

class; men primarily motivated by any broader set of goals (even the maintenance of conservative traditional structures) were the exception although they certainly did exist even if usually frustrated or partially tainted by the system. The senior army and police officers, the senior civil servants, and the university faculties (though less clearly than one would have wished outside Ibadan) were the only status groups in which the concepts of responsibility, service, and obligation to public welfare maintained general acceptance. Within the pre-coup political structure they were unable to alter a system they saw as the cause of much of Nigeria's human suffering and national humiliation. They now form the core of decision makers, administrators, and advisors in the military government.

Unemployment grew explosively from 1960 through 1965 while real wages of unskilled labour probably fell, especially with the failure of urban food supplies to keep pace with demand in 1964 and 1965 adding to the price increases resulting from sharply increased — and on balance regressive — taxes. Public corporations, by and large, turned in worse records than those in Ghana. No serious attempt to reorganize, enforce profit criteria on management, or to coordinate information and planning for the state corporation sector in Development of Finance Ministry hands (parallel to recruitment — if not fully successful — efforts in Ghana) was evident before the military government.

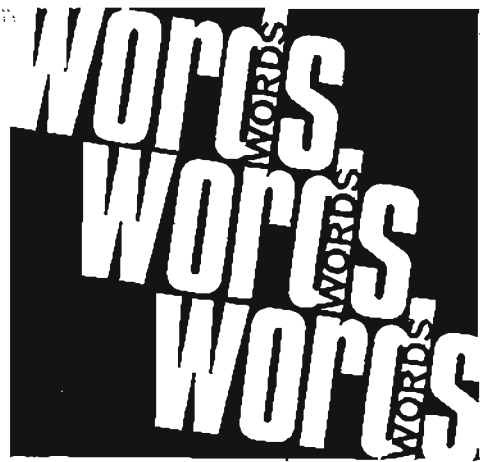
In practice, Nigeria's economy has performed rather better in some respects than the shaky strategy and dismal implementation would lead one to expect. Gross Domestic Product is reported to have risen rapidly although the use of highly doubtful price indices in producing the "constant price GDP" series (no current price one is published) and the claim of rapid increases in domestic food production flatly belied by market conditions cast doubt on the accuracy of this index. Certainly 1965 saw a sharp improvement in the trade balance — partly from traditional export booms and rising petroleum shipments and partly from the effects of tariff hikes on consumer imports and a rise in international

reserves — made possible by sharp increases in aid and investment inflows. The petroleum gains which will continue — are, unfortunately, somewhat deceptive. Assuming 1966-67 production to approach £100-million, not more than £15-20-million will accrue to the Nigerian government in taxes and royalties (probably significantly less) and not more than £40-million to Nigerian income recipients public or private. Unlike Nigeria's traditional exports, 80 to 90% of whose proceeds do accrue to Nigerian income recipients, petroleum production because of its high exploration cost, capital equipment, and foreign expert personnel components yields net Nigerian-owned export proceeds under half gross exports.

Conclusions from the Nigerian experience are rather different from the Ghanaian:

1. The strategy was not well adapted to Nigeria's circumstances and posited a growth rate low enough to cause massive economic and social problems even if fully attained.
2. Basic Plan formulation was weak especially in estimating private consumption growth and in providing mechanisms for evaluation and control of implementation.
3. Given the promotion of misuse of public office for private gain to the level of a dominant "political philosophy", implementation was inevitably distorted and erratic while the political elite's fiscal conservatism (especially in regard to taxing itself effectively) meant that it was quantitatively barely half of public sector investment targets.
4. While the foreign reserve-debt and internal budgetary positions did not deteriorate to the extent of the Ghanaian, this stemmed from Plan underfulfillment and a (non-Plan caused) 1965 export boom rather than selective austerity or implementational efficiency.

[Continued on page 158]



lobbying sports administrators attending the Commonwealth Games in Jamaica. Wads of unmistakably Brutus-inspired literature for the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee are already appearing in London. His poetry will start reappearing soon, and articles and stories will surely follow. The last copy that he submitted to *The New African* lay before the editor when the news came of his arrest in Mozambique. The story (which later appeared in the *Daily Herald*, London) was set beyond South Africa's borders where an escapee from Verwoerd's clutches sat contemplating his future and savouring the thought: "Verwoerd will go to gaol before I do. . . ." The irony was bitter: Brutus went to gaol first. Now back in freedom Brutus can think: "Now it's Verwoerd's turn".

long been shattered for those who were born British subjects but were not clearly enough of Caucasian stock, to pass as "White".

AT LEAST THE NEW AWARENESS of *Civis Britannicus eram* — "I was a British citizen" — will remove the false beliefs which Africans once held to their grave cost. In 1919 the forerunners of South Africa's freedom movements of today petitioned the King Emperor, George V, thus: "It is with painful regret that we remind Your Majesty that these Victorian principles which our people associate with the high ideals of the British Constitution have been departed from and in the main dishonoured and ignored by Your Majesty's representative Governments in South Africa. We humbly submit to Your Most Gracious Majesty that the black inhabitants of this land who are Your Majesty's subjects, on account of their race, colour, language and creed, live under a veiled form of slavery." The King never even saw the petition. Colonial Secretary Milner, Governor-General Buxton and "liberal" South African minister F. S. Malan carried on a cynical little correspondence about it, and the African deputation that finally brought it to England were fobbed off with an under-secretary. They duly embarked for home on the *Edinburgh Castle* but their fellow British subjects refused to have them on board, the Captain put them ashore and the ship sailed for Cape Town minus the delegates but plus their baggage. But that's another story.

AMONG THE 100,000 watching England win the World Cup at Wembley there can only have been one man who the day before had been under house arrest and banned from all normal human society outside his own family. House arrest had been an improvement for Dennis Brutus. Until July 1965 he was serving a sentence on Robben Island, South Africa's political Devil's Island — for refusing to recognise the banning order served on him without trial or defence two years before. Brutus had escaped to Swaziland, moved to Mozambique to make a long journey to Europe, been seized by the Portuguese and returned to Johannesburg, where he broke arrest — as much to let the world know where he was as in the hope of making it to freedom. His ill luck continued. His guard happened to be a Bisley gold-medallist who brought him down with a shot that went clean through his chest — for such a crack shot, it went suspiciously near the heart. The wound gave Brutus pain and his captor Vorster an explanation for further injury suffered as a result of prison assaults.

Civis Britannicus sum. Perhaps fewer and fewer non-Englishmen now claim their rights as far-flung British subjects with the confidence St Paul could feel as a Roman citizen. How diffidently did Lord Butler hint at the desirability of such an attitude among Commonwealth immigrants in a recent television interview. In the House of Commons the Labour victor of Smethwick, Andrew Faulds, in a fine frenzy, reminded Mr Bottomley that the detained lecturers in Salisbury were British subjects, as though in this they differed from all those others whom Smith's police have held without trial before and since his seizure of power. One of the lecturers gave better reasons for the frenzy: "Because we are white, because we are lecturers, because some of us have powerful friends," wrote Christopher Hill, in *The Times*, London, on August 8, 1966, "strong diplomatic pressure was brought to bear on our behalf. Meanwhile hundreds of Africans are confined behind barbed wire in restriction camps — many of them for long periods of years. Little diplomatic pressure has been exerted on their behalf. It should have been years ago and it should still be exerted now." If it is, the grounds will scarcely be their British citizenship. The old Imperial Myth has

THEIR MEMORIAL to the King (designed for the Peace Conference at Versailles) further claimed his protection for Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, and his intercession in order that South-West Africa (then just freed from German colonial rule) "should never be handed to the Union Government of South Africa". Words, words, words. Perhaps one day the claim *Civis Africanus sum* will protect the African from tyranny in a way the phoney Imperial claim has failed to do.

IN ENGLAND, BRUTUS WILL continue his campaign for multiracial sport — he is presently