

# Guide

## The Nigerian Trade Union Tribunal of 1976

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Peter Waterman, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague

## Contents

I. Introduction by Peter Waterman .....	1
II. Indices and Charts	
1. Name Index .....	4
2. Subject Index .....	9
3. Organisation Index .....	12
4. Exhibits List .....	16
5. List of witnesses .....	25
6. Charts .....	27
7. Contents of the Proceedings .....	30

## **I INTRODUCTION - Peter Waterman**

### **I - I General**

The Tribunal of Inquiry into the Activities of the Trade Unions was set up by the Federal Military Government of Nigeria in 1976. The Inquiry was just one measure in a whole series of actions taken at this period and intended to curb the traditional militancy of Nigerian workers and the equally traditional 'anarchy' of their organisations. The Tribunal sat for some 80 days, produced a verbatim set of Proceedings (2.1) containing some two million words, issued a brief Report (2.2), and was followed by an expression of government's Views (2.3). All these materials are contained in this set, along with certain aids to their use and relevant background materials. The importance of the Tribunal lies in its provision of a firsthand source on Nigerian trade unions and labour relations – as well as on the attitudes toward these of the middleclass professionals who manned the Tribunal and the Military Government that created and used it. Perhaps the most important matter raised during the Tribunal was the question of the organisation, administration and financing of the major existing trade union centres in Nigeria, as well as of several individual unions. Another was the income, motivation and probity of the major trade union leaders. A third was the activities of the unions in the face of the increasingly repressive legislation that had been passed in Nigeria since 1968. A fourth was the foreign relations of the Nigerian unions and the influence of foreign organisations on the Nigerian trade union movement.

### **I - 2 Content**

Recognising the unique value of this material, particularly in a country in which much source material is unobtainable or has been accidentally lost or destroyed, the question arose of how to make it most useful for researchers. The answer was to produce a series of eye-legible indices, plus a couple of orientating charts. These are to be found immediately below.

The creation of the Name and Organisation Indices (1.2.1, 1.2.2) was a time-consuming task. It was made more difficult by the non-formalised spellings of names in Nigeria, by misspellings of the court reporters and by the colloquial references to organisations. These two indices nonetheless enable one to locate references to (or appearances of) those listed. The subject Index (1.2.3) is, perhaps, even more useful. On the basis of an initial listing of some 25 possible subjects an analysis of the contents of the Proceedings was carried out. After the initial analysis, certain irrelevant topics were dropped, others were combined, providing the present listing of some 20 subjects. Whilst many of these provide sufficient material for individual articles or monographs, each provides required reading for those working on the particular listed subjects in Nigeria. The Exhibits Index (1.2.4) has been provided because this (usually a standard item in Nigerian tribunal reports) was missing from the very brief Report issued after the Tribunal. Parts of these exhibits may be found within the Proceedings at the place indicated. The exhibits themselves are supposed to have been returned to their owners following the Tribunal. The list of some 500 documents and files will nonetheless provide researchers with leads that they can follow up with the relevant individuals, unions or other organisations. The Witness Index (1.2.5) was incorporated into the Report. It is of value in identifying the particular time at which some 70 leading figures from the Nigerian trade union and labour relations world were questioned by the Tribunal. Study of these sections not only throws light on particular problems but also reveals the attitudes and behaviour of these men, speaking at great length and in their own words. One could imagine a series of individual or comparative studies being drawn from these sections. The two further aids, a Table (1.3) and Chart (1.4) of central union organisations in Nigeria, will provide some orientation through the maze of organisations, political tendencies, organisational splits and mergers.

Within the fiches themselves one will find, in chronological order, the 79 volumes of the Proceedings (2.1), the Report (2.2), and the Views of the Federal Military Government (2.3). These are followed by a Background Reading (2.4) intended to provide readers not simply with essential general information on Nigeria, its labour relations and trade unions, but also to present a broadly Marxist interpretation of these.

It is my belief that if studies drawn from the Tribunal are to be of value to the workers and unions, they will have to take place within such general framework. The last materials are a couple of Miscellaneous Submissions to the Tribunal (2.5). These are the only two I have been able to locate. But if publication of this set of fiches encourages Nigerian labour specialists to send me further such submissions or other materials related to the Tribunal, it might be possible to issue a supplementary set of fiches at a later date.

### I - 3 Additional background reading

Readers unfamiliar with Nigerian unions and labour relations will find two books of particular value to an understanding and interpretation of the Tribunal materials. These are Ananaba (1969) and Cohen (1974). In addition to the general information and the differing interpretations each provides (Ananaba liberal, Cohen socialist), each provides an index listing many of the characters and organisations to be found in our own index. The only works which seem so far to have made any use of the Tribunal materials are the general work on African unions by Ananaba (1979) and my own work on workers and unions in Lagos Port (Waterman 1979). Nigerian newspaper clippings covering the period before, during and after the Tribunal will be found in Waterman (1980). In addition to these works, I append references to a few others that might be useful to readers:

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#### **I-4 Acknowledgements**

The heartbreaking work of ploughing through, indexing and cross-checking the 79 volumes was carried out by Ruben Berrios. The Research Committee of the Institute of Social Studies paid not only for the indexing, but also for the transporting of the volumes from Nigeria. Sylvester Ejiofoh is one of the few Nigerian trade unionists (or academics, for that matter) with sufficient research-mindedness to have obtained for me one of the rare sets of the Proceedings. And Wogu Ananaba not only assisted me in checking spellings of names, but insisted on personally cross-checking ones he was not sure about. To all of these my thanks.

Peter Waterman  
Institute of Social Studies  
The Hague

## II - 1 NAME - INDEX

- ABISOYE, Major Gen. 53(64)  
 ABUTU, A.D.O. 31(132) ; 36(42, 49) ; 37(93) ; 43(66, 70, 84-88, 90) ; 48(2, 3) ; 49(57-104) ; 50(1-16) ; 53(30)  
 ABUBAKAR, Alhaji. 27(67)  
 ACHAMBA, Okei. 28(8) ; 28(16, 49) ; 33(26, 28) ; 34(43) ; 61(18) ; 73(73) ; 74(15, 17, 49) ; 75(53-54)  
 ADEBAYO, Olu. 6(2) ; 28(46) ; 73(73)  
 ADEBO, Chief Simon. 15(78) ; 23(83) ; 27(62)  
 ADEBOLA, Alhaji H.P. 8(7) ; 12(11, 30) ; 13(81) ; 22(35) ; 25(45-114) ; 26(1-97) ; 27(2-23, 75) ; 28(12, 17, 49) ; 29(17, 98) ; 30(20, 25, 101, 129) ; 31(8, 9, 23, 24, 43, 50, 97, 103, 130-147) ; 32(2, 6, 36, 37, 59) ; 34(9, 33) ; 36(25, 29) ; 37(85, 106) ; 38 ; 40(8, 20-21, 23, 32, 37) ; 41(41, 52, 55, 56, 59, 89) ; 42(4, 24, 25, 90-92, 97, 98) ; 43(55) ; 44(39, 43) ; 45(5, 11, 80) ; 50(7) ; 53(30) ; 54(24, 27, 28) ; 60(4, 70) ; 61(10, 40) ; 62(5) ; 66(74-75, 92) ; 67(5) ; 68(62) ; 69(44, 56) ; 73(17, 45, 73) ; 74(18)  
 ADEGBESAN, J.O. 27(67) ; 31(2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 66, 102, 103) ; 37(37, 70) ; 38(26) ; 39(29) ; 41(50, 56, 66, 89) ; 43(15, 17, 92) ; 44(2) ; 50(62)  
 ADEGBINDE. 15(92)  
 ADEGBINDIN, A.A. 3(16) ; 4(17)  
 ADELE, R.A. 46(8) ; 48(71, 79, 89, 90) ; 49(17, 40-41) ; 51(33)  
 ADELEKE, Ayoola. 25(86) ; 25(69, 70) ; 27(7) ; 31(190) ; 33(23, 26, 72) ; 36(17) ; 37(63) ; 38(20) ; 41(41, 42) ; 42(4, 93, 95) ; 51(3) ; 53(33, 58) ; 54(18)  
 ADELENA, F. 27(25)  
 ADENIJI, Alaba Oluwadare. 76(10-13)  
 ADENUNGA, Caxton. 54(48)  
 ADEWALE, R.A. 59(56)  
 AGBAJE, A.M.F. 37(31) ; 41(64, 65)  
 AGBASI, Amanchukwu John. 69(63-89)  
 AGBATOR, B.O. 46(3-6) ; 47(7) ; 47(88) ; 48(13, 14, 32, 43, 44) ; 50(69, 73)  
 AGHEDO, Richard. 3(16-17, 20) ; 4(17, 47-48) ; 5(22) ; 7(31) ; 8(30, 53) ; 9(42) ; 11(25) ; 13(6, 7, 20, 27, 38, 53, 99, 100) ; 15(41, 91) ; 17(37) ; 18(5, 45) ; 19(3) ; 21(20-60) ; 22(9, 16, 63, 73, 75, 105, 106) ; 23(55, 96, 107) ; 24(6, 78) ; 27(42, 43) ; 28(39) ; 55(73, 74) ; 70(21-22)  
 AGORO, L.A. 76(8-10)  
 AGUNBIADE. 61(26-28)  
 AHMED, M.K. 36(43)  
 AJAYI, Adenola. 7(9-10) ; 24(75, 76) ; 25(45)  
 AKANDE, B.A. 13(27) ; 14(95, 96)  
 AKIN-AKALA, Eric. 9(59) ; 27(69, 70, 73) ; 29(54) ; 30(42-59) ; 34(62, 64) ; 37(49) ; 40(5, 18) ; 42(120) ; 43(34) ; 58(33-35)  
 AKINDE, M.O. 60(2) ; 61(44)  
 AKINGBADE. 49(6) ; 50(101, 104-107)  
 AKINSANYA, F.F. 34(66)  
 AKINTOYE, Prof. Bamiji. 7(34)  
 AKPAN, J.V. 38(68, 69) ; 45(69, 100-102, 104) ; 46(10, 40) ; 47(17-20, 25, 29, 35, 40) ; 48(47-102) ; 49(1-57) ; 50(42, 44, 54, 55, 64-66, 89) ; 51(6, 33, 80) ; 59(1, 2, 5) ; 65(4, 11)  
 ALAJO, J.A. 10(6, 82, 83) ; 11(24, 25)  
 ALAMO, S.O. 55(31)  
 ALELE. 7(11)  
 ALLEN, Victor L. 8(54) ; 22(35)  
 ALUKO, Prof. Sam. 7(34) ; 11(38) ; 14(11)  
 ALUMO, A. Bayo. 17(36-52)  
 AMACHREE, J.F. 67(39)  
 AMAMIEYE. 54(49, 50, 54)  
 ANALA, P. 47(26-28, 30) ; 48(58, 60, 75-77, 101-102) ; 50(50, 51) ; 51(71, 72, 83)  
 ANANABA, Wogu. 25(69) ; 32(54) ; 33(48) ; 43(58)  
 ANIGBO, A.M.O. 15(54) ; 28(14, 58) ; 31(2) ; 73(73)  
 ANIMASHAUN, Alhaji A. Babatunde. 44(17, 18) ; 49(7) ; 50(68) ; 76(2-41) ;  
 ANUNOBI, N. 45(69, 70, 87, 93, 96, 97) ; 46(6, 18, 37, 38, 61, 62) ; 47(4, 19, 20, 24, 39, 49-52) ; 48(4-8, 33, 34, 36, 47) ; 49(56)  
 APAPIN. 33(31)  
 ARCHISON, P. 44(17) ; 45(6)  
 ARNOLD, Richard. 30(45, 46)  
 ASHILOKUN, J.B. 63(103, 113) ; 67(46, 55, 59, 66, 100) ; 68(9)  
 ASILOGUN. 62(14)  
 ASUQUO, E.E. 45(101) ; 48(55, 57, 74)  
 ATITEBI, Johnson Abimbola. 76(21-29)  
 ATITSOGBUI, Gab. 27(5-6, 80-85) ; 28(2, 3, 72, 73) ; 30(82, 84, 91, 92, 117) ; 32(51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 100) ; 34(3, 19, 20, 21, 29) ; 35(17) ; 41(4, 5, 20-21, 26, 34, 37) ; 43(59)  
 AWOLOWO, Chief O'lafemi. 50(5)  
 AWOPEJO, S. 54(48)  
 AWOSIKA, T.I. 56(13) ; 65(31, 75) ; 66(22, 24) ; 72(2, 26) ; 73(51)  
 AYDADE. 22(92)  
 BADIPE, Ebenezer Akinkunmi. 57(38-119) ; 58(1-13) ; 70(13, 16, 19)  
 BAFYAU, Pascal. 28(17, 53) ; 30(60-133) ; 31(1-20) ; 33(25) ; 41(59)  
 BAKARE, Michael Sunday. 76(14-21)  
 BALOGUN, Alhaji. 37(31) ; 38(13) ; 39(13)  
 BALOGUN, Dhuronke. 30(47, 48, 54, 57) ; 33(36) ; 34(72)  
 BALOGUN, Fatai Olunsaya. 27(24-89) ; 45(34)  
 BAMGBALA, E.O. 4(42, 43) ; 11(2-38)  
 BANKOLE, Timothy A. 13(27)  
 BARBER. 55(41)  
 BASHORUN, B.A. 3(17) ; 8(14, 32) ; 9(3, 11, 12, 16, 19, 25, 42) ; 10(6, 18, 37-40, 44, 55, 93) ; 11(2-4, 22, 27, 30, 37) ; 12(62) ; 13(26, 27, 73) ; 14(26, 39, 40, 66, 70, 71, 90, 95) ; 15(83) ; 17(27, 29, 37) ; 18(3-43, 71, 73-75) ; 20(8) ; 21(56) ; 22(104) ; 23(27, 82) ; 24(33, 74) ; 25(11, 13)  
 BASHORUN, B. Babajide. 17(67-108)  
 BASHORUN, Aku. 10(14) ; 19(36, 51)  
 BASSEY, S.U. 3(10, 13, 16, 20, 25, 26, 28) ; 4(16, 18, 29, 37, 40) ; 5(14, 22, 28) ; 6(2, 26) ; 7(26, 37) ; 8(9, 12, 31) ; 10(3, 6, 12-15, 18, 19, 25, 26, 30) ; 11(3, 21, 33, 34) ; 15(2-88, 91, 92, 111) ; 16(10, 13, 14, 64) ; 17(38, 70, 82, 83) ; 18(10, 20, 35, 45, 65) ; 19(3, 23) ; 21(19, 20-60, 62-73, 96) ; 25(11-13) ; 26(53) ; 27(43) ; 28(39) ; 31(74, 104) ; 38(68, 69) ; 48(60) ; 54(79) ; 55(48) ; 60(46, 54) ; 66(42, 43) ; 67(6) ; 68(29, 40, 44) ; 69(47) ; 70(21-25) ; 73(74)  
 BELLO, S.O. 5(20) ; 8(31) ; 12(21)  
 BENSON, T.O.S. 16(86) ; 23(72)  
 BEYIOKU, Chief O.A. Fagbenro. 5(6-7) ; 8(48, 61) ; 31(134) ; 41(41, 46)  
 BISSONG, J. 55(23, 24, 29, 30) ; 56(65, 66, 69, 76) ; 58

- (27, 30, 51, 55, 57-59)  
**BODE, K.** 12(21)  
**BON, Joseph.** 27(57)  
**BORHA, Lawrence.** 3(12); 5(6); 8(7); 12(10, 30); 25(49); 25(101, 102); 26(13); 26(78); 27(7); 28(13); 29(21 gen.sec.); 29(65, 66); 30(8); 31(24, 139); 32(18, 83, 93-94); 33(26, 169-170); 34(31, 33, 34); 35(42); 36(8, 16); 37(37, 81, 84-85); 38(7, 13, 51, 52, 68, 71-110); 40(36, 37); 41(42, 62); 42(8, 102); 45(5, 11, 80); 68(28, 41-42)  
**BORI, Dr. Kola.** 5(19, 20); 3(21)  
**BRAND.** 37(84-85)  
**BROWN, Irving.** 26(2); 27(57); 29(71); 37(71, 73, 82); 39(45, 48); 42(87); 43(10, 47); 54(24, 28)  
**BRUCK, Jean.** 6(34); 46(24, 26-29, 31, 34, 55, 56, 60); 47(23, 50, 62, 63, 76); 48(21, 83, 89); 49(10-13, 15, 26, 35-36, 39); 50(21, 31, 42-44, 47);  
**BRYAN.** 40(56)  
**BUITER, Harm G.** 27(79); 28(5)  
**CHUKWUMAH, C.E.** 73(92); 75(24-26, 47)  
**CHUKWURA, Nneameka.** 7(33); 45(56-110); 46(1-62); 47(1-56, 58, 62, 63, 88); 48(13, 21, 34, 41, 42, 55); 49(22, 23, 26, 27, 30, 33, 34); 50(54, 72-74); 51(2, 6, 13, 22, 73, 74, 88); 64(23-25); 65(31, 53); 71(62)  
**CIROMA, Adamu.** 7(34)  
**COCKRAN, John.** 25(103); 26(5); 27(58); 29(49, 96); 30(44); 38(90); 40(25)  
**COKER, M.** 51(116); 52(12)  
**COLE, N.A.** 8(7); 12(13); 25(48); 38(73); 41(47-48); 51(119, 125); 52(11, 14, 43, 53); 53(11, 35, 49, 52, 68, 79); 54(1, 3, 4, 17, 38); 68(40-41)  
**DADA, H.O.** 4(39)  
**DADA, S.A.** 6(13); 8(18); 10(6, 14, 15); 11(25); 12(83); 13(61); 14(33); 17(24, 43); 19(10-15)  
**DAFE, Chief I.O.** 7(33); 15(89)  
**DASUKI, Alhaji Ibrahim.** 63(70); 74(1-85)  
**DIALI, Azuka.** 36(20)  
**DINA, Agnes.** 30(33); 34(4, 5); 36(17, 18)  
**EBIENEME, Obi.** 5(21, 48, 49)  
**EBOHON.** 54(60)  
**EHIZOYANYAN, Anthony.** 30(123)  
**EJIOFOH, Sylvester.** 6(2); 8(21, 23, 30-31, 53); 10(6); 12(83); 13(13)  
**EKNEBOR.** 7(33)  
**EKPERIKE.** 44(17); 45(6)  
**EKWUYASI, Chike.** 5(21); 7(33); 15(89, 90)  
**ELEYINMI, S.O.** 7(11)  
**ELIAS, T.O.** 15(26)  
**ELUMAH.** 46(19)  
**EMERSON, Sir Ralph.** 26(68)  
**ENABOMBE, Omoh.** 49(74)  
**ENAHORO, Chief Anthony.** 4(21-22)  
**ENIGBOKAN, S.O.** 45(64, 69, 87, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104); 46(9, 11, 23, 62); 49(26, 27, 29-31, 33); 50(72, 103); 51(13, 15, 16, 73, 74, 84)  
**EPUH, Paul.** 22(35, 65, 66); 27(40); 28(2-93); 29(2-42, 65, 95); 30(20, 25, 63, 120, 130); 31(99); 32(84, 85, 88, 92, 95, 96); 34(7, 8); 41(58, 59); 42(40); 75(53)  
**ESHIETT, N. Okon.** 26(6); 27(65, 69, 70, 73); 29(20, 26, 43-104); 30(1-41, 46); 31(129); 32(94); 33(32); 36(43); 37(48, 49, 53, 85); 38(18); 41(68); 42(5, 6, 95); 43(34, 35, 115); 44(3, 43); 58(34, 35); 68(59, 62)  
**ESSIEN, G.T.** 36(43)  
**ESUA, E.E.** 44(16); 45(6)  
**ETIENAM, Edet Bassey.** 3(8-16, 33); 4(2-6, 12-48); 5(2-51); 6(1-43); 7(4-69); 15(5-8, 15, 26, 27, 35, 41, 42, 95); 16(22, 43, 69); 20(76-78); 23(54, 61, 105); 24(41, 61); 25(2); 26(53); 28(58); 44(33)  
**EZE, Nduka.** 5(21); 7(33); 25(88); 25(75)  
**EZEOKU.** 18(34)  
**FASANMI, Ayo.** 7(34)  
**FATOGUN.** 21(19, 20); 19(3); 15(47, 48); 13(5, 6); 6(2)  
**FAYEMI.** 16(86)  
**FORD, Charles.** 26(2, 5, 24, 27, 31, 35); 27(58, 64, 66, 75); 28(11); 29(11, 96, 99); 30(43, 44, 72-74); 31(136); 32(48, 77); 34(30, 72); 36(3, 5, 22); 37(31, 40, 80); 38(15, 16, 23, 35, 89, 90, 104); 40(6, 22, 25, 34-36); 42(39, 94, 96, 118); 43(29-30)  
**FOULKES, Alistair Gilian.** 78(13-42)  
**FUNMILAYO, M.O.** 8(14); 9(30-31)  
**GARBA, Ronke.** 36(50-52); 37(1-2); 38(12, 18, 19)  
**GBADAMOSI, R.O.** 45(59)  
**GOODLUCK, Wahab O.** 3(10, 13, 14, 16, 20, 25, 27, 28); 4(5, 47); 5(14, 22, 35, 41, 46); 6(13, 28, 30, 37, 38); 7(14-15, 20-21, 24, 26); 8(9-13, 30, 31, 34, 39); 10(3, 6, 18, 23, 25, 26, 30, 43, 44, 52, 64, 73, 81, 82, 85, 91); 11(5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, 23, 25); 12(4, 13, 21, 30, 71, 72, 74, 75, 83); 14(26, 38-41, 66, 95, 98); 16(9, 10, 22, 28, 33, 34, 72, 75, 86, 90, 92); 17(3, 8, 11, 14-17, 49-51, 53, 70, 82, 83, 85, 87, 95); 18(18, 25, 36, 45, 58, 60, 63, 70); 19(23, 51); 21(19, 20, 56, 60, 62, 67, 73, 80, 91); 22(1-107); 23(2-108); 24(2-119); 25(2, 47); 26(53); 27(42, 43); 28(18, 19, 49, 50, 56, 57, 84); 29(7, 8, 9); 30(41); 31(7, 8, 103); 45(34); 48(60); 49(7, 19, 20); 50(68); 54(43, 44, 50, 51, 53, 65-69, 79, 81, 83, 86, 88-90); 55(6, 7, 48, 49, 54, 56, 57, 71, 87, 88); 56(2, 24); 59(4); 60(54); 61(60, 62); 63(22-24, 27); 66(42, 43); 67(6); 68(28, 37-67, 74, 101); 69(47)  
**GOULD, John.** 26(6); 27(58, 59, 60, 61, 62); 29(20, 46, 49, 62, 63, 64); 32(2); 40(25); 42(5, 6, 8); 43(4, 5, 33); 44(2); 58(34);  
**HANSON.** 26(31); 31(136)  
**HENSHAW, Ene.** 37(85, 86)  
**HERING, Albrecht.** 34(31)  
**HEZEKIAH.** 9(35)  
**HONESTY, E.N.** 36(43); 41(37)  
**HUSSEIN, Baba.** 13(61)  
**IDOBU, N.A.** 10(6)  
**IDOWU, Solomon.** 76(5-8)  
**IDOYA, M.A.** 16(89)  
**IGBO, G.A.** 49(20-22); 55(16-25, 30, 31); 56(65, 66, 75, 76); 57(24); 58(13-62); 59(1-56)  
**IGE, Bola.** 4(2, 7-9, 19); 15(72); 54(63, 84, 85); 55(60); 64(48, 63)  
**IJEH, E.U.** 11(86); 26(34, 35, 36); 28(12); 32(45, 61, 62, 64, 66, 97); 33(39, 40, 41, 43); 34(14, 17, 73); 35(8, 9, 14, 32); 36(13-52); 37(1-121); 38(1-71); 39(10, 11, 15, 17, 18, 20, 28, 32, 33, 37-40, 44, 49); 40(5, 28); 41(43, 44, 47, 54, 56, 57); 42(16, 53, 60-62, 72, 77, 90, 92, 116, 117, 119); 43(10, 12-15, 17, 18, 25, 91, 117); 44(8, 9, 12, 13, 33); 45(34)

- IKE, B.E. 57(40-44, 49-51, 54, 58, 82-85, 87, 88, 92, 93, 98, 113); 58(2, 9, 10); 65(2-4, 7, 9, 13, 14, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28)
- IKORO, Amaefule. 3(10, 13); 5(14); 8(9); 12(4, 61); 15(33, 34); 27(44); 66(46); 68(51, 79)
- IMORU. 12(21)
- IMOUDU, Chief Michael. 3(10-13); 5(14, 19); 7(6, 9); 8(48); 9(34, 35, 58); 12(3, 4, 8, 9, 30, 61); 13(80, 81, 85); 15(33, 38); 22(35); 26(52, 78, 79); 27(44); 28(63); 30(101); 38(68-69); 41(15, 86, 89); 44(26, 27, 41, 43, 49, 89); 45(7, 16); 54(73); 55(35, 38); 56(38-40, 82, 83); 57(5, 7, 8); 59(57, 58, 64-66, 72); 64(3, 38, 50); 65(48, 51, 52, 57, 60, 63); 66(19, 37-95); 67(1-39, 40, 51-2, 8-9, 60, 66, 85); 68(1-103); 69(1-50, 66-67, 70, 82); 71(30-32); 72(22-23); 73(2, 8-9, 17, 20-21-22, 24, 26(45, 53, 66-68); 74(17-18, 31, 39-40-42, 77, 99); 75(47, 54, 59, 63-65, 69, 71, 81, 83)
- INUWA, Mallam M.A. 25(48, 86)
- ISAGUA, P.A. 47(27-29, 41, 42); 48(76, 77, 90); 49(14, 44, 45); 50(16-107); 51(37, 55, 56, 71, 72); 57(39, 43); 65(4)
- ISHOLA, A. 31(7, 8, 74, 103); 41(66); 42(77-78); 44(14-99); 45(1-56); 60(46); 62(12, 17); 63(70); 66(46); 67(4); 73(54); 74(18); 75(55-57, 81)
- IWUAGWU. 15(101, 103, 106)
- JACK, V.M.I. 25(68); 33(32); 36(22, 43); 37(49, 57); 40(5)
- JACKSON, Cosmos. 27(59); 29(23, 49, 50, 92); 36(18); 37(49); 40(5)
- JALINGO, M.M.D. 55(42)
- JAMES, J.O. 25(86); 26(34, 35, 36); 27(61); 28(11, 12, 13, 36, 62, 85); 29(10); 30(34); 31(20-147); 32(1-16, 45, 61, 63, 65, 71, 97); 33(35, 75, 76); 34(6, 14, 72); 35(8, 9, 32); 36(43); 37(29, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 49, 63, 83); 38(13, 18, 20-22, 31, 35, 36, 39, 49, 52, 62); 39(10, 24, 25, 28, 29, 43, 44, 49); 40(4); 41(43-47, 52, 54-57); 42(30, 90-93, 119); 43(91, 92, 117); 44(33); 45(33, 34)
- JIBOWU, Funmi. 5(43)
- JINADU, K.A. 59(56); 62(11, 43, 44, 92); 63(66-68, 120); 67(32-34); 68(9, 89); 69(19)
- JOSEPH, Curtis. 3(27); 13(84); 22(22-24); 23(6, 59, 60, 76); 24(108); 54(73-76); 55(5)
- JOSEPH, Patrice. 16(17-18)
- JOSHUA, S.O. 57(5); 59(61-64, 81-83); 60(1, 2, 85); 61(26-28, 36, 38, 42-44); 62(4, 8, 27, 31, 37); 63(4, 5, 33, 36, 37, 91); 64(19); 66(53, 54, 57); 67(7, 9, 10, 13, 18, 20, 24-25, 28, 31); 68(84-85, 87)
- KALEJAIYE, C.A. 44(16); 45(6)
- KALTUNGO, Alhaji Yinusa. 26(34, 36, 37, 62); 27(57, 66, 82, 86); 28(11, 12, 14, 87, 90); 29(21-23, 33); 30(8, 56, 62, 115, 130); 32(58, 83, 84, 89, 90, 91, 98, 99, 100, 103, 111, 115, 116); 33(2, 74, 75, 76); 34(6, 14, 62); 35(74); 36(16, 42, 49); 37(2-3, 10, 11, 32, 35-38, 45, 46, 70, 93); 38(8, 27, 31, 35, 68, 69, 93); 39(29, 38, 42, 44, 48-50); 41(9, 44, 46, 52, 53, 56, 59-61, 63); 42(12, 19, 30-32, 39, 54, 67, 72, 74, 83-123); 43(1-120); 44(2-14); 48(1-3); 49(78, 82, 83, 94, 95, 99-100); 50(2-4, 7, 12); 53(28-31, 59); 54(35, 36, 39)
- KALU. 43(77)
- KANO, Alhaji Abu Bello. 39(43-45); 43(44, 46)
- KANU, F.N. 12; 28(49, 63); 44(17, 18, 89); 45(6)
- KAPMAN, F.E. 13(60)
- KARAPHANCHAN. 54(54-58, 71)
- KARIM, Tulu. 27(59)
- KASALI, Siriko Adigun. 10(28, 29, 43, 83, 94); 11(8, 9); 12(79); 13(13, 57); 14(86, 92); 15(2, 3, 56); 16(40, 71, 72); 17(22, 68, 78, 86, 87, 92); 18(18, 23, 36, 43-77); 19(2-9); 20(81, 82); 21(2-110); 24(98-99, 101, 103)
- KATSINA, Mallam A. 39(42)
- KAZEEN, Ademola. 76(37-41)
- KHAYAM, Sidi. 3(10); 5(14); 8(9); 9(58); 23(35, 36, 73); 26(8); 26(54); 29(72, 73); 40(44); 54(72); 55(6); 68(46, 77)
- KING, M.O. 4(42, 47-48); 8(13, 30-33); 9(3, 11, 12, 14-16, 19, 24); 10(6, 18, 36-39); 11(5, 10, 34); 12(45); 13(38); 13(59, 70); 14(39, 40, 66); 16(10, 33, 34); 17(69, 77-79, 84, 90, 99, 101, 102, 109); 18(4, 9, 11, 32, 34, 36, 40-42); 19(9, 15, 57); 20(2-81); 21(56); 22(106); 23(16, 27, 36, 102); 24(23, 27, 30, 33, 74); 25(36); 30(2)
- KOLAGBODI, Dr. Mayime. 54(72, 73)
- KOMOLAFE, J.A. 33(31, 32)
- KUFEJI, S.O. 51(115-125); 52(2-26, 53-57); 53(18, 20, 21, 31, 32, 35-37, 40, 46-48, 50, 51); 54(12, 17); 58(2, 3, 5, 9-11)
- KUKOYI, Olodotun Adekunle. 50(91-93); 57(40-43, 54, 58-60, 77-80, 82-88, 95, 100, 112-115, 118); 65(1-30)
- LAFLAMME, Emile. 38(16)
- LAWAL, Ronke. 25(13); 34(5, 6, 12-16, 22, 23, 35)
- LOVESTONE, J. 26(18)
- MADU, J.C. 59(56)
- MARINHO, Dr. A.A. 7(31)
- MARTINS, S.O. 17(22); 54(48); 56(12, 13)
- MARTINS, T.A. 7(18)
- MBA, Jonathon. 28(53)
- MBADIWE, Dr. K.O. 3(11); 5(9)
- MBOYA, Tom. 25(58)
- MCRAY, George F. 25(105); 26(2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 21, 22, 31, 34, 35, 37, 54, 55, 90); 27(8, 21, 58); 29(45, 50, 51, 52, 55); 30(2); 31(135); 32(99, 100); 34(27); 37(3); 38(15, 16, 23, 35); 40(9, 22)
- MEANY, George. 26(18, 23, 24, 52); 27(57); 37(39)
- MOBUTU. 25(95)
- MODOYO, M.A. 63(27)
- MOMODU, Hudson. 4(17); 6(40); 7(26, 54-55); 8(5-86); 9(2-86); 11(6, 15, 16, 21, 22, 42, 82); 11(5, 10); 13(73, 101); 14(37, 40, 76); 15(14, 17, 20(40, 41, 92); 17(3, 27, 79, 82, 83, 85, 100-102); 18(22, 27, 29, 32, 33); 19(13, 32, 42, 43); 20(59-60, 61); 22(20); 23(17, 61); 25(36, 38); 28(30, 53, 54); 30(63); 31(2, 8, 82, 85, 110); 45(33); 55(5, 48, 49)

- MOODY, J.B. 36(42)  
MORONU. 16(86)  
MUSA, J. 49(93)  
NJOKU, C. 53(52, 53) ; 54(1-3, 5, 6)  
NOCK, Ibrahim. 3(10, 13) ; 66(46) ; 68(45-47, 52)  
NWABUZOR. 25(7-10)  
NWAGU, N. 12(83)  
NWANBUSA. 8(40-41)  
NWANERI, P. 49(14) ; 65(4)  
NWEMEA, Theophilous. 27(67) ; 30(63)  
NWOKO. 46(18, 19)  
NZEKWU, T.I.O. 60(4, 5, 71, 72) ; 52(12, 15, 16, 20, 43, 48, 53) ; 63(6, 58, 60, 99, 101, 104-106) ; 65(50) ; 66(24, 68-69, 71) ; 68(15) ; 69(10-11, 18, 83-84) ; 72(11-13, 29-30) ; 73(1-75) ; 74(75-76, 85-106) ; 75(2-86)  
NZERIBE, Gogo, Chu. 5(19) ; 7(6) ; 8(48) ; 12(9) ; 13(84) ; 44(16, 18) ; 45(6)  
NZOWOKE. 59(3, 4, 13, 14)  
OBANO. 56(13-13)  
OBINWA. 65(72)  
OBUA, Bernard. 10(6) ; 20(26-39)  
ODEYEMI, E.A.O. 9(42-43, 45-48) ; 27(61, 66, 72, 76) 79, 82, 83, 85, 86) ; 28(2, 3, 6, 14, 15, 86, 88) ; 29(21-23, 26, 33, 53, 62, 63, 65) ; 31(12, 13, 14, 24, 56, 58, 59, 64, 132, 138-140) ; 33(6, 8, 22, 28, 30, 31, 37, 43, 74) ; 34(8, 17, 30, 50, 72, 73, 74) ; 35(4, 11, 18, 33, 74) ; 36(6, 7, 17, 42, 49) ; 38(7, 8, 17, 26, 27, 36, 54, 55, 68, 69, 93) ; 39(1-56) ; 40(1-67) ; 41(1-95) ; 42(1-83, 92, 95, 96, 120) ; 43(29, 33, 54, 112, 118) ; 44(10) ; 45(19, 20) ; 49(7) ; 50(3, 66-68) ; 54(76)  
ODUBONOJO, D.D. 52(3)  
ODUGBEMI, Z.B. 16(43) ; 20(22, 41, 42) ; 22(14-17, 19, 21, 25) ; 23(32, 33) ; 24(6, 17) ; 54(40-92) ; 55(2-96) ; 56(1-87) ; 57(1-38) ; 58(17-21, 25-27, 29, 30, 33, 35-38, 46-49, 51, 54, 56-61) ; 59(15, 16, 19, 22) ; 60(29-33, 76, 80, 81, 87, 89) ; 61(30, 46-49, 51-54, 60-66) ; 62(27, 38) ; 63(19, 20, 24, 25) ; 67(14, 17-19, 23, 27, 31)  
ODULANA, Bernard. 9(7, 8, 14, 17, 19) ; 10(6) ; 29(73) ; 45(105) ; 46(34, 35) ; 48(11, 71)  
ODULEYE, J.O. 27(31) ; 28(62) ; 31(74, 104) ; 34(38) ; 37(29) ; 38(68, 69) ; 43(115, 116) ; 44(49) ; 45(33) ; 55(35, 37, 38) ; 56(28, 37, 44, 47, 48) ; 57(4, 7, 8) ; 59(56) ; 60(1-98) ; 61(1-45) ; 62(2-100) ; 64(3, 5, 24, 51) ; 65(31, 37, 63, 69, 72) ; 69(3, 6-8, 13-14, 16-17, 22, 35-36, 45) ; 71(30) ; 72(2) ; 73(2, 18, 28) ; 74(10) ; 75(64)  
ODUNJO, Soji. 5(21, 48) ; 7(34)  
ODUNTAN, S.A. 8(21) ; 9(25, 36) ; 10(6) ; 15(54) ; 31(2, 3, 6) ; 37(114, 115) ; 42(55, 77) ; 44(73) ; 50(68)  
OFILI. 14(78)  
OGAN. 52(12)  
OGBEMUDIA, Colonel. 36(8)  
OGBONA, Jonathan Armstrong. 9(70) ; 28(53)  
OGEDENGBE. 4(9-10)  
OGUNFOWORA, S.O.A. 76(1-5)  
OGUNSANWO. 72(21)  
OGUNSANYA, Chief. 4(9, 31) ; 5(1, 7-8, 11-12) ; 69(2)  
OJEDE, Chief Obi. 65(2, 19, 21, 22)  
OJEHONMO. 50(17)  
OJELI, David. 35(22, 23, 24) ; 37(31) ; 51(108)  
OKAFOR, Benedict Obiora. 77(14-38) ; 79(1-40, 57)  
OKEKE, Osina. 7(34)  
OKEZIE, S.S. 32(94) ; 33(48) ; 38(18, 73) ; 44(2) ; 51(116, 119, 120, 123, 125) ; 52(11, 13, 14, 21, 23, 26-59) ; 53(1-80) ; 54(1-40)  
OKOGWU, G.C. 45(96-98) ; 46(18) ; 47(47, 49-52, 76) ; 70(26-84) ; 71(1-61)  
OKOJIE, Dr. 34(31) ; 36(1-13)  
OKON, A.E. 29(72, 73)  
OKONGWU, E.N. 48(49-51)  
OKORO, P. 48(97) ; 49(14) ; 50(21) ; 51(57, 69)  
OKOTIE-EBOH, Chief F.S. 7(6)  
OKOYA, R.A. 51(11)  
OKOYADE, P.I. 13(19)  
OKOYE, Mokuwugo. 7(33) ; 15(89) ; 55(6, 7)  
OKPA, Ebony. 8(48-50)  
OKPARA, Dr. M. 6(25-26) ; 24(81-82) ; 28(18, 19, 49, 50)  
OKUNNU, Alhaji Femi. 7(34) ; 13(90, 91)  
OKUOCHA, Chike. 20(22)  
OKWESE, A.I.A. 28(61, 67, 72, 73) ; 28(13, 14, 15, 17, 44, 45) ; 29(13, 26, 28, 33, 34) ; 30(115, 119, 120) ; 32(17-119) ; 33(21) ; 34(1-36, 38, 48, 69, 74) ; 35(17, 18, 19, 20, 41) ; 36(19) ; 37(32, 71) ; 38(23, 28, 94, 103) ; 39(9) ; 41(40) ; 42(3, 12, 13, 27, 40, 53, 77, 118) ; 44(73)  
OLABODE. 53(32)  
LOAGBAIYE, Mrs. A. 11(25) ; 13(50)  
OLAGBOSHE, Endeley. 29(72-73) ; 40(44)  
OLALEKE, E.A. 49(74)  
OLALEMI 60(81)  
OLAMOLU, G. 48(71)  
OLANREWAJU, Philip B. 46(6, 7, 25, 26, 28, 29, 34, 48, 54-58, 60) ; 47(2, 6, 7) ; 48(21) ; 51(2-22, 66, 85)  
OLEKA. 46(19)  
OLOFIN, S. Kunle Omo. 17(52) ; 56(6, 17-19) ; 61(45-67)  
OLUMO, A.B. 10(3) ; 11(6, 25-27) ; 13(57) ; 18(4-5, 15)  
OMO, Justice Uche. 3(21, 25, 27, 28, 33) ; 4(19) ; 5(16, 18, 22, 25) ; 12(21) ; 15(90-93) ; 16(17) ; 22(9) ; 27(43) ; 33(39) ; 55(5, 49)  
OMO-OLOFIN, S.I. 23(31-32, 33)  
OMOLOFIN, Kunle. 14(85)  
OMOTOSHO, J.O.B. 3(27) ; 5(22, 36) ; 12(21) ; 13(91, 95) ; 15(40, 41, 93, 100, 105, 108) ; 16(26, 29, 70, 71) ; 22(9)  
ONI, Gayus. 17(16)  
ONI, Ola. 5(36)  
ONILAJA, Tunji. 32(112)  
ONWENEME, Obi. 30(63)  
ONYIA. 9(35)  
OPALEYE. 72(2)  
OPEREDE, M.T. 36(43)  
ORGAN. 51(116)  
ORISHALADE, Ade. 36(18) ; 39(23-25) ; 40(27, 28) ;

- ORISHALADE, Ade. 36(18) ; 39(23-25) ; 40(27, 28) ;  
42(5) ; 43(30, 31, 34, 35)
- OROTUNDE. 50(52-53)
- ORUGBO, R.O. 58(37) ; 59(15, 16)
- ORUMEBE, Ben. 14(78)
- OSHIMONHOLE, A. 49(74)
- OSHOSAMI. 70(12)
- OSUNDE, R.I. 13(59, 64, 67)
- OTEGBEYE, Dr. Olatunji. 3(21, 25-26, 28-30, 33) ;  
4(5, 12-16, 39, 40, 42, 46-48) ; 5(23, 35, 36, 41, 43,  
46, 48) ; 6(2, 13, 37) ; 7(20, 26, 28-30) ; 8(3-4, 11) ;  
10(6, 14, 17, 19, 24-26, 85, 89) ; 11(15, 17, 23-24) ;  
12(71-74, 79, 83, 86) ; 13(2, 8-9, 13, 16, 22, 25, 27,  
29, 35-36, 39, 56, 88-90) ; 14(26-27, 84-85, 87-88,  
90, 92, 94) ; 15(2-3, 19, 21, 40-42, 46-47, 53-58,  
77, 88-131) ; 16(1-83, 86) ; 18(11, 46-48, 61-62, 64,  
75) ; 19(3, 11-13, 19-20, 41-62, 65-69, 73, 86-88) ;  
22(8-9, 16, 25, 99-102) ; 23(21-22, 26-28, 30, 42,  
49-51, 56-58, 62-63, 76-77, 98-99, 103) ; 24(4, 17,  
78-79, 91-92, 99, 105) ; 28(49-50, 84) ; 45(76) ;  
54(43-44, 49-51, 59, 62-64, 67-68, 79, 83, 87-88) ;  
55(52-53, 55, 57, 73-74, 84, 87-88) ; 56(2, 6) ;  
61(46-48, 53-54, 56-58, 60-62, 64) ; 63(23) ; 68(72)
- OTORA, Jibowu. 8(11)
- OWOPEJU, Segun. 16(116)
- OWOSIKA, Bode. 54(48)
- OYEDELE, Chief Michael. 55(41)
- OYEDELE, Lawrence Tunde. 3(29) ; 4(40) ; 5(2, 45, 46) ;  
6(13) ; 7(20, 23, 24, 77) ; 10(6, 23) ; 11(11) ;  
13(62, 88) ; 14(30-31) ; 15(26) ; 16(30, 31, 33, 83,  
87, 108, 121) ; 17(2-16) ; 23(33) ; 24(107) ; 54(46-  
48, 53)
- OYEJOLA, Dr. 16(2)
- OYELAJA, Tunji. 35(31)
- OYERO, Jide. 56(13)
- OYERO, Kunle. 3(25-27) ; 4(5, 6, 11, 12, 39, 40) ; 5(25,  
46, 48) ; 6(2, 5) ; 8(11) ; 9(42) ; 10(25, 26, 35, 36) ;  
12(71, 72, 74, 83, 86) ; 13(90-91) ; 14(33, 95, 96) ;  
15(40, 41, 56, 91, 100, 106, 111) ; 23(42) ; 24(92)
- OYEWOLE, Emmanuel. 10(2-97)
- OYEYEMI, Deji. 28(8) ; 34(40, 41, 62) ; 36(23) ; 39(7,  
10, 12) ; 44(2) ; 73(73)
- PEPPLE, N.F. 11(50) ; 25(68) ; 26(14) ; 34(36-74) ; 35(1-  
78) ; 36(16) ; 37(46, 49, 70) ; 40(4, 17, 20, 31) ;  
41(41, 90) ; 42(12, 33, 120) ; 43(15, 17)
- PEREIRA, Yomi. 13(27)
- RABIU. 29(26, 66, 99)
- RAMOS, R.A. 38(68, 69) ; 48(56-58, 66, 71, 79, 89) ;  
49(24) ; 50(50-52) ; 51(12, 13, 16, 22-91)
- RAZAK. 18(29) ; 19(19-22, 33, 38) ; 20(6-80) ; 22(106) ;  
24(23)
- REUTHER, Walter. 26(17)
- ROBERTS, Jim. 8(58) ; 9(60)
- ROBERTS, Miss Olubunmi. 76(41-45)
- RUMANOV. 24(72-78) ; 54(55-61, 76, 77)
- SALAWU, J. Ade. 9(36, 86-90) ; 10(6) ; 12(46) ;  
15(54) ; 18(22) ; 19(13) ; 56(69)
- SARUMI, Olufemi. 77(38-41) ; 78(6-13)
- SEREMEKUM, Ola, 48(71, 79, 100-102) ; 49(12, 13, 45) ;  
50(54)
- SHEKIRI. 52(46)
- SMITH, Dr. 5(21) ; 8(2-5, 11) ; 16(49)
- SODIPO, Victoria Adebimpe. 69(50-62)
- SOFOLA, Alfred Olaitan. 69(90-110) ; 70(1-21)
- SOWEMIMO, Sobo. 5(21, 48) ; 7(34) ; 8(3) ; 13(90, 91) ;  
25(104) ; 27(7) ; 36(19)
- SPRINGER, Maida. 37(53, 85)
- SULE, M.J. 63(3-5, 7, 12, 30, 31, 94, 95) ; 63(4-6, 29-  
120) ; 64(1-63) ; 65(30-84) ; 66(36, 66-67, 70, 73,  
79, 80, 88, 92-93) ; 67(36, 40, 59) ; 68(1, 3-4, 8,  
9, 21) ; 69(35, 41) ; 71(61, 63) ; 72(1) ; 73(24-25,  
53-54) ; 75(53, 55, 81)
- SULEIMAN. 28(17) ; 30(63) ; 32(91, 92)
- TETTEGAH, John. 4(45) ; 12(4) ; 12(60) ; 25(94) ; 70(24)
- THOMAS, Ademola. 5(21, 23) ; 8(3) ; 13(59, 64, 67) ;  
14(24) ; 15(40, 41, 91, 93)
- TLILI, Ahmed. 25(58)
- TOYO, Dr. Eskor. 3(21) ; 5(19) ; 12(21) ; 14(24) ; 15(40,  
41, 91, 93) ; 16(26, 27)
- TRACHTMAN, Lester. 26(2)
- TULATZ, Herbert A. 38(95, 96)
- UCHE, H.I.S. 9(35) ; 14(35) ; 15(40, 41, 71) ; 22(63) ;  
24(6, 79) ; 28(48) ; 28(67)
- UGBOAH. 13(61)
- UDOKPORO, Ben M. 27(61, 66, 72, 76, 79, 82, 83, 85,  
86) ; 40(28, 29, 31) ; 41(36, 38) ; 43(47, 49) ;  
51(91-115)
- UMEZURUIKE. Nweke Ogbonnaya. 77(2-13)
- UMOH, Umoh James. 65(55)
- UZOR. 45(99) ; 47(25, 27-30, 47) ; 48(41, 55, 57, 59, 62,  
63, 66, 67, 71, 74, 75, 79, 81, 89) ; 49(29, 30) ;  
51(6, 34, 72, 86)
- VOSE. 48(60, 61)
- WASSIAMAL, Mrs. Maja. 57(24)
- WAYA, Abdu. 9(35)
- WHITE, John. 29(54, 55) ; 36(22) ; 40(25)
- WILLIAMS. 37(31)
- WYA, Andrew. 56(14)
- YAKASAI, Alhaji Tanko. 7(34) ; 15(89)
- YAKUSA, M. 48(97) ; 50(44, 80) ; 51(22)
- YESUFU. 6(13)
- ZACK, Arnold. 40(24, 25)

## II - 2 SUBJECT - INDEX

- COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. 5(2-4) ; 25(40-41) ; 29(30) ; 50(15) ; 59(70-74, 78) ; 61(40, 41) ; 74(2-3)
- COMMUNISM. 5(20, 29) ; 15(29-32) ; 16(14, 17) ; 25(33, 70, 71) ; 26(96) ; 29(5, 73-74) ; 31(52) ; 32(28) ; 33(58) ; 37(64-65) ; 38(12) ; 41(13, 87, 88) ; 44(31) ; 63(13)
- CORRUPTION. 3(13) ; 4(33, 44) ; 7(38-39, 42) ; 8(31-35, 40, 41) ; 9(26, 34, 36) ; 10(6, 30, 37-40, 45-46, 84-86) ; 11(21, 45-48, 58, 81) ; 12(6, 77-78) ; 13(71-72) ; 14(63) ; 18(21-22) ; 19(44-46, 49-50) ; 29(17) ; 27(69-70) ; 28(6, 8, 11, 14) ; 29(21-23) ; 30(62-63) ; 32(118) ; 33(21-22, 37) ; 34(74) ; 35(4) ; 43(30) ; 47(37-38, 47, 59, 60) ; 49(93-94) ; 51(73, 82) ; 55(31) ; 57(26, 28) ; 58(18, 21) ; 59(8) ; 60(36-37) ; 66(60-61) ; 67(15) ; 68(71-72) ; 70(65, 66) ; 71(36-37) ; 73(50)
- FARMERS/PEASANTS/AGRICULTURE. 14(34) ; 15(51, 98-100) ; 22(19, 22, 25, 27, 44-45) ; 23(32) ; 32(72) ; 33(25) ; 38(67, 75-76) ; 45(14) ; 51(95) ; 54(58-61, 63, 65, 74-78, 84, 85, 88) ; 55(29, 41, 44, 45, 60-62, 81, 83) ; 58(44, 45) ; 59(19)
- INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. 4(47) ; 5(2-4) ; 7(47-48) ; 9(41) ; 11(93) ; 12(35, 39, 40) ; 22(40, 52) ; 24(46) ; 25(55) ; 26(48) ; 43(83) ; 44(97) ; 49(89-91) ; 58(37) ; 59(33-36, 72-73) ; 66(30-31, 69) ; 71(1-61) ; 70(26, 28-34, 36-37, 39-40, 42, 53)
- LAW/COURTS/POLICE. 4(31, 35, 39, 46) ; 6(13, 14, 40-41) ; 7(20) ; 9(45-46, suit LG/448) ; 11(39, 43-45, 61, 66, 69-70, 79, 88-89) ; 17(6, 7, 35) ; 23(8-9, 50, 90) ; 24(114, 117) ; 26(38, 41-43, 46, 66-68, 70, 71, 73) ; 28(11, 14) ; 31(63-64, 129) ; 32(5) ; 35(72) ; 36(46) ; 37(36) ; 39(49) ; 40(11, 25, 66) ; 41(45, 55, 78, 84, 90) ; 42(73, 96, 97) ; 43(79) ; 44(90, 93, 94, 98) ; 45(40, 41, 55, 101, 107-109) ; 46(1, 2, 3, 4, 40-43, 47, 57, 59) ; 47(17, 18, 31, 66, 76, 84-85) ; 48(65) ; 49(23) ; 50(3, 7, 104-107) ; 54(6, 20, 21, 59, 88) ; 55(79, 80) ; 56(10, 18-21, 66, 67) ; 57(4, 24) ; 58(18) ; 59(2, 8, 9, 30, 34, 39, 64) ; 60(9-13, 15, 29, 62-63, 65-69, 73, 85, 91) ; 61(5, 18, 27, 32, 34, 44, 54, 65) ; 62(29, 55-57, 74-75, 87, 93-95) ; 63(15-16, 37-38, 118-119) ; 64(1, 3, 4, 6-8, 48, 62-63) ; 65(54) ; 66(60) ; 67(28-29) ; 68(34, 51, 97) ; 69(22-23) ; 71(43-45)
- LEGISLATION. 3(32-33) ; 5(2) ; 7(51-52, 57) ; 8(64) ; 9(41, 64) ; 11(38-39, 52, 82, 86, 88-89, 92) ; 12(37, 39) ; 13(79, 82) ; 14(4, 18-19, 81) ; 18(9) ; 22(43, 50, 59-60) ; 24(45) ; 26(57, 69) ; 27(33) ; 31(84) ; 41(8, 93-94) ; 49(7) ; 56(60, 61, 63) ; 58(14-16, 44, 45, 55, 60-62) ; 59(2, 3, 20, 39, 40, 68) ; 62(62) ; 63(9-11, 16, 17) ; 67(40, 74, 87, 99, 102) ; 69(3-4) ; 70(27-30, 49, 50, 53, 56, 67-68, 70-73, 78-82) ; 71(1-2, 8, 13, 22-23, 27, 32-33, 36, 47-49, 51, 57, 59-60) ; 73(54-55, 68) ; 75(84)
- MANAGEMENT. 13(26) ; 14(6, 13, 14) ; 15(79-80) ; 26(39-43, 46) ; 29(30-31) ; 33(84, 85) ; 45(3) ; 49(50, 72, 89-90) ; 50(9) ; 58(49) ; 59(58, 60, 72) ; 60(84) ; 61(3, 10, 11, 23, 31, 38) ; 62(12, 15, 16, 24, 30, 42, 48, 81) ; 63(6, 69, 70, 71, 73) ; 64(19) ; 65(52, 74) ; 66(17, 29-31, 34, 69, 72, 93-94) ; 68(14-16) ; 69, 5, 11-12, 27) ; 70(54-55) ; 73(4, 12, 20, 26-27, 34, 72) ; 74(2-5, 26-28, 31, 39, 50, 56, 65-67) ; 75(9, 18-21, 45, 62, 69, 71, 81, 84) ; 78(12)
- SOCIALISM. 3(22, 26) ; 4(10, 20) ; 5(20, 25-27, 29-32) ; 6(42) ; 7(6-7) ; 10(51-52, 68-69) ; 11(33, 37) ; 12(14, 17, 25-27) ; 13(44, 93) ; 14(33, 35) ; 15(30, 43, 80-82, 90-91, 95, 104, 108) ; 16(16, 18, 20, 28, 36, 37, 41, 64, 102, 114) ; 22(5, 11, 18(NTUC) ; 23(42, 45, 57, 107) ; 24(34, 38, 41, 79, 89, 90, 93-94, 112) ; 25(33) ; 41(87-89) ; 42(21) ; 44(29, 30) ; 45(12) ; 54(80) ; 56(56) ; 59(4) ; 60(55) ; 63(12) ; 66(52) ; 69(47)
- STRIKES. 5(3-4) ; 8(54) ; 9(60) ; 12(4, 7, 8, 1949-50) ; 12(29-31, 34-35, 37-40) ; 14(16, 36) ; 15(86) ; 22(34-37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 48, 51, 55, 57, 58) ; 23(89, 90) ; 24(51, 55-57) ; 25(27, 54) ; 26(39-41, 46, 53, 54, 56-58, 64, 65, 67, 70, 72, 74, 97) ; 28(18-22, 48, 51) ; 29(30, 37, 74-76, 78, 81-84) ; 30(6, 7, 93-94, 98, 110) ; 31(75) ; 32(90) ; 33(80, 81) ; 35(36-41) ; 37(96-98) ; 38(108) ; 41(90-91) ; 43(79, 81, 82) ; 44(91, 94, 98) ; 45(2-4, 14, 16, 75) ; 48(49, 50) ; 49(17, 18, 88, 89) ; 51(31) ; 53(63) ; 55(30) ; 58(53-54) ; 60(27, 28) ; 61(3) ; 62(41, 42, 71) ; 63(9, 10, 17, 72) ; 66(69, 71) ; 67(2) ; 68(13-15) ; 69(41) ; 70(51-52, 55, 67-68) ; 71(26-27, 55) ; 73(14-15, 27, 31, 38) ; 74(77) ; 75(60, 83, 84) ; 78(7-8)
- TRIBALISM/REGIONALISM. 7(7, 66) ; 35(63) ; 36(43, 47, 49) ; 37(41, 59) ; 38(12, 13, 22, 31) ; 41(49, 53, 78) ; 42(1, 2, 85-86, 119) ; 46(7, 25) ; 51(22) ; 52(27-31, 44) ; 59(60-61) ; 60(5) ; 61(37, 38, 42, 43) ; 62(4, 7, 8, 15, 36, 43, 47, 48, 54, 90) ; 63(4, 5, 101, 105) ; 64(8-9, 11, 15-20, 23, 27) ; 65(71, 75, 78, 80-81) ; 66(15-16, 54-56, 69) ; 67(19, 22) ; 68(7, 17, 86) ; 72(19-21) ; 73(18) ; 74(38, 55, 94-95) ; 75(54)
- UNION ACTIVITY. 3(10-12, 12-14, 18-20, 26) ; 4(4-6, 16, 18, 24, 25, 31, 32, 38-39, 47) ; 5(31-36) ; 6(6-7, 14, 21, 27-29, 41) ; 7(5, 8, 9, 12, 17-19, 61, 64) ; 8(7, 8) ; 9(7-9, 35-36, 59, 80, 82) ; 10(3-5, 47, 80, 82) ; 11(41) ; 13(81-82) ; 14(12, 28, 33, 63) ; 15(7-8, 16, 33-34, 44, 46, 93-96) ; 16(14, 31, 73, 76, 117) ; 20(15-16, 23-25, 44, 47, 58) ; 22(9, 12) ; 23(91-93) ; 24(3, 6, 11-13, 30, 34, 43, 64-67, 78) ; 25(21, 43, 52, 57, 63, 65, 83-84) ; 28(7-9, 12, 13, 16, 33, 34) ; 30(108-110) ; 31(3-6, 22-23, 25-29, 35, 47, 49, 55, 62-66, 68-70, 74, 81, 82, 86, 87) ; 32(8, 9, 18, 20-22, 37, 40, 49-54, 73-74, 79-84, 87, 88, 94-96, 105, 106) ; 34(7, 20, 25, 27, 30, 32, 39, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53-57, 64-69, 73, 78, 79-84, 86-87, 88, 94-96, 105, 106) ; 35(4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 18, 21, 26, 29) ; 36(15, 22, 29, 32, 34-36, 46) ; 37(13-15, 20, 22, 26, 29-32, 34-37, 41, 43, 45, 48, 56, 58, 60-62, 64, 66, 87, 88, 112-113, 115) ; 38(7-10, 15-17, 22, 23, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40, 47-49, 51, 53, 58, 60-62, 65, 74, 77, 79, 82-84, 98) ; 39(14-17, 21-28, 31-38, 40-42, 46-48, 51, 55) ; 40(4, 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 24, 30-31, 34, 37, 46, 47, 48) ; 41(27, 33-34, 43-46, 49, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 62-64, 76, 83, 89) ; 42(1, 2, 11-13, 15-17, 19-22, 27, 30-31, 33, 34, 40-44, 54, 78, 88, 89, 91, 96-101, 104, 108, 110-112, 116, 120) ; 43(15, 27, 37-42, 44, 78-81, 84, 87, 98, 99, 112, 113, 116-117) ; 44(5-6, 20, 35, 41, 42, 45, 47, 52-57, 59, 61, 63, 69, 71, 72) ; 45(4-5, 25, 26, 45, 95, 96, 98-99) ; 46(7, 11, 22, 23, 48) ; 47(1, 41, 11, 13, 20-24, 26, 30, 33-34, 41, 44, 47, 50, 51, 57-61, 63, 67, 68) ; 48(17, 36, 49, 50,

54-59, 63, 69-70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78-81, 84, 85, 88, 94, 95, 101) ; 49(8, 9, 28-30, 34, 48, 51, 80-81, 87, 94) ; 50(2, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 20, 22, 31, 36, 38-40, 49, 54-55, 62, 64, 65, 71-73, 100) ; 51(3, 9-10, 14, 18, 27, 28, 32-34, 43, 46, 52, 60, 66, 72-77, 79, 85, 86, 118-119) ; 52(3-5, 10-16, 18-20, 22, 25, 28, 32-34, 36, 37, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 52) ; 53(1-4, 9, 13, 15, 17, 19-21, 32-33, 37, 39-44, 46, 48, 50, 72-73, 78-79) ; 54(4, 6, 9-11, 13, 15, 19-23, 27, 31, 33, 43, 53, 61-65, 71-72, 78-79) ; 59(62-66, 70, 71, 79, 80) ; 60(2-7, 9, 13, 19, 22-26, 75-76, 84, 93, 94, 96, 98) ; 61(1, 2, 5-7, 9, 11-15, 21-22, 25, 29, 32, 41, 42) ; 62(3, 5, 6, 8-11, 22, 23, 28, 30, 31, 34, 37, 46, 50, 82) ; 62(2-3, 6, 33-39, 46-47, 56-59, 65-67, 72, 83-86, 91, 94-96, 106, 115, 116) ; 64(36-38, 45, 50, 52-57, 63) ; 65(32, 37, 47-49, 56, 57) ; 66(1, 18, 31, 39, 41, 47, 53-54, 56-58, 64-69, 72, 74, 76, 77, 81-83, 91, 94) ; 67(5, 9, 18-19, 21, 24, 31-32, 35-38, 41-47, 50, 56, 60, 65, 66, 76, 87, 97-102) ; 68(1-2, 4-5, 7-9, 13, 16, 18-20, 50-51, 83-86, 89, 90, 93, 97, 99-103) ; 69(2, 5-6, 11, 18-19, 22, 27-30, 40, 45, 47-49) ; 70(22, 25) ; 73(7, 24, 28, 42) ; 74(42-43, 49-52, 64-67, 71, 74, 102) ; 75(17, 22-23, 36, 44-46, 50, 54, 74-75, 79) ; 79(41-56)

UNION FINANCE. 3(6, 28) ; 4(30, 41, 42) ; 7(15-16, 20-21, 36, 50, 58) ; 8(13, 14, 20-21, 31, 33-45) ; 9(5, 50) ; 10(5, 6, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26-27, 30, 32-42, 46, 48, 52, 53, 55, 83-85) ; 11(2-4, 6-9, 21-23, 25, 27-32, 34, 42-43, 46-50) ; 12(5, 7-8, 47-48, 50-52, 55-58, 61, 63, 79-85) ; 13(2-12, 17-19, 23-26, 30-32, 39, 76-78, 101) ; 14(21, 23, 44-51, 64-69, 71-73, 77-80, 89) ; 15(2-5, 21-22, 74, 77, 78, 82, 109, 118, 120-122) ; 16(9, 12, 53, 54, 72-74, 78, 99-103, 106, 117) ; 17(3, 5, 11, 16, 27, 39, 42, 44-45, 49, 68-71, 74, 78-80, 85, 86, 96-108) ; 18(3-43, 55, 57, 65-72) ; 19(17-8, 24-34, 50-53) ; 20(4, 6, 39-41, 63-65, 73, 78-80) ; 21(11, 60, 62, 65) ; 22(21, 61-62, 64-66, 69, 70, 75, 76, 80, 83-87, 90-91, 93, 95-99) ; 23(2-12, 14-16, 25, 27, 33-35, 49, 81-84, 87-89) ; 24(11, 21, 22, 25-30, 38, 72) ; 25(7, 14-18, 35-39, 42-44, 62, 63, 68, 71, 78, 81, 86-89, 93, 105) ; 26(2, 8-11, 30, 82, 85, 90-91) ; 27(3, 8, 14, 15, 20, 26, 29, 34, 50-53, 60-62, 74, 79, 80, 82-84, 86-89) ; 28(2-4, 10, 29, 87, 92) ; 29(14, 51, 52, 55, 61-63, 67, 68, 71, 100, 101) ; 30(2, 3, 5, 13, 34, 51, 54, 59, 64-66, 82, 85, 86, 89-92, 107-108, 115) ; 31(20-21, 29-34, 37-39, 41-45, 58, 88, 93-94, 130-132) ; 32(2, 3, 6-12, 19, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 45, 49, 50-51, 71, 99-101, 103, 108-112) ; 33(2-8, 20, 25, 35, 37-39, 47, 66, 67) ; 34(4, 9-11, 7, 18, 20, 21, 29, 38-43, 46, 47, 49, 50, 56-57, 59-60, 64, 70, 72) ; 35(1-3, 6, 9-13, 17, 21, 22, 27-29, 32, 33, 46, 60-61, 73-74, 76-78) ; 36(2) ; 37(8, 10, 18, 20, 21, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 44, 45, 48-50, 56, 57, 60, 61, 64-66, 68-72, 87, 88, 118, 121) ; 38(40, 43, 98, 99, 104-107) ; 39(10-11, 14, 31, 48, 51-52) ; 40(3-5, 8-17, 24, 35, 43, 49) ; 41(1-5, 20-22, 25-27, 34-36, 68-70, 71, 81-83) ; 42(13, 38-40, 48, 49, 53, 59-61, 63-66, 78, 79, 117, 122) ; 43(1-3, 5, 8-10, 15, 17, 27, 56, 69, 71-72, 75-78, 104, 106, 112) ; 44(4, 16, 99) ; 45(34, 36, 39, 45, 46, 53, 57, 87-92, 95) ; 46(31, 32) ; 47(5, 8-13, 36, 37, 69-79) ; 48(11, 14-17, 20, 22-24, 28, 30-32, 34-35, 43-45, 79, 81, 82, 84, 86, 89, 93, 98-102) ; 49(4-6, 12, 38-41, 50-53,

55, 56, 58, 60-64, 72-74, 78) ; 50(20-24, 26, 27, 33-35, 40, 42, 47, 56, 59, 60, 67, 71, 72, 77, 78, 81-86, 90, 95-96, 97, 98, 101-102) ; 51(3, 11, 14, 15, 25-28, 33, 35-41, 45-46, 48-54, 65, 70, 79, 103, 105-106) ; 52(2-5, 25-26, 47, 59) ; 53(2, 5-15, 17-18, 48, 57-61, 67, 68, 69, 70, 70-72) ; 54(2, 23, 27-28, 33, 35, 37, 42, 43, 49, 59-60, 81-83, 86) ; 55(5, 8, 34-40, 88-96) ; 56(2-6, 15, 16, 17, 34, 35, 44, 46-47) ; 58(21) ; 59(58, 60, 81-82) ; 60(29, 32, 34-35, 39-41, 44-47, 49-51, 53, 55-60, 74, 77, 80-85, 88-90) ; 61(13, 19, 24, 26-30, 43) ; 62(7, 25-27, 50, 60, 97-100) ; 64(32) ; 65(62) ; 66(57-58) ; 67(17-18, 26-27) ; 68(39, 46-47, 78, 86) ; 69(8-9, 22, 48-65, 67, 69-75, 77-80) ; 70(22-25, 62-64, 73, 75) ; 71(9-11)

UNION/LABOUR EDUCATION. 7(49) ; 12(14, 44) ; 13(59, 62, 65, 70) ; 14(16, 53-54) ; 15(45) ; 20(48-49, 51-52, 63) ; 25(70, 77) ; 27(58-60) ; 29(57) ; 32(14, 15) ; 37(64, 99, 103) ; 41(94) ; 43(2) ; 45(64, 67, 74) ; 46(52) ; 47(14, 67, 68, 77) ; 48(9, 33, 85-86) ; 49(68-70) ; 62(67)

UNION MERGERS/SPLITS. 3(11-14) ; 4(15) ; 5(6) ; 6(22) ; 7(62-64) ; 8(7-8) ; 9(3, 5, 11, 13, 15, 17, 29, 34, 35, 37, 52, 64, 67, 68) ; 10(5, 35-36, 52-53) ; 12(2, 7, 10, 12) ; 13(35-36, 39, 67, 79-80, 85, 86) ; 14(3, 15, 20) ; 15(14-16, 33) ; 17(25, 28, 39) ; 25(56) ; 26(8, 28, 34, 35, 36, 37, 60, 65, 72, 80) ; 27(25, 27) ; 28(12, 71, 90) ; 29(13, 21, 27, 37) ; 30(21, 37-38, 100-102, 129) ; 31(55, 66, 74) ; 32(80) ; 33(59-60, 67) ; 34(37) ; 35(74) ; 36(15) ; 37(117) ; 38(47-50, 73) ; 40(43) ; 41(9-11, 58, 76) ; 42(18-22) ; 43(60, 113, 114) ; 44(17, 18, 21, 31, 36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 46-47, 53, 54) ; 45(4, 5, 7, 18, 27, 50, 54, 55) ; 48(69-70, 72, 75, 78-79) ; 50(11, 36, 64) ; 53(62) ; 54(20, 21) ; 56(23) ; 57(5, 117) ; 58(3) ; 60(4-5, 52, 71) ; 62(17) ; 63(6, 7, 70, 77) ; 66(38, 41-42, 46, 71, 74, 83) ; 67(5) ; 68(25, 28-29) ; 69(11, 43-44, 65) ; 73(26-27) ; 74(13-14, 19-20) ; 75(63-64)

UNION STRATEGY. 3(5, 22) ; 4(15, 2) ; 5(29, 31-36) ; 7(6-7, 12, 14, 18-19, 50-51) ; 8(60-61, 69, 73) ; 10(68) ; 16(19, 28, 41-42) ; 22(4, 5, 9-10, 77-78) ; 23(35, 36, 41, 87-89, 112) ; 25(27, 30, 52, 53, 70, 71, 75) ; 26(54, 57, 69, 70, 81, 81, 86, 87, 93, 94) ; 27(9, 23, 37, 38) ; 28(13, 24, 25, 28, 29, 33, 34, 37) ; 29(8, 74, 76, 81-84, 103) ; 31(75-76, 76, 82, 113-119, 121) ; 32(10, 12, 13, 25-30) ; 33(24, 58) ; 34(36-41, 43-45, 47, 49, 53) ; 36(38, 41, 42) ; 37(5-6, 9, 10, 55, 64-65, 82, 98-99, 107, 116, 119-121) ; 38(4-5, 76, 99-101) ; 39(20, 36, 37) ; 41(9-10, 14, 87-91) ; 42(101, 105-107) ; 43(56, 83, 84) ; 44(17, 18, 29-31, 36, 37) ; 47(59, 81, 83, 84, 86) ; 49(87, 88) ; 50(78) ; 51(30-31, 81, 82) ; 52(27) ; 53(72-74) ; 60(55) ; 62(61-62) ; 66(52-93) ; 75(49) ;

UNION STRUCTURE/LEADERSHIP. 3(6, 13, 14, 16, 19) ; 4(17) ; 6(7, 10-11, 16, 21, 22, 29, 41) ; 7(45, 63) ; 9(14-18, 32-33, 37, 39, 44-47, 72, 78-80) ; 10(6, 18, 19, 56-57, 63, 64, 71-73, 91) ; 11(34, 58-59) ; 12(3, 7, 8, 13, 32) ; 13(76-78) ; 14(27, 39, 41, 42, 55, 57, 66, 79) ; 16(10, 33-34) ; 17(72, 74, 81, 83) ; 18(24, 32, 38) ; 19(16-17, 49) ; 20(2-6, 16, 55, 60-62, 79-80) ; 21(58-60, 62, 91) ; 22(31-33, 30, 33, 34, 43, 64-67) ; 23(12, 15-16, 27, 102) ; 24(5, 28, 30, 33, 34, 43, 64, 67) ; 25(22, 48, 58-60, 63, 64, 66, 68, 86, 102) ; 26(4, 37, 45, 76-79) ;

27(7, 44, 45); 28(12, 15, 16, 31-32, 40, 58, 71, 83);  
29(21, 24, 39); 30(10, 24, 25, 28-29, 34, 40, 59,  
62-63, 108, 115); 31(13-15, 23, 49, 55-56, 78-79,  
97, 103-104, 146); 32(5, 8, 64, 66, 83-89, 94, 97,  
116, 118); 34(7, 9-10, 17, 19, 26, 42, 62, 69-70,  
73-76); 35(3, 9, 11-13, 21, 41); 36(16-19, 51);  
37(8-9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 21-22, 37-39, 45, 52, 84, 92,  
101, 103-104, 106); 38(3, 4, 8, 27-29, 31, 34-35,  
38, 52, 65, 76); 39(16-17, 21, 22, 43-44); 40(6,  
7, 18, 32, 43); 41(38, 41-46, 49, 52, 56, 62, 64,  
70, 75, 76); 42(12, 13, 20, 23, 30, 32-33, 41, 54,  
67, 78, 89, 90, 91, 93-94, 105, 108, 119, 120);  
43(18, 54-55, 77, 91, 92, 100, 107); 44(5, 15, 18,  
48, 58, 70); 45(24, 73, 80-83, 94); 46(8); 48(12,  
13, 50, 56, 69, 71, 73-75, 79, 83-84, 90, 93-95,  
100); 49(8-9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 23, 48, 65,  
66); 50(6, 7, 11, 12, 25, 27, 31, 33, 34, 44, 55, 71,  
80-81, 85, 97); 51(3, 6, 7, 11, 14, 15, 34, 60, 71-  
72, 75, 82); 52(11-12, 16, 18, 27, 29, 30, 32, 38,  
43, 45, 47, 52, 53); 53(14, 19-22, 33-36, 38, 41, 44-  
45, 48, 52-53, 57-60, 75-77, 79); 54(7, 9, 10, 12,  
13, 24, 25, 30-31, 43-44, 53-54, 59, 70, 72); 55(41-  
43, 46, 54-59, 66, 72, 75, 88); 56(12-13, 27, 28,  
32, 39, 45); 57(41); 59(84); 60(18-20, 25-26,  
75-77, 91, 93); 61(8-14, 16, 17, 19, 26-27, 29, 41,  
43); 62(4, 5, 11, 17, 28, 37, 38, 81-82); 63(4, 8,  
43-46, 54, 56, 63-64, 66-70, 82-83, 85, 96-97);  
64(37, 38, 43-44, 56, 58, 61); 65(31, 37, 61);  
66(1, 4-5, 25, 29, 34, 41, 42, 76-77); 67(5, 8, 15,  
19, 23, 31-34, 37, 38, 50, 66, 87); 68(1-2, 8-9, 25,  
44, 46, 50, 86, 98-99); 69(2, 16, 19-20, 49, 69);  
75(81).

UNION/UNIONIST PROPERTY. 5(42, 44, 45, 48);  
6(23-24); 9(44-47, 72, 73-74, 77); 10(26, 32-  
33, 34, 35, 89); 11(6-7, 16); 13(2, 15, 7, 88, 22,  
30-31, 37, 41-42, 54); 14(31, 40, 43); 15(19, 100,  
119); 16(3-8, 10-12, 28, 30, 35, 73-74, 76, 79);  
17(43); 19(11); 23(18-21, 65, 79, 80, 103, 105);  
24(95-96, 105); 27(74); 28(86-87); 32(105-106);  
36(2); 37(2-3, 85-86); 38(54, 56); 40(52, 53);  
42(11); 43(54); 46(31-33); 47(39); 49(25);  
50(13); 51(93); 57(39); 63(15); 65(3); 70(14);  
76(41-42); 77(2, 7)

WAGES AND CONDITIONS. 3(51); 5(29); 9(5);  
12(29, 38); 22(29, 38); 24(46); 26(95); 37(99-  
100); 48(52); 53(65); 58(16, 46); 62(41-43);  
63(69); 65(51); 68(6, 13, 16); 70(51)

## II - 3 ORGANISATION - INDEX

- ACTION GROUP. 5(21,30) ; 7(34) ; 16(27) ; 21(80) ; 25(52)
- ADEBO COMMISSION. 12(39)
- AFRICAN-AMERICAN LABOUR CENTRE. 25(71, 104, 132) ; 26(2-4, 7-10, 16-18, 30, 83) ; 27(8, 55-56, 66, 72, 74, 75) ; 29(20, 23, 45, 50, 51, 55, 64, 70) ; 30(2, 5, 34, 37, 44, 45, 51, 52, 54, 65, 66) ; 31(37, 40, 41, 88, 93, 130) ; 32(2, 3, 31-33, 37, 39, 41-43, 45, 49, 65, 77, 112) ; 33(6-8) ; 34(2, 3, 5, 10, 31, 38, 56, 57) ; 35(11, 12, 17, 20, 26, 27, 30, 69, 76, 77) ; 36(2, 4, 8, 12, 21) ; 37(4, 28, 44, 53, 54, 63, 67-70, 76, 78, 79, 82, 85, 111) ; 38(6, 15, 16, 23, 24, 28, 34, 39, 84, 86, 87, 90, 100) ; 40(4, 8, 9, 11-13, 16, 17, 21-25, 29-32, 34, 41, 43, 44, 48, 50-57) ; 41(83) ; 42(3, 8, 40, 59, 70, 86-87, 102, 122, 123) ; 43(2-8, 14, 17, 28, 40-42, 47, 50-51, 53, 72, 74-76, 102) ; 44(4) ; 45(15) ; 49(77) ; 53(47, 69) ; 54(27)
- AFRICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATION, ICFTU. 25(96-97)
- AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION. 5(15) ; 7(17) ; 22(79) ; 25(101)
- AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE. 58(4, 14)
- AGIP NIGERIAN WORKERS UNION. 77(20, 22)
- AIR TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION. 8(5, 55)
- ALL AFRICAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION. 4(33, 45) ; 5(15-16) ; 8(54) ; 12(4, 60) ; 19(20) ; 22(76, 79) ; 25(96) ; 68(32, 48, 58)
- ALL CHINA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS. 22(65) ; 27(42)
- ALL NIGERIAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION. 8(7-8, 48, 54) ; 9(65) ; 12(9, 10) ; 25(3) ; 54(69) ; 68(40-41, 69-70)
- ALLIED TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION. 39(2)
- AMALGAMATED DOCKWORKERS TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION. 26(3, 8-10) ; 30(56) ; 37(82) ; 38(15) ; 40(24, 42-44) ; 46(19)
- AMALGAMATED UNION OF BUILDING AND WOODWORKERS. 11(90) ; 45(60)
- AMERICAN EMBASSY. 28(11) ; 29(26)
- AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR-CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATIONS. 4(28) ; 25(103) ; 26(16, 17, 24) ; 27(55) ; 30(64) ; 31(11-12, 15, 37, 52, 55) ; 32(33, 46) ; 35(69, 70) ; 37(53, 54, 68-70, 104) ; 38(15, 84) ; 40(23) ; 43(10, 15, 17)
- ASSOCIATION OF LOCOMOTIVE DRIVERS, FIREMEN AND ALLIED WORKERS OF NIGERIA. 38(72) ; 63(76) ; 73(66) ; 74(8, 86)
- ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIAN RAILWAY AFRICAN PENSIONERS. 74(86)
- ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIAN RAILWAY CORPORATION PHARMACISTS. 73(66)
- ASSOCIATION OF PRINTING, PUBLISHING AND PAPER PRODUCT EMPLOYEES OF NIGERIA. 28(-, 70)
- AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR. 40(49)
- ALL-UNION CENTRAL COUNCIL OF (SOVIET) TRADE UNIONS. 4(44-45) ; 25(37) ; 27(43)
- BAMGBALA COMMISSION. 9(12, 18, 20-21, 23, 25-26) ; 12(66, 80, 85) ; 13(15-16, 21, 31, 38, 49, 57, 70, 73, 93, 99-100) ; 14(40, 42, 43, 70, 72, 83) ; 15(10, 14, 16, 22, 23, 25, 83) ; 16(46, 58, 79) ; 17(56, 88, 90, 92, 94, 97-99, 106, 108, 109) ; 18(3, 11, 14-16, 20, 38-39) ; 19(12-13, 37-39, 45-47, 50, 54) ; 20(13-14, 55-56) ; 23(17-18, 28, 75, 82) ; 24(2, 27, 30, 76)
- BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION. 28(11)
- CENTRAL BANK OF NIGERIA STAFF UNION. 79(47-49)
- CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS OF BULGARIA. 12(60)
- CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. 12(60)
- CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS OF HUNGARY. 12(60)
- CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS OF POLAND. 12(60)
- CENTRAL COUNCIL OF WESTERN STATE FARMERS UNION. 15(100)
- CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY. 29(63, 95) ; 31(46) ; 38(16)
- CFAO AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES AFRICAN WORKERS UNION. 29(43)
- CHANRAI AFRICAN WORKERS UNION. 77(20, 22)
- CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION. 28(46-48)
- CHINESE EMBASSY. 28(47)
- CIVIL SERVICE UNION. 44(19, 21, 24) ; 45(6)
- CLERICAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION. 54(40)
- CLERICAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION. 66(91)
- COCOA RESEARCH INSTITUTE. 38(14)
- COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION. 8(17)
- CONSTRUCTION AND ENGINEERING WORKERS UNION OF NIGERIA. 45(60, 107) ; 46(8) ; 49(25, 41-42)
- COOPERATIVE BANK STAFF UNION. 79(47-48)
- COSTAIN AND ALLIED COMPANIES TECHNICAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION OF NIGERIA. 45(56-61)
- CSS BOOKSHOPS AND PRINTING PRESS AFRICAN WORKERS UNION. 9(61)
- DAHOMEAN TRADE UNIONS. 19(19-20) ; 20(5, 26) ; 22(106, 107)
- DALTRADE AFRICAN WORKERS UNION. 77(20, 23)
- DEMOCRATIC UNION RESISTANCE COMMITTEE. 28(26)
- DIRECT RELIEF FOUNDATION. 36(4, 8)
- DOCK LABOR SCHEME. 29(23, 71, 72)
- EASTERN NIGERIA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION. 51(93, 100)
- EDO WELFARE ASSOCIATION (Nigerian Railway Corp. Branch). 61(36, 37, 43)
- FLOUR MILLS OF NIGERIA. 25(2)
- FOOD AND DRINKS WORKERS UNION OF NIGERIA. 28(66) ; 29(31, 37, 39)
- FORESTRY TECHNICAL AND GEN. WORKERS UNION OF NIGERIA. 10(2)
- FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung). 40(8)
- GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC TRADE UNION FEDERATION. 4(45) ; 12(60)
- GERMAN EMBASSY. 28(11)
- GERMAN (West) TRADE UNION FEDERATION. 27(54)
- GHANA TRADE UNION CONGRESS. 4(46) ; 9(35) ; 27(55) ; 40(21)
- GOLDEN GUINEA BREWERY WORKERS UNION. 51(92)
- HOTEL, RESTAURANT AND NIGHT CLUB WORKERS UNION. 33(79)

- IDI-ORO MINI-BUS DRIVERS UNION. 11(47) ; 57(19, 35)
- IFETEDO CARPENTERS UNION. 56(62, 64, 76) ; 59(20, 39)
- ILUSIN RUBBER ESTATE WORKERS UNION. 17(28)
- IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES. 47(80, 82, 90) ; 48(8, 9, 11)
- IMPORT AND EXPORT WORKERS UNION. 33(79)
- INDEPENDENT UNITED LABOUR CONGRESS. 3(10, 11) ; 5(16) ; 8(8, 9, 11) ; 9(35-36) ; 12(3-6) ; 13(59, 80) ; 14(24) ; 15(33-34) ; 22(2, 72) ; 24(62) ; 26(80) ; 28(63) ; 44(26, 27) ; 45(5, 7, 10, 12) ; 51(21) ; 55(6) ; 60(52, 53) ; 66(38, 39, 41) ; 67(5, 6) ; 68(28-29, 32, 48-52)
- INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS. 3(10) ; 5(8, 14-16) ; 6(42-43) ; 8(56, 58, 59) ; 9(68) ; 22(79) ; 24(69) ; 25(30, 71, 78, 84, 88, 89, 94-97) ; 26(10, 16-18, 83, 87, 90-91) ; 27(3, 5, 8-11, 77-80, 82) ; 28(1-5, 72, 79, 87) ; 29(50, 51) ; 30(7, 33, 65, 80, 82, 85, 86, 130) ; 31(30, 32, 35, 37, 41, 93) ; 32(27, 29, 30, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 100, 110, 116) ; 33(35) ; 34(2, 3, 5, 10, 19-21) ; 35(15-17, 49, 54, 61, 62, 64, 65, 70) ; 36(18) ; 37(87, 104) ; 38(9, 39, 94-97, 100, 104, 106) ; 40(8, 22) ; 41(1-5, 10, 20, 23, 27, 32, 33, 35, 37, 78-80) ; 42(36, 38, 40, 52, 73, 74, 102, 122) ; 43(15, 38, 54-62, 69, 71-73, 77) ; 44(4, 6-8) ; 45(5, 18-20) ; 47(12, 23, 62, 78, 79) ; 48(5, 7, 21, 60) ; 51(95-97, 102-104, 108) ; 63(12-13) ; 66(39) ; 69(44)
- INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS (Later WCL). 4(15, 24-25) ; 41(85) ; 45(63, 64, 66, 67)
- INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION. 12(37) ; 24(61) ; 29(62) ; 35(21, 24) ; 37(104, 105) ; 40(49) ; 41(80, 81) ; 47(77) ; 50(64)
- INTERNATIONAL TEXTILE, GARMENT AND LEATHER WORKERS FEDERATION. 49(59, 67)
- INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTWORKERS FEDERATION. 8(55, 56-59) ; 27(58) ; 38(86)
- INTRA-MOTOR WORKERS UNION. 20(3)
- JOINT ACTION COMMITTEE. 12(35) ; 22(34, 35, 37, 38) ; 28(19, 48, 50, 54)
- LABOUR UNITY FRONT. 3(7, 8) ; 7(51) ; 9(31) ; 11(48, 62) ; 13(45) ; 14(84, 85) ; 15(3, 5, 54) ; 17(39) ; 26(59, 60, 64, 74, 75) ; 27(24, 34, 39) ; 28(59, 62) ; 29(17, 25) ; 31(74) ; 37(39, 109) ; 41(9, 66, 86) ; 44(14) ; 45(5, 16, 45) ; 50(36, 64, 65) ; 54(73) ; 60(53, 55, 59) ; 62(58, 59) ; 66(42, 46-47) ; 67(6) ; 68(29-31, 57) ; 71(10)
- LAGOS CITY COUNCIL MECHANICAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION. 77(20, 23)
- LAGOS STATE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION WORKERS UNION. 77(20, 22) ; 79(13, 42)
- LAGOS TEXTILE MILL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION OF NIGERIA. 55(19) ; 56(69) ; 58(32, 38, 56)
- LEVER BROTHERS WORKERS UNION. 24(17) ; 25(2)
- LIBERTY REAL ESTATE AND PROPERTY AGENCIES. 65(2-3, 10)
- LONGSHOREMEN WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA. 42(40)
- MAJOR AND CO. AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES WORKERS UNION. 29(43)
- METAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION. 47(80)
- MIDWEST SOLIDARITY UNION. 72(19, 21)
- MINI-BUS DRIVERS UNION. 19(11)
- MINISTRY OF HEALTH. 14(87)
- MINISTRY OF INFORMATION. 4(39) ; 13(90)
- MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. 13(90)
- MINISTRY OF LABOUR. 4(34) ; 5(3-5, 13) ; 9(40-41) ; 11(54, 82) ; 12(37) ; 13(79) ; 14(12-14, 82) ; 22(58, 59) ; 24(57) ; 26(39, 41, 46) ; 27(37, 38) ; 28(20-21) ; 43(62, 63, 66, 71, 82) ; 45(2, 3) ; 49(18, 50, 72, 90) ; 50(14, 28, 59, 60) ; 57(14, 16, 30) ; 59(8, 9, 65) ; 66(60, 61) ; 70(26, 84) ; 71(3, 25, 52-53, 58) ; 73(12-13, 31) ; 74(31)
- MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT. 59(61)
- MISRI AFRICAN WORKERS UNION. 77(20, 23)
- MORGAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY. 12(30) ; 12(39) ; 15 15(86) ; 26(53, 54) ; 27(18)
- MOTOR DRIVERS AND MECHANICS VOCATIONAL SCHOOL (ULC AND AALC). 26(7) ; 29(68-70) ; 30(65) ; 32(38-42) ; 37(85)
- MUNICIPAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES WORKERS UNION. 14(78-79) ; 15(5) ; 68(67-71)
- MUNICIPAL TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION. 28(51)
- NATIONAL BANK OF NIGERIA STAFF UNION. 79(42-52)
- NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NIGERIAN CITIZENS. 4(18) ; 5(30) ; 6(20-28) ; 7(34) ; 14(36) ; 15(42-44) ; 16(27, 30-31, 86) ; 21(80) ; 24(81) ; 25(52, 55) ; 29(6) ; 38(74) ; 40(37) ; 68(27-28)
- NATIONAL LABOUR ADVISORY COUNCIL. 12(39) ; 14(18)
- NATIONAL MANPOWER BOARD. 25(56)
- NATIONAL UNION OF NIGERIAN BANK EMPLOYEES. 44(90) ; 77(10, 13, 20-21, 35) ; 78(7) ; 79(12, 42, 43, 47-48, 61)
- NIGERIAN ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES. 5(16)
- NIGERIA ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS. 38(14)
- NIGERIAN BREWERIES LTD. 29(36, 37, 39) ; 33(79, 80)
- NIGERIAN CIVIL SERVICE UNION. 26(64) ; 27(29)
- NIGERIAN COMMITTEE FOR AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (NCAAPSO). 16(89) ; 63(27)
- NIGERIAN COMMITTEE OF TRADE UNIONS. 8(7) ; 9(65)
- NIGERIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. 12(15)
- NIGERIAN EMPLOYERS CONSULTATIVE ASSOCIATION. (NECA). 7(54)
- NIGERIAN EXTERNAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS LTD. (NET). 8(64)
- NIGERIAN FARMERS CONGRESS. 15(50) ; 16(43) ; 32(73) ; 54(40, 83, 85-87) ; 55(30, 40-44, 68, 70, 81, 84, 86) ; 56(2-72) ; 58(44, 45) ; 59(19) ; 61(61, 63)
- NIGERIAN HOTELS LTD. 28(70)
- NIGERIAN LABOUR CONGRESS. 5(5) ; 6(22) ; 7(48-49, 51, 62, 65) ; 8(5, 8) ; 9(64-65, 67, 70) ; 11(74) ; 12(7-8) ; 13(45, 102) ; 14(2-3, 12, 23, 59, 66) ; 15(8-9, 54, 55) ; 23(92) ; 24(11, 13, 15, 61-62, 118, 119) ; 26(59, 90) ; 27(35-38) ; 28(24, 26-28, 57, 58, 61) ; 29(25, 92) ; 30(9, 20-23, 26, 37, 79, 100-102, 112) ; 31(2-6, 83, 100-102, 145-146) ; 35(49, 52, 62, 69, 70) ; 37(103, 104, 106, 115, 119) ; 38(3, 4, 25, 26, 68, 100) ; 39(2) ; 41(67-69, 72-75, 78,

- 83, 84, 89-92); 42(18, 23, 32, 41, 55, 58, 77, 79); 43(98, 99, 101, 109, 120); 44(18, 54, 55, 99); 45(13, 21, 22, 25-30, 36, 37, 50, 52, 53); 49(43, 44, 47, 56, 58, 76); 50(10, 40, 42, 50, 59-61, 67); 51(81); 53(62, 68, 74); 57(117); 62(59); 63(12, 14); 71(57)
- NIGERIAN LABOUR PARTY. (NLP).** 12(16)
- NIGERIAN MERCANTILE TECHNICAL, CLERICAL & GENERAL WORKERS UNION.** 29(11, 34, 36, 39)
- NIGERIAN MOTOR DRIVERS AND ALLIED TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION.** 26(7); 27(58); 32(35); 38(17, 56, 86); 39(2); 40(1, 51, 53, 55); 43(50-51)
- NIGERIAN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.** 25(52)
- NIGERIAN NATIONAL FEDERATION OF LABOUR.** 6(20-21, 33-36, 37); 7(11-12, 18-19); 12(7); 67(3); 68(28)
- NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE.** 19(40)
- NIGERIAN NURSES ASSOCIATION (NNA).** 34(47, 48); 51(116-125); 52(2-59); 53(1-80); 54(1-4)
- NIGERIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY.** 5(18, 19, 25); 15(90, 91); 16(17, 41)
- NIGERIAN PORTS AUTHORITY WORKERS UNION.** 51(2, 10, 11)
- NIGERIAN RAILWAY CORPORATION.** 59(60a, 61, 62, 81, 82); 60(1, 83-84); 61(3, 18, 29, 30); 62(6, 12, 15, 20, 41, 42, 51, 80, 90); 63(6, 74); 64(8-9, 16, 21, 27); 66(15-16, 24, 25, 68, 72); 67(7, 16, 58); 69(19, 49, 63, 66, 83); 72(2, 25, 33); 73(2, 4, 6, 7, 18, 36, 59); 74(2, 9, 11, 32, 99); 75(2, -19, 48)
- NIGERIAN RAILWAY STAFF UNION.** 44(15)
- NIGERIAN RAILWAYS PERMANENT WAY WORKERS UNION.** 34(47); 62(3, 17); 63(76); 73(65); 74(8-9, 23, 52, 54)
- NIGERIAN SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY.** 17(33)
- NIGERIAN TEXTILE GARMENT & GENERAL WORKERS UNION.** 49(58, 59, 72, 87)
- NIGERIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS.** 3(5-33); 4(2-50); 5(6, 17, 18, 22, 24-27, 32-34); 6(5, 6, 14, 16, 18, 20-22, 28-43); 7(4-69); 9(3-86); 10(2-97); 11(2-48); 11(76); 12(10, 12, 25, 27, 30-31, 39, 40, 72, 82); 14(24-26, 31-32, 36); 15(4, 6, 8, 12-14, 31-32); 16(9-10, 17, 18, 27, 30, 31, 34, 72-76, 78, 92, 99, 106, 108, 117); 17(5, 11, 14, 16, 23, 30, 33, 40, 53, 68); 18(3-76); 19(9-10); 21(2-110); 22(2-107); 23(3-108); 24(3-119); 25(2-47); 26(53, 54, 59, 60, 65, 74, 78, 80); 27(13, 25, 26, 29, 35, 39, 41, 48-49); 28(42-43, 48, 49, 51, 57, 61, 64, 83, 84); 29(15, 24); 30(27-28, 41, 42, 57, 58); 32(25-26, 28, 30); 33(58, 59); 35(61); 36(15, 20); 37(39, 42, 82, 103, 109); 38(47-50); 39(2, 5); 41(9, 10, 13, 15, 66, 82, 85, 87); 42(2, 34, 86); 44(17-19, 31, 38, 39, 42, 43, 48, 49, 52, 54, 57); 45(9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 20, 33, 34, 44, 45, 108); 46(34); 47(57, 58); 48(11); 49(6, 7, 19-20); 50(11, 36, 62-65, 102); 51(19-20); 54(40-92); 55(2-59, 63); 56(2, 22, 55, 56, 86); 58(33-34, 38); 59(4); 60(51-53, 55, 59); 61(55-56, 60); 63(14, 27-28); 66(38-40, 91); 67(3); 68(28-29, 43, 45, 60, 71); 70(21-25)
- NIGERIAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION.** 7(6); 9(30); 13(46, 73); 22(2); 27(25-26, 30); 31(74, 75); 41(85, 86); 44(32, 33); 45(18, 44-46); 60(43, 44); 61(32)
- NIGERIAN TRANSPORT STAFF UNION.** 27(29); 63(76); 74(8, 86)
- NIGERIAN UNION OF BANKS INSURANCE AND ALLIED WORKERS.** 34(37); 35(49-50, 55, 56); 36(20); 41(91)
- NIGERIAN UNION OF FARM, PLANTATION, AGRICULTURAL AND ALLIED WORKERS.** 41(65); 51(91-115)
- NIGERIAN UNION OF JOURNALISTS.** 71(16)
- NIGERIAN UNION OF LOCAL AUTHORITY STAFFS.** 36(27, 28, 33)
- NIGERIAN UNION OF TEACHERS.** 27(29, 30); 44(19-21, 24, 91); 45(6)
- NIGERIAN WORKERS COUNCIL.** 3(8); 6(33); 7(51); 11(48); 26(59, 60, 74, 75); 44(19, 38, 52, 54, 55, 57); 45(9, 63-64, 69-110); 46(3-62); 47(19-90); 48(6, 46, 48-102); 49(2); 50(19-107); 51(2-91); 57(39-44, 50, 54, 58-60, 66, 67, 78, 80, 86, 87, 88, 95, 96, 100-103, 107-110, 113-116, 118); 58(2, 3, 5, 5, 7, 9-11); 65(3, 7, 11, 16, 24, 29); 70(14); 71(10)
- NIGERIAN WORKERS LIBERATION MOVEMENT.** 12(16)
- NIGERIAN YOUTH CONGRESS.** 3(20-22, 25, 26); 4(5-6, 11-12, 15, 20-21, 24, 28-29); 5(17, 18, 22, 24-27, 30, 33, 43, 49); 6(37, 40); 7(7, 33, 35, 43); 8(3, 11); 11(24); 13(19-20, 59, 64, 83, 84); 14(24, 25); 15(40, 41, 81, 83, 89, 91); 16(17, 18, 28, 40-41, 84); 17(8); 22(5, 30-31); 23(42, 45, 57, 58); 24(7, 77, 78, 92, 93); 25(32)
- NIGERIAN YOUTH THINKERS CLUB.** 8(13, 17, 51); 9(11, 31-38); 10(70-71); 15(13); 23(82)
- NKALAGU CEMENT WORKERS UNION.** 11(47)
- NORTHERN ELEMENTS FREEDOM ORGANIZATION.** 12(16)
- NURSES ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA.** 54(20); 74(86)
- NORTHERN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS.** 14(36); 25(52)
- NORTHERN RAILWAY WORKERS COUNCIL.** 73(94-95)
- OMO SAWMILL WORKERS UNION.** 38(14)
- ONDO CARPENTERS' UNION.** 56(65)
- O. OSHIN & CO.** 34(65)
- ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY.** 14(20); 25(102, 103); 37(105); 41(9, 78, 80)
- ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.** 26(83)
- PAN-AFRICAN WORKERS CONGRESS,** 45(63-65, 67, 68); 46(28, 33, 37); 47(24, 50); 48(4, 7)
- PATRICE LUMUMBA LABOUR ACADEMY.** 4(15, 29); 5(27); 8(17); 13(58-59, 65); 14(69); 15(12, 45); 16(86-87); 17(24); 22(13); 26(73); 41(94)
- PATTERSON ZOCHONIS AFRICAN WORKERS UNION.** 17(24); 20(2-3, 48); 48(4, 5, 81)
- PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE FRONT.** 12(16)
- PROGRESSIVE FRONT OF THE NIGERIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.** 28(26, 52); 30(62, 104)
- PUBLIC WORKS AERODROME TECHNICAL AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION.** 17(29, 67); 24(57); 25(2); 68(59-60)
- RAILWAY AND PORTS TRANSPORTS AND CLERICAL STAFF UNION.** 26(36); 30(19); 63(76); 73(65); 74(8, 86)
- RAILWAY NORTHERN WELFARE ASSOCIATION.** 73(96)
- RAILWAY TECHNICAL STAFF ASSOCIATION.** 73(66); 74(8, 84)
- RAILWAY UNIONS (NIGERIAN UNION OF RAILWAYMEN (FEDERATED) AND RAILWAY WORKERS**

- RAILWAY UNIONS (NIGERIAN UNION OF RAILWAY-MEN (FEDERATED) AND RAILWAY WORKERS UNION OF NIGERIA) ; 11(47) ; 13(81) ; 27(29-30) ; 28(51, 63) ; 36(23) ; 44(25-26) ; 45(6-7) ; 55(32-40) ; 56(26-28, 42, 49) ; 57(1) ; 59(56-62) ; 60(2-98) ; 61(2-45) ; 62(3-100) ; 63(2-120) ; 64(27-63) ; 65(31-84) ; 66(2, 31-92) ; 67(2-67, 101) ; 68(1-101) ; 69(3-87) ; 73(2-102) ; 74(4-102) ; 75(8-86)
- RAILWAY WORKERS COUNCIL OF NIGERIA. 74(50, 55-56, 95, 98)
- REGISTRAR OF TRADE UNIONS. 57(2-3, 7, 12-25) ; 58(13, 18, 21) ; 59(8-56, 68, 64) ; 60(14, 34, 43, 89) ; 61(18) ; 63(79, 87, 95) ; 65(58) ; 66(86) ; 67(19, 39, 41-49, 53, 55-56, 72, 77, 80, 83, 85, 92-94, 97-99) ; 69(4, 39) ; 71(3, 29-32, 41, 53) ; 73(31-32, 39)
- REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL OF THE YOUTH WING. 33(31)
- REVOLUTIONARY REJOIN COMMITTEE. 48(68-70, 72, 75, 78, 80) ; 49(34)
- RUNE & CO. 34(66, 69)
- SCOA WORKERS UNION OF NIGERIA.
- SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY. 12(16)
- SOCIALIST MOVEMENT OF NIGERIA. 12(16)
- SOCIALIST PARTY OF NIGERIA. 12(16)
- SOCIALIST WORKERS AND FARMERS PARTY. 3(6, 20, 25, 26, 30, 32, 33) ; 4(5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 20, 24, 28-29, 33, 34, 47) ; 5(16-19, 22, 24-34, 36, 49) ; 7(25, 27, 28, 30-31, 35, 39, 43, 45) ; 8(11-13, 72) ; 9(53, 73, 75) ; 11(24) ; 12(15, 19, 20, 24-26) ; 13(19-20, 83, 104) ; 14(27, 28, 33) ; 15(18-19, 39-42, 44, 46, 80-81, 90, 105) ; 16(13, 16, 17, 20-22, 40, 77) ; 17(30) ; 20(44, 47) ; 22(5, 7-9, 37, 38) ; 23(33, 45, 57, 58, 107) ; 24(6, 7, 77, 78, 83, 89, 90, 93) ; 25(20, 32) ; 38(79) ; 45(76) ; 54(72, 73, 83, 85) ; 55(84)
- SOCIALIST YOUTH OF NIGERIA. 12(16)
- SOVIET-NIGERIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. 14(84)
- TAILOR BIRD FABRIC & DESIGNS LTD. WORKERS UNION. 55(18-19)
- TAYLOR BOARD TEXTILE MILLS UNION. 56(69-70)
- TAILORING INSTITUTE. 31(36, 37)
- TECHNICAL & GENERAL WORKERS UNION. 17(28, 67)
- TRADE UNION INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. 13(59) ; 27(8, 58) ; 28(13, 72) ; 29(25, 26, 48-51, 54, 59, 60, 62-65, 67, 68, 92, 95) ; 30(3, 5, 15, 35, 42, 43, 45, 54, 55, 56, 58, 65, 112, 126) ; 32(45) ; 33(4) ; 35(21-23) ; 36(18-19) ; 38(84-86) ; 40(11, 24, 25) ; 41(68, 94) ; 42(4, 5, 59, 122, 123) ; 43(2, 4, 7, 9, 28-31, 35, 41, 43) ; 44(3) ; 49(77) ; 58(34) ; 70(60-61)
- TRADE UNION INTERNATIONALS. 11(34) ; 25(78) ; 26(3, 4, 6, 15, 21, 30, 58, 73, 74)
- TRADES UNION CONGRESS OF NIGERIA. 3(12) ; 26(78) ; 31(21-22, 55) ; 38(72) ; 45(11, 64, 65) ; 47(60) ; 48(8) ; 50(61) ; 57(3) ; 68(27-28, 41, 43)
- TUTU CHEMISTS. 23(30-32)
- UMUAHIA CARPENTERS' UNION. 56(62-64) ; 59(32)
- UNION OF POSTAL & TELECOMMUNICATION WORKERS OF NIGERIA. 27(29, 30)
- UNION OF PRINTERS AND ALLIED WORKERS OF NIGERIA. 17(28) ; 28(36-37) ; 29(27) ; 31(20) ; 38(72) ; 63(76) ; 74(8, 86)
- UNITED AFRICA COMPANY. 9(59) ; 45(6)
- UNITED AUTO WORKERS. 26(17) ; 40(23)
- UNITED BANK FOR AFRICA STAFF UNION. 27(28) ; 78(15)
- UNITED COMMITTEE OF CENTRAL LABOUR ORGANIZATIONS. 12(39) ; 50(62, 65, 66)
- UNITED LABOUR CONGRESS. 3(7-8) ; 5(5-13) ; 8(7, 8, 74) ; 9(59) ; 11(48, 55) ; 12(3-4, 30, 39) ; 13(79-80, 85) ; 17(25, 28) ; 24(112, 114) ; 25(46, 48) ; 26(3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 15, 30, 34-37, 53, 56, 59, 60, 62, 65, 74-76, 78, 79, 87, 91-93-94, 97) ; 28(1-93) ; 29(2, 5, 17-19, 24, 47, 48, 51, 52, 55, 58, 61-65, 80, 97-99) ; 30(2, 3, 8-10, 13, 21-23, 26, 28, 33, 34, 42, 44, 45, 50, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 70-125, 127-132) ; 31(12, 21, 22, 30, 35, 37-40-42-147) ; 32(2-119) ; 33(3) ; 33(46-49 (Youth Wing of ULC) ; 34, 2-74) ; 35(1-48, 74-78) ; 36(2, 3, 6, 8, 11-13, 15-22, 28-52) ; 37(2-121) ; 38(2-110) ; 39(2-56) ; 40(1-67) ; 41(1-95) ; 42(1-123) ; 43-1-120) ; 44(2-14, 17-19, 33, 38, 39, 42, 52, 54, 55, 57, 88) ; 45(9, 10, 15, 19, 57, 58) ; 46(19) ; 47(58, 81) ; 49(58, 76-104) ; 50(2-16, 61-63, 66) ; 51(94, 96, 97, 102, 103, 108, 113) ; 52(2) ; 53(29, 31, 45, 47, 60, 62, 66, 68, 69, 72) ; 54(24, 36, 47, 54) ; 55(51) ; 56(56) ; 58(34) ; 60(52, 53, 55) ; 66(38-40, 46) ; 67(5, 6) ; 68(28-29, 48, 78) ; 69(44) ; 71(9)
- UNITED NIGERIA TEXTILE MILL. 50(11)
- UNITED PROGRESSIVE GRAND ALLIANCE. 6(26) ; 12(25) ; 14(36) ; 16(43)
- WATER WORKS WORKERS' UNION. 51(23-25)
- WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL WORKERS UNION. 45(56, 57)
- WESTERN NIGERIA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION. 47(56)
- WESTERN NIGERIAN FARMERS' COUNCIL. 55(85)
- WESTERN NIGERIA HOUSING CORPORATION. 17(28)
- WESTERN STATE AGRIC. INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT CORP. WORKERS UNION. 77(20, 22)
- WHITLEY COUNCIL. 5(2)
- WHOLESALE, RETAIL & ANCILLIARY TRADE WORKERS UNION. 49(4, 7)
- WORKERS UNITY COMMITTEE. 62(58)
- WORKERS YOUTH CONGRESS. 9(77)
- WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (ex-IFCTU). 28(59, 62) ; 45(68) ; 46(12, 24, 26, 33, 37, 38) ; 47(9, 23, 24, 42, 50, 72) ; 48(7, 20, 44, 45, 58, 81, 85) ; 49(10, 24-26, 35, 39, 52, 53, 56) ; 50(23, 24, 28, 44, 86) ; 51(3, 39, 45-46, 77)
- WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS. 4(26, 30, 32, 44-45) ; 7(16) ; 8(54, 56) ; 10(36, 54-55, 76-77) ; 11(21) ; 12(56, 60) ; 13(60, 80) ; 15(7, 72-74, 80, 82) ; 17(68-70, 72, 77, 80) ; 19(18-24) ; 20(5, 12, 39, 71, 78, 80) ; 22(13, 14, 68-70, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 84, 85, 93, 95, 99, 102) ; 23(19) ; 24(23, 36, 37, 43, 65, 69, 70, 72, 73) ; 25(37-39, 75) ; 35(49, 54, 61, 62, 64, 65, 70) ; 37(104, 105) ; 41(15, 78-80, 82, 85) ; 43(38) ; 44(43) ; 45(34, 64) ; 54(61, 64, 68-71) ; 55(78) ; 60(45, 48, 49, 52, 53) ; 63(13) ; 66(39) ; 68(33-34) ; 69(44) ; 70(24)
- WYATT, THOMAS LTD. 28(70)
- YOUTH WING ULC. 33(46-49)

II - 4 EXHIBITS LIST

1.	Constitution of NTUC Adopted at First Revolutionary Convention, Lagos, August 1963	3(15)
2.	Address Delivered to the Second Revolutionary Congress of the NTUC in 1965 by President of NYC, K. Oyero	4(10)
3.	Dr. Otegbeye's Address to Second Congress NTUC, 1965	4(12)
4.	Achievements of Second Convention NTUC 1963 and Elections of Officers	4(17)
5.	Address Given at First Congress of SWAFP by Uche Omo, December 17-19, 1965	4(19)
6.	Speech by Gen. Manager of EKO Press ( <i>Advance</i> ), Mr. Yesufu	4(23)
7.	Copy of Pages 15-21, International File of NTUC	4(26-27)
8.	Press Conference by Bassey Etienam Announcing Ouster From Office of Goodluck	4(32)
9.	Copy of Report Submitted to the Convention, 1970, by S.U. Bassey, Sec. Gen. of NTUC	4(37)
10.	Document of Title on Building at Olajuwon Street, NTUC	4(40)
11.	Statement of Claim in Court by Etienam to Protect his Interests in NTUC	4(46)
12.	Letter from Dr. Otegbeye to Mr. King	4(48)
13.	Letter of Recommendation from Dr. Otegbeye to A. Aghedo, Attached to Exhibit 12	4(48-50)
14.	Constitution of SWAFP and Politburo Document NTUC	5(31) ; 6(7, 10)
15.	<i>Daily Times</i> Publication of July 13, 1972: "Statement of clear"	6
16.	Document of Caretaker Committee of NTUC Prepared by B. Etienam, September 2, 1968	7(9)
17.	Press Release by NTUC Caretaker Committee on August 30, 1968	7(9-10)
18.	?	?
19.	Letter of Invitation to Attend NTUC Conference Held on February 21, 1975	7(17)
20.	Press Statement of February 20, 1969	7(19)
21.	B. Etienam's Union Identity Card.	7(24)
22.	Statement of Claim in Court	7(36)
23.	Report of Complaint to Ministry of Labour on Industrial Relations	?
24.	Appointment Notification of W.O. Goodluck in 1955	8(10)
25.	Letter from S.U. Bassey to the Youth Thinkers in 1972	8(15)
26.	Documents, Receipts, Bills under Momodu NTUC	8(19)
27.	Exercise Book of Payments Made by Momodu	8(20)
28.	Documents, Levies	8(20)
29.	Receipt Book	8(20)
30.	List of Sale of Goods	8(23)
31.	Details of Expenses of Goods	8(23)
32.	Custom Auction Notice	8(25)
33.	Declaration of Value at Customs to NTUC	8(25)
34.	Importer's Debit Note	8(25)
35.	Letter Sent to Ports Manager	8(26)
36.	Receipt of Payment T 23 for Delaying Clearance of Goods	8(26)
37.	Document to Clear 5 Cases (Customs & Excise)	8
38.	Contents of 18 Cases	8
39.	Copies of Documents of Title	8(28)
40.	Copy of Letter from Goodluck	8(29)
41.	Letter from Bamgbala Commission Inviting Momodu to Give Evidence	8(37)
42.	Banning from Overseas	8(43)
43.	Report on Return from Moscow	8(50)
44.	Document from Czechoslovakian Ambassador to Momodu	8
45.	One of NTUC Minute Books	9(6)
46.	Minutes of July 4, 1971, NTUC	9(7)
47.	<i>Daily Times</i> of July 22, 1972	9(53)
48.	Speech by W. Goodluck	9(61)
49.	Copy of <i>Advance</i> Paper. November 16-22, 1975	9(65)
50.	Document Distributed on Day of Friendship, NTUC	9(70)
51.	Bill for 20,000 Bags of Cement for NTUC	9(88)
52.	Address Given By Bamgbala at Third Revolutionary Congress, 1971	10
53.	Report at Meeting of Nat. Ex. Ctee. NTUC, March 19, 1973	10(4)
54.	Address to the Commission of Inquiry on Assets & Liabilities of NTUC, given by Bamgbala	10(6)
55.	Copy of the Notes of the Inquiry	10(12)
56.	Copy of the Report to the Congress on Bamgbala Commission	10(14)
57.	Letter Written to Momodu on July 10, 1972 by Bamgbala	10(16)
58.	Letter from NTUC Leadership to Bamgbala, June 26, 1972	10(16)
59.	Address Given by Ejiofon	10(45)
60.	?	?

61.	Olomo's Report	11(28)
62.	Speech in Berlin by Bamgbala	11(36)
63.	List of Registered Trade Unions	11(40)
64.	List of Unions to be Prosecuted for Failure to File Returns	11(43)
65.	Copy of Document Entitled "Trade Union Inspectors"	11(46)
66.	<i>Daily Times</i> , September 2, 1962	12(6)
67.	Minutes of 1st Revolutionary Convention of NTUC by Bassey, 1963	12(12-13)
68.	Policy Paper on Political Struggle by NTUC	12(15)
69.	?	
70.	Report to Central Committee of 2nd Revolutionary Congress of NTUC by Bassey	12(34)
71.	Minutes of Meeting in 1973 by Nat. Exec. Cttee.	12(45)
72.	Minutes of Central Exec. Meeting	12(69)
	Findings of Gen. Council on Olajuwon House	12(86)
73.	Minutes of Meeting, Members of the Board of Hospital	13(27)
74.	Programmes-Seminars by Patrice Lumumba Institute	13(66)
75.	Letter of Invitation to Lumumba Institute, NTUC	13(69)
76.	Letter to Etienam Informing him of his Expulsion from NTUC	15(8)
77.	Letter to Hon. Premier, about Etienam's Dismissal from Union	15(35)
78.	Letter from Odugbemi to Bassey while he was Sec. Gen. of ANTUF	15(51-52)
79.	Letters to NLC Officers	15(?)
80.	Photocopy of Application from Registration, Eko Printers	15(101)
81.	?	
82.	Letter Confirming Inspection of Iruti Hospital	16(50)
83.	Letter of Approval	16(51)
84.	Documents on Importation of Drugs by Otegbeye	16(58)
85.	Documents on Importation of Drugs by Otegbeye	16(58)
86.	Inventory on Drugs from the USSR, from Bulgaria	16(61)
87.	Letter to Attorney Gen.'s Office to Change Name of <i>Socialist Herald to Advance</i>	16(65)
88.	Handbill for Darlington Food Centre Presented by Oyedele	17(4)
89.	Certificate of Registration for Executive Group of Enterprises	17(5)
90.	Letter of Acknowledgement of Receipt of 150 Pounds from Oyedele	17(9)
91, A	Bank Loans Granted to Oyedele for Executive Inn	17(12)
92, A, B, C	Receipt of Rentals by Executive Inn	17(12)
93	?	?
94.	Letter by Alumo to Exec. Committee	17(39)
95.	Record Kept by Alumo as Treasurer	17(46)
96A	Documents (Contracts & Correspondence) Between "Tutu Chemists" and Med. Export of Moscow	17(55)
97.	Copy of T.U. Account by Basorun, NTUC (Statement of Expenditure, Jan. 1971) to Nat. Exec. Council	17(84)
98.	Copy of Agreement on NTUC Building Construction Between Kasali and Otegbeye	18(46)
99.	Statement of Payments to Contractors Made by Kasali	18(49)
100.	?	
101.	Statement of Payments	18(63)
102, A	Two Account Books of NTUC	18(67)
103.	?	
104.	Documents on <i>Advance</i> with King's signature	20(44)
105.	File of Circular Letters in Respect to Meeting at the Secretariat	20(59)
106.	Account of Receipt of Goods on Behalf of NTUC	21(2)
107.	Record of Consignment Dealing with Rods Purchased	21(3)
108.	File on Cement Received in 1969	21(6)
109.	File on 142 Packages at Rods Cleared in 1971	21(18)
?	Account Book	21(23)
110.	?	21(34)
111.	Teller Dealing with Claims	21(25)
112.	Certificate of Land Purchase	21(26)
113.	Statements of Accounts from 17 to 29 January 1969 by Otegbeye	21(32)
114.	Bill of Entry for Cement (NTUC) Paid by Kasali	21(34)
115.	Statement Sent to Otegbeye on Cement Paid in 1971	21(45)
116.	Plan of Olajuwon Building	21(49)
117.	Petrol Station Receipt	21(72)
118, A, B	Receipts with Different Dates ; Cement & Rods	?
119.	A Letter Dated March 2, 1970, written to Dr. Otegbeye by Kasali	21(102)
120.	Document Entitled: "Before the Cock Crows" Published by Odugbemi	22(17)

121.	Letter by Bassey to Odugbemi Relieving Him of his Post	22(22)
122.	Bank Statement From 1961 of Goodluck	22(71)
123.	?	
124.	Document on Joint Meeting SWAFP - NTUC	24
125.	Report Presented at Meeting on which Changes were Presented	24(82)
126.	Speech by Goodluck, in Information Bulletin of Communist and Workers Parties	24(85)
127.	?	
128.	Debit Note from UTC to NTUC	25(2)
129, A	Letters to NTUC from Nwabozor	25(7-9)
130.	Application from Mr. Madukmezia for Loan	25(12)
131.	Letter from Bassey to Goodluck Concerning Loan	25(13)
132, A, B	Reminder Notes on Payment to Lawal Dues Union	25(17)
133.	Receipts on Vehicles Sold by NTUC	25(18)
134.	Letter on Transfer of Car to Regional Clergyman	25(18)
135.	Circular Letter on List of Members in Possession of Valid Nigerian Passports	25(19)
136.	ULC Constitution	25(51)
137.	ULC Constitution Amended in 1971	25(51)
	Constitution as Amended in 1971	25(67)
138, A, B	Copy of Statements of Accounts	25(81)
139.	?	
140.	Letter from Alhaji to McRay	25(107-109)
141.	Reply from Mr. Odeyemi	25(110-111)
142.	Letter Written in Error Referring to Exhibit 1	25(112)
143.	Figures on AALC Project Expenses	25(113)
144.	?	
145, A	2 Letters Written to ULC Treasurer to Prepare Statement of Account	
146, A, B	Newspaper Clipping on CIA Involvement in AFL - CIO Affairs	26(20)
147.	Letter Address to Alhaji from Staff of Secretariat of ULC	26(21)
148.	Letter from C. Ford	
149.	Letter from Alhaji Adebola to Chairman of the Statutory Corporation Service Commission	27(2)
150.	Reply from Police Commissioner	27(2-3)
151.	Reply from Statutory Corporations Service Commission	27(3)
152.	<i>Sunday Express</i> , September 5, 1965.	27(4)
153.	<i>Daily Express</i> , December 27, 1964.	27(5)
154.	Copy of Constitution of ICFTU	27(10)
155.	Interim Report of Merger Conference at Ibadan, May 1962	27(12)
156.	Copy of Audited Account for Financial Returns of LUF	27(26)
157.	Brochure of AALC	27(57)
158.	List of Help	27(64)
159.	Police Security Report	27(65)
160.	Letter from C. Ford to American Headquarters of AALC	27(66)
161.	Report on Activities of TUI	27(68)
162.	Letter From I. Brown, Executive Director of AALC to E. Odeyemi	27(72)
163.	Document Shows that Nigerian Motor Drivers School Received ₦ 15,000	27(74)
164.	Letter From C. Ford to Al Hering of AALC, Saying Money had been Paid on Account of J. White	27(76)
165.	Letter from Chief Odeyemi to I. Brown of AALC	27(76)
166, A	Letter from Odeyemi to ICFTU Requesting Funds for Rehabilitation Programme and Reply	27(79)
167, A	Letter from ICFTU to Atitsogbui, from Pedersen (ICFTU), Donating \$ 500 to ULC for Relief Fund	27
168.	Letter from ICFTU Gen. Sec. Giving ULC \$ 10,000 for Cars and Equipment	27(83)
169.	?	
170.	Letter from ICFTU to Atitsogbui, Augustus 1972, in Respect to their Campaign	28(3)
171.	Letter of Claim from Odeyemi to Atitsogbui, July 1973	28(4)
172.	Document in Respect of Payments on Rent Subsidy by ULC - ICFTU	28(5)
173.	Reply Letter from Okwese to Odeyemi	28(6-7)
174.	Statements of Accounts Published in Memorandum by ULC	28(9)
175.	Copy of Circular drafted by Ekweze	28(14)
176.	Letter from Epuh to Head of State	28(27)
177.	Copy of the Memorandum Drafted after Inauguration Addressed to Head of State	28(31)
178.	Circular Letter Written by Epuh as Gen. Sec. of Food and Drinks Workers Union of Nigeria	28(69)
179.	Report by Epuh at Second Conference of Daily Times Group	29(6)
180.	Secretary's Report at 2nd Conference of Daily Times Group, signed by Epuh	29(10)
181.	Letter from Okweze to Epuh about his Dismissal	29(12-14)

182.	Confidential Defence Documents against alleged Criticism by Affiliates	29(53)
183.	Auditor's Report, January 1973 (ULC)	29(59)
184.	Letter by Eshiett on Rehabilitation of TUI	
184.	Letter by Eshiett to Director of AALC Asking for Funds for TUI	29(67)
185.	Letter Sent to NLC with Lists of Officers of Organizations	30(27)
186.	Memorandum by Arnold addressed to Akin-Akala, July 14, 1975	30(47)
187.	Letter from Akin-Akala to Bursar, Mrs. Balogun. Concerning Money left by Arnold	30(48)
188.	Reply from Mrs. Balogun	30(49)
189.	Letter from AALC to NYC on money given to TUI	30(52)
190.	Documents that show that AALC Sponsored ULC Projects since 1966	30(66)
191.	Reply to Request for Assistance for Driving Schools from AALC	30(66, 67)
192.	Letter by Ford Confirming Receipt of Assistance for International Solidarity Tailoring Inst.	30(68)
193.	Letter from Ford on Shipment of Drugs for Zuma Hospital for AALC	30(71)
194.	Letter from AALC Complaining ULC's Involvement in Getting Drugs From Port for Hospital	30(74)
195.	Letter From Ford of List of Drugs.	30(76)
196.	Letter to ICFTU Asking for 50,000 Pounds to Build a Secretariat	30(77)
197.	Report on How T.U. Organised Collection for Building	30(79)
198.	Batch of Letters From ICFTU Headquarters on Finance	30(83)
199.	List of Officers to be Considered, Drawn up by "Progressives" in the NLC	31(3)
200.	Report on Charges to be Levied Against Some of the Officers of ULC, to be Addressed at Nat. Exec. Committee	31(53)
201.	Letter by Odeyemi to Kaltungo, Captured by Illegal Means, Discusses Financial Matters	31(61)
202.	Standing Orders for the ULC Benin Conference in 1971	31(67)
203.	Statement of Claims from ULC(R)	31(72, 73)
204.	Article Written by J.O. James on Public Servants	31(85)
205.	Copy of Constitution of NLC	
206.	List of Unions Affiliated to ULC With Addresses and Numbers of Members	32(19)
207.	Book of Minutes Beginning with Meeting of April 16, 1970	32(21)
208.	Standing Orders of ULC, Sept. 11-13, 1969.	32(22)
209.	Report of Activities Presented at 4th Biennial Conference by Odeyemi.	32(23)
210.	Report of Activities Presented at 3rd ULC Conference, Zaria	32(23)
211.	Report of Activities Presented at 4th Conference, Sept. 1976	32(23)
212.	Copy of Documents Prepared by ULC Secretariat, 1971	32(23-24)
213.	2 Documents (Circulars), Showing Launching of NLC	32(24)
214.	Letter from Okweze as Adm. Sec. of ULC, to the Gen. Sec. of ICFTU Asking for Aid	32(29)
215.	Nigerian Motor Drivers, Mechanics, Clerical & Allied Transport Workers Union Press Release	32(36)
216.	?	
217.	Certificate of Incorporation of United Nigerian Promotion Co. Ltd.	32(107)
218.	Letter Demanding ₦ 78 For Rent on Kano Land for ULC	32(107)
219.	General Order No. 1 of 1966	33(24)
220.	Letter by the Lagos Branch of Brewery to Okweze Asking Why P. Epuh was Fired	33(81-83)
221.	Ronke Lawal's File	34(7)
222.	Copies of Financial Statement of Dues of ULC (1967)	34(9-10)
223.	Circular Letter Sent to all Registered Unions From Ministry of Labour, May 4, 1973	34(25)
224.	ULC Treasurer's Report to the Benin Conference of 1971	34(45)
225.	ULC Treasurer's Report to NEC in Kaduna Aug. 7, 1973	34(45)
226.	ULC Treasurer's Report to Kano Conference, 1975	34(46)
227.	ULC Treasurer's Report to Kano Conference	35(20)
228.	File Related to Accounts of Secretariat (ULC)	35(28)
229.	Apena Cemetery Declaration	35(68)
230.	Audited Report of ULC Accounts, August 1971-1973	35(75)
231.	Letter from C. Ford (TUI) on Drugs Donation	36(3)
232.	Letter from Okezie to Relief Foundation	36(4-5)
233.	Letters from Okezie to C. Ford	36(5)
234.	Letter from ULC on Payment to Clear Drugs	36(8)
235.	Document Entitled "Proposed Amendment to the Constitution ULC"	36(30)
236.	Constitution Not Yet Amended by Congress in 1969	36(30)
237.	Document Entitled "Organization Operation 70" Dec. 30, 1969	36(40)
238.	Letter Written by Alin Katsina	36(45)
239.	Letter From "Crosaders" of the North to Ijeh (ULC)	36(48)
240.	Letter from R. Garba to James and Ijeh	36(50)
241.	Letter Dated Dec. 24, 1969, from Odeyemi to McRay (AALC) on Cars	37(3-4)
242.	Lecture Delivered by Ijeh on "Relations of Trade Unions and the State in a Developing Country"	37(9-10)
243.	Address Delivered by Kaltungo at 1st Biennial Conference of ULC in Benin, Sept. 1971	37(10-11)

244.	Letter to Kaltungo From V.M.I. Jack, August 20, 1971, on Refusal to Summon the N.E.C. Meeting	37(15-16)
245.	Letter from Odeyemi to all Affiliated T.U.'s March 16, 1970, Referring to Constitution Articles to be Enforced.	37(17)
246.	Letter to Odeyemi from Ijeh on Exhibit 245	37(21-22)
247.	Criticism of CWC of the ULC by Ijeh	37(23)
248.	Exposition on Criticism of CWC by Ijeh	37(24)
249.	Summary of Minutes of the Central Working Committee	37(27)
250.	ULC, Sept. 14, 1969. Minutes of CWC that Considered Ijeh's criticisms, April 17, 1971.	37(27)
251.	Minutes of Southern Zone Council Meeting, July 7, 1971, in Ibadan, Taken by Ijeh	37(42)
252.	Letter from Jack to Odeyemi, May 31, Referring to Circular Letter of May 25, 1971	37(46)
253.	Minutes of CWC of ULC, July 30, 1974	37(49)
254.	Minutes on Self-Reliance Programme, Meeting Held Jan. 9, 1971.	37(55)
255.	Report on Tour of Ijeh & Jack to ULC	37(58)
256.	Letter by V.M.I. Jack to ULC Leadership	37(61)
257.	Paper Entitled "Towards Democratic Trade Unionism in Western Nigeria" by Council	37(63)
258.	Copy of Letter to I. Brown (Ex-Director AALC) by Odeyemi Soliciting Funds	37(71)
259.	Letter by A. Abutu to Director of Labour and Personnel, Kaduna Textiles Ltd. on How to Subdue the Workers Housing Demands, Feb. 2, 1971	37(94)
260.	2nd Letter by Abutu to Director of Above, Feb. 8, 1971	37(95)
261.	Minutes of C.E.C. Meeting Held on August 16, 1969	38(37-38)
262.	Letter by Ijeh to V.M.I. Jack Reporting on Money Collected During His Tour of Western States 1971	38(44)
263.	Letter by James to Permanent Secretary after Benin Conference	38(51)
264.	Letter from Tulatz to Borha in Respect to Starting a Newspaper	38(96)
265.	Letter Asking for Audited Report of ULC Funds From ICFTU	38(105)
266.	Application for Loans From Affiliates	38(107)
267.	Odeyemi's Reply to Ijeh's Letter on January 6, 1970	39(20)
268.	Motor Drivers' Union Account Book	40(2)
269.	Project Report of Nigerian Motor Drivers and Mechanics School	40(2)
270.	File Dealing with Correspondence with ITF on Motor Drivers School	40(2)
271.	File on Relationship Ministry of Labour - Driving School	40(2)
272.	Record of Audited Account of Motor Drivers Union 1959-1974	40(3)
273.	Title of Land and Other Properties of Driving School	40(3)
274.	Constitution of Nigerian Motor Drivers & Allied Transport Workers Union	40(3)
275.	?	
276.	Letter to ICFTU from NTUF, Dec. 13, 1973, on Letter From ICFTU, Jan, 1974 Attached, Soliciting to Establish Normal Relationship with ICFTU	41(10-13)
277.	Letter From ICFTU, Nov. 19, 1970, concerning Imoudu's Request for Information for Aid	41(16)
278.	?	
279.	NEC (ULC) Resolution on Union Merger at Enugu	42(20)
280.	Photocopy of Check Cashed August 29, 1971, and Not Signed by Odeyemi	42(37)
281.	Car Purchase from ICFTU Assistance	42(38)
282.	Document with Breakdown and Details of How ₦ 50.0 Was Spent by the AALC in Respect of ULC Projects	42(39)
283.	Letter from Oduntan to Sec. Gen. (Odeyemi) on Details of NLC's Constitution: Unauthorized and Unapproved Alterations	42(53)
284.	Document with All Alterations in Constitution	42(57)
285.	?	
286.	Letter of Protest From Orishalade to Kaltungo	43(32-34)
287.	List of 122 Scholarships Granted to People by ULC	43(36)
288.	Plebiscite File of ULC	44(2)
289.	?	
290.	Minutes Book of LUF	44(45)
291.	Minutes of Special Conference of LUF on February 22, 1975	44(52)
292.	Steering Committee Version of NLC Constitution	44(65)
293.	Okweze's Defence of Exhibit 205	44(73)
294.	Reply From Okweze to Oduntan (on Exhibit 284)	44(73,76-80)
	Account Book of LUF	44(89)
295.	First Draft of NLC Constitution	45(27, 30)
296.	Declaration of Signatories of Constitution Signed at City Hall	45(32)
297.	Report on the Launching of NWC, 1962	45(70)
298.	Constitution of the Nigerian Workers Council	45(74)
299.	Annual Report of Activities of the NWC	46(3)

300.	Press Release in <i>Morning Post</i> , Dec. 29, 1969 on News Item "NWC Top Officers Suspended"	46(9)
301.	Press Statement issued by Chukwura to <i>West African Pilot</i> March 4, 1970	46(12)
302.	Letter From NWC Pres. Gen. to Chukwura and Enigbokan Announcing their Suspension From the Organization	46(13)
303.	Document Referring to Reorganization in the Council	46(16)
304.	Letter of Protest by Some Affiliates Against the General Action of the RRC	46(22)
305.	Plan of the 4-Acre Parcel of Land of the NWC for the Labour College Building	46(30)
306.	Public Document with Names of Parties Involved in Court Case – Mr. Chukwura	46(44)
307.	Letter of Protest to Chukwura from P.B. Olanrewaju	47(4-5)
308.	Financial Report Read at the 3rd Biennial Convention	47(11)
309.	Letter to Chukwura from P.A. Isagua Making Reference to Ibadan Convention of NWC	47(23)
310.	Letter to Chukwura from Pres. Gen., Mr. Uzor	47(25)
311.	Document of 4th Emergency Convention of NWC, 1970	47(44)
312.	Resolution Passed at the Representatives Meeting of Affiliates of NWC, Dec. 15, 1969	47(46-47)
313.	Letter From Anunobi, Engibokan, Chukwura and Okongwu to Director of IFCTU, J. Brück, Concerning Missunderstanding Among Leaders	47(52)
314.	Letter From Agbator to Enigbokan	48(15)
315.	Statement by the Revolutionary Reform Committee of the NWC	48(68)
316.	Circular Letter Sent out by NWC to Affiliated Unions on 4th Extraordinary Emergency Convention, January 1970	48(78)
317.	Resolution of Emergency Convention of NWC, January 1970	48(80)
318.	Purchase Receipt of Land for NWC from Oak Property and Investment Co.	48(87)
319.	Receipts and Wages Sheets for NWC	48(91)
320.	Letter from Akpan to Registrar of Trade Unions, April 10, 1974	49(1-2)
321.	Minutes of Central Working Committee of NWC, January 28-30, 1974	49(10)
322.	Letter to Enigbokan From Uzor after Convention, September 3, 1969	49(29)
323.	Account Book Kept by NWC on Assistance 1970-1972	49(53)
324.	Audited Statements of Accounts for NTG&GWU 1969-1974	49(59)
325.	Letter Written by Secretary of Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation to Trade Union Tribunal on Foreign Financial Assistance, May 3, 1976	49(73)
326.	Abutu's Passport	50(13)
327.	Kaltungo's Passport	50(13)
328.	Documents on Projects for Workers Education Submitted to Brussels for Aid in 1975 (NWC)	50(46)
329.	Accounts For 1975 and 1976 of NWC	50(46)
330.	List of Voluntary Donations at CWC Meetings of NLC	50(68)
331.	?	
332.	Copy of Conveyance in Favour of Oaks Property Inc., For Purchase of Land From NWC in 1974	50(79)
333.	Financial Question Document No. 8 From WCL (Brück) to all Affiliates of NWC, Sept. 25-28, 1973	51(45)
334.	Letter From the Acting Nat. Treasurer of NWC to All Affiliated Unions, Feb. 29, 1974	51(48)
335.	Money Order Counterfoil For ₦ 10	51(68)
336.	Photocopy of Receipt From Real Estate Agent For the Sum of ₦ 3,900 on the Sale of the Land by NWC	51(70)
337.	Speech by Uzor (President of NWC) at Convention in Yaba, January 1970	51(72)
338.	Poultry/Piggery Accounts File, Dealing with ICFTU Assistance Programme - (ULC): ENDC Farmworkers Project	51(98)
339.	Address Delivered by Udokporo to ISTI (Tailoring Institute), Oct. 1971	51(110)
340.	Minutes of the Ilorin Conference, Dec. 27, 1970	52(23)
341.	Copy of Constitution of NNA	52(29)
342.	Minutes of the Jos Conference of 1974(NNA)	52(36)
343.	Nat. Sec.'s Report to the 12th Biennial Delegate Conference of the NNA, Jos, Oct. 31, 1974	53(4)
344.	Nat. Treasurer's Report to the 12th Biennial Delegate Conf. of the NNA, Jos, Oct. 31, 1974	53(4)
345.	Audited Reports 1960-1974 of NNA	53(6)
346.	Details of Expenditure of Benue Plateau Conference	53(21)
347.	Minutes Book of NNA; Nat. Exec. Council Meeting, January 24-25, 1974	53(39-40)
348.	Document Dealing with Loans Granted to Members of Secretariat of NNA	53(57)
349.	Note from Cole to Okezie on the Question of Njoku's Matter	53(80)
350, A	Two Letters From Okezie to Asst. Nat. Sec. (Njoku) January 15, 1974	54(2-4)
351.	Njoku's Reply to Okezie on Misappropriated Money August 20, 1974	54(5)
352.	NNA Membership Cards that were Printed at 11 K Per Card	54(11)
353.	Papers of Martins'Afolabi Oyedele	54(47)
354.	Copy of <i>Advance</i> Nov. 26 to Dec. 2, 1967	54(78)
355.	Statement of Account Received from NTUC, June 9, 1967 by All Nigerian Farmers Congress	54(86)

356.	Statement From the Bank for ANFC, 1967, '68, '69	54(87)
357.	Query on Odugbemi's Trade Union Politics	55(16)
358.	Letter to the Commissioner For Labour	55(17)
358A.	Letter to the Registrar of Trade Unions in Reply to the Query	55(17)
359.	Letter Calling For Immediate Removal of Registrar of Trade Unions, Mr. Igbo.	55(23)
360.	Letter From Registrar of Trade Unions to Odugbemi on His Removal as Auditor For Trade Unions	55(26)
361.	Letter From All-Nigerian Farmers Congress to Head of Federal Military Gov. , Nov. 8, 1975	55(30)
362.	Two Separate Returns Audited for Railway Workers Union by Odugbemi in 1969	55(32)
363.	Letter Addressed to Registrar of Trade Unions by Odugbemi, May 6, 1971	57(2)
364.	Query Dated December 11, 1971, From Oduleye to Odugbemi	57(5)
365.	Letter and Envelope from Ministry of Labour to Mr. Odugbemi, Dated April 2, 1975	57(14)
366, A	Letter and Envelope From Ministry of Labour to Odugbemi, Dated April 15, 1975	57(14)
367.	Surveyor's Receipt on NWC Land For Sale	57(53)
368.	Letter From NWC to Badipe, Aug. 12, 1974: Proposal on Land Sale	57(67)
369.	Letter From Kukoyi Agreeing to Pay ₦ 24,000 For Land, 19 August 1974	57(76-77)
370.	Letter From Kukoyi to Badipe on Changes of the Previously Agreed Payment for Land	57(80-81)
371.	Letter of Acceptance of Amount (₦ 24,000) to Sell Land by NWC	57(100)
372.	Letter From NWC to Badipe on Payment of ₦ 4,000 and Balance of ₦ 20,000 For Land	57(116)
373.	Letter From Liberty Real Estate to Kukoyi on December 21, 1974	58(3)
374.	Letter From Liberty Real Estate to NWC , May 20, 1975	58(6)
375.	Letter by Odugbemi to Ministry of Industries, May 23, 1974	58(37)
376.	Comments of Mr. Igbo on Exhibit 358	58(54)
377.	File on Registration of Umuahia Carpenters Workers Union	59(33)
378.	Notice of Refusal to Register Ifetedo Carpenters Association	59(39)
379.	1973 Constitution of Railway Workers Union of Nigeria	59(57)
380.	Constitution of RWUN 1969	59(63)
381.	Minutes of 1969 Meeting Presided by Chief A. Enahoro	59(65)
382.	Letter From Ministry of Labour Appointing the Board of Inquiry, July 16, 1969	59(67)
383.	Letter From Permanent Secretary Federal Min. of Labour (August 1969) Confirming Agreement Arising From Discussion on Disputes of Railway Union: Copy of Press Release Attached	59(69)
384.	Memorandum of Agreement on Steps to be Taken to Resolve Disputes, Signed by Both Fractions of Railway Workers' Union.	59(72)
385.	Minutes of Conference Held on March 7, 1970, RWUN	59(79)
386.	Minutes of Meeting of Nat. Exec. Council of RWUN , April 3, 1973	59(81)
387.	Circular Summoning Emergency Conference of Railway Workers Union. March 1, 1975	60(17)
388.	Letter of Suspension of S.O. Oduleye from Post of Gen.Sec. of RWUN	60(23)
389, A	Oduleye's Copies of Summons to Court	60(29)
390.	Gen.Sec's Report to Nat. Exec. Committee Meeting Held on April 3-4, 1971	60(34)
391.	Odugbemi's Report Submitted to Registrar of Trade Unions Who in Turn Sent it Back to Union	60(38)
392, A.	Queries sent to Oduleye by Registrar After receiving Auditor's Report	60(39-41)
393.	Audited Report of NTUC Section of the NTUF	60(44)
394.	?	
395.	Wema Bank Account of RWUN From June 19, 1971 to Dec. 14, 1971	60(77)
396.	Minutes of RWUN Emergency Meeting Held on March 2, 1975	60(96)
397.	Composition of CWC of RWUN	61(8)
398.	Attendance Register of CWC of RWUN	61(9)
399.	Minutes Book of the CWC Meeting, Sept. 23, 1975	61(12)
400.	Batch of Seven Documents From Dissident Groups Organized Within RWUN	61(36)
401.	Document Called "A Resumé of the Crisis in RWUN"	61(41)
402.	Agreement between Omo-Olofin and Dr. Otegbeye on Payment of Legal Fees	61(48-49)
403.	Letter to Solicitor General by Omo-Olofin on Complaint by Z.B. Odugbemi	61(50)
404.	Charges Levelled by Oduleye Against Imoudu of RWUN	62(2)
405.	Press Statements that Appeared in <i>New Nigerian</i> March 26, 1974	62(12)
406.	<i>Daily Times</i> , 10 May, 1974	62(15)
407.	Memorandum on Vote of No-Confidence on Gen. Manager of NRC, Mr. T.I.O. Nzegwu	62(16)
408.	Copy of Check-Off System Paper by Imoudu	62(19)
409.	Copy of Letter from Nzegwu to Oduleye	62(20-21)
410.	Copy of the Writ of Summons	62( 29)
411.	Letter to Oduleye About Election of Branch Officers Conducted in the Loco, Ebute Metta in Replacement of Sule and Co.	62(30)
412.	Letter From Gen. Manager of N.R.C. to Chief Mechanical and Electrical Engineer of N.R.C.	62(33)

413.	Letter from Registrar of Trade Unions to Oduleye	62(39)
414.	?	
415.	Report from Jinadu About Activites of Imoudu in the Running Shed	62(44)
416.	Attendance Book of the Emergency Conference of RWUN, May 2, 1975	62(47)
417.	Railway Returnees, October 3, 1974	62(49)
418.	Letter From NRC (Zaria) January 14, 1964	62(51)
419, A.	Letter of Complaint to Police from Chief F.R.O. Williams, and Reply	62(55-57)
420.	Document From the Mid-West Working Committee of the Nigerian Railway Corporation, signed by Mr. J. Sule	63(4)
421.	List of Election Compiled by G. Ademola on Representatives of Each Branch	63(48)
422.	List of Officers of Other CWC	63(69)
423.	Minutes of the Enugu Conference (RWUN), April, 1975	63(84)
424.	Address of Chief Imoudu at Enugu (RWUN) Conference	63(84)
425.	Publication in <i>Advance</i> , July 21, 1969, to the Effect that Chief Imoudu Had Been Appointed Life President	63(90)
426.	Change of Union's Name. Letter Dated August 22, 1975	63(93-94)
427.	Letter From Sule to Registrar of Trade Unions	63(95)
428.	Letter Dated June 29, 1974, Addressed to the Chairman, NRC	63(104)
429.	Letter From Akpan Attached to Letter From Ike to Kukoyi, August 16, 1974	65(5)
430.	Resolution of the Mass Meeting Calling for a Conference	65(37)
431.	Photocopies of Signatures Attached to Letter on Vote of No-Confidence	66(14)
432.	Pamphlet Prepared by Chief M.A.O. Imoudu on Labour Unity	66(48)
433.	Letter of Oduleye's Suspension from the Union	66(57-59)
434.	Minutes of RWUN Forwarded to Registrar of Trade Unions	67(41)
435.	Letter from Oduleye to Registrar of Trade Unions	67(41)
436.	Letter from Imoudu on Union's Name Change	67(44-45)
437, A.	Registrar's Letter to Imoudu and Oduleye, and Oduleye's Reply	67(47, 50)
438.	Amendments Proposed by Registrar	67(51)
439, A.	Advertisements in <i>Daily Times</i> , Aug. 13, 1975, by the Imoudu and Oduleye factions	67(58-59)
440.	?	
441.	RWUN Application for Change of Name	67(84)
442.	RWUN's Constitution	68(12)
443.	Letter to the Tribunal on Difficulties in Preparations For Giving Evidence	68(80)
444.	Address by Joshua to NEC, April 3-4, 1971	68(85)
445.	Call for Plebiscite Among Railway Workers, and Registration of NUR(F)	68(91)
446.	Letter of January 29, 1975, calling for Plebiscite	68(96)
447.	Report of One of Imoudu's Tours in the <i>New Nigerian</i>	69(5)
448.	Document Attacking Chief Imoudu	69(15)
449.	Letter to Police Commissioner about Break-in of RWUN Secretariat	69(24)
450.	Reply From Police on Break-in	69(24)
451.	Forged Document on Name Change of Union	69(39)
452, A.	Written Statement About Wholesale and Retail Prices by Mrs. Sodipo	
453.	File Containing Documents Relating to Check-off System	69(66)
454.	NTUC Financial Report Presented at 2nd Revolutionary Convention of December 9-12, 1965	70(22)
455.	Statistics of Trade Disputes, Methods of Settlement and Causes for the Period of 1970-75	70(43)
456.	List of Awards Made by Industrial Arbitration Tribunal	70(48)
457.	List of Cases of Non-implementation of I.A.T. Awards as of March 31, 1976	70(48)
458.	Address Presented by the Management to the National Union of Railway Workers of Nigeria at their Conference	72(39)
459.	Report of Industrial Action by NUR(F)	73(16)
460, A., B.	Appeals by Management of Nigerian Railway Corporation	73(34)
461.	List of Railway Trade Unions	73(61)
462.	Complete Record of Dealings with Railway Trade Unions	74(5)
463.	General Manager of the NRC's Circular 2 of 1973 Procedure for Appointment and Promotions	74(90)
464.	Copy of Minutes of Railway Workers Council of Nigeria Meeting in Feb. 1974	73(93)
465.	Minutes of NUR(F) Meeting, March 21, 1975, in which Nzegwu Was Present	73(102)
466.	Minutes of Special Meeting Held Between Acting Gen. Manager and Representatives of NUR(F), in which proposals to Delegate Powers to Railway District Managers For Promotion of Junior Staff were Made, March 19, 1973	75(3)
467.	Minutes of May 14-15, 1975. NUR(F) Meeting Chaired by Nzegwu and Signed by Alade	75(17)
468.	General Manager's File of Documents	75(27)
469.	General Manager's Circular Number 2 of 1974	75(40)
470.	Minutes of Meeting in December 1974, Signed by General Manager, Staff	75(45)
471.	Address by Nzegwu at NUR National Conference	75(48)

472.	Minutes of Meeting Between Management and Representatives of NUR June 9, 1972	75(57)
473.	Oduleye's Minutes of November 1974	75(60)
474, A.	2 Documents on the Implementation of Conciliation Agreement (Night Duty Allowance)	75(61)
475.	Address Read by Chukwumah (Asst. Gen. Manager) on Behalf of Nzegwu (Gen. Manager) at May 2-3, 1975, Conference of RWUN	75(65)
476.	Statements of Accounts From Co-operative Bank, Yaba	76(3)
477.	Animashaun's Bank Account From January 14, 1975 - June 3, 1976	76(6)
478.	Copy of Another of Animashaun's Bank Accounts From February 5, 1970 - April 5, 1976	76(9)
479.	Animashaun's Bank Account at the Wema Bank, Mushin	76(13)
480.	Bank Account of B. Animashaun at U.B.A.	76(16)
481.	Animashaun's Loans Account Statement at U.B.A.	76(17)
482, A.	Certificate of Registration and Proprietors Loans form by Animashaun at U.B.A., Iganmu Branch	
483.	Animashaun's Bank Account at U.B.A. Iganmu Branch, October 8, 1974 - April 23, 1976	76(23)
484.	Personal Bank Account in the Name of Animashuan from January 21, 1974 - April 13, 1976	76(24)
485.	Loan Account in the Name of Eko Round City Transport Service	76(26)
486.	Batch of Documents on 21 Motor Vehicles	76(31)
487.	Report on Valuation of Vehicles Under Animashaun	76(39)
488.	Summary of Vehicles Inspected at Premises of Eko Round City Transport Service	76(40)
489.	Valuation Reports on Land Properties Allocated to B. Animashaun, Written by Land Officer of Ministry of Works	77(4)
490.	Authorization of Credit Form (Loan) From Iganmu Branch Bank to Animashaun	77(9)
491.	Files on B. Animashaun Handled by the Chartered Accountant Mr. B.O. Okafor	77(16)
492.	Accountant's Report	77(19-20)
493.	File on Loans Granted to B. Animashaun	78(19)
494.	Document on Repayment of Loan on Cars and Housing for ₦ 10,000, Received in May 1975	78(21)

## II - 5 LIST OF WITNESSES

### List of witnesses, presented in order of date of first appearance

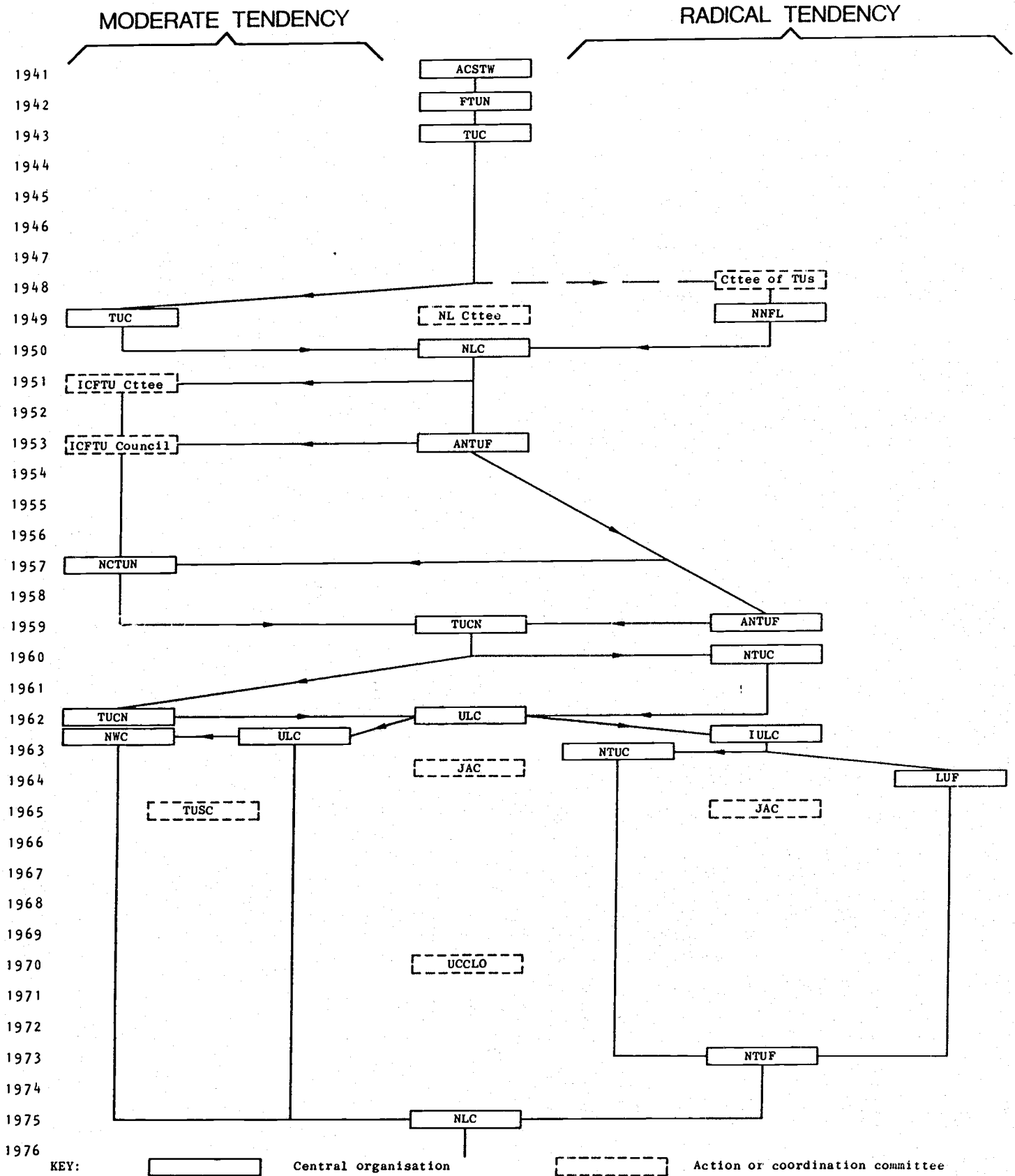
(From Appendix III of the Report of the Tribunal of Inquiry into the Activities of the Trade Unions)

Name	Date
1. Mr. E.B. Etienam	5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 12th April 1976
2. Dr. E.C. Smith	14th April 1976
3. Mr Hudson Momodu	14th, 15th April 1976
4. Mr J Ade Salawu	15th April 1976
5. Mr E.O. Bamgbala	22nd, 23rd April 1976
6. Mr S.O. Alamu	23rd April 1976
7. Mr S.U. Bassey	26th, 27th, 28th April and 3rd May, 19th July, 1976
8. Dr J.O. Otegbeye	3rd, 4th May, 1976
9. Mr L.A. Oyedele	4th, 5th May, 9th July, 1976
10. Mr G.I. Oni	5th May, 1976
11. Mr S.O. Martins	5th May, 1976
12. Mr A.B. Olumo	5th May, 1976
13. Mr S.I. Omo-Olofin	5th May, 7th July, 1976
14. Mr B.B. Basorun	5th, 6th May, 1976
15. Mr S.A. Kasali	6th, 7th, 10th, 11th May, 1976
16. Mr S.A. Dada	7th May, 1976
17. Mr M.O. King	7th, 10th May, 1976
18. Mr W.C. Goodluck	12th, 13th, 24th, 25th May, 1976
19. Alhaji H.P. Adebola	25th, 26th, 27th May, 1976
20. Mr Paul Epuh	27th, 28th, 31st May, 1976
21. Mr F.O. Balogun	31st May, 1976
22. Mr Okon Eshiett	31st May and 1st June, 1976
23. Mr Eric Akin-Akala	1st June, 1976
24. Mr Pascal Bafyau	1st, 2nd June, 1976
25. Mr J.O.A. James	2nd, 3rd June, 1976
26. Mr A.I.A. Okwese	3rd, 4th, 5th June, 1976
27. Mr N.F. Pepple	5th, 7th June, 1976
28. Dr C.G. Okojie	8th June, 1976
29. Mr E.U. Ijeh	8th, 9th, 10th June, 1976
30. Mr L.L. Borha	10th June, 1976
31. Chief E.O.A. Odeyemi	11th, 12th, 14th, 15th June, 1976
32. Alhaji Y. Kaltungo	15th, 16th, 17th June, 1976
33. Mr A.A. Ishola	17th, 18th June, 1976
34. Mr N. Chukwurah	18th, 19th, 21st June, 1976
35. Mr J.O. Enigbokan	21st, 22nd June, 1976
36. Mr J.U. Akpan	22nd, 23rd June, 1976
37. Alhaji A.D.O. Abutu	23rd, 24th June, 1976
38. Mr P.A. Isagua	24th, 25th June, 1976
39. Mr P.B. Olanrewaju	25th June, 1976
40. Mr R.A. Ramos	25th June, 1976
41. Mr B.M. Udokporo	25th June, 1976
42. Mr S.O. Kufeji	25th, 26th June, 1976
43. Mr S.S. Okezie	26th, 28th, 29th June, 1976
44. Mr Z.B. Odugbemi	29th, 30th June, 1st, 2nd July, 1976
45. Mr E.A. Badipe	2nd, 3rd July, 1976
46. Mr G.A. Igbo	3rd, 5th July, 1976
47. Mr S. Olaolu Oduleye	5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th July, 1976
48. Mr M.J. Sule	9th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 22nd July, 1976

48. Mr M.J. Sule . . . . . 9th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 22nd July, 1976
49. Mr O.A. Kukoyi . . . . . 12th July, 1976
50. Chief M.A.O. Imoudu . . . . . 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th July, 1976
51. Mr J.F. Amachree . . . . . 14th July, 1976
52. Mrs V.A. Sódipo . . . . . 16th July, 1976
53. Mr A.J. Agbasi . . . . . 16th July, 1976
54. Mr A.O. Sofola . . . . . 16th, 19th July, 1976
55. Mr G.C. Okogwu . . . . . 19th, 20th July, 1976
56. Mr T.I.O. Nzegwu . . . . . 26th, 27th, 28th July, 1976
57. Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki . . . . . 27th July, 1976
58. Mr S.O.A. Ogunfowora . . . . . 10th August, 1976
59. Mr S. Idowu . . . . . 10th August, 1976
60. Mr L.A. Agoro . . . . . 10th August, 1976
61. Mr A.O. Adeniji . . . . . 10th August, 1976
62. Mr M.S. Bakare . . . . . 10th, 12th August, 1976
63. Mr J.A. Atitebi . . . . . 10th August, 1976
64. Mr D. Anugu . . . . . 10th August, 1976
65. Mr A. Kazeem . . . . . 10th August, 1976
66. Miss O. Roberts . . . . . 10th August, 1976
67. Mr B.O. Okafor . . . . . 10th, 12th, 16th August, 1976
68. Mr N.O. Umezuruike . . . . . 12th August, 1976
69. Mr O. Sarumi . . . . . 12th, 13th August, 1976
70. Mr A.G. Foulkes . . . . . 13th August, 1976
71. Alhaji B.A. Animashaun . . . . . 16th, 17th August, 1976

II - 6 CHARTS

The development of central national trade union organisations in Nigeria, 1941-76, showing moderate and radical tendencies and united action committees.



KEY:  Central organisation       Action or coordination committee

NOTES: This diagram is drawn from the information supplied in table 0.2. It ignores regional trade union centres and minor splits and organisations. It shows such bodies as the TUC, ANTUF or ULC as having moved from the centre as a result of splits. The diagram may be used as to the historical process but should not be used as an alternative to it. Thus, although the standard sources suggest that LUF be presented as a radical trade union centre, it was actually a much looser and more heterogeneous organisation than this diagram might suggest.

Summary chart of central trade union organisations in Nigeria, 1941-76

<u>Formation date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Leaders</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1941	African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union (ACSTW)	L.A. Nkedive M. Imoudu	
November 1942	Federated Trade Unions of Nigeria (FTUN)	T.A. Bankole S. Coker	Arranged conference to set up TUC.
August 1943	Trades Union Congress (of Nigeria) (TUC)	M.A. Tokunboh F.O. Coker	
1946	Supreme Council of Nigerian Workers		Part of the TUC, set up to present a case to the Tudor Commission.
1948	Committee of Trade Unionists (Cttee of TUs)	Imoudu, F.O. Coker, N. Eze	A pressure group within the TUC set up to try to reverse the decision to disaffiliate from the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.
March 1949	Nigerian National Federation of Labour (NNFL)	Same leadership as above	Set up as a rival to the TUC.
1949	National Labour Committee (NL Cttee)	Members from NNFL and TUC	Part of the National Emergency Committee set up after the Enugu shootings.
May 1950	Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC)	Imoudu, Eze	Merger of NNFL and TUC dominated by radicals. WFTU affiliated.
1951	Committee of ICFTU-affiliated Unions in Nigeria (ICFTU Cttee)	L.U. Agonsi	Covert support from NLC conservatives.
August 1953	All Nigeria Trade Union Federation (ANTUF)	Imoudu, G.C. Nzeribe	Set up after NLC collapse. Unaffiliated internationally.
April 1956	Council of ICFTU-affiliated Unions (ICFTU Council)	Agonsi, N.A. Cole, H.P. Adebola, L.L. Borha	Successor to Committee of ICFTU-affiliated Unions. Cole, Adebola and Borha retain positions in ANTUF.
April 1957	National Council of Trade Unions of Nigeria (NCTUN)	Borha, Cole	Affiliated to the ICFTU
March 1959	Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN)	Imoudu, Borha	Merger of ANTUF and NCTUN. ICFTU affiliation contested.
April 1960	Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC)	Imoudu, Nzeribe	Split from TUCN.
March 1961	Eastern Nigeria Trade Union Congress		Regional centre having members in TUCN and NTUC.
3 May 1962	United Labour Congress (ULC)	Adebola, Borha	Merger of TUCN and NTUC. Affiliated to ICFTU.
5 May 1962	Independent United Labour Congress (IULC)	Imoudu, A.N. Ikoro	NTUC leaders splitting from ULC. 'Fraternal relations' with WFTU.
December 1962	Nigerian Workers Council (NWC)	N. Anunobi, N. Chukwura	Split from ULC. Affiliated to International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.
December 1962	Northern Federation of Labour (NFL)	I. Nock	Split from IULC. Claimed affiliation to International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.
August 1963	Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC)	W. Goodluck, S.U. Bassey	Takeover of IULC by Communists.
September 1963	Joint Action Committee (JAC)		Temporary alliance of trade union centres for wage demands & negotiations during Morgan Commission.
February 1964	Labour Unity Front (LUF)	Imoudu, Ikoro, A.A. Ishola, Nzeribe	Loose grouping of unions seeking to bring together the opposed tendencies.
January 1965	Trade Unions Supreme Council (TUSC)		Defensive alliance of ULC-NWC against JAC radicals.

<u>Formation date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Leaders</u>	<u>Comments</u>
February 1966	Nigerian Trade Union Federation (NTUF)		Short-lived LUF-NTUC-NWC merger.
May 1967	Northern States Federation of Labour (NSFL)		NFL name change.
1967	Unity Committee of Biafra Trade Unions		Formed by all registered unions and centres in the East seceding from Lagos centres.
January 1968	The Labour Unity Front-Northern States Federation of Labour		Merger declaration of little substance.
December 1968	Nigerian Federation of Labour (NFL)	E. Etienam	Individual breakaway from NTUC.
August 1970	United Committee of Central Labour (UCCLO)	Goodluck (NTUC) Y. Kaltungo (ULC) Ishola (LUF) J. Uzor (NWC)	Temporary NTUC-ULC-LUF-NWC alliance.
September 1973	Nigerian Trade Union Federation (NTUF)		Merger of NTUC-LUF and E.U. Ijeh-J.O. James split from ULC in 1971.
September 1974	Preparatory Committee for creation of the Nigerian Labour Congress		'Apena Cemetery Declaration' pledges all leaders to unity. Initiative taken by Okon Eshiett.
Late-1975	Democratic Resistance Committee	H. Momodou (ex-NTUC)	Group opposed to manner in which NLC leadership was being created.
December 20, 1975	Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC)	Goodluck (NTUC) Adegbesan (ULC) Ishola (LUF) James (ex-ULC) Odeyemi (ULC) Bassey (NTUC) Akpan (NWC) Oduleye (LUF) Ijeh (ex-ULC) Eshiett (ULC)	In an attempt to forestall splits, leadership also contains 92 others. Organisation dissolved unilaterally by Secretary Odeyemi in September 1976.
Early-1976	Progressive Front of Nigeria Labour Movement	P. Bafyau	As Democratic Resistance Committee.
Mid-1976	Committee of Trade Unions in Defence of NLC and Trade Union Rights		Created as a radical pressure group by former NTUC leaders. Became 'Committee in Defence of Workers and Trade Union Rights' in 1977.

Sources: Cohen (1974), Nigerian Press, Union documents.

## II - 7 CONTENTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS

### Proceedings of the Activities of Trade Unions Tribunal of Inquiry

Volume	Date	Fiche nos.			
1	March 3	1	41	"	14 37 - 38
2	" 24	1	42	"	15 38 - 39
3	April 5	1	43	"	16 39 - 40
4	" 6	1 - 2	44	"	17 40 - 41
5	" 7	2	45	"	18 41 - 43
6	" 8	2 - 3	46	"	19 43
7	" 12	3	47	"	21 43 - 44
8	" 14	3 - 4	48	"	22 44 - 45
9	" 15	4 - 5	49	"	23 45 - 46
10	" 22	5 - 6	50	"	24 46 - 47
11	" 23	6 - 7	51	"	25 47 - 49
12	" 26	7 - 8	52	"	26 49
13	" 27	8 - 9	53	"	28 49 - 50
14	" 28	9 - 10	54	"	29 50 - 51
15	May 3	10 - 11	55	"	30 51 - 52
16	" 4	11 - 13	56	July	1 52 - 53
17	" 5	13 - 14	57	"	2 53 - 54
18	" 6	14 - 15	58	"	3 54 - 55
19	" 7	15	59	"	5 55 - 56
20	" 10	15 - 16	60	"	6 56 - 57
21	" 11	16 - 17	61	"	7 57 - 58
22	" 12	17 - 18	62	"	8 58 - 59
23	" 13	18 - 19	63	"	9 59 - 60
24	" 24	19 - 21	64	"	10 60 - 61
25	" 25	21 - 22	65	"	12 61 - 62
26	" 26	22 - 23	66	"	13 62 - 63
27	" 27	23 - 24	67	"	14 63 - 64
28	" 28	24 - 25	68	"	15 64 - 65
29	" 31	25 - 26	69	"	16 65 - 66
30	June 1	26 - 27	70	"	19 66 - 67
31	" 2	27 - 29	71	"	20 67
32	" 3	29 - 30	72	"	22 67 - 68
33	" 4	30 - 31	73	"	26 68 - 69
34	" 5	31 - 32	74	"	27 69 - 70
35	" 7	32 - 33	75	"	28 70 - 71
36	" 8	33	76	August	10 71
37	" 9	33 - 34	77	"	12 71
38	" 10	34 - 36	78	"	13 72
39	" 11	36	79	"	16 72 - 73
40	" 12	36 - 37			