

# AFRISCOPE

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## ANOTHER PHASE OF COLD-WAR POLITICS

The number of recent visits to frontline states by foreign envoys (particularly those of the captains of the two main rival blocks - 'West' and 'East') could revive the fear that, if care is not taken, Africa may again find herself in the pincers of the East-West cold-war politics. The visits of Moscow's Nikolai Podgorny and Cuba's Fidel Castro were the type of scares which could send the temperature of the West soaring to giddy heights. Indeed, it did, because the panic-stricken response of the West to the internal rebellion in Zaire was intended as a reply to the East and the rest of the world that the West is determined to hold what it has grabbed.

There should not be any ground for this kind of fear. Between the disaster of Zaire two decades ago and the phenomenal popularity of Fidel Castro in Africa today, a number of events have sharpened our political consciousness. Of these, the most important is the dangerous activities of the racist stronghold in the Southern reaches of Africa. Independent Africa is neither safe at home nor credit-worthy abroad, as long white minority regimes rule Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia. In almost all cases, most of the internal difficulties in independent African states could be traced either directly to the subversive activities of Pretoria or indirectly to this nerve-centre of imperialist designs through the activities of multi-national companies and double faced allies which made an excellent job of remaining in the good books of both South Africa and free Africa.

For us today the issue is quite clear. Who will help us to overthrow the racist regimes in Southern Africa. This aspect or rather this phase of the struggle is to us more urgent and more important than other considerations. An attempt to see the issue in terms of Western "sphere of influence" or Eastern "global conspiracy" simply means that the West still refuses to see Africa as Africans see her and rather prefers to live in the blissful cocoon of Africa's moral uncle.

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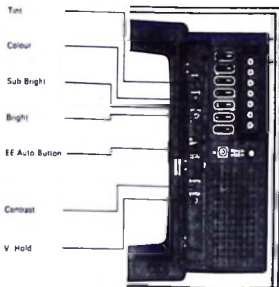
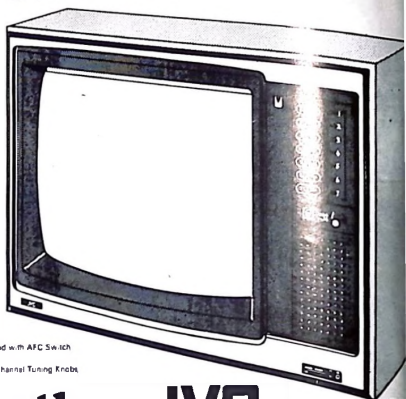
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# LETTERS

Dear Editor,

## ZAIRE INVASION

I had never believed that Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko is "Uncle Sam's Good boy." Now I am convinced that he is.

Look at the amount of aid, military and otherwise that he is getting from America, France and Belgium at the least notice to repel the so-called invasion in Zaire.

**Nelson Ojo,**  
Ibadan, Nigeria.

American and Belgium sponsors in sending aid to Zaire to fight the invasion on its territory is rather spontaneous and fast.

Although Carter's America has assured the world that she would not send military hardware, let's hope that the CIA would not pass the lethal weapons through some other ally while Africa and the world at large are made to believe that she is sending only blankets and medicine.

**Kwame Owusu,**  
Kumasi, Ghana.

The mad rush on the part of some West European countries to assist Zaire in the face of the present situation in that country brings to mind once again the Congo crisis of the '60.

Obviously America, France and Belgium can fool no one that they are only helping African nation. Their real intentions are to protect the rich copper belts of the Shaba Province which President Mobutu has bequeathed to them.

**Nelson Mquadi,**  
Lusaka, Zambia

## DORMANT OAU

The current OAU Chairman has been so silent that one would hardly believe that the Organisation is still in existence. This is a result of the OAU's inability to break from traditionalism—election of host country's

head of State as Chairman.

It is high time Africa broke away from this practice and chose her spokesmen purely on merit.

**Gabriel Jones,**  
Freetown, Sierra-Leone.

## IDI AMIN

Britain will have a sticky situation to handle if Field Marshall Idi Amin Dada insists on attending the next Commonwealth summit scheduled to hold in London.

As a member of the Commonwealth Britain will have no justification whatsoever to bar him from the meeting. But I think Amin, in order to save not only himself but friends and foes alike a lot of embarrassment, should stay away from the conference.

**Koffi Lawson,**  
Lome, Togo.

## GUINEA PIGS

For decades now Africa and the developing world have pleaded with the developed countries for development aid and assistance with very little results. Even where this is grudgingly approved there are all kinds of strings attached which make them unacceptable to these poor countries.

However, when military aid is asked for there is very little delay because Africa is a good testing ground for the latest manufacture in guns.

African leaders should learn to settle their squabbles in an African way rather than making us guinea-pigs for imperialists.

**Musa Mohammed,**  
Zaria, Nigeria.

## AFRICA'S GENIUS

Why was Professor Cheikh Anta Diop (your cover story, vol. 7 No. 2 February, 1977), not invited for FESTAC '77 if he has contributed so much towards the advance of the black man and even the success of the first Black



and Negro Art Festival in Dakar, Senegal?

Obviously not much is known about the professor in the continent. His presence in FESTAC would have been of immense advantage to the festival. Future festivals should not leave out such brains of the continent.

**Ahmed Musthafa,**  
Cairo, Egypt.

## EDITOR'S NOTE:

Perhaps the International Secretariat of FESTAC '77 would be able to provide the answer to that question. Its predecessor should take note, however, for future festivals.

## CASTRO IN AFRICA

Why is America and the West so concerned about Cuban influence in Africa? This concern has now reached a ridiculous extent that smacks of white contempt for the black mans intelligence to think for himself and to choose who his friends should be.

If in spite of their ideological differences the West has learnt to live with the East and America still hopes to pursue detente with Russia, why are they (America and the West) so scared of the Cubans (who are only disciples of the Russians) in Africa?

During the early days of African independence the West was able to blackmail the socialist countries; now that their propaganda have been found to be empty lies, the noise has been shifted on

to Cuba. Africa should be left to choose her own friend and welcome aid and assistance from wherever she like in pursuance of her policy of non-alignment.

**Ted Blacke,**  
Washington, USA.

It is a pity that Fidel Castro has not deemed it fit to move into Namibia since his forces helped in liberating Angola from imperialist forces. I am sure the Namibians would very much prefer "Cuban colonialism" to the present illegal forcible occupation of their territory by South Africa, jealously



guarded by America and her Nato allies. And more, the dawn of Azania would be just round the corner.

**Tokunbo Olatunbosun,**  
Benin City, Nigeria.

## INCESSANT BORDER CLOSURES

The incessant border closures between Togo and Benin Republic constitute a threat to the newly formed ECOWAS. If a lasting solution is not found to their differences the border issue will hamper the free flow of essential goods between the Community which is the essence of the union.

**Fred Lyndon,**  
Monrovia, Liberia.

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## ECHOES

If not for the overwhelming validity which a totally different historical reality gave to the occasion, one would have thought, from the criss-crosses of foreign goodwill missions in the front-line-states sub-region of Africa, that we are back to the competition rallies of the cold war of the sixties.

In fact, the new stage of wooing had begun almost a year ago, with ex-magician Kissinger. With a wave of his wand, other Western envoys followed in fairly well-paced succession.

As in reply, the other camp recently played what looked like a return match. Dr. Fidel Castro's very relaxed and characteristically confident tour was reinforced (although there was nearly a collision) with Podorgny's whistle-stop visit.

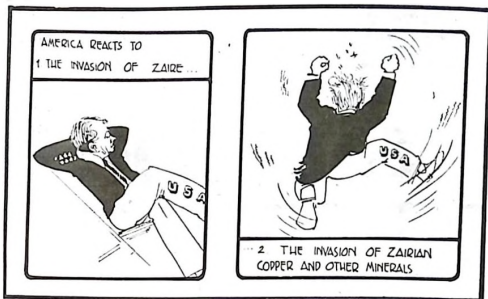
One must be happy for Africa that the wooing is now both African-and issue-oriented: who will help in practical terms to destroy minority rule in Rhodesia and apartheid in South Africa?

### THE NEW CONSTITUENCY

However, one unfortunate casualty of the increasing reliance on diplomatic tool as a weapon in our liberation struggle is the dynamism and militancy of the nationalist leaders.

These days, each has more appointments with heads of state than with troops in the field. The battle is in fact being more fiercely waged, I think, in the arena of diplomatic recognition than in the trenches of Rhodesia.

When African heads succeed in constituting themselves into a new constituency, we hope the masses of Rhodesia can at least fill the role of ballot officers!



### PANIC OVER COPPER

I thought that the world is suffering from a surfeit of copper: hence, the slump of prices in recent years.

One can't therefore understand the Western panic over the long overdue signals of the fall of Zaire's Mobutu. Withip hours of the announcement of an 'invasion,' promises of aid were pouring in from Western fortresses.

The panic may be due to the fact that Zaire has plenty of other minerals besides copper. Certainly, no one was moved this time by the old scare of communism.

### THE NEW HELENS OF TROY

We can't follow the rationale behind the recent decision of Oyo State of Nigeria to compulsorily deploy to their sister states of origin 393 married female officers in its service.

Just two questions.

One, by African tradition and/or British law, to what states do these officers belong? To the states of their natal origin or the states of marital location. This is by the way—although even a state has now taught us the useful (and long practised) lesson that it is always expedient to give self-convenient interpretations of the nuances and ramifications of marital institution as occasions and needs arise!

Two, and more important, in Nigeria's march towards more resilient stability at home, is it not ironic that the creation of states, made primarily to help in solving this problem, should in some instances be nursing this form of parochialism? In varying degrees and various forms, this unintended consequence has contoured the under-

currents of relationships in both the former Eastern States and in the former Northern States.

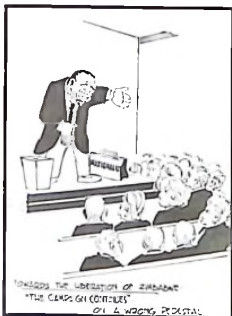
I like to think that this is only a transitional stage to fuller nationhood.

### THE ANTICS OF A SLAVE

The puppet leader of Transkei homeland, Chief Karsei Mantazima, is at last being compelled—predictably enough—by the stark reality of his non-existence to admit to the world that he had thought he made a good deal when he bartered his freedom with Pretoria's 'protection.'


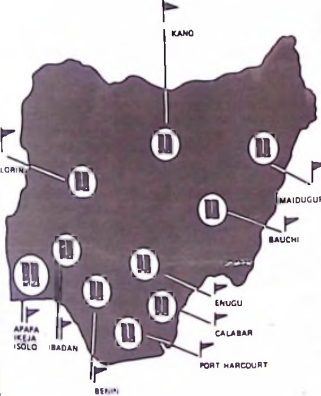













For the land in dispute, listen to this slave's-boast: "Unless the decision (by South Africa to annex east Grigaland to Natal Province) is changed, Transkei will break all agreements with South Africa, withdraw its ambassador and return all white officials on loan from South African regime. After breaking relations, Transkei will seek diplomatic ties with any other strong country in the world."

So, Chief Mantazima had hitherto not sought diplomatic relations with other countries because sticking to the aprong strings of Pretoria is presumably a part of the condition for his nee slave status? Perhaps a more interesting implication of this development is that both the slave and his master seem to be already dissatisfied with a situation of half-slavery and half-freedom.



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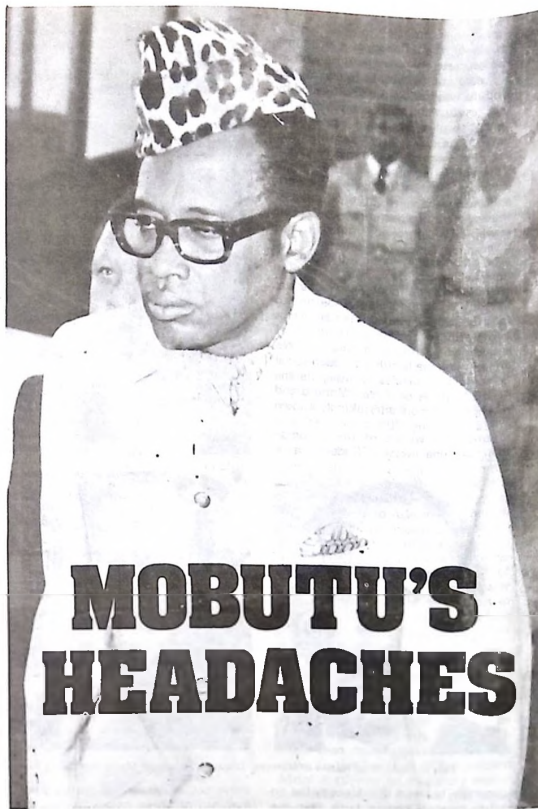
Until an authentic—to use a more genuine version of the word than General Mobutu intended—solution is found to the 17-year problem of national integration and domestic stability in Zaire, Africa may sooner or later discover that a more deadly threat to her continental peace signals more pervasively though less obviously from this heartland of independent Black Africa than from the liberation trenches of Southern Africa.

The outlines and shades of the setting which had sketched this danger in bold relief in 1960 are still there. Geopolitically, the strategic importance of Zaire is still highly valued by all sides. Politically, the present leadership of Zaire still describes its internal problems in ideological and global terms heavily reminiscent of the cold-war red hearings of the early sixties. Internationally, the immediate rally of the Western powers to the aid of Mobutu and the systematic attempt to paint a frightening picture of Soviet presence and Cuban subversion in neighbouring Angola point to the continuous presence in the setting of the same fears, attitudes and extra-African calculations which provided both the ready tinder-box and naked light to the explosions of 1960-62.

Seen from this angle, the armed rebellion in Zaire's Shaba province which has caused so much misunderstanding between Zaire and Angola is larger and more serious than a routine border conflict in a compact land mass of 47-odd-sovereign-states. It symbolises the danger of an insecure and unsecured heartland and rear-base, which has haunted Black Africa since the mass independence of the sixties and the sudden shortlisting of Southern Africa as anti-colonial Africa's number one Challenge. The danger has been increased by the sharper delineation of colours in the political map, with the emergence of leftist regimes in Angola and Mozambique in mid-seventies and the West's fears of a Moscow plot to erect a cordon across the Southern third of the continent from Luanda to Dar-es-Salaam.

#### The "Invasion"

The most recent incident is yet another signal from a smouldering fire. A medley of over 3000 anti-Mobutu soldiers and activists, mainly former Katangese gendarmes, decided to fight their way back home, from over a decade of self-exile in neighbouring Angola. In a matter of ten days they overran the sub-region of Luabala and threatened to conquer the whole of Shaba province.



# MOBUTU'S HEADACHES

*President Mobutu Sese Seko: Is a corruption-riddled administration compatible with the gospel of authenticity?*

Everyone—or rather most of the major actors in the 1961 scene—responded to the present crisis in the 1961 spirit. Mobutu raised alarm about Soviet imperialism. US, Belgium and France responded with airlifts of military and quasi-military aid. Nigeria offered the role of a mediator. The rest of Africa waited in impotent silence.

From whatever angle one intends to interpret this incident, one must be caught in the conclusion that what we

are witnessing is a continuation of a search for a conclusive answer to a two-decade-old question on the role of Africa's heartland in Pan African politics.

From the angle of Zaire's political history, the first insight is pertinent. What has happened in Zaire's recent political history is that what was discovered and offered as a temporary palliative has mistakenly and increasingly turned itself into a permanent solution. Mobutu was foisted on the

people of then Congo as a palliative. As desperate delay-answer to a worsening case of internal fragmentation Mobutu was moulded and projected by U.S. as a stabilizing counter to the separatist of rival leaders who at one time or the other threatened the stability of the central government—Joseph Kasavubu, Tsonbe, Kalonji, and Gizenga. He did effectively and creditably serve the need of the moment: the over-arching authority—or rather power—of a central government over a diverse large area like Zaire began to take shape and with time a decade of superficial peace dawned.

But in finding this stop-gap palliative, the need for a fundamental solution to the problem of national integration was buried under the shrill rhetorics of authenticity and Mobutism. No attempt was made either through social or economic policies to integrate the over 200 tribes of Zaire. Mobutu and his clique of sycophants jokingly known in Zaire as the 200 royal families—regarded the wealth of the nation as their personal wealth (indeed, it is



Left to Right: King Hassan of Morocco; Giscard d'Estaing of France and Cuba's Fidel Castro. Look who's interfering now!

generally believed that Mobutu has no other personal cheque book than the cheque book of Zaire's Central Bank!). Corruption was the order of the day and the inequities in the distribution of goods and services among the various income groups worsened.

It is against this background that one should appreciate why the issue of Katanga may continue to be a live issue after 17 years. Katanga has never been effectively integrated by Mobutu into Zaire's fragile social/political system. One is also able to understand why the attacking troops, regarded as invaders by Mobutu, were regarded as liberators by the people of Katanga. The fact is, the rebels enjoyed the

active collaboration of Mobutu's army that had not been paid wages for six months and which had lived on smuggling and black-marketeering in border transactions with Angola and Zambia. Most disturbing of all, one now catches a full glimpse of the hollowness of the political structure mounted by Mobutu. It is suspected that Mobutu was reluctant to withdraw troops from other parts of Zaire to Shaba province because he feared civil rebellions in other areas. Such is the measure of Zaire's progress towards domestic stability under Mobutu.

#### Ideological red-herring

A second clue is the mutual suspicion, hatred and distrust that has always

characterised the relations between Zaire and newly independent Angola. It is now enough to acknowledge that there are immediate historical reasons for this—Luanda's bitterness at Mobutu's past and present support of dissident FNLA and UNITA; Kinshasa's evident designs on Cabinda; Mobutu's fears of the intentions of the gathering crowd of anti-Mobutu activists in Angola; Neto's and Mobutu's reciprocal mistrust of each other's good faith. In short, the normal border palaver of the politics of self-survival of antagonistic neighbours, has been ever present. The issue goes beyond this. The seeds of the promise of an anti-communist press, implied in the circumstance, which

mediated Zaire's arrival at honey stability after independence, and the obligation of an unflinching anti-communist sentry which Mobutu must carry as a minimal price of his nomination to (and maintenance in) power by CIA, have now found a fertile ground for germination in the reality of the actual emergence of socialist regimes in neighbouring Angola and Congo-Brazzaville. Add to this, the West's increasing dog-in-the-manger obstructionist obsession with "communist influence" in the liberation struggles of Southern Africa, then one realises why the setting in

Zaire today is evidently more inflammable than in 1961.

In this sense, the ideological rhetoric with which both Zaire and Angola have sought to legitimize their stands can't be described as the usual smokescreen.

They are most telling. To Kinshasa, Zaire is the victim of an aggression by "an organised group of mercenaries, led by other mercenaries who come from the other side of the Atlantic and who enjoy the support of third countries, with ideological conquests in view. . . . Imperialism is trying to turn the wheel of history backwards, but its decline and end are inevitable, although it supports with bayonets such anti-popular regimes as that of the Luanda drunkards. . . ." The Luanda regime, attributing the rebellion to "the economic chaos resulting from unbridled capitalist exploitation by big foreign monopolies" and "political instability manifest in the constant ministerial reshuffles, and resulting in the poverty of the people," declared. "The Peoples' Republic of Angola reaffirms solemnly that it has nothing to do with the situation reigning in Shaba Province, on the border of our country, and in other provinces of Zaire, where forces of resistance to the regime of President Mobutu Sese Seko also exist. The information put out by the Zairean leaders to the effect that Cuban soldiers are alleged to be leading the Zairean rebel forces is nothing but pure speculation to provoke an escalation of the war and to lead the USA and other

Western powers to intervene more directly in the repression of the population of Zaire who are opposed to the dictatorial power of Kinshasa. What is going on in Shaba Province and in other provinces, is the result of the general discontent of the population of the Republic of Zaire. . . ."

Defining the problem through such global concepts as imperialism (with of course two, opposite self-convenient meanings) should mean, among other things, a notice by both sides that they don't intend to view the conflict in purely African categories.

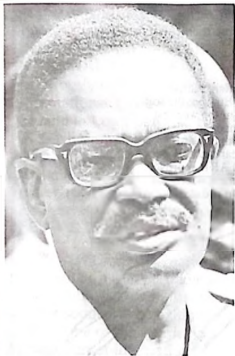
#### Implications

The implications of the rebellion and/or invasion (which term you prefer would depend on what side of Africa you stand) must be seen as more serious than a mere local affray.

The most obvious serious implication is the reminder to us that the West still attaches premium value to the strategic importance of Africa's heartland. In this regard, Africa must now be in a position to reconsider her open-door policy to the Carter regime. This man is more sly than Kissinger and more chauvinistic than McCarthy. In the light of his crafty manipulation of other Western powers to rush military aid to Zaire, the sinister meaning and interventionist promise of his Inaugural pledge that "Because we are free we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere" should be clearer to us all. What should be obvious to Africa's policy makers is the logistic and strategic relationship between this our new emphasis on a "frontline" and the security of our baseline. The baseline has never been under Africa's control.

A second implication is the persistence of the sorry spectacle of an Africa without a centre. As has so often been demonstrated by previous crises, caution and sloth of independent Africa is rallying to mediatory role in this crisis indicate that we still lack a responsive centre of initiative. If Africa is on fire today, we have no fire brigade headquarters.

Lastly, where do we draw the line between a rebellion, a revolution and an invasion—and by whom? Certainly, not the OAU or the tradeunionist cabal of African leaders. Maybe, as the history of coup d'etat in Africa shows, it is only success in every given case that will give a satisfactory answer to this problem. Before then, ex-Sergeant Mobutu can continue to fool Africa, like many other contemporary African clowns, that he stands for anybody or for anything.

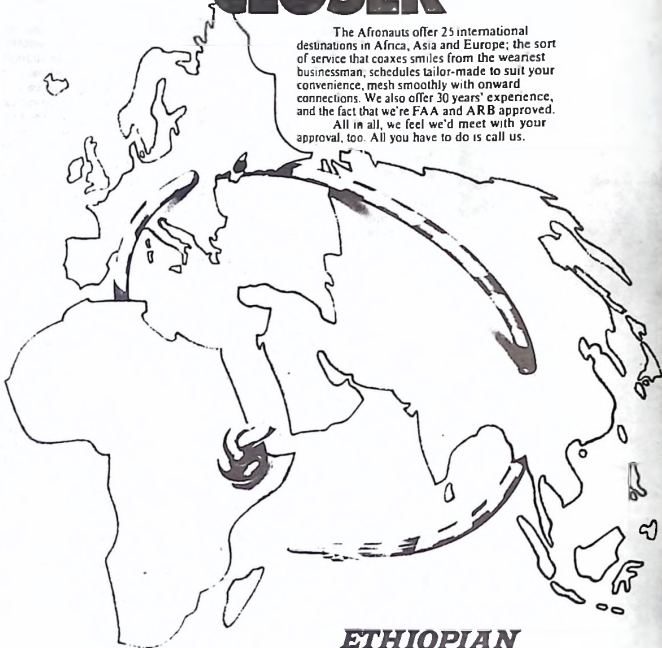


Above: Angola's Neto  
Below: President Carter of the U.S.  
Right: Belgium P.M. Leo Tindemans

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The 1st Lagos International Trade Fair will be a general trade fair where industrial as well as consumer goods will be exhibited. The theme of the Fair is the promotion of international understanding through trade.

Interested persons and organisations who wish to exhibit or participate in the Fair should write for the Regulations and Conditions of participation and Application Forms. All enquiries should be addressed to:-

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The late President Marien N'Gouabi

## Ngouabi's Assassination

By A Correspondent

A part of the official statement announcing the assassination of President Marien N'Gouabi calmly declared: "Therefore, taking into account the situation which prevails, the Central Committee of the PCT decided at its meeting today to delegate full powers to a military committee of the Party consisting of 11 members, whose task will be to prepare the state funeral, to manage state affairs and to ensure the defence and security of the people and of the Revolution—and this until new orders are issued." The announcement ended with the Revolution's battle cry—"Conquer or die. All for the people; nothing but for the people."

If such a peaceful bridging movement to a new regime, within the same set of values and within the same institutional framework that bound N'Gouabi's political order, is to be taken as a measure of the degree of institutionalization of Congo-B's marxist revolution under the late President's 8-year rule, then it must be admitted that the traditionally volatile politics of mini-state is now the proud beneficiary of an enviable legacy. The ruling Parti Congolais de Travail seems to be well

### AFRICA NOW

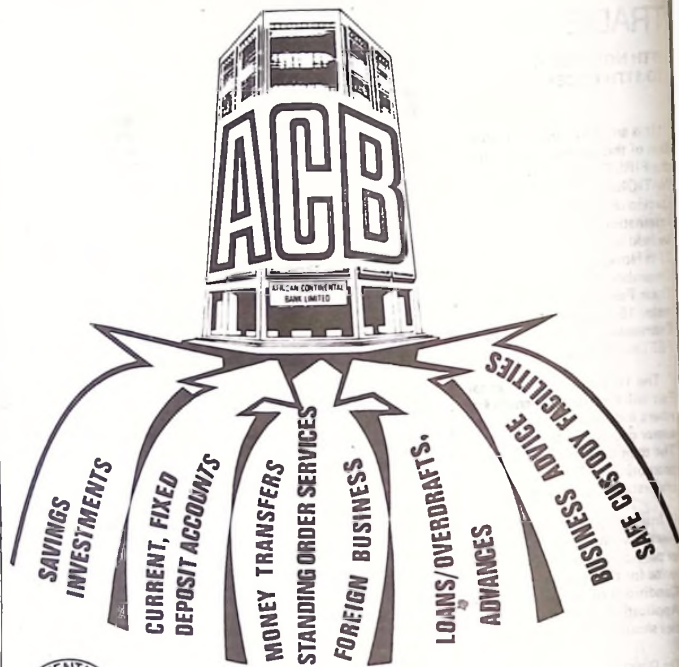
established, at least in terms of a nationwide structure. The Bureau of Mass Organs continues with minimal disruption to perform the task of public enlightenment and national integration. The only suggestion of the possibility of a violent and non-peaceful succession was the assassination of a Cardinal.

#### A Smooth Transition

Few countries, even those still under civilian politics, could boast of such a smooth transition in such circumstances. The obvious implication is that eight years of verbal radicalism, as N'Gouabi's detractors like to describe his style and performance, has robbed off more than the cosmetics of ideological rhetoric on to the political and social system of Congo-B. It is true that in a highly urbanized and poor community like Congo, revolution has always been in the air and the promise of a socialist millennium has since the rule of Massemba-Debat entered the national psyche as a dominant strand of the post-independence political outlook. It is, however, equally true that it required the bayonet courage and survival instincts of N'Gouabi to fully articulate the national wish and try to mould it along a specific direction. One may be puzzled by his hop-and-step approach to the Marxist-Leninist direction, but one cannot question the fact that from this orientation and outlook have flown in the course of nine years a myriad of institutions and structures to undergird the ideology. It is also a credit to N'Gouabi, and a worthwhile legacy to the politics of Congo-B, that in spite of an increasingly stringent proselytization of scientific socialism, N'Gouabi remained loyal to his African roots. His constructive role in interstate disputes and his willingness to uphold the cause of African unity above any other causes is a little-known but important aspect of N'Gouabi's ideological outlook.

Whether these legacies will endure is difficult to forecast. A major institutional constraint to the growth of civil institutions—although at the beginning it was an asset—is the army. The purges and rehabilitations and organisational changes of the last five years do indicate that, beneath the superstructure of Marxist-modelled civilian institutions, seems to be the hard fact that ultimate power lies in the barrels in the barracks. Quite a paradox in a people's republic. From the composition of the military committee of eleven, the fact still remains that the PCT does not seem to have an independent existence outside the military.

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# Africa's Security System

By Thomas Akhigbe Imobighe

Ever since their independence, most African States have continued to record upward trend in the numbers of their armed forces. The gross increase of the armed forces of independent African States from the mid-sixties up to the present time is well over fifty per cent. In some countries that have experienced some emergencies, like Nigeria, the number is much higher if not doubled. However, it is rather unfortunate that this increase in armed forces of independent African countries has not been matched by the amount of security the Continent enjoys.

On a general basis, the security of independent African States is even more threatened these days than in the early days of their independence. May be this is partly due to the more assertive foreign policy of a number of these States. It should be noted, however, that it is not in all cases where external intervention has taken place that assertiveness in foreign policy is evident.

In any case, the fact that cannot be denied is that incidents of external intervention, for whatever reasons they may have occurred, have increased in recent times. For instance, mercenary intervention is more widely spread and more frequent than it was in the early days of independence. Indeed, in the early sixties, the Congo (now Zaire) seemed to be the only theatre of mercenary activities in Africa. But recently, especially since the early seventies, a number of African States have experienced one form of mercenary intervention or the other. The January 16 attempted invasion of Cotonou is the last episode in the mercenary attempt to cause unrest in Africa.

A number of African States have also experienced other forms of external violations of their territories. For instance in November 1970, the Portuguese attempted a sea-board invasion of Guinea with some 350 to 400 men, according to the estimate of the United Nations' investigating team. The Israeli raid on Entebbe Airport on July 4, 1976 and the several violations of the Entebbe episode and a number of racist attacks on border villages of



President Mathieu Kerekou—the latest victim of mercenary attack.

their neighbouring states most of these invasion attempts have been effectively repulsed. But it is subject to question whether these successes have not been due more to the bravery of the soldiers concerned than to the presence of some contingency plans to deal with such limited operations. A closer look at the defence systems of a number of African States will show that there has not been plans to meet with such contingencies.

It is indeed difficult to find at the moment an African State with an effective strategic mobile force with readily available transport aircraft and paratroop regiment that could be deployed at a moment's notice to areas where disturbances of the type highlighted here take place. The success of any limited operation against imperialist aggression will depend not so much on the bravery of our soldiers as to our ability to airlift them to a trouble spot which could be a considerable distance away. Without a mobile force of this kind, the repulsion of the invaders could only be done after much harm had been done. At the moment, it is sheer luck that most of these attempted invasions had taken place in the capitals

where troops are more or less handy to deal with the situation.

It is possible to reduce the problems facing the security systems of African States to a single denominator: the lack of proper definition of strategic goals territories of some independent African States by the racist forces, as well as the reports of externally-motivated coup attempts especially in Sudan, are further testimonies of the relative insecurity of a number of independent African States. Needless to talk of the relative ease with which spies move in and out of the Continent undetected.

The manner in which these violations take place tends to put a question mark on the security systems of African States. It might be said that not all these attempted violations of independent African States have been successful. For instance, the November 1970 attempt on Guinea was successfully repulsed. So was the recent raid on Cotonou and perhaps the mercenary-led coup attempts against President Nimeiri of Sudan. But the fact that these invasion attempts took place at all is enough to cast doubt on the credibility of the defence systems of African States.

It is quite correct that apart from —beyond the vague form of defending the affected territory against external aggression and internal sabotage. Thus a number of African defence systems are actually structured to meet the needs of strategic environments different from those of the countries for which they are meant. This has often led to great waste, for often procurement is done for the wrong type of campaign, training undertaken for the wrong type of emergency, advice sought from the wrong type of people, and alliance undertaken with the wrong type of partners.

Africa's security systems ought to be structured in a way to enable them respond to problems that are peculiar to Africa: such as apartheid in Southern Africa, mercenary activities in Africa, imperialist sporadic violation of African



Guinea's President Sekou Toure: What hope for a new security system?



Field Marshal Idi Amin of Uganda.

territories, border clashes and civil unrest. Unfortunately, these problems are hardly given the prime place they deserve in the strategic planning of most African States. If they enter into the reckoning of African defence planners at all, it has not yet been shown in the type of training our soldiers receive, neither has it been shown in the defence partnership we make.

Strategic deployment is essentially subjective and usually specialised. It is normally a reflection of the security problems facing the country concerned. In Western Europe, for instance, their whole strategic deployment and thinking are predicated on the need to deter Soviet Communist threat and the need to defend their investments abroad. Hence their training programme is concentrated on the study of the various options open to the Soviet Union and the way they will meet the Soviet threat at the various levels. In addition they make provisions for limited action against any country that might undermine their investment interests. The Soviet Union does the same thing to protect itself and its worldwide interests. What is important to emphasise is that the threat posed by apartheid and mercenaries to Africa never enters the strategic reckoning of these powers. Discussion or partnership with African States on these purely African problems can only be limited to the political level, never carried to the strategic level.

#### Unviable Partnerships

It is thus obvious that defence partnership with these foreign colonisers cannot solve Africa's strategic problems. Of course, such defence partnership might solve, for a while, the survival problem of a degenerate ruling class, but not their countries' strategic problems. African States will, no doubt,

gain more by joint Staff conversations on regional, if not on continental, basis than by bilateral military alliances with the big powers which do not share their strategic aspirations.

If Africa's security systems have failed to provide the security the Continent deserves, it is mainly due to the fact that our efforts have been directed to the wrong strategic milieu. This explains the presence of many foreign military experts among the cadre of Africa's defence planners. This explains the defence partnership between a number of African States and the very powers which aid and abet apartheid and recruit mercenaries to sabotage the independence of African States. This explains the employment of foreigners who do not share the same strategic aspirations with Africa to supervise military installations in a number of African States.

If Africa's security systems have failed her, it is because they are nothing more than facade of defence systems which are more foreign than African in making. The repercussion is the type of sporadic military incursion into Africa which the Continent is experien-

cing today. For instance, the mercenaries who held Mobutu's forces to ransom for months in 1967 were the same men who had helped the central Government to Moise Tshombe against the Lumumbist revolt in the Kasai region in 1964. Also the Israeli feat at Entebbe Airport on July 4, 1976 was only possible because Israeli experts actually supervised the installation in the airport. So they had an up-to-date information about the position of the airport. Even in the January 16 attempted invasion of Cotonou, it has been reported that some of the captured mercenaries speak with Parisien accent. It will therefore not be surprising to find that the men who directed the operation had actually worked in Dahomey (former name of Benin Republic) in the distant past, perhaps under the French mutual facilities and defence agreements with the former rulers of that country.

As long as African States take foreigners into confidence in their strategic planning, nobody should be surprised at the effectiveness of their strikes when we displease them with our policies.

## Who Are The Progressives?

By Mdogo Wako

When Major-General Idi Amin carried out his coup against Milton Obote, he was assisted by some Israelis and some Englishmen. He came close to closing down all Soviet Union projects

in Uganda and throwing out the Soviet representatives. Instead, thanks to his later friendship with Colonel Gaddafi of Libya, he threw out the Israelis, the British left, except for some like Bob Astles, who know which side their bloody bread is buttered; the Soviet Union is a strong presence in Uganda; and the Arab states are well represented in the country, especially Libya. This apparent turnabout is no improvement for Uganda and the Ugandans.

In their foreign dealings, states tend to follow what their rulers think is their own political and economic interests. Ideology, real or imagined, is of hardly any practical consequence in government-to-government dealings. The Soviet Union rulers were willing to condemn the fascism of the Chilean junta and to break off diplomatic relations with Chile, but they are not willing to do so in the case of Uganda. The main reason for this is that they are watching the Chinese in Tanzania and the Americans in Kenya; also, they have economic interests in Uganda, including supplying Amin with arms to massacre the people of Uganda. Their response to the recent outcry



Ethiopia's Mengistu Haile Mariam.

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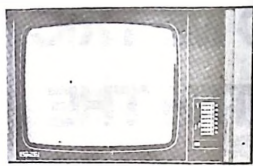
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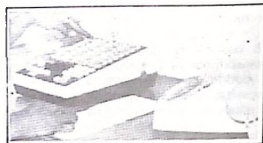
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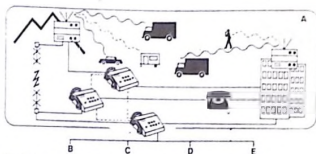


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over the butchering of Ugandans with their arms was merely to say that America tends to condemn "progressive regimes" in Africa. Thus Amin's regime is given the label of "progressive" which is its licence to kill, while Pinochet's regime is labelled "fascist," and therefore can be condemned for the slaughter and brutalizing of its citizens.

What is "progressive?" This word has nothing to do with "humane" or "egalitarian." Some ideologue may decide that in order to build up a socialist system, a country must inevitably go through a fascist phase. Thus the fascist brutes who comes into power becomes a "progressive" figure: in Maoist terms, he is helping propel history forward. The rulers of the Soviet Union may decide that to further the cause of socialism, it is necessary to sacrifice all the black people of the world. Then mass-extirpation of the black people would be "progressive." Unlikely? In the thirties, Stalin condemned jazz as decadent, bourgeois music, and all "progressive" black Americans were called upon to abandon jazz. We know today that jazz is primarily a creation of black people, struggling to survive an alienating experience.

#### Many Labels, Many Interests

Do we turn to China instead as the true representatives of socialism? Do we agree with Chinese rulers that the Soviet leaders are revisionists? After the murder of Allende, China immedi-

tely recognized the new junta and asked Allende's ambassador to China to leave. The reason: China never believed that socialism could come about in Chile through the democratic regime of Allende. We have yet to hear China condemn Field Marshall Idi Amin, after the early extraordinary days when Amin accused them of being behind the uprisings in three Ugandan military barracks and put on public display the body of a "Chinese colonel," which was really the body of a Tanzanian. The rulers of China want to compete with the Soviet Union. They will not rock the boat for Amin, not over such a silly reason as the murder of 300,000 Ugandans, although they have had good relations with Tanzania for over a decade. How can they condemn another fraternal Third-World country?

Turning to Libya, we find the same manufacture of phrase-making to justify genocide in Uganda. This time, instead of "historically progressive," we move outside history: we have "God." God has decided, it appears that Islam is to be dominant in Uganda, so Amin can be given all military help from Libya to kill off the Christians. Perhaps to the Libyan rulers, the disease of Zionism can be wiped out by killing off all its unconscious carriers: the Ugandans who are Christians. Amin is quite happy to play along. The death sentence in Uganda is usually announced by the statement that A, B or C is a Zionist or imperialist agent.

Instead of death by murder, we now see death by label. The Ethiopian junta decided to exterminate the embarrasingly idealistic students. So it calls them "fascist." Then it can wipe them out without expecting a murmur of protest by Africans outside. Since America is capitalist and imperialist, any African leader condemned by the American President must automatically be defended by black people.

Amin's continual shouting against imperialism and Zionism has apparently given the Cuban leaders the excuse for sending in Cuban personnel to train Amin's military murderers. The Cuban leaders are opposed to the fascist Chilean junta, of course. One of these days Pinochet may rise up. Instead of shouting against Marxism, he should begin shouting against imperialism and Zionism. Then he can continue killing "Marxists" and the masses with impunity while his Third World brothers rally to support him, including the Cuban leaders. Castro's Cuba has always had diplomatic relations with Franco's Spain. . .

Africans were once killed or enslaved with the excuse that they were "pagans" and "savages." Now they can be killed on the grounds that it is historically progressive or that God wants it that way. Africans freed from slavery can be re-enslaved. All that is required is that the right words be used. When will Africans come out with their own self-definitions? When will Africans place value on African life?



Libya's Gaddafi

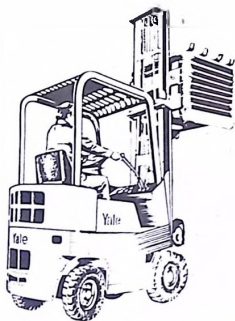


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## THE PAN-AFRICAN TELECOMMUNICATIONS NETWORK (PANAFTEL) —

# The Search For Intra-African Communications

## \*Our London Correspondent.

Until recently much of Africa's telegraph and telephone communications, like its road, rail and air transport systems, were an unintegrated and illogical collection of national sub-systems which only made sense when related to their respective metropolitan colonial systems of communications. It is against this background that the Pan-African Telecommunications, PANAFTEL, was conceived as a means of closing the communications gaps between African States. It is a system of national and international telephone and telegraph links between African States.

The history of its development dates back to 1962 when the African Plan Sub-Committee met for the first time in Dakar, Senegal, under the auspices of the International Telecommunications Union, ITU. The 115 delegates representing twenty six African countries drew up, on the basis of five-year traffic forecasts, a coherent plan of telephone and telegraph links between African countries and between the African continent and other continents. The colonial circumstances in which African national telecommunications developed in isolation could hardly be said to meet the basic needs of the continent. In the past, the main concern was the provision of administrative and commercial links between individual African countries and the metropolitan powers on which they depended politically. The development of internal networks and their inter-connection with neighbouring states was of secondary interest.

In many cases a telegram or a telephone call from one African country to another had to pass through one (and sometimes two) major European centres, even when the two African countries were next door to each other. The Dakar Plan envisaged the establishment of direct links between African countries without passing through centres outside Africa and the replacement of numerous high frequency radio links by overhead wire carrier links, underground or submarine cables and radio-relay links.

The Dakar Meeting was followed by another one in 1967 held at Addis Ababa. Attended by 34 African countries, representatives of twenty industrial companies and the industrialized nations, this Meeting established a Committee which, among other things, established traffic forecasts for 1970 and 1975, considered the use of earth satellite stations and their siting, and adopted resolutions for co-ordinating the efforts of all the African governments with a view to the rapid execution of the telecommunications network plan. Another Meeting held in Lagos in 1971 reviewed the Addis Ababa Plan. Based upon its directives, the ITU submitted a request for assistance to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to enable a preinvestment survey to be made of the

African network. Two teams of experts recruited by ITU began a preliminary study covering 38 African countries which had officially expressed their support for the project. These countries represented 87 per cent of the African population and 85 per cent of the area of the continent. The experts collected data on existing national and intercontinental networks and on the economies of these countries as well as other technical data. The information gathered made it possible to work out by computer traffic forecasts up to 1990 and to pick out the routes which would constitute the framework and the most economical structure of Panafitel.

## The Final Phase

On completion of this survey, the UNDP, at the request of ITU, agreed to grant the necessary credits (US\$2,057,000) for detailed technical, economic and financial studies of the transmission arteries and switching centres to be installed. The studies involved the selection of a common regional signalling system, linking eighteen international switching centres over 20,000 km. of transmission arteries, and the adoption of tariffs and methods of calculating revenue valid for the



whole continent. The final report of these studies was submitted to the OAU Ministerial Council in 1973. In a four-point resolution, the Council endorsed the establishment of an Investment Fund to be used for financing the Panafel project.

A Co-ordinating Committee was set up to promote the financing of the project. This Committee consisted of the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, the Executive Secretary of the ECA, the President of the African Development Bank and the Secretary-General of the ITU. The ITU was made responsible for co-ordinating the technical aspects of the project while the ADB was to look after the financial aspects of it. Thus the Panafel entered upon the final phase of implementation and, on its completion, Africa should have before the end of this decade, a modern continental telecommunications network in which the total scheduled investments exceed US\$150 million at 1974 prices.

Funds for the project were provided by the World Bank, the African Development Bank, the Arab Bank for the Development of Africa, (Khartoum), the Arab Fund for Technical Assistance (Cairo) and from friendly countries. The current phase of Panafel is only one step from the creation of an intra-African communications system. Of course, its future success will probably require regular meetings between the African telecommunications administrations and responsible engineers, to examine the progress achieved, and take the necessary action concerning tariffs, staff, technical facilities and future development. From both a political and technical point of view, the Pan African Telecommunications Network represents an important example of international co-operation between African States and international agencies such as the ITU, UNDP and world financial institutions. The Network has a great potential for uniting African countries more closely, and by facilitating communications with other continents can provide an essential ingredient for the economic development of the African continent.

#### Communication Facilities

Satellite telecommunications promises to revolutionise all our concepts of communications transmission and reception. Already twenty four countries in Africa have installed earth satellite stations which enable them to communicate with many of the 91 member nations of the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization INTELSAT. With a system of seven

operational and back-up satellites orbiting the earth at an altitude of 22,300 miles above the earth, these satellites act somewhat like air-borne telephone exchanges, transmitting and receiving and relaying telephone, telex and television messages by the thousands simultaneously. In addition to these remarkable achievements in satellite communications, two African States, Algeria and Nigeria have established their own domestic satellite communications systems. By leasing a special transponder aboard the Intelsat satellite, they are able to set up a nationwide system of earth stations which receive and relay a wide range of communications transmissions. The day is not far off when almost every little town would be able to install its own portable earth satellite station for telephone and television communications with the outside world.

However, it must be clear to our communications administrations that

the time has come for them to stop blaming all their technical difficulties on colonial administrators. Two or three decades of political and administrative independence should be enough to train dedicated Africans to operate and maintain our communications facilities. It is simply not good enough to install expensive modern equipment and expect the public to continue to pay regularly for telephones which only serve as decorations. And if telecommunications administrations cannot provide the public with efficient and reliable telecommunications facilities, then it is about time that our governments allowed private industry to compete fairly with public agencies to improve such services. To my way of thinking, there is nothing sacred about the provision by commercial organizations of such services to the public if they are properly regulated by government.

## Africa's Brain Drain

By Raf A. Okorogo

Once again, we delve into an age-old problem that has faced mankind throughout history and which, of recent years, has remained dormant. Statistics show that most of Africa's learned men are currently residing in countries all over the globe. The exact number cannot be known, because the governments concerned have lost track of some of them. But if we accept some estimates made to be valid, that about 80,000 Africans are in executive positions, heads of departments, top professional positions, and the like all over Europe, Asia, and America. Sixty per cent of the above figure are in America in self-imposed or forced exiles. This is a staggering figure. Right. But it's more true than false. Why has the United States more than any of the other countries combined, drawn these exiles, one may ask. This is the proverbial land of great opportunity, the Biblical land, flowing with milk and honey (I wish it were so). Many of these brains have been here since the mid-fifties. The U.S.A. has a lot more to offer in terms of material things, and is much more advanced in technology. Technology that has produced things which make life "easier." If by easier one accepts the concept of owning and using an electric toothbrush (for example) as making life easier. It is an undisputable fact that when anybody of any race, or colour

has improved himself studying and has won academic laurels, that person would not like to live a peasant's life anymore. This does not mean to say that all Africans live peasantry-life. To some of these 'exiles,' not owning a colour T.V. constitutes a hardship of life.

"What do you think I will do in the midst of my shower, or having shaved half of my face with my electric shaver, and bang—the power goes off?" asked one of them.

So it is to be seen that these "Academics" as we call them in Nigeria, prefer to live the Western way they have grown accustomed to. Like driving their custom-built, expensive cars on the highly macadamized freeways; or taking jobs in the top floors of skyscrapers so they could have a view of the world—if possible; or owning colour television sets with remote controls so they don't have to walk up to the TV set to tune it; or owning and using electric toothbrushes that will help them not strain their hands when brushing their teeth; or using a microwave oven where you cook by dialing as if you are making a phone call from a push button telephone.

A few years ago, ordinary black and white television was not allowed in some parts of Africa. The roads are yet to be called 'super-highways.' As a mark of courtesy or subordination, one should not own a more expensive



Some African Students in the U.S.: will they ever come home?

car than the one his head of state rides in.

To some, it is not really a question of material gains—being patriotic, they want to return home. But the grudge they hold against their countries won't let them budge. In most countries of Africa, oil is booming up from the ground, or some other coveted mineral yields great wealth to some. But these revenues—or most of them—are channelled into personal Swiss bank accounts. One of these "exiles" said: "I could not get a government aid to study. So I did my whole studies in a solo effort. Now if my government wants me back, they should compensate me to forget those dark years I went through." Can you really blame him?

#### Training Does Not Match Demand

Above all, African nations are still developing. Which means that most nations of Africa would not be able to pay the salaries of these Ph.D.'s. As a practical example:

Some years ago, a Nigerian who went overseas in the thirties came

back to Nigeria after having been a super-medical doctor. The government offered him a job immediately, but he denied it, saying that an ordinary company overseas could pay him that salary. The government offered thrice over. The next thing he did was fly back to overseas. Thousands of Africans are in this category. African nations need more of general practitioners and less specialised ones. But doctors who continue training in America are undoubtedly likely to get into speciality areas for which African nations as yet have little need of. Before they (the doctors) discover what's going on, it's too late to return home. Though highly qualified, they are not needed.

In other professions, the story differs. Professors and lecturers here in America are helped by computers—at least in grading papers. When Africans in such positions here think of going back home and grading their students' papers by hand—which, in most cases, will call for many sleepless nights—they say: "Forget it. I am staying here."

Between the United States and African nations, the one that can really help to solve this problem is the United States. This, by expanding its efforts in the field of foreign aid—without strings attached anyway. For it will do no good for an African nation to be given, say \$2 million, in agricultural aid and then be told that it is on condition they buy all agricultural equipment from American companies. Subsequently, the equipment is so complicated that it would require engineers from the States to fix everything. When it comes to a choice between United States trained African engineers still residing in America and American engineers, the odds are that the American engineers will be sent with such equipment. Hence, African engineers, scientists, doctors, and what have you stay put in the United States.

#### The Toll

Most people reading this article would say: What's the extent of the "Brain Drain?" How many Africans are involved? The following figures would shed a little bit of light on the issue.

In a nine-year period—June 30, 1965 to 1974—the number of non-immigrants admitted into the U.S. from Africa was 504,046. Of this figure the question is, how many will go back at the end of whatever business that brought them here. This number excludes the 8,966 immigrants as of June 30, 1974 admitted into the United States; 6,182 of the 8,966 were males and 2,784 females.

Of these figures 2,851 of the males were between the ages of 19–49 years. In any culture or nation, this age group represents the work force. And 2,209 of the females' figure were between the same ages of 19–49.

All these figures exclude border crossers, crewmen and insular travellers. As there is no way for me to assemble and compute the figures of immigrants or non-immigrants to the U.S. by land, I leave the final computation of what the grand total would look like to the imagination of the reader. Whatever the grand total might be right now, it might be of interest to see how the figures grew. In the year 1820 there was (1) one immigrant from Africa to the U.S. Between 1821–1830 the number rose to sixteen people. And so the figure continued to rise that between 1966 and 1970—it took a running leap to 19,323.

*\*All figures taken from Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice.*

# If you've never owned a Caterpillar Lift Truck, how do you know you have the best?

## Get the facts from Cat.

If you change to Caterpillar, you can get more production, less downtime and greater value from your lift trucks.

For instance 16 Caterpillar M-Series electric lift trucks averaged no less than 97.2% availability during 31,699 service hours. That's a fact.

Before you bought Caterpillar, you'd want more proof, of course. But just consider the broad facts that back our specific claims.

**Experience:** Caterpillar's own 50 years reputation in machinery building combined with its acquisition of lift truck pioneer, Townmotor, puts a wealth of rugged knowledge behind the current range.

**Quality:** From pioneering towing trucks in 1919, and introducing one of the first conventional lift trucks in 1933, Caterpillar now manufactures in 11 countries in 19 plants that includes an all new lift truck facility where one out of every 7 men on the production line is devoted solely to quality control.



**Engineering:** Through heavy investment in research, development and engineering, the company now employs over 4,000 scientists and technicians in research alone to produce trucks that work better, handle easier, last longer.

**Product Support:** With 23 major parts depots, and 900 service outlets all computer-linked in 120 countries, Caterpillar's local dealer network can keep lift trucks working at peak performance throughout the world.

**Range:** To cover almost every conceivable materials handling task, Caterpillar offers 46 different models from 2,000 to 60,000 (1,000 to 27,300 kg) with a choice of cushion or pneumatic tyres and diesel, petrol, electric or LP Gas power.

If your trucks don't have the same pedigree, they're probably costing you productivity—and money.

Put it right by calling your Cat Dealer now.



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Ghana: Tractor & Equipment Division of UAC of Ghana Ltd. P.O. Box 5207, Accra-North, Tel: 21900 Branch: Kumasi Tel: 3307

Nigeria: Tractor & Equipment Division, The United Africa Company of Nigeria Ltd. PMB 1015, Ebute Metta, Lagos, Tel: 43310

Branches: Kaduna Tel: 43121, Port Harcourt Tel: 21627, Kano Tel: 519, Warri Tel: 287

Sierra Leone: Tractor & Equipment, Division of UAC of Sierra Leone Ltd. P.O. Box 127, Freetown, Tel: 2807

Liberia: Liberia Tractor & Equipment Co., P.O. Box 299, Monrovia, Tel: 22279

**VACANCIES FOR ARCHITECTS, STRUCTURAL ENGINEERS,  
ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS, MECHANICAL ENGINEERS  
AND QUANTITY SURVEYORS IN THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF HEALTH**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified and experienced candidates for appointment to the following posts in Federal Ministry of Health:—

**POST AND SALARY:**

(i) Chief Architect	Grade Level 14 ₦8,868 x ₦320	— ₦9,828
(ii) Principal Architect	Grade Level 12 ₦7,104 x ₦216	— ₦7,752
(iii) Senior Architect	Grade Level 10 ₦5,160 x ₦162	— ₦6,452
(iv) Principal Structural Engineer	Grade Level 12 ₦7,104 x ₦216	— ₦7,752
(v) Senior Structural Engineer Mechanical	Grade Level 10 ₦5,460 x ₦162	— ₦6,452
(vi) Principal Electrical/Mechanical Engineer	Grade Level 12 ₦7,104 x ₦216	— ₦7,752
(vii) Senior Electrical/Mechanical Engineer	Grade Level 10 ₦5,460 x ₦162	— ₦6,452
(viii) Principal Quantity Surveyor	Grade Level 12 ₦7,104 x ₦216	— ₦7,752

**2. QUALIFICATIONS**

(i), (ii) & (iii) A University degree or diploma in Architecture or its equivalent from a recognised institution plus not less than ten, six and four years post qualification practical experiences respectively; (iv) & (v) A University degree or its equivalent in Structural Engineering registrable with the Council or Registered Engineers of Nigeria plus six and four years post qualification experience respectively; (vi) & (vii) A University degree or its equivalent qualification in Electrical/Mechanical Engineering registrable with the Council of Registered Engineers of Nigeria plus six and four years post qualification experience respectively; (viii) A university degree or equivalent in Quantity Surveying or Associate Membership of the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors plus not less than six years post qualification experience in the preparation of bills of quantities.

**3. DUTIES**

(i)–(iii) Preparation of sketch plans, working drawings and specifications for various types of building projects. Supervision of building works undertaken by contract and direct labour and other connected duties as may be assigned by the Permanent Secretary from time to time;  
(iv) & (v) Design of building structures whether in steel reinforced, concrete or other materials and supervision of structural works being undertaken by contract or direct labour;  
(vi) & (vii) Design work installation, maintenance and supervision of electrical/mechanical works connected with the Federal Ministry of Health's projects and installations and maintenance of the Ministry's plants and vehicles;  
(viii) Estimating, preparation of bills of quantities for all types of buildings, preparation of schedules contract documents, and work measurement for the preparation of interim payment and final account. Negotiating contracts with contractors.

**4. CONDITIONS OF SERVICE**

Nigerians are appointable on permanent and pensionable terms. New entrants to the public service will be on probation for two years. Expatriate are appointable on contract terms for two tours in the first instance with the prospects of renewals by mutual consent. Selected candidates are eligible for free passage for self, wife and children not exceeding two adult fares as well as for free medical treatment. Successful candidates have to pay rent at the rate of 8 1/3% of basic salary subject to a maximum of ₦300.00 p.a. when they occupy government quarters. Contract officers are eligible for 10% contract addition plus gratuity at the rate of ₦75.00 for each completed period of three months of satisfactory service.

**5. METHOD OF APPLICATION**

Application forms are obtainable from the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, P.M.B. 12586, Lagos, State Public Service Commissions or Nigerians Missions abroad;

Candidates not in government service should forward their application in duplicate on the prescribed forms, those in the Federal or State Public Services should submit theirs in writing through their Heads of Department and the Secretary to the relevant Public Service Commission who would forward the applications with copies of the annual performance appraisal forms for the past three years.

All applications should reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Lagos not later than 30th April, 1977.

**FEDERAL MINISTRY OF LABOUR  
VACANCIES IN THE POSTS OF ASST. REGISTRARS  
OF TRADE UNIONS GRADE I AND II**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified and experienced candidates for appointments as Assistant Registrars of Trade Unions Grade I and II in the Trade Union Registry of the Federal Ministry of Labour.

**QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE**

**(i) Assistant Registrar of Trade Unions Grade I**

A degree in any of the Social Sciences with a minimum of two years experience in Labour Administration in a Government Department or Corporation, or in Industrial Relations or Personnel Department in Industry. Some experience in the Trade Union Movement will be an advantage.

**(ii) Assistant Registrar of Trade Unions Grade II**

A degree in any of the Social Sciences. Experience in the Trade Union Movement will be an advantage.

**DUTIES**

(i) Generally to assist the Registrar of Trade Unions, as he may authorise whether generally or specifically, in the Administration of Trade Unions Decree No. 31 of 1973, with regard to anything which is required or authorised to be done by him under the Decree.

(ii) To provide advice to Trade Unions, their Officers and their members in the proper conduct of their affairs as required by the Trade Unions Decree and the provisions of their constitution.

**SALARY**

(i) Assistant Registrar of Trade Unions, Grade I Salary Grade Level 09 (N4,368—N5,340)

(ii) Assistant Registrar of Trade Unions, Grade II Salary Grade Level 08 (N3,264—N4,164)

**CONDITION OF SERVICE**

The post is pensionable and in the case of new entrants into the Federal Public Service, appointments will normally be on probation for 2 years. Other conditions of service will be as prescribed for officers of equivalent grades in the Federal Public Service.

**METHOD OF APPLICATION**

Applications from candidates not in any Government Services should be forwarded in duplicate. Applications from candidates in the Government Services should be submitted through their respective Heads of Departments and if the applicant is in a Public Service other than that of the Federal Government of Nigeria, the application should be submitted through the appropriate Public Service Commission and be accompanied by copies of Confidential Reports for the last three years. It will be appreciated if a covering letter can be sent containing any special comments that may be of value in assessing the candidate's suitability for the post. All applications should be sent to the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, P.M.B. 12586, Lagos, Nigeria.

**CLOSING DATE**

All applications should reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, P.M.B. 12586, Lagos, Nigeria, not later than 16th May, 1977.

## FEDERAL MINISTRY OF HEALTH

### FEDERAL SCHOOL OF MEDICAL LABORATORY TECHNOLOGY, LAGOS VACANCIES FOR LECTURERS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the following posts in the Federal School of Medical Laboratory Technology, Lagos.

- (a) Senior Medical Lab. Technologists (Instructors)
- (b) Medical Lab. Technologists (I) (Instructors)
- (c) Medical Lab. Technologists (II) (Instructors)

#### QUALIFICATIONS

Candidates must be either A.I.M.L.T. or F.I.M.L.T. or possess an equivalent qualification registrable with the Institute of Medical Lab. Technology of Nigeria. Previous experience in training student Medical Laboratory Technologists and Tutor's diploma will be an advantage.

In addition to the above conditions, candidates for (a) above must be F.I.M.L.T. or Master degree holders with not less than 5 years professional experience or A.I.M.L.T./equivalent qualification with at least 7 years experience.

For (b) candidate with A.I.M.L.T./equivalent qualification must have at least 3 years experience in Medical Laboratory.

#### SALARY

- (a) Grade Level 10 (₦5,460 - ₦6,432)
- (b) Grade Level 09 (₦4,368 - ₦5,340)
- (c) Grade Level 08 (₦3,216 - ₦4,164)

In addition, there will be a lecture allowance of ₦480.00 per annum.

#### DUTIES

Successful candidates will be engaged in full time lectures and practical demonstrations to Student Medical Laboratory Technologists leading to the Parts I(b) and II(b) examinations of the Institute of Medical Laboratory Technology of Nigeria depending on qualification and experience.

#### CONDITION OF SERVICE

The post is pensionable with other conditions applicable in the Federal Public Service.

#### METHOD OF APPLICATION SHOULD BE

- (i) Application forms are obtainable from the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, P.M.B. 12586, Lagos, State Public Service Commissions or Nigerian Missions abroad;
- (ii) Candidates not in government service should forward their application in duplicate on the prescribed forms, those in the Federal or State Public Services should submit theirs in writing through their Heads of Department and the Secretary to the relevant Public Service Commission who would forward the applications with copies of the Annual Performance appraisal forms for the past three years.

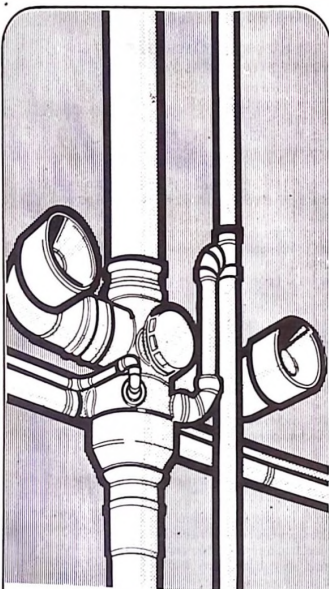
#### CLOSING DATE

All applications should reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission not later than 30th April, 1977.

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### MINISTRY OF DEFENCE TENDER FOR SUPPLY OF GENERAL STORES TO THE NIGERIAN ARMY: 1977/78 FINANCIAL YEAR

1. Tenders are invited for the supply of the following General Stores to the Nigerian Army:
  - (a) Furniture
  - (b) Curtain Materials
  - (c) Blankets
  - (d) Beddings
  - (e) Foot and Body Powder
  - (f) Paints
  - (g) Mosquito Nets
  - (h) Towels horse
2. Copies of approved Tender Forms may be obtained from the receptionists on the ground floor of the Ministry of Defence, Republic Building, Marina, Lagos and from the Commanding Officers Base Ordnance Depots, Yaba, Kaduna, Ibadan, Jos and Ordnance Depot Enugu between 0900 hours and 1330 hours daily except Saturday, Sunday and public holidays.
3. Tender schedules containing full details and other useful information will be issued together with the Tender Forms.
4. Official Tender Forms will be issued only on production of the original and two photo



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And now for the first time, Marley the internationally reputed makers of the best Drainage pipes and Sanitary pipeworks are in Nigeria to take care of all your plumbing and drainage problems.

Marley pipes are tough and durable. Easy to instal and far more economical. With a wide range of fittings to satisfy any installation.

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Special Products Division, The West African Portland Cement Co. Ltd., 25, Boyle Street, P.O. Box 1001, Lagos. Telephone 26151/4. 24458 Telex 21299

copies of the Treasury receipt. The two photo copies will be retained by the office issuing the Tender Forms and the original returned to the Tenderers.

5. Tenderers are required to pay a non-refundable deposit of N100 (One hundred naira) into any sub-treasury in Nigeria under Head II Sub Head II of the current Federal Military Government estimates.

6. Tenderers are required to:

- Indicate in the Tender schedule whether the item/items offered are locally manufactured or imported. If imported, country of origin should be stated in the column provided on the Tender schedule.
- Specify delivery period on the Tender Form.

7. Samples of items to be supplied are available for viewing at Base Ordnance Deposits Murtala Mohammed Way, Yaba, Kaduna, Ibadan, Jos and Ordnance Depot Enugu.

8. Tenders will not be accepted unless submitted on the approved official Tender Forms to which the original Treasury receipt should be attached and endorsed in a sealed envelope marked "Confidential Tender for supply of..... the Nigerian Army (indicate specifically which of the items advertised you intend to supply) and addressed to the Secretary Armed Forces Tenders Board, Ministry of Defence, Private Mail Bag 12590, Republic Building, Marina, Lagos and deposited personally or through an agent in the official Tender Box in room 111, Ministry of Defence, Lagos not later than 0900 hours on 31st May, 1977. Tenders sent through registered post are also accepted provided these are received before closing date.

9. The Armed Forces Tenders Board is not bound to accept the lowest quotation or any tender

**PERMANENT SECRETARY  
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE**

# Growth of Nigeria's Assembly Industry

By A Correspondent

Most of Nigeria's economic activities are yet to leave the realm of labour-intensive considerations to the Capital World of the industrialised countries. This is because, peopled by an illiterate and non-skilled majority, economics demand that labour-intensive processes must have to be employed in order to provide jobs as a social responsibility. In her march towards industrialisation, Nigeria unavoidably had to start from obsolete processes by the standard of the developed countries yet desirable by her standards. Hence, at the beginning and where necessary, industrial products had to be imported direct from the developed countries at the expense of her hard-earned foreign exchange so long as such products were supplementary to cheap labour at home. In due course, as demand for some of these products increased and their share on foreign exchange tripled, it became necessary, as a step primarily towards exchange conservation, to assemble them here in Nigeria.

Raleigh's bicycle was the first product to follow this pattern. From then onwards, Raleigh, followed by a group of other bicycle manufacturers have tried to ease the task of mobility especially, in the Rural areas where paths account for the greater part of roads.

The Motorcycle came next as an innovation. Compared to the bicycle, it was faster, ridden with less effort and above all, more of the elite group. The introduction of the motorcycle coincided with growing literacy; hence demand increased. Demand was both from rural and urban areas as it could ply both paths and smooth roads. The end product is the assemblies we have today for YAMAHA, HONDA, SUZUKI and a host of others. Most of these are now imported in parts from the developed countries only to be finally assembled in Nigeria.

The same applied with cars. Today, there are two car assembly plants and a handful of lorry plants. These include Volkswagen of Nigeria, Peugeot Automobile, Mid-motors Limited, Federated Motor Industries Ltd and few others.

Then of course, there are the Electronic assembly companies which at the moment are a legion. Major among them, however, are Nigerian Electro-

nic (the pioneers); Maiden Electronics (the only indigenous company that has gone as far as manufacturing); Adebawale Electrical Industries; and Weide & Co. These have jointly or severally dictated the electronic taste of the Nigerian society from the birth of the nation.

Mention must also be made of the new Tractor and Equipment assembly plant.

The sum effect of these assembly lines on the Nigerian economy cum industrialisation is many fold. One striking similarity in all these assembly plants in their development is the fact that the labour employed in them were trained on the job. In other words, these assembly plants provided the nation with a new breed of technical knowhow which will come in handy in future years of full industrialisation. True, there are Universities and Schools of Technology turning out the much needed experts yearly but it is an open secret that compared to the on-the-job training provided by the assembly

plants, there is a big difference in practicals and attitude to job which is industrial discipline.

Secondly, most assembly plants tend to bring in their wake new jobs and activities for the economy. For example, the few motor assemblies have connected with them chains of distributorship and service stations which invariably add to the economic well-being of the nation.

Thirdly, assembly plants in Nigeria now conserve and make available for other objectives, the increased earnings from oil. Although this is yet to be fully and advantageously manoeuvred by the government, for every home assembled product bought, the corresponding amount in foreign earnings is conserved for other pressing needs of industrialisation. The farthest Nigeria can now go as far as heavy industrial products are concerned is the assembly stage. This is because she lacks the know-how, capital (yes, capital despite the oil boom), and infrastructure to successfully manufacture these products.

## MOTOR VEHICLE ASSEMBLY IN NIGERIA

# Problems and Prospects

By A Correspondent

The problems that have largely galled Nigeria's development have been lack of technicians and artisans to execute her projects because at independence she took the unusual step of concentrating on the training of too many experts to the disadvantage of middle-level technology. Although technical schools were established, their products got little recognition by way of esteem and pay from the government. In short, Nigeria was building the top without solidifying the bottom.

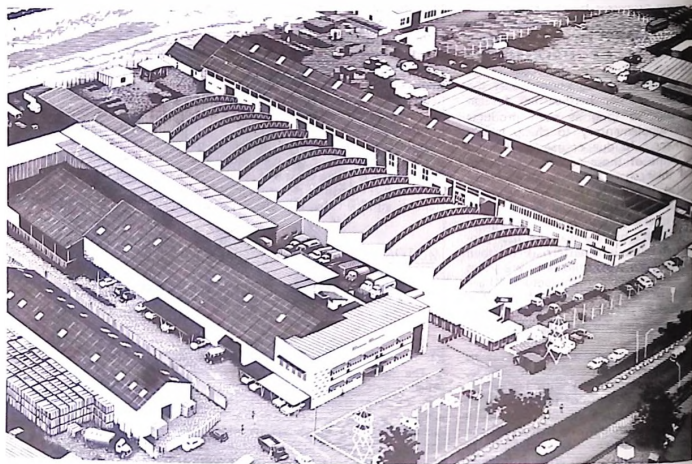
Nigeria's industrial development also took that form. She started with the medium-sized industries with disregard to cottage industries expected to feed the larger ones. Hence Nigerians have turned out to be essentially perpetual importers and traders. This is why the role of product assembly is crucial in Nigeria's development in her present bid to correct the initial errors of priority. Anything short of this step

will be a far cry from making Nigeria an industrial state.

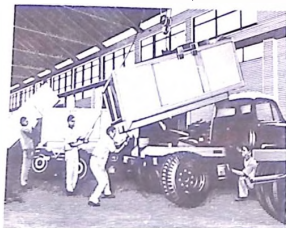
Some people were critical of the setting up of motor assembly plants in Nigeria. There is no need to blame them because their idea of assembly narrows to using a set of tools to screw some already made components to a whole. The mention of the word "assembly" reduces the value of the industry in their reckon. Yet product assembly is the precursor of heavy industrialisation in any country and happily enough, Motor assembly is foremost in this course. Its multiplier effect on the economy and generation of new skills help to prepare a nation adequately for the heavy industry.

However, in Nigeria, this all-important economic process faces many problems. These are inevitable because the industry has no past to draw on locally. The first problem of motor assembly is the training of people to do the job on the production line and in other

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This aerial photograph shows the FMI complex at Creek Road, Apapa, Lagos



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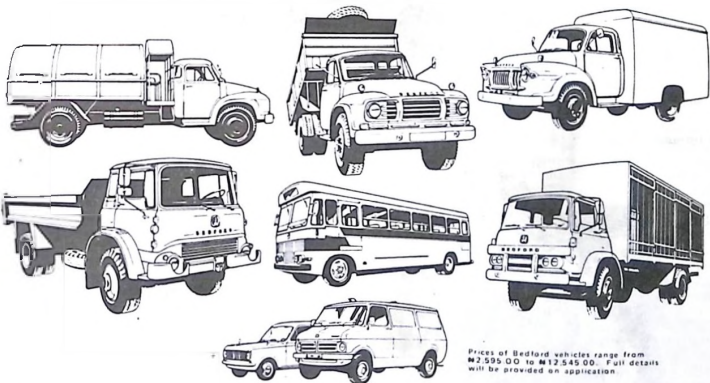
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Add to these years of experience, our physical and technological resources; add the skilled manpower we've trained over the years and you can see why we're Nigeria's number one commercial vehicle manufacturers and assemblers.

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Ambulances, refuse trucks, buses, tankers, tippers, general cargo bodies . . . we assemble them all. And the batteries, the

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After a day of hard play, Pele rides home on a Honda. Why? Maybe it's because Pele likes the Honda S-110 for its smooth ride.

Its heavy duty suspension makes even rough roads seem nice and easy while the OHV-4-strokes engine means true reliability. And its flashy, sleek design is sure to catch the eyes of everyone around.

Just kick the starter pedal once and the Honda S-110 is ready to go. This is the kind of dependable performance for which Honda is world famous.

The Honda S-110 is also made to be easily serviced. It features a large oil capacity and window to check oil level. The magneto ignition allows you to start the engine even with a dead battery. The air cleaner can be easily removed. There are brake lining wear indicators. And much more. The luxury dual seat can be used for a passenger in comfort or with the grill for carrying loads along.

After a day in the soccer arena, Pele likes the Honda S-110 for the same kind of quick handling and control that he displays on the field.

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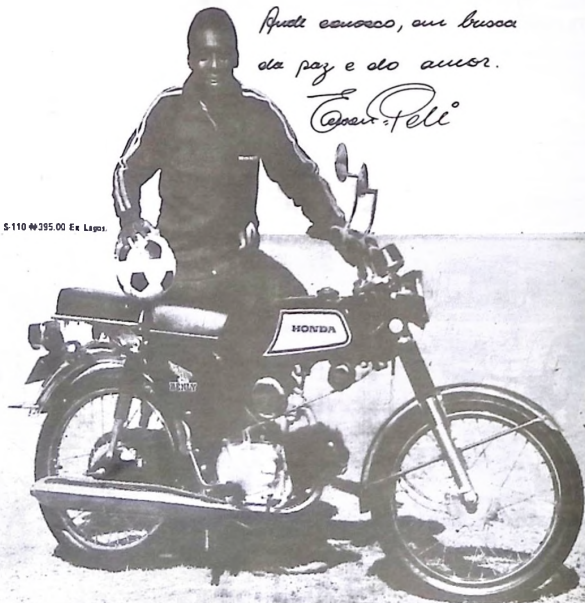
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BRANCHES THROUGHOUT NIGERIA

*Ande cauroco, ou busca  
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*Pele*

BENLY S-110 #2395.00 Ex Lagos.



aspects of the motor industry. This takes a fixed time, yet the wheels of production must move.

In the case of Nigeria, most of the initial recruits were trained on the job. These were persons with minimum knowledge of metal work and automobile maintenance. They have been skillfully turned to an army of useful hands on the production line and in the maintenance of vehicles that rolled off the assembly plants. Their training usually was with much stress. Take the Body Shop for example, in which small components that arrive in completely broken down (CKD) units are made to be the body of a car. It has demanded immense effort on the part of the expatriate trainers and considerable endeavour on the part of local labour to get it to take off.

Another major problem is the question of faults of inexperience. Initially, these were faults, which after detection by the quality control inspectors on the production line, have to be returned for correction. They wasted time and money, a development which is not the case with the advanced countries. Admittedly, this stage has to be passed to prepare for less faults in the future.

Even then to limit expansion is to keep prices up because expansion and increase in production reduce cost per unit as benefits of large-scale then come into play. This problem is exacerbated by the indiscriminate grant of quota for imports to car traders to compete with locally made cars of the same model ranges. With the non-labour intensive production process of the advanced countries and with the efficient services of their public utilities, production costs are less than in Nigeria and consequently their prices are lower. The imported car comparatively sell at less than the cost of the locally made ones and as such tempt the option of the buyer. But the glaring fact remains that Nigeria cannot stand the luxury of adopting non-labour intensive production processes now to be detrimental of growing unemployment and necessary middle-level technological training.

Quotas for importation of cars have been granted some motor firms because of gross overestimation of the total car market. The inflated figures of car requirements yearly beat rational thinking. With the limited capacity of the ports one wonders how the excesses overestimated by officials get into this country.

Motor assembly suffers other common ailments in Nigeria caused by inefficient public utilities like dead telephone lines, electricity power cuts

and water shortage. Assembly plants need millions of gallons of water daily, electricity and quick communication. Port congestion is a general problem. In the face of this, the two car assembly plants in the country have taken measures to maintain steady production. Volkswagen flies components from vessels at sea in Lagos to the factory by helicopter while Peugeot flies components directly from France to Kaduna.

There is the argument that not enough concession is given the motor assembly plants.

Some experts think the existing plants ought to be given custom-tax-free holidays for some years to allow them have firm footing. This school of thought sounds reasonable because pioneer industries need special protection. The same school argues for a ban on imported cars. In fact, this is the vogue all over the world.

Automobile has helped to build great cities all over the world because it branches to many other areas of the economy, science and social growth. It is often said that a place in the automobile plant means 10 other places outside. Motor assembly is not like

beer brewing. The life of a beer bottle ends as soon as the liquor is emptied by the buyer. The life of a car is much longer and it needs attention from many skilled hands at every stage.

Motor companies, being in the family of heavy industry, are large employers of labour. The continued expansion of motor assembly will reduce unemployment because they directly absorb large labour forces. These apart, motor assembly also inspires investment in the supply industry. It takes up to 1,200 components of different make to assemble a small car. Since plants need components, local industries often spring up to fill this gap.

Volkswagen is now exploring avenues of branching into this phase of investment. Last October, one of its directors in Germany, Mr. Horst Muerzner, met officials of the Nigerian Government to discuss the possibility of bringing Volkswagen's traditional German suppliers to Nigeria to join local businessmen to build these factories. Peugeot is also exploring areas of boosting its local supply industries. The opening of these supply factories will mean more employment for Nigerians and more skill for their employees.

## AFRISCOPE SUPPLEMENT ON OPERATION FEED THE NATION

# OFN: One Year Impact on Food Production

Summarising the impact of Operation Feed the Nation so far on food production, the Chairman of the National Committee Alhaji Imrana Yazidu said: "People have been motivated and mobilized substantially and from the increased demand for seeds, fertilizers, day old chicks, Tools and Equipment, OFN has laid its first Mark!"

According to him, 186,000 tons of fertilizers; 126,000 day old chicks, 56 hectares of vegetables were all in the one-year balance sheet. In addition, about ₦650,000 was spent on fishing equipment and ₦1.2m made available for bush clearing purposes. In most cases, the imported items were sold to farmers at give-away prices. Fertilizers were subsidised to the tune of 75 per cent; 13-week-old chicks were sold to farmers in Anambra State of Nigeria at the rate of ₦1.60 per chick while the day-old ones were more or less given out free of charge. Equipment sold to the same farmers were 50 per cent subsidised by the Federal Government, including fishing accessories.

Approximately ₦40,000 was doled out to each state to buy equipment suitable for the area.

Ideally because of the administrative set up of the programme, all the Federal Government did was to provide aid and direct the tempo. For example, to Borno State about 620 tons of Cotton Seeds were provided. Other items included 540 tons of Groundnut Seeds and 1,200 tons of various fertilizers. Cross River State, on the other hand got ₦83,000 for fishing equipment while four fishing projects were initiated at Opobo, Abak, Itu and Etinam in addition to other farm Units.

Addressing the nation on March 31st this year, the head of State, Lt. General Obasanjo disclosed that the Agricultural Sector's contribution to the GNP increased by 3 per cent in 1976. Although the Head of State did not specifically say OFN was responsible, anyone who assumes this, will not be totally wrong, especially when one considers the immediate nature of OFN programme.

*Continued on page 38*

# SUZUKI

RV90 or RV 125



## SUZUKI RVs will carry you where others give up

Suzuki RV motorcycles, the RV 90 or RV 125 fun machines, carry you easily where other motorcycles give up. On the beach, over mud and stones, potholes, even to the farm.

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RV 90 - N 515.00 RV 125 - N 610.00



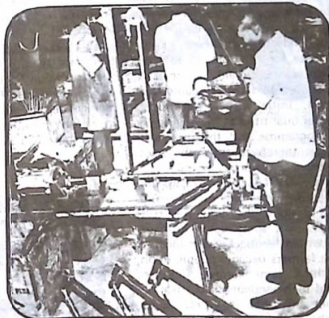
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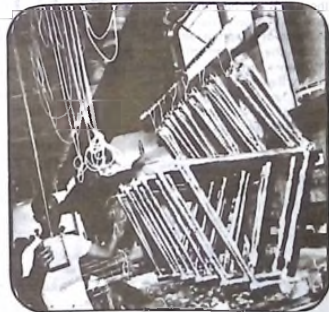
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Continued from page 35

Within the same period too, inflation rate also fell but the part played by OFN in this is harder to grasp. For example, on the face of it, food retail price index for Lagos (with 1965 as base) went up by about 19 per cent in 1976 despite OFN, but when compared to 20 per cent plus recorded in 1975, the part OFN is playing becomes a little glaring if not blurred by other anti-inflation measures also employed during the period. The truth is that after one year, OFN is yet to have any incontrovertible impact.

The reasons are numerous. Firstly, most seedlings planted were harvested and reprocessed purposely for replanting in the new season. In other words, most of the increased yields from these crops did not reach the markets. In Oyo State for example, 68 tons of new maize were withheld, reprocessed and distributed to farmers against the new season. Initially, these were supplied in lesser quantities at the beginning of the programme and the increased harvest got therefrom were the ones distributed.

Secondly, OFN faced a lot of problems. Despite the efforts put in, communication along the line was still ineffective. In some cases, officers through whom feedback was expected from the farmers became people upon whom these same farmers levelled charges of high-handedness, corruption and other anti-OFN activities. Even then, although education courses were left in the hands of the states, many farmers and non farmers knew too late of the existence of the programme and the efforts of the Government to get them much more involved. Said two youngmen in Bauchi State sometime in September last year, months after the launching of OFN "We have never heard about OFN because we do not have radios." When asked about OFN posters, they added "We have not seen any!" Yet these men were interviewed while working in their farms.

Another problem for OFN is lack of electricity and other amenities in the rural areas. It makes it practically difficult for extension workers to go deep into the hinterland to educate the farmers. Yet it is from these areas that the programme is expected to have its root. Even non-extension workers who went round these areas in line with their sponsors' profit motives could not go deep enough in spite of the allowances and other benefits which they enjoy.

In addition, there were problems of planning and execution produced by the pace of the programme. Most distributions and allocations to areas

from the Federal Government were done with past activities as the criterion. Groundnut has for long been good in the North, so groundnut seeds were sent to farmers already involved. The ills of this lies in its non-scientific nature. The programme was drawn in a hurry so there was little or no time to engage in researches on soil texture and culture to dictate the best areas for the different crops. The end result was the reaping of something less than the highest output for last year's input.

### The New Season

In the new year, OFN is expected to go on at the same pace. Rabbit breeding is to be started within this period, while about 35 mills will be established all over the Federation for Livestock feeds. Already ₦3.9m has been set aside for this by the Ministry of Co-operatives. In addition 70 grain storage depots are to be constructed in various locations—a programme for which about ₦5.3m has been approved.

These are expected to provide storage facilities for the surplus expected at the end of the season.

Half-a-million day-old chicks are to be distributed in addition to 298,000 tons of fertilizers also to be disbursed in the new season. About ₦100,000 in the new season. About ₦100,000 has been given to the Cross River State for fisheries development. Like before the programme is to be left in the hands of the states to see through. However, apart from new directives expected this year which was specifically tagged this year which was ly tagged the year of Agriculture and Industry, a panel headed by Justice Chike Idigbe is to be set up to study the country's Land Tenure System. In the final analysis, the year ahead should be one free of all excuses. Crops will be planted on time in the different seasons unlike the first year; errors committed will hardly be repeated and most important, involvement is bound to be at a higher level.

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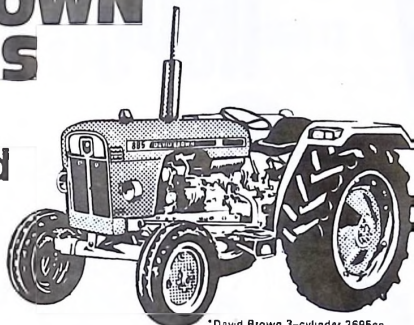
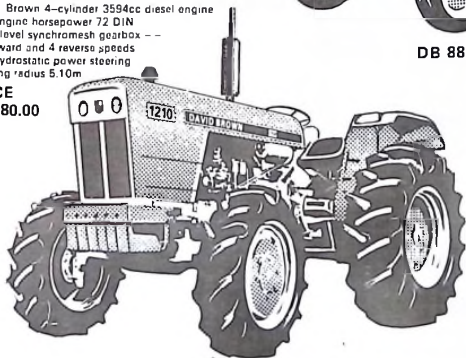
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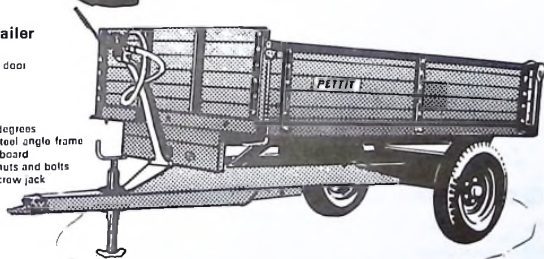
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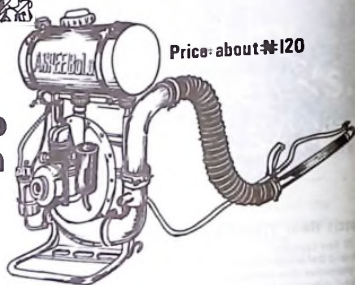
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**PRESS STATEMENT**  
**FEDERAL MINISTRY OF TRADE**  
**Appointment of Additional Distributors/Agents for Motor Vehicles**

In pursuance of the Federal Military Government's directive on the breaking of monopolies and sole agency arrangements between overseas manufacturers/suppliers and the Nigerian distributors and, in consequence of the Federal Commissioner for Trade's decision that the first phase should begin with the motor trade sector, the Federal Ministry of Trade hereby announces the names of the new approved distributors for the products shown against them.

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Federal Ministry of Trade, Lagos. 30th March, 1977



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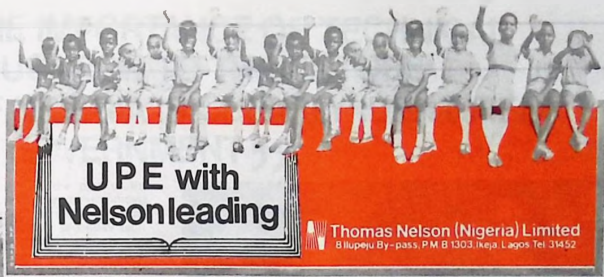
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# BOOK REVIEW

Title: **Poems From Black Africa**  
Author: **Wole Soyinka (ED)**  
Publishers: **Heinemann Publications**  
Reviewer: **Senda Wa Kwayera**

Poetry has often been interpreted from various standpoints bordering on individualism and universalism. It was Christopher Okigbo who said he wrote Poetry for poets; yet the Russian Yevushenko said that a poet is both an image of his age and the herald of the future. All these sentiments and standpoints are richly condensed in "Poems From Black Africa" edited by Professor Wole Soyinka whose concerns for the artist, the society and the establishments are well-known phenomena in Africa.

The book is divided into twenty sections each dealing with a relatively specific aspect of the African experience, hopes and aspirations. These are treated quite thematically although it is clear that the themes often overlap in many sections. On the whole these poems are carefully selected in order to smear off the image that has often been levelled on the poet as a muses, daydreamer or an isolated individualist. Culture, Politics, Cosmopolitan life, rural life, dance, war of liberation are among the basic themes and experiences dwelt on by the various poets in the book. One quite enthralling virtue of the African poet and artist is the ingenious application of imagery in his poetry. This is much so with Wole Soyinka's "Gulliver" and South Africa's Mazisi Kunene's "Screams." One cannot fully appreciate these poems unless a deeper insight in their imagery is pursued.

'Alien Perspective' is the first section that exploits the results of the fatal meeting of the West and Black Africa. Here the 'Black Jacobins' are attacked for their wholesale alliance with Western Song, dance, language and world view. In fact this hideous betrayal is seen in David Diop's poem "Right Road" and "The Saleout." All the same these poems give us the kernel of truth about Europe: that she isn't as glorious as we think: Arthur Nortje's "London Impressions I. II" depicts this quite vividly. The imagery of "cobweb hears," "rough stone," "puff adder" shows the poet's anger and view of the falsely deified Europe.

Connected to this kind of Poetry is the "Black Thoughts" section that explores quite deeply how the African views his contribution to the world, how he would like to pave a way suited to this immediate world and then Coexist with the rest of mankind. These poems explore the vital African heroic history now being misconstrued by Colonial liberal critics in false campaign for the African. The Platonic-Aristotelian views of the *serf* always under the Patricians is fully castigated in Anyang-

nyong's "Daughter Of the Law Land." It forcefully ridicules submission to Emasculation. That Africa has contributed much to world development painfully, is shown in Viriato da Cruz's 'Black Mother' and it, along with Bernard Dadie's "I thank you God," discourages the cultural, political and historical genocide thrust on Africa by the White race and their African yes-men.

Though categorized differently, poems on 'Liberty' and 'Captivity' are quite similar in their cries, woes and hopes. One striking feature of these two sections is that 'Captivity' deals with prison life which the three poets have tasted just as most of the poems under "Land and Liberty" are dominated by poets from lands still under colonial repression and subjugation or just liberated. The squalid and inhuman conditions of prison life are so realistically captured by Dennis Brutus' "Cold . . ." But A Nortje so forcefully depicts the aims of detentions: to deter commitment to freedom struggle impairing insight into humanity and: ". . . . I hammer metals/with zest letting the sweating muscles/forge a forgetfulness. . . . I read books, Jane Austen/for elegance, agreeableness (persuasion) . . . . Pg. 106 (Letter from Pretoria Central Prison).

The Section is closed by Wole Soyinka's powerful portrayal of Purgatory, emasculation and dehumanisation of man in prison. "Purgatory" indicates that prison for freedom seekers isn't the end: the ultimate goal must be acquired.

Liberty poems are so heart-rendingly depicted that the vicious hope for a change of conditions, masters and home can be seen in Onesimo Silveira's "A Different Poem."

" . . . people of Islands want a different poem/—without exiles and complaining/without children nourished/on black milk of aborted time/without mothers gazing/ At the visions of their sons, Motherless . . . ." In the whole book these liberty poems seem to be the most highly charged with emotion, anger and justification of violence.

"Compatriot" is a powerful section that gives the impression, so realistically, of those who have arrived as compared to the underdogs on whom they tread for arrival. The horrid irony of brother, independence, humanity and progress is heavily poeticised here. Those who died in war, those thinned down in mines, the innocents killed in night-clubs are clearly depicted by Jared Angira and the irrepressible Mazisi Kunene. Those who aspire to be in the upper class of Society, in policies, good bars, bedrooms and palatial mansions, empty honours, high class cars, sexual wants and prestige are the false ones who talk in conferences while in the backseats of their murderous Benzes. This is captured so well in Theo Luzuka's "Motokal!" Poverty amidst plenty is forcefully captured in Richard Ntiri's "Pauper."

" . . . You simply lean on a leafless tree nursing jiggers that thrive on your bottom/crouching in beautiful verandas of beautiful cities and beautiful people/ And your MP . . . will mourn your fate in a supplementary . . . Question Time . . ."

Hence whereas before Uhuru these ubiquitous Paupers were told their material conditions would be bettered, in Uhuru they are still the piteous "Wretched of the Earth." Soyinka's "Gulliver" wholly summarizes the plight contained in this section. Hence Poetry for action, realism and criticism that Yevushenko talked of.

Other vital aspects of the book can be read in "Cosmopolis" "Exile," "Singer and Critic." What one feels a bit unfair of the African poet is his delving into mystics and metaphysics which disturb and discourage an information-seeker in such poems written under "Poet's Passage," "Early Passage." We would like to get information from our poets to help us in pathfinding missions in this turbulent world, poets who help us to find where the rain started beating us and hence we sing a new song. Despite this shortcoming "Poems From Black Africa" stands as a vital mark in poetry for it deals with practically all aspects of the African experience and "Weltanschung," both emulating and deviating the European form of the poem. It is an easy book to read since where poets decide to be metaphysical in the Keatsian and Byronic sense which doesn't reduce their finesse and grandeur.

## POEM

Soweto!  
And the rhythm of skin drums  
waken dark forms of Sharpeville ghosts

Soweto!  
And our air vibrates with wailing voices  
of Innocents  
They strike the satellite of pain  
and reach our dark skins  
in high or low frequencies.

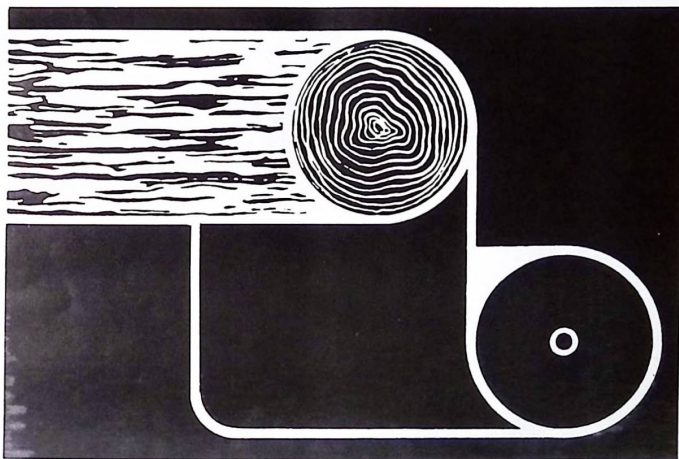
Soweto!  
And Africa and the Black escape  
in Zambian Soweto on FESTAC stage.

Soweto  
The sore foot of African pilgrims;  
And we stamp naked feet parading  
authenticity:  
Ahl authenticity, you cry,  
regimented in mathematics.  
Where is the innocent savagery  
of freedom in forest glades  
and Kenyan mountain sides?

Soweto! Soweto! Soweto!  
And that hot blood that flowed  
in the Zambian tears on FESTAC stage  
must seep in  
ritual pherotics, popping champagne  
and waving flags at Addis Ababa.

— Sbugwu, Umuahia.

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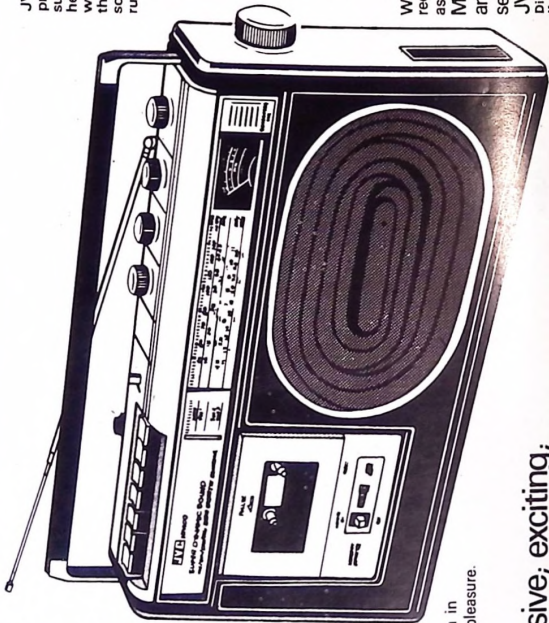
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A tense moment in a Rangers of Nigeria Vs Buffaloes of Zambia encounter in Lusaka.

## AFRICAN SOCCER

# DOES THE BETTER SIDE ALWAYS WIN?

*Odeh Appah*

The development of soccer in Africa over the last decade has been rather inspiring, considering the fact that the continent joined the ranks of organised football—that is, on a continental basis—barely some twenty-one years ago. The formation of the African Football Confederation (AFC) in 1956 with only four member associations—Egypt, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Africa—was the beginning of Africa's strife for recognition in world soccer circles.

Prior to this, sporting activities generally, and soccer in particular had been mainly arranged on a country-to-country or "colonial bloc" house-competition basis.

The formation of the AFC therefore has in no small measure geared up not only the total integration of African soccer but also the standards of the different clubs sides and national teams in the continent.

Although an African team is yet to capture the World Cup, Zaire's brief appearance in 1974 in that competition, and subsequent emergence of great national and club sides are pointers to the future of African soccer. One phenomenon that has emerged, however, is the unpredictability of these teams in intra-continental contests. Some sporting observers regard this as part of the development now operative in soccer standards; others believe that other elements—extraneous to the game of football—are being introduced into the game and attribute the changing fortunes of African teams to these extraneous elements.

How does one explain the current dominant trend—that a team, no matter how good tends to win at home and to

get slaughtered on the return match? Perhaps a few examples from some of last year's (1976) competitions—the Cup Winners Cup, the Cup of Champion Clubs series—would throw more light on the issue.

At the semi-final stage of the Cup Winners Cup, Zamalek of Egypt beat IICC of Nigeria 2-0 at Zamalek. Two weeks later IICC avenged their Cairo defeat by another 2-0 victory and went on to emerge overall winner by 5 penalties to Zamalek only 3. The final of that series followed the same pattern. IICC beat Tonnerre of Cameroon 4-1 in Lagos but lost 0-1 to Tonnerre at Yaounde two weeks later.

At the semi-finals of the Cup of Champion Clubs, Assec of Ivory Coast at home trounced Hafía of Guinea 3-0 but took an 0-5 mauling at the return match in Conakry. Mouloudia Chalia of Algeria in their very first year of appearance in the series suffered 0-2 to Rangers International of Nigeria but had a spectacular 3-0 win at home.

The final between Hafía and Mouloudia Chalia was a battle of giants. Hafía beat Chalia 3-0 in the first leg only to lose by the same margin at the end of the first ninety minutes of the second leg in Algiers. Mouloudia Chalia however, won in the end by scoring 5 penalties to Hafía only 2. This defeat was so hurtful to Guinea's Sekou Toure that he sacked his national association and disbanded the members of the Hafía Club.

One could go on citing examples even in the preliminary series of the Africa Cup of Nations and the World Cup but the question arises whether the best sides always win in these contests. If no, what are the reasons and what alternatives can be suggested

to ensure that the better side is not cheated merely because it is not playing on its home ground?

Some of the reasons adduced for the astonishing defeats of some teams are traceable to the teams themselves. They go on to play defensive football, having scored some two or three goals advantage on a home ground. But these teams forget (and invariably many teams do forget) that what they were capable of doing at home, their opponents are also capable of doing. As a matter of fact, most teams have now adopted a policy of "Keep the tally down as much as possible if you can't play to win at away; at best force a draw; and maul them when you play at home." From all indications the system seems to work but how then do we pick the best teams of the continent, if only for the records?

### Extraneous Elements

The hostility of a home crowd is one factor that terrifies a visiting national or clubside. There have been occasions when it was safer to lose a match rather than win and certain match venues are now notorious for their hostility.

Bad officiating is another key factor that turns a good match. This is bad enough. But where national associations go to the extent of influencing match officials because "we must not lose this match at any cost," then no matter how good the other side may be, they just can't win!

Some teams are well groomed to ward off the effects of even a hostile crowd. But again some host countries go into psychological warfare with their guests—no reception at airports, no adequate accommodation arrangements or poor accommodation, poor feeding and threats of bodily harm or even of the life of certain key players are some of the hardships some teams have had to suffer in strange lands.

The use of technical facilities completely strange to an opposing side is another innovation. The Moroccans have been known to play better on sandy pitches, hence they would lure any side to their desert stadia. The

synthetic field is little known in Africa much less the special boots required to play on it. Both Rangers International of Nigeria and Hafia of Guinea suffered humiliating defeats in the hands of Mouloudia Chalia because, according to reports, they were forced to play on a synthetic field on which they had never practiced. Besides, in the case of the Rangers, they were even denied the use of the right type of boots.

At Zamalek, Egypt, there were a thousand and one whistles that the ICC Shooting Stars of Nigeria had quite some problem discerning which were the referee's and which came from the crowd. A player was booked by the referee for holding the ball because he couldn't make the distinction.

When a team has to contend with all or some of these extraneous elements the chances of winning a match are very slim. The tendency therefore is to seek a revenge when they too would be playing host. Some in the process overreact, thus the skills of good football are being relegated for ingenious methods of frustrating the other side.

Just as it had organised soccer into such an appreciable standard in the continent, the AFC has to come in again to evolve ways and means of eliminating these extraneous elements which are fast becoming an anathema in African soccer. The raison d'être of an African Cup Winner should be hard work, display of skill and intellect and stamina as approved by the rules governing the game and not by any other means.

Perhaps the adoption of the league system as was the case in the final series of the Cup of Nations should also be used in all AFC competitions. Although the league system would not eliminate the question of hostility and other anomalies, the chances of a good side surviving one or two defeats to emerge champions are high.

The delay of the AFC in hearing complaints is another anomaly that should be looked into. Considering the high esteem in which soccer is now held in Africa, there is no reason why the AFC should not hear and decide on a complaint before the second leg of a match is played. What is the use of hearing the complaint of an earlier match if the same team that has been complained of is allowed to continue in the series and eventually to emerge winners? Nothing but stricter measures both on players and officials would eliminate cheating and biased officiating.

The suggestion is also being advanced whether it could not be safer for both teams of a contest to meet on neutral grounds. But then, certain teams are at home anywhere, while others have their preferences. The overall solution, however, lies with the AFC.

## MEDICINE & SCIENCE

# Psychology and Disease Resistance

*Henry Atenaga*

It is an open secret these days that psychological factors and their influences, along with other factors, determine the balance between ill—and good health at a given time. In other words, these factors working behind the scene have an unpleasant effect on the individual ability of human cells to resist, with little or no assistance from outside, the temptation to succumb to a particular disease at a particular time.

Psychologist, John B. Nettleship maintains that "what is even more important is that actual physical symptoms can be produced by such states of the mind as fear, anxiety or sense of guilt." According to him man is "pulled in different directions by various elements in his make-up. It is when he is pulled too far out of balance that personality becomes warped and life unsatisfying."

Professor H. Valentin of Germany's Erlangen University went a little bit further. Addressing Medical Congress in Nuremberg, he maintained that mental strain over a long period also contributes to general 'wear and tear' of a human. According to him "Workers who do a job simply to earn money without enjoying their work are most susceptible to suffering damage to their health!" In his own opinion, complaints resulting from working under strain due to psychological influence, can be divided into three main groups: viz premature friction, anger or disappointment, premature ageing and of course; premature retirement. The last can be attributed to complaints of the heart and circulation, or poorly-functioning liver or bile. According to this expert opinion, these adverse symptoms are most common with workers worried about their future, managers always adapting to constantly changing situations, monotony of job activities and any persons permanently frustrated in their ambitions!

Dr. Helmut Sopp, another German, also endorsed this view in an independent survey he carried out. In his conclusion, he declared that "workers dissatisfied with their place of work have influenza and circulatory disorders more often than those satisfied with their jobs!"

Another interesting survey, this time

conducted by Dr. Grossarth-Matthies on "Psychological Carcinogens," reveals that cancer patients increased their chances of getting cancer by their attitude to their social environment. According to the learned doctor, many of them feel their parents are cold, distant and loving and as a result, at an early age they were made to feel suffocated and unwanted through their parents' extreme authoritarian attitude. "Cancer patients"—he said—"tend to belittle themselves and often try to avoid contact with other people." When faced with adverse emotional experiences caused by others, they look too much inwards for causes and effect!

Much more interesting and shockingly unbelievable is the case of unable to say-no people. There was the case of a successful pen-pusher who, at the age of 33 started to have trouble with his heart and by 45, he could no longer write even his own name! According to Dr. Ullrich of a Munich Institute of Psychiatry, this man belonged to a group. Said the doctor: "The increasing inability to refuse things drives more and more people into a state of stress which threatens their health. They often suffer neurotic disorders without realising they have passed their point of maximum endurance!" Concluding the doctor added: "An incorrect form of conduct like the inability to refuse is usually drummed into a person over a number of years by influences in the world around him. Therapy, therefore, rests on helping the patient to unlearn."

Drug dependence also has its claim on disease resistance. According to D. H. Sopp, cigarette smoking ranks second in a list of risk factors that induce heart complaint or "Arteriosclerosis" while excessive alcohol consumption plays a major role in nearly all other factors for example, in factors like Hyperlipidaemia (an increase in blood's cholesterol level); stress, and Hypertension. Yet drug addiction and alcoholism are by products of psychological complexes and maladjustments.

In the final analysis, a form of disease not conceived or induced by maladjustments in the human mind, in most cases, subconsciously, hardly manifest itself into physical illness except as products of accidents, ageing and influences from heavenly bodies!