

James Robertson retires on November 15, while Chief Awolowo has become Leader of the Opposition in the Federal House of Representatives. More

West African internationally famous, the government, and Zik, who did not join it, left the House of Representatives to become President of the Senate. A job he has performed with distinction.

Yoruba, by far the most important group in the Western Region, are capable, and he was lucky in his subordinates. But there was no doubt who was the guiding influence in his government at Ibadan. Last year he led his party in a great campaign to win the Federal elections during which he visited all parts of the country, sometimes by helicopter. They lost, but he now commands a respectable Opposition in the House of Representatives.

Like many other Nigerian politicians, Awolowo, who is 51, has had a varied career. He has been a schoolteacher, a moneylender, a letter writer, a transport operator, a produce dealer and a journalist. From his own savings and loans he paid for his legal studies in London (his wife, a successful business-woman, looked after herself and their children). On his return to Ibadan in 1947, he built up a most successful practice—over a period of five years, he says, he earned an average of £4,300 a year. He founded Egbe Omo Oduwara, the Yoruba cultural organization, in 1945 in London, after having been for some years a member of the Nigerian Youth Movement. Opponents have accused him of being a tribalist, because his party grew out of a Yoruba organization. Yet he has left his Region to lead the Opposition in the Federal House, and his party now has strong links in all Regions. He himself accused his accusers of elementary political ignorance because they equate a federal form of government of which he has always been a champion, with national disunity.

He was probably best known before becoming Action Group leader for his remarkable book, *Path to Nigerian Freedom*, to which Miss Margery Perham wrote a foreword, a book that advocated a federal form of government for Nigeria, faced with remarkable frankness the problems of Nigerian unity and anticipated many issues now topical.

Awolowo himself attributes his success to "the grace of God, a spartan self-discipline, and a good wife". But he could justly mention a natural ability for organization, which has been the mainstay of his party.

Tall and often bespectacled, lithe and dynamic, Zik commands enthusiasm; shorter and more solid, slower and more earnest, Awolowo commands respect. What of the third and youngest of the three, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Saradana of Sokoto? The size of his Region, bigger in area than the rest of Nigeria, and with half the country's population, makes him a powerful figure. But though the N.P.C. is the biggest party in the Federal House of Representatives and provides not only the Prime Minister but most of the Ministers of the Federal Government, it has little political influence outside the North, and the Saradana is sometimes accused of despising the South. He is, after all, a direct descendant of the great Ottoman Dan Fodio, founder of the Fulani Empire, which has produced most of the great rulers of Northern Nigeria, and is spoken of as the future Sultan of Sokoto, "Commander of the faithful" of Islam. His title is now

primarily honorific, but it once belonged to the leader of the Sokoto aristocrats in war.

Because of his birth he has been accepted as a leader even by Northern emirs, though he is still only 50; because of his obvious capacity and powerful character, he is accepted as leader by his colleagues of the N.P.C., whatever their views. Before his election to the Northern House of Assembly he was Secretary of the Sokoto Native Authority, and it was said that his work there had to be divided among three officials when he left. Before he became leader of the Northern government he had sat on many boards and committees (including the Nigerian Coal Corporation) and he is one of the best examples of that capacity for administration developed in the big native administrations of the North, a capacity that many Northerners rank higher than the academic attainments so prized in the South, even if the preponderance of N.A. officials in the leadership of the N.P.C. is an embarrassment. The Saradana's speeches in perfect English, with clear diction, are a pleasure to listen to, but his leadership in the North which is both genial and powerful,

Since becoming Premier he has travelled widely abroad, and is a great figure in the world of Islam. But he is no less devoted than his Christian colleagues to British ideals (his knighthood alone is proof enough), particularly in local government, which he once studied in Yorkshire. He is a fines player (as Eton boys discovered this year) and a good shot, and his tall, stately figure, his beard and the carriage of his head suggest a country gentleman—which is what, at heart, he is.

Though in some matters, such as extension of the franchise to women, which he resolutely opposes, the Saradana is to "the right", on others, such as the need for education and industrialization, he is as progressive as any of his young supporters or opponents. He accepts high office as his due, and is sometimes criticized for not drawing a clear distinction between a traditional Native Administration, where all depends on the ruler, and the Regional government, with its multifarious modern responsibilities. Sometimes, too, he appears to embarrass the Federal Prime Minister by referring too pointedly to their relationship inside the N.P.C., of which the Saradana remains undisputed leader. In his cordial relations with Dr. Nkrumah and his rapprochement with Dr. Azikiwe there has been a thawing of Sir Ahmadu's previous aloofness from politicians of a different kind. He understands fully Nigeria's importance in Africa and the world, and even if he cannot accept Israel's special position in West Africa, he is a Nigerian, not a Muslim leader.

Among these three there have been in the past 10 years various permutations and combinations. All are still fiercely independent; but between them has grown up a recognition that together they have represented Nigeria. Whoever now takes on that role can never forget the debt he owes to the Big Three.

Greetings to

Independent Nigeria



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YORUBA CULTURE

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OF ROYAL DESCENT

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UNDISPUTED LEADER

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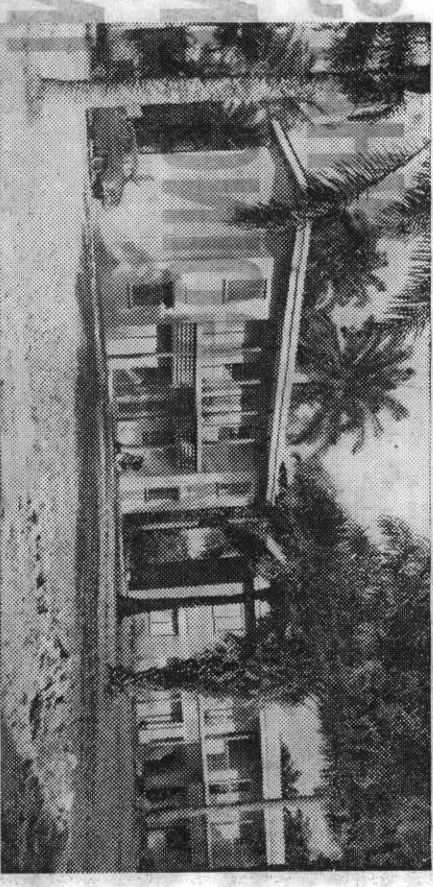
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shopping and traffic routes with wide carriageways, pavements, covered foot-walks and rear service roads providing access to new commercial buildings.

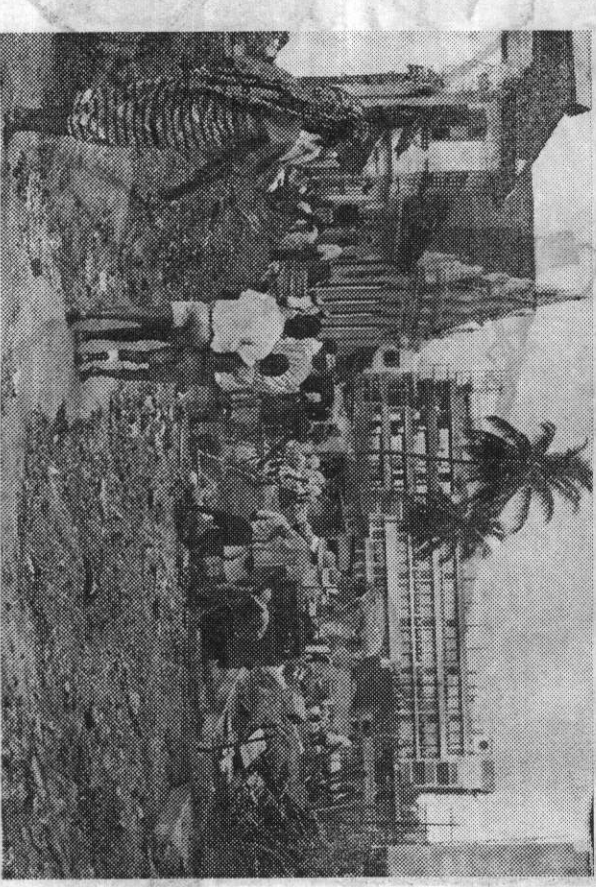
INDUSTRIAL ESTATE

Industrial estate development at Apapa near the new Atlantic terminal has provided a high modern standard of industrial development with road, rail and port access, while a further industrial estate is in course of preparation at Ijora to offer similar facilities.

Housing estates to provide for all income groups have been developed. In Surulere, an area that was still undeveloped bush up to five years ago,



Above: Modern flats on estates built for those who were displaced during development in central Lagos. Below: Nigeria prepares for independence. Modern buildings replace the old on a building site in Lagos.



there is today a thriving settlement of modern housing in which are provided all essential amenities of modern life: subsidized housing for families displaced by slum clearance and redevelopment from Central Lagos, subsidized housing for low income workers, houses for home ownership with building society facilities, of various types from £1,100 to £5,000. In addition to the provision of houses for these different needs, land is made available to the public for freehold building plot purchase, whereby houses to individual tastes and erection can be carried out. Any landowner affected by acquisition of his land for public purposes, slum clearance, schools, &c., can have alternative land in these fully serviced estates, and any person prevented by town-planning control from development because of lack

includes for the development of a diplomatic area to house the new embassies and consulates.

OLD ORDER CHANGED

Within this background of development, the old order has changed from the single-storey buildings of the past and has given way to multi-storey blocks of flats in the suburbs. High standards of architecture are being set. The town now has its new skyscrapers with buildings in course of erection up to 24 storeys high.

This tempo of development, for which the Lagos Executive Development Board is the responsible instrument, and which is changing Lagos into a thriving modern capital, offers outstanding opportunities for investment both in building and development.