring cases of tribalism, nepotism and favouritism in appointments and promotions in the last three years.

We shall deal summarily in the following few pages with only a few of the incidents of tribalism, nepotism and irregular practices going on in some of the Federal Government Corporations. The list herein made is by no means exhaustive as there are many other examples which the reader will himself bring to mind both in the public organs dealt with and in those not dealt with.

The purpose of this exercise is to focus attention on the ruthless manner in which some individuals in the NCNC—wherever they are in authority have been pushing themselves, their relatives and co-villagers and sometimes their tribesmen unfairly, inordinately, and shamelessly to the detriment of the other groups in the party and in the country. Cohesion in the NCNC and unity in Nigeria can only be established if every group in the party and in the country has a fair deal. Certainly this cannot be achieved if some misguided and selfish partymen, whenever and wherever they have the opportunity, endeavour to push every other group out into the sea or into the desert. It is perhaps a good thing for some people to be pushful, but there is no reason why those who are not so pushful should in their own home be strangled and deprived even of life itself. These people have almost shattered the principles on which the NCNC was created and nurtured by the late Herbert Macaulay and the Great Zik. They have almost completely destroyed the cardinal basis of the structure of the NCNC. One Nigeria—all for one and one for all.

The allegations contained in this short document are made, not because the Yoruba members of the party want to dominate anyone, or desire more than their share of Federal benefits. This is definitely not so. These exposures are made, because of the desire for self-preservation of their people in unison with the other people of the Federation, and because they want to see fairplay and justice done to all, and because they are determined to check the present vicious assault on the root foundation of the party and the unity of Nigeria by some extremists in the party, who deal shamelessly in the art of nepotism and village loyalty. These extremists forget that the NCNC and Nigeria are made up of a large number of groups. It is only when all the groups within the party and the country are catered for that the goodwill established by the founding fathers of the party by their sweat and suffering can be sustained and increased, till the party and the country are one and indivisible. They forget also that reactions are

bound to follow their intemperate behaviour, and that those reactions may be fatal to the unity of the party and the country. These people revel not only in tribalism but such more so in family and village favouritism. It is they, however, who dishonestly talk loudest about the unity of Nigeria, while they shamelessly carry on the worst acts of family favouritism, tribalism and nepotism. To them the expression unity of Nigeria and the "One Nigeria" slogan of the party are synonymous with the enhancement of the fortunes of members of their family and persons from their hamlets, even at the expense of persons not coming from their villages, although they may belong to the same tribal group.

It is intended that the allegations following should be read against the historical background of our public services, the headquarters of which were established in Yorubaland at a time when it was only the Yoruba group who had the advantages of education and thereby were capable of supplying the staff to man them. These Yoruba members of the staff got there not by pushing any other group out but by mere accidents of fortune. While the Yoruba man was in this favoured position, he did not keep out any other group with requisite qualifications—members of the other group came up rapidly with time and effort, and were taking their rightful places in the pattern of Nigerian progress without friction and with the greatest harmony. But within the past three years tribalists within the party have brought in discord in the party and the country on the pretext of pursuing the bogus theory of tribal balancing.

The complaint now is that no sooner a few tribalists in the party reach positions of authority than they go all out to remove members of all other groups from key positions which are immediately filled by their relatives and their tribesmen. The operation thereby starts from the top and moves downwards until the whole establishment is completely dominated by their families and their clansmen. It is important to note that the examples that are detailed below were all effected in the past three years. This shows the ruthlessness and intensity with which these clannish, parochial, and tribalist extremists have been carrying out their operations to the detriment not only of party men and peoples of other tribal groups but also to the detriment of the very party which put them in positions of trust, and even to the embarrassment of millions of members of their own tribe, who sincerely believe in the principle of one Nigeria, and in the concept of equality in the establishment of Nigerian Unity. Up till now there have only been grumblings in the party and in the country. Protests have been made and discountenanced. The party leadership has failed to react, and, by their inactivity, condoned this divisionist tribal recklessness. If Herbert Macaulay and Dr the Honourable Nnamdi Azikiwe have tried to build the party on this basis of tribal fraud, they would have failed. These extremists are selfishly destroying the heritage great men have earned for us. Were it possible for Herbert Macaulay to see the trend of the NCNC today, he will weep in his grave, and the Great Zik himself incapacitated by the fortunes of politics and the protocol of office will shudder to see how lesser men are blatantly destroying the edifice he gave a whole lifetime to create, build and engender.

An end must be put to this. Justice and fairplay must be maintained. The NCNC must revive the Zik spirit of One Nigeria, or it will crumble. Every group in the country must be given the opportunity to breathe. The Hausaman must not be deprived of his opportunity. The Yoruba man must not be deprived of his just dues. The Kanuri man must be given a fair chance. The Edo man deserves justice. The Efik man must not be trampled underfoot. The Ibo man must have his just share. Each group must get a fair share and no more. The tribalists must be washed out of the NCNC fabric of One Nigeria and re-adjustments made, and wrongs righted.

*First the Nigerian Railway Corporation.*—Here the Party appointed Dr Ikejiani as Chairman of the Board of Directors—Onitsha-Ibo. In 1960, the Corporation wanted to fill the post of Deputy General Manager. There were three officers available to choose from. There was Mr N. A. Kuforiji (Yoruba) who, at the time of the vacancy, was Assistant General Manager (Staff), and Messrs F. A. O. Phillips and J. C. Egbuna in order of seniority. But strangely enough, the Corporation by-passed both Kuforiji and Phillips to appoint Mr Egbuna an Onitsha man who has since been appointed General Manager of the Corporation. Again, there was the vacancy of Principal Officer (Staff and Administration). The candidates available were D. A. Adebisi, who was then Senior Labour Relations Officer, D. A. O. Rogers, E. E. Ekpe, S. O. Oke and F. M. Alade, all Establishment officers, in order of seniority. The Corporation skipped Messrs Adebisi and Rogers (both Yorubas) to appoint Mr Ekpe to the post. Hold your breath, brother. We haven't gone half way yet. The Corporation had room for a Deputy Assistant General Manager (Staff) for which there were three candidates in order of seniority, Messrs D. A. Adebisi, F. M. Alade, (The two men superseded for the post we have just dealt with), and E. A. Imoukhuede were lined up. Again, the Corporation ignored Adebisi and Alade and chose the man at the bottom of the ladder. Five men applied for the vacant post of Training and Education Officer in order of seniority and qualifications. They were R. A. A. Junaid (Senior Assistant Works Manager) T. O. Grillo, S. M. O. Denloye, A. O. Adewoyin and A. N. Inoma. The first four candidates, who happen to be Yoruba men, were thrown off in favour of Mr Inoma an Ibo man. All these happened in the management sector of the Corporation.

Let's go through the story in the Secretary's department. There was the post of Deputy Secretary—Legal to be filled. Mr Megwa L.L.B. vied for this post, but as usual, he was brushed aside for Mr N. C. Ikejiani, brother of Dr Ikejiani, Chairman of the Corporation. Mr Megwa has been Assistant Secretary since 1960, but Mr Ikejiani who superseded him was brought in by direct appointment in 1962. Brother, this is the Railway Corporation's own sense of justice and fairplay.

There is still further evidence of tribalism and nepotism in all their nakedness. Let's see what goes on in the Medical Department.

The post of Hospital Superintendent was opened to three men, to wit: in order of seniority, Dr S. E. A. Ewa, (Railway Medical Officer since 1958) Dr S. O. Ejiwunmi (a Railway Medical Officer since May 1960) and Dr D. B. A. Ofomata (Medical Officer July 1960). The Corporation by-passed Drs Ewa (Efik) and Ejiwunmi (Yoruba) and went straight to the bottom of the ladder to pick Dr Ofomata (Ibo).

In the Operating and Commercial Department, the Corporation wanted to appoint an Acting District Superintendent for which there were three officers in order of seniority, Messrs S. A. Omishore (Yoruba) (Senior Traffic Commercial Officer since 16-12-60), T. S. Agbabiaka (Yoruba) (Traffic Commercial Officer since 16-12-60), and E. O. Agusiobo (Ibo—who became Traffic Commercial Officer on 22-5-62 were considered eligible. The Corporation brushed aside both Mr Omishore (Yoruba) and Mr Agbabiaka (Yoruba) for Mr Agusiobo (Onitsha-Ibo).

The story is the same in the Mechanical Department. Once, there occurred a vacancy for a Works Superintendent in this department. Messrs H. A. A. Junaid, A.M.I. Mech.E., T. C. Grillo, S.I. Mech.E.; S. N. C. Ogbo, A.M.I. Mech.E; and N. N. Obinwa were put forward for the job, in order of seniority which went to N. N. Obinwa (Ibo) who thus superseded Messrs Junaid, Grillo and Ogbo. Having failed to get this job, Messrs Junaid and Grillo again tried for the post of Production Engineer which alas, was given to another child of the bed chamber by name S. N. C. Ogbo (Ibo). He thus superseded Junaid and Grillo both of whom have been Senior Assistant Works Manager Since 1960. In 1962, Mr Obinwa who was made to supersede three Senior Officers for the post of Works Superintendent was again appointed Acting Deputy Chief Mechanical Engineer over another three Senior officers, Messrs B. Ajose (Yoruba) and T. I. Awosika (Yoruba).

A summary of the current Staff List of the Nigerian Railway Corporation reveals the following facts:

- (1) That the post of Chairman is held by an Ibo.
- (2) The next powerful post, that of General Manager held by an Ibo.
- (3) Their two Private Secretaries are Ibo.
- (4) The Assistant General Manager is an Easterner.
- (5) Deputy Assistant General Manager an Edo man.
- (6) The Private Secretary attached to them is an Ibo.
- (7) The Senior Labour Relations Officer is an Ibo.
- (8) There are two posts of Senior Establishment Officers shared by another Ibo and a Yoruba.
- (9) There are fifteen (15) Assistant Establishment Officers, nine (9) of them are Ibos.
- (10) The only post of Office Superintendent is held by an Ibo.
- (11) There are three Senior Stock Verifiers, two are Ibos.
- (12) There are three Stock Verifiers, two of them are Ibos.



- (13) There is provision for one Deputy Secretary and it is held by an Ibo.
- (14) There are three Senior Assistant Secretaries, two of them are Ibos.
- (15) There is provision for one Assistant Secretary who is an Ibo.
- (16) The Corporation has one Public Relations Officer and he is an Ibo.
- (17) The Corporation's Senior Lands Officer is Ibo.
- (18) The Commercial Advertising Officer is Ibo.
- (19) The only Studio Supervisor is Ibo.
- (20) The only Deputy Chief Accountant is Ibo.
- (21) There are sixteen Executive Officers, nine of them are Ibos.
- (22) There are two Senior Stores Officers and they are both Ibos.
- (23) There are five District Controllers of Stores three of whom are Ibos.
- (24) There are ten Assistant Controllers of Stores five of whom are Ibos.
- (25) Out of the six District Engineers in the Corporation, four are Ibos.
- (26) Of the ten Senior Assistant Engineers, four are Ibos leaving the remaining six to be shared between the Yorubas and other tribes.
- (27) Out of a total of ten Assistant Engineers, six are Ibos.
- (28) The Corporation has only one Assistant Architect and he is an Ibo.
- (29) The only Permanent Way Assistant is Ibo.
- (30) The only Senior Assistant Commercial Engineer is Ibo.
- (31) There are five Assistant Signal Engineers and three of them are Ibos.
- (32) Out of the three Assistant Bridge Engineers two are Ibos.
- (33) The only Clerk of Works is Ibo.
- (34) The Corporation employs thirteen Inspectors of Works and seven of them are Ibos.
- (35) The only Senior Draughtsman is Ibo.
- (36) Two of the three Senior Works Managers are Ibos.
- (37) All the three Electrical Engineers are Ibos.
- (38) The only Assistant Electrical Engineer is Ibo.
- (39) There is only one Production Engineer and he is Ibo.
- (40) Out of the fourteen Works Supervisors, nine of them are Ibos and of the thirty-two Works Foremen, twenty are Ibos.
- (41) The Railways has four Carriage and Waggon Supervisors and three of them are Ibos.
- (42) The only Wharf Plant Inspector is Ibo.
- (43) The only Superintendent in Training is Ibo.
- (44) There are only two Technical Instructors and they are both Ibos.
- (45) The Corporation's only Research Chemist is Ibo.
- (46) Of the twenty-one Traffic and Commercial Officers twelve are Ibos.
- (47) Out of the eight Traffic Controllers five are Ibos.
- (48) There are twenty-five Traffic Inspectors fourteen of whom are Ibos.
- (49) There are five Shed Masters and again, the Ibos take the lion's share of three.
- (50) Six Ibos are Shed Foremen out of a total of twelve.
- (51) Of the nine Motive Officers in the Railway, six are Ibos.
- (52) Out of the twelve Locomotive Inspectors, eight are Ibos.
- (53) The only Senior Telecommunication Assistant is Ibo.

- (54) The two Road Transport Foremen are Ibos.
- (55) The only Hospital Superintendent is Ibo.
- (56) The only Specialist in Surgery is Ibo.
- (57) The only Principal Medical Officer is Ibo.
- (58) The Railway has ten Medical Officers, six of whom are Ibos.
- (59) Of the ten Pharmacists, six are Ibos.
- (60) The only Health Officer is of course Ibo.
- (61) The only Catering Officer is Ibo.
- (62) The only Hospital Administrative Secretary is Ibo; and
- (63) The only Engineer-in-Chief (Construction) is Ibo.

And so, dear brother, out of a grand total of 431 names on the current Staff List of our Railway Corporation, 270 are Ibos, and 161 belong to other tribes.

Fifty-seven direct senior appointments made by the Nigerian Railway Corporation during the tenure of office of the present chairman Dr Ikejiani, twenty-seven were Ibos, eight other tribes and twenty-two expatriates.

That is not the end of the Railway story of tribalism. We hope you remember the disgusting case of Njoku, the brother of the Minister of Transport under whose portfolio is the Railway Corporation. You don't? Well, the Minister's brother joined the Nigerian Railways as a messenger and retired as a messenger. We woke up one morning only to discover that the Njoku, the retired Railway messenger had been appointed member of the Board of the Railway Corporation and soon after, he became Chairman of a Staff Selection Committee and a registered Railway Contractor. There is also one case of one Okere who is cousin to Dr Ikejiani. The record shows that this man had only Class IV Certificate. He was a clerk in the Accounts branch of the Railway. We know you will be staggered to hear that, this fellow is now the Railway Corporation's representative in London. Three Yorubas who are qualified Secretaries are skipped over for the chairman's cousin, Judge, O ye gods! The horror is not ended yet. *Do you know that in addition to being chairman of the Railway Corporation, Dr Ikejiani is also Pathological Consultant to the Corporation at an additional salary of £1,500 per annum.* So far there have been four Corporation representatives in the United Kingdom. All four have been Ibos;

- (1) Mr Egbuna
- (2) Mr Egwatu
- (3) Mr Nmegwa
- (4) Mr Okeke.

Let's see what the picture looks like in the Ports Authority, which is also within the portfolio of Mr Raymond Njoku, Minister of Transport and Member for Owerri. The first thing that strikes one in this department is that, barring the Chairman and the General Manager, the first twenty-five topmost officers are all Ibos. The Chairman is a Northerner. The General Manager is a Sierra Leonean, and the Secretary of the Board is Yoruba.

The 1963 Staff List of the Ports Authority reveals that:

- (1) the acting Personnel Secretary is Ibo; the Charges Officer is Ibo;
- (2) the only Senior Executive Officer is Ibo;
- (3) the two Executive Officers are Ibos;
- (4) the only Assistant Executive Officer is Ibo;
- (5) the three Chief Clerks (General) are all Ibos;
- (6) the only Acting Senior Establishment Officer is Ibo;
- (7) all the four Chief Clerks are Ibos;
- (8) the only Training Officer is Ibo;
- (9) the two Chief Labour Relations Officers are Ibos;
- (10) the three Establishment Officers are Ibos;
- (11) out of three Senior Establishment Officers, two are Ibos;
- (12) the only Chief Engineer is Ibo;
- (13) the two Deputy Chief Engineers are Ibos;
- (14) the only Port Engineer is Ibo;
- (15) the office has room for three Harbour Masters two of them are Ibos;
- (16) out of the eight Marine Superintendents, six are Ibos;
- (17) there are twenty-two Senior Accountants and eleven of them are Ibos;
- (18) the two Dock Superintendents are Ibos;
- (19) out of the twelve Traffic Officers, ten are Ibos.
- (20) of twelve Stores Officers, seven are Ibos;
- (21) the only Senior Assistant Secretary is Ibo;
- (22) the Deputy Secretary is Ibo.

Out of a total of 104 top posts in the Nigerian Ports Authority, seventy-three are Ibos, twenty-three Yorubas and the remaining eight belong to other groups. That is, about 70 per cent of the total are Ibos, 22 per cent Yorubas and 7 per cent others.

Now, let's have a look at the Yaba Technical Institute and see what the picture portrays. Of a total of twenty-nine indigenous senior members of the staff, twenty-one are Ibos and eight Yorubas. The Minister in charge of the Institution is of course Ibo.

We shall in due course furnish you with a detailed picture of the very disquieting situation in Ibadan University and the Ibadan Teaching Hospital where the two gentlemen in charge are of Eastern origin.

We have been discussing Corporations and Institutions, but what about Scholarship awards? This particular sphere is highly deplorable and grossly unfair to the Yorubas. Admission of Children into free primary Schools in Lagos is another example where the indigenous Lagosians are tendentially discriminated against.

*Now, the Nigerian Airways.*—The Chairman is Ibo. Before his appointment, he was Deputy Chairman of the Corporation, a post authorised and recognised by the Minister of Transport who is an Ibo. His predecessor in office was a Yoruba man and in accordance with equality of distribution of office, one would

have thought a Yoruba man would have been appointed to fill his vacancy or the post of his deputy. But since Chief Dafe was chairman, the chief, backed by the Minister, has not only refused to fill the post, but has abolished it.

In London, there is a fellow named S. A. O. Dafe, appointed only about a year ago is now Assistant London Representative. He is brother to the Corporation's Chairman—apart from that, his only qualification is a Standard IV Certificate. He is on a salary of £990 plus (i) £520 House allowance and (ii) £100 Garage allowance.

There are two officers responsible for processing applications for employment in the Airways. They are both Ibos. A Yoruba man, Mr W. I. Osinaga was recommended by his immediate heads of department for increment. This was turned down by the Board for no assignable reasons. The same fate befell four other Yorubas.

Seven Ibos were promoted by the Corporation to senior positions carrying emoluments of £860 per annum against the departmental heads' recommendations.

In August this year, there was a total of fifteen promotions to Senior Service grade. Eleven went to Ibos, three to Yorubas and one to the Midwest.

Mr S. Isatayo, a Cargo Supervisor who was engaged in 1944 is still in the junior service even though he has trained most of the Ibos already promoted to senior staff in the Airways. Another Yoruba, Mr S. A. Tatoye, Cargo Supervisor who was engaged in 1951 is still in the junior service. In the Reservations and Sales Department, three Yorubas, M. A. Balogun, A. B. Lasekan and M. Giwa were superseded by Ibos. In the Operations Department, Mr A. S. N. Ofo, an Ibo, who is now Senior Operations Officer on £1,500 was engaged in 1955 with broken service and promoted Senior Staff in 1962, has superseded Mr A. O. Akinwunmi, a Yoruba with continuous service, who was engaged in 1949 and now Operations Officer still on £890 per annum.

In the Catering Department, the man who was given the job of Catering Officer, Mr J. E. Mbamali possesses a Secondary Middle III and was until his appointment a steward at the Nigeria Hotel at Kano. At the time of his appointment, another Yoruba applicant Mr Oyefeso, an experienced Caterer who had catering qualification in reputable catering institutions in England was turned down for no assignable reason. The Swissair wrote concerning Mr Mbamali when being sponsored for training as follows: "Considering that Mr Mbamali has shown very little experience in catering, we propose to give him the same training as we give your junior staff". But Mr Mbamali was appointed to Senior Staff on £1,315 per annum straight.

In the Engineering Department, Messrs F. I. C. Akpapunam and M. Ijeh, both Ibos on senior staff, have been made to supersede Messrs A. Davies and A. Bamgbose, both Yorubas still on junior services, with A. R. B. Approved Licence on F.27 while both Akpapunam and Ijeh have no such qualifications.

*Accounts Department.*—Mr S. O. Eboda was sent to the B.O.A.C. for training with a view to taking over from the expatriate Chief Cashier. On completion of his training, he was sent to Kano to resume duty against the advice of the officials, in order to make way for Mr Enemokwu who was promoted to Senior staff long after Mr Eboda attained that grade. The following few Ibos supersede Mr A. Lawal, a Yoruba engaged in 1944 with class IV and eight years teaching experience: Mr J. Everett, I. A. Izegbo, F. A. Alwachukwu and L. C. Enemokwu.

There are seven Ibos in the Secretary's Office. The Secretary, Mr B. S. C. Nzenwa, is of course an Ibo; he was called to the Bar in 1959. He was appointed in preference to three better qualified Yoruba candidates, Mr Shitta-Bey who holds the LL.M. degree and qualified in 1959, Mr C. Shonukan who was called to the Bar in 1955, and Mr F. O. Blaize, who qualified in 1943. Mr Ezenwa was, in 1962, on appointment, originally paid a salary of £2,075, he is now on a salary of £3,100 from September same year which was also made retrospective to the date of his appointment.

In the A.M.'s Office, there are five Ibos, and only one Yoruba.

*Flight Stewards and Stewardesses.*—Here the Corporation has a total of fifty-three, thirty-three of whom are Ibos, twelve Yorubas, four Mid-Westerners and four Northerners.

Out of six catering officers receiving training in Zurich and Switzerland, five of them are Ibos, and only one Yoruba.

In 1963, the post of Publicity Officers in the Senior Service sector of the Airways was advertised, two Easterners were appointed and all Yoruba applicants were rejected.

Whilst it was expedient to declare the Expatriate Senior Operations Officer redundant to pave the way for the immediate appointment of Mr Ofo, an Ibo, an Indian (qualification—Licensed Mechanic) was appointed General Manager notwithstanding there was at all material times in the service of the Company, a Yoruba man by the name of O. Coker, with better qualifications (having had a first-class degree in Britain) and more solid varied international experience in the Airlines, who was superseded. The Indian General Manager should be requested to relinquish his appointment and Mr O. Coker, the only Nigerian with undoubted requisite qualifications and experience should be appointed forthwith.

Now, let's have a peep into the Electricity Corporation. Within the period when an Easterner, Professor Eni Njoku was chairman, Easterners were appointed and promoted to key posts. The Assistant General Manager (Electrical) is Ibo, the Controller of Accounts is an Easterner; the Personnel Manager is an Ibo and the Secretary is Ibo.

We believe that the above facts are enough to establish the charges of tribalism, nepotism and irregular practices which we set out to establish and that any fair-minded persons for the sake of the unity of Nigeria must come to the conclusion that something must be done to right the wrongs that have been done.

Ambassadorial appointment is another sphere in which the Yorubas have not been fairly dealt with—so far there are nine Ibo Ambassadors posted to key countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and America as against three Yorubas, four Northerners and two Midwesterners.

The Nigerpools Company Limited, which is a quasi-government project is an eye-sore—of the seven members of the Board of Directors, four are Easterners including Mr Ughochukwu, the Chairman, two Northerners and one Midwesterner, coupled with the fact that these Directors are alleged to have allotted to themselves all the shares meant for the Nigerian public.

We therefore demand that:

- (1) That those people irrespective of group of origin who have been unjustifiably made to supersede their seniors should be down-graded to their right place in the service hierarchy.
- (2) That those who, irrespective of group of origin, have been unjustifiably superseded by their juniors should be raised to their right place in the service hierarchy.
- (3) That Dr Ikejiani and Chief Dafe should be removed forthwith from the Chairmanships of the Nigerian Railway Corporation and the Nigerian Airways Corporation respectively.
- (4) That those officers who are due for promotion but who are deliberately made to mark time until an Ibo man is discovered, who will be promoted to fill the higher office, should be promoted immediately to fill such offices.

We Yorubas of the NCNC refuse to stand by and see our people in the services and Corporations unjustly and unreasonably superseded by persons less qualified either educationally or by length of service and experience. We refuse to allow arch-tribalists within the party to bring the party into shame and disrepute and throw our people out of the scheme of Nigerian progress by denying them of offices for which they are better qualified than those appointed. We shall fail in our duty to the party if we condone the destruction of the very tenets that have made the NCNC what it is. We shall be condemned by history and our descendants if we look on whilst their future is being destroyed. Our very memory shall be hated if we fail to stand up by the principles of our party and rise up to destroy the tribalists canker-worm which is fast destroying the party and the unity of the party.

These are the facts so far which, within the very limited time at our disposals, we have been able to marshal—there are more revealing facts. We reiterate in conclusion that foremost in our mind in presenting this case is the strengthening of the solidarity of our great party, the NCNC and the unity of our dear Nigeria”.

*Handwritten signatures and text:*  
T. O. S. Benson  
R. A. Fani-Kayode  
B. Olowofoyeku  
A. Lamuye  
R. O. A. Akinjide  
See NENE West

T. O. S. BENSON

OLU AKINFOSILE

R. A. FANI-KAYODE

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