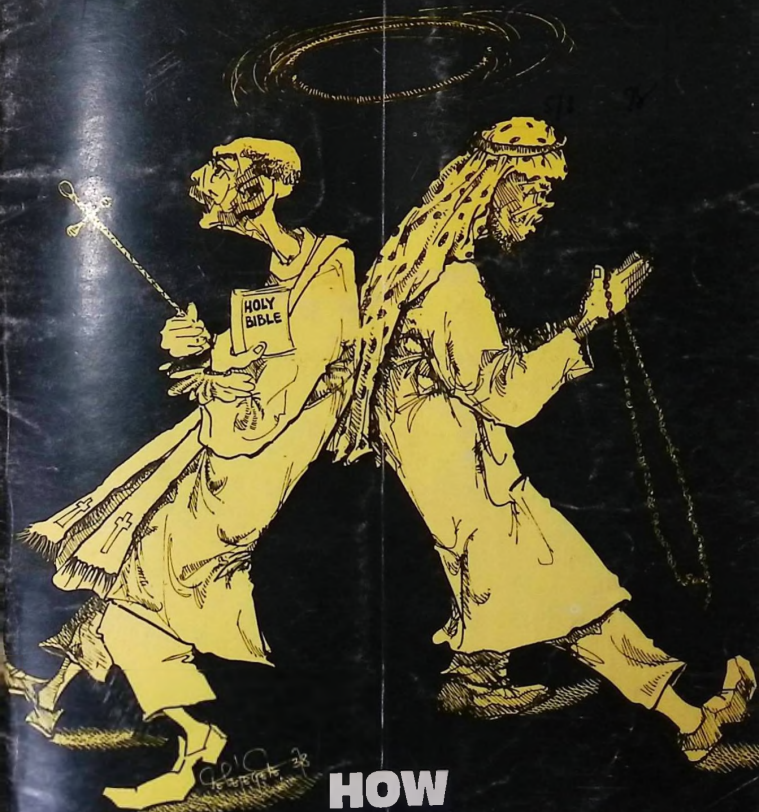


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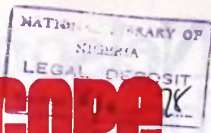
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## African Mediation and the Horn of Africa

From the weight of three factors—the unambiguous stipulation of OAU Charter on national boundaries, the determination of the major actors to win their goals in the Ethiopian-Somali conflict, and the capabilities of the actors and their supporters to pursue such goals—OAU's Mediation Committee takes on the image of a rear seat heckler in a great debate.

The most ludicrous position in the political world must be that of an impotent leader pretending to exercise power when he obviously lacks the authority or, conversely, pretending to wield authority when he obviously lacks the power. The OAU lacks both.

By trying to mediate in this conflict, the organisation has eaten its own words and has re-opened the most sacrosanct and fundamental precepts of its own Charter to negotiation. By this, it has lost every moral ground to pontificate about territorial integrity, one of the most sensitive and binding norms of African brotherhood. For power and the coercive wherewithal to enforce any decisions, the most which the OAU peace-keepers can achieve is to get to Addis Ababa or Mogadishu and have their earlobes shattered by the supersonic noise of Russian MIG's.

In the past, the achievement of OAU's Mediation Committee lay in persuading external powers to respect the exclusivity of Africa's area of jurisdiction. In this case, the opportunity for even that illusory victory has been lost: for fifteen years the OAU buried the Ethiopian-Somali conflict under its 'Pending' files.

The only role left for the OAU Mediation Committee now is either to quietly take its side seat or to support its own Charter and support Ethiopia.

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 Associate Editors: Lindsay Barret  
 Kale Ornatoso  
 Carlos Moore  
 Assistant Editor: Arthur Madueke  
 Production: Jackie Payne  
 Sunday Afagwu

Reports: Henry Atenaga  
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# cockroach Reports

## PERFIBY

Egypt's President Sadat would like Africa to believe that he also belongs to the neutral camp of mediators in the Horn of Africa crisis. Recently, one of his official apologists was denying in Nairobi Egypt's military involvement in Somali, while the Ethiopian Ambassador disclosed fairly convincing details of plan of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Egypt to send men and materials to Somalia.

Egypt has been doing a little bit of brisk business, too. Saudi Arabia has been rebuying Soviet arms from Egypt and shipping to Somalia.

## THE PREACHER AND HIS PRECEPTS

In an address to OAU Liberation Committee's 30th working session in Tripoli, Col. Gaddafi criticized certain heads of African states who he described as agents of colonialism throwing oil on the fire.

According to the Libyan leader: "African leaders who fan the fire on the Horn of Africa, in the Western Sahara OR IN CHAD provide a good pretext to foreign forces to intervene in Africa."

Who is stoking the fire in Chad?

## REV. SITHOLE

Until recently, some observers believed that the exclusion of Rev. Sithole from the Patriotic Front was unfair. So formidable was Sithole's image for undiluted independence and militant action that no one seriously believed President Kaunda's publicly expressed doubts about the political integrity of Sithole and Muzorewa.

Events have now proved the Zambian leader right. In Ian Smith's internal talks, Sithole

has become the rebel leader's most effective tool. He has agreed, among other lethal concessions, to the provision of a one-third blocking strength to whites in an independent parliament.

When the internal talks collapse, as they are bound to do, Sithole should have no business visiting any independent African state to talk about Zimbabwe's independence.

## STOUGE MOBUTU

Although it is no longer a secret, the news remains a shock.

Confirming what has been reliably rumoured and reported for two years, London's Evening Standard reported that a joint French-West German military rocket launching base is under construction in Zaire as part of a plan for the defence of South Africa.

Citing American military sources, the paper revealed that the base may be part of a long-term defence plan to prevent the invasion of South Africa by Soviet-sponsored black nationalist troops.

The paper declares: "The base was being constructed by a West German space technology firm which had loose ties to the Bonn Government and was the result of tacit cooperation between West Germany and France to ensure the safety of supplies of Persian Gulf Oil carried in tankers around Southern Africa. . . . If it is intended to convert the base at some future date into a nuclear weapons installation, the Bonn Government would not be formally prohibited from doing so by the Brussels treaty which prohibits West Germany from developing nuclear weapons on its own territory."

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# AFRISCOPE

Dear Editor,  
SOUTHERN SUDAN

No race on earth continues to suffer slavery in various forms as Black Race. But why? For how long is the Black Man to ape arbitrary standards of aliens as true to his very existence as a race on earth?

For your information, millions of Africans are virtually under a bogus republic of the Sudan; a republic arbitrarily and fraudulently hatched out of Anglo-Arab colonial conspiracy aimed at legitimizing Arab slavery over the all African population of Immatong (Southern Sudan) in the very heart of the Black Continent. In the eyes of the world, the bogus Sudan, as it stands today, is part and parcel of the Arab world, a nefarious fact which continues to work against the genuine, natural aspirations of the all African people of Immatong.

Immatong has a unique history in Africa; it continues to struggle against all forms of Arab slavery as an entity since the advent of slavery and colonialism in Africa. Arab slavery and pillage of all African people of Immatong is an unforgettable grim fact of our continuous struggle for complete national independence of Immatong Republic. Indeed, Africans are considered as dupes by the Arab invaders in Immatong, and as such, the use of black traitors and quislings as robots or crutches to prolong the illegal Arab occupation of Immatong is a current fact of our struggle. The Slavish Agreements of Addis Ababa in March 1972 are criminal acts of the black traitors and quislings, who maliciously continue to lynch, imprison the Immatong masses.

The Genuine Movement for the National Independence of Immatong Republic (G.M.N.I.I.R) is obdurately against any form of compromise with the Arab invaders. Anything short of complete national identity for the all African population of Immatong is a form of slavery in a bogus Arab-ruled republic of

the Sudan hatched out of Anglo-Egyptian Cocominium. The G.M.N.I.I.R. is fully convinced of the fact that a faithful slave remains a slave, hence no freedom without rebellion to all forms of slavery. Indeed, the Arab invaders count on their kin and kiths for the illegal occupation of Immatong since August 18, 1955.

We, on behalf of the all African People of Immatong, are very much impressed by the fact that Nigeria's new leaders have vowed, to uphold and protect the dignity of the Black Man wherever he is in bondage. Hence we entreat all freedom-loving Nigerians to know and understand our age-old genuine struggle against all forms of slavery imposed upon the all African population of Immatong since the advent of slavery and colonialism in the Black Continent. Indeed we are materially poor, but we are obdurately firm to rid ourselves and land of all and any form of slavery and alien rule. "THE AFRICAN MUST BE FREE ALL FORMS OF SLAVERY" "THE ARAB INVADERS MUST QUIT IMMATONG REPUBLIC" G.M.N.I.I.R. Ethiopia.

I wonder when Africa will be free of oppressors, on one hand, and freedom fighters, on the other. Haven't we had enough? —Editor.

#### ETHIOPIA—SOMALIA

The present state of affairs in the Horn of Africa is bound to embarrass all African countries.

Months after the eruption of the conflict there has not been an acceptable solution advanced by the OAU Mediation Committee, which now confirms the ineffectiveness of whatever Charter that governs the Committee. The most obvious of this conflict is the complication created by the intervention of some sister African countries who slyly give moral, financial and military backing to both parties. The vicissitudes of individual efforts by some African countries to settle the dispute haven't helped the situation either.

Worse still is the intervention of some foreign powers who openly support the warring factions to the detriment of Africa. Are these super-powers sincerely towards solving Africa's Problems? Or how does one reconcile the stand of U.S.'s Jimmy Carter 'Human Rights' with her actions in Somalia. Pouring petrol into fire. Isn't it?

Meanwhile Africa should step up its campaign for Peace in the Horn and stop being indifferent to her problems. This would prevent further conflagration of the conflict and immediately disassociate foreign powers from intervention in African affairs. This should give us a base to know where we belong. Africa Awake! Olu Oluwole, Lagos.

As a regular reader of your much widely read journal 'AFRISCOPE' I write to enquire from you means of securing valuable information about the present happenings and undertakings in the Country both in economic and political fields. These include Government efforts in manufacturing industries, and more importantly the Iron and Steel Industry and main causes of coups d'etat in Africa.

Such reasons that have prompted my setting up enquiring into the possibility of the above mentioned topics have been as a result of your relentless and tireless efforts in projecting issues. These are worth commendation; so accept my pat on the back for educating us through your media.

Paulson N. Imagah,  
Oshafia, Imo State,  
Nigeria.

Contact Director of Research Central Bank of Nigeria; Federal Ministry of Information; Public Relation Officers of particular industrial concerns you are interested in and of course, go on reading AFRISCOPE. —Editor.



The gun bearers: Jushua Nkomo (left) and Mugabe (right)



At stalemate: Muzorewa (top) and bottom: Sithole

ZIMBABWE:

## Stalemate And

# Escalating Violence

By A Correspondent

Two of the most significant indicators of the changing face of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe have been the escalation of urban guerrilla activities in Bulawayo and Salisbury itself in recent months, and the increasingly vocal willingness of Messrs Sithole and Muzorewa to begin discussing the possibility of a power-sharing arrangement with the rebel leader Smith within the same period. While these indicators are opposite in character, on the surface, they are at the same time two sides of the same coin, being motivated by one glaring fact, which is that with time running out swiftly for the rebels the African leadership is beginning to polarise its future political base even before securing the defeat of the common enemy. It is said that at such a crucial point in the development of the Zimbabwean struggle, when the mobilisation of the masses was beginning to take on the aspect of a unified ideological movement, political interests of differing

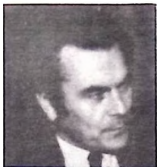
complexions within the black white should now be contributing to the confusion and division that is exactly what the Smith clique and the white settler class need to help them to recuperate from earlier setbacks and consolidate their threatened position in the country.

### Pre-emptive move

The introduction of the Anglo-American proposals at just the point where the people of Zimbabwe were beginning to feel that the Patriotic Front led by Nkomo and Mugabe was vital and unified force that could not only confront the white settlers (and thus offer protection and security in peacetime) but that could also formulate non-combatant policies that would create a more equitable post-war society, was a red herring that worked wonders. The fact that Sithole and Muzorewa were willing to perpetuate an elitist society that would depend upon so-called white expertise and knowledge to build the post-independence society was quickly being portrayed as proof that these leaders would eventually be manipulated by foreign interests who had so far been largely responsible for the tenacious illegal hold of the Smith clique upon the country. Because this view was taking hold especially among the young and the peasantry and urban work-force

and thus presaged a really broad alliance of support for the liberation struggle on the battlefield, the Anglo-American leadership decided to put forward proposals which might forestall the ideological thrust of the Patriotic Front.

In order to do this credibly they appropriated (with their consent) a number of the pat political simplicities of Sithole-Muzorewa and incorporated them into a set of proposals that were calculated to confront and in fact reject from the outset the basic premises of the Patriotic Front. For example by implication as well as by practical implementation the first set of Anglo-American proposals would have provided special guidelines for protection of white interests under the system of majority rule, so that effectively white settlers would be given a specialised and elitist privileged role within the country. Ironically when the moderate leaders within Zimbabwe rejected the proposals by lip-service Smith was then encouraged to invite them for talks which will eventually achieve the same effect. On the other hand the British and the Americans were then forced to take more cognisance of the patriotic Front since the escalation of violence immediately after their misguided proposals proved effectively that Smith's assessment both of the capability and the support



Ambassador Young (left); Britain's Owen (middle) and Rebel Ian Smith... well?

of the Patriotic Front within the country was grossly misleading.

The hastily called Malta Conference which the Anglo-American leadership instituted in an attempt to rope in the Patriotic Front into their plans was however a bit like medicine too late. For one since Smith had already succeeded in convening his own Conference under internal auspices within Zimbabwe and had determined that Muzorewa and Sithole were ready to make major concessions to the settler-group, political arrogance and fear would dictate that he avoid the inclusion of the ideas or participation of the Patriotic Front for as long as he could. Although the escalation of military action is something of a thorn in his side there is no doubt that at the same time he feels certain that if he can contain the situation just long enough to come to an agreement with the 'moderate' leaders he will then be in a position to demand increased military aid from the West and crush the guerrillas under the guise of an all-out multi-racial anti-Communist campaign.

#### Self-Survival Accommodation

The dilemma of Sithole-Muzorewa was plain to see and can easily be understood. The glamour and increasing success of the Patriotic Front on the battlefield was beginning to erode their own political base. At the same time the longer they wait for an agreement in spite of its inevitability, the more certain it appears that such an agreement will only play into the hands of the Nkomo-Mugabe group who are politicising the people and especially the youth along the lines of continuing revolutionary processes and teaching the black people of Zimbabwe that self-reliance is not only possible and desirable but also absolutely necessary for real political power and progress after independence is gained. Sithole and Muzorewa are inclined to follow a system of 'moderation' that places less emphasis on self-reliance than on inter-racial cooperation and although they mean well and may very well be convinced that their system will be in the best interest of the country, they

have not discovered what the leaders of the Patriotic Front, especially Mugabe, seems to have seen which is that given the historical process that gave rise to modern Zimbabwe, any attempt to base future development upon sharing with the settlers will certainly lead to a period of further economic debilitation as the whites scramble to prove that they were right all along.

It is important for the moderate group to come to an accommodation that will give them at least cosmetic parliamentary power as a symbol to show to the people. At the same time it is important for them to regain the legitimacy that has been denied them for so long by collaborating to some extent with the Smith clique in facing the inevitable defeat of unadulterated white supremacist views within Zimbabwe. Sadly this will lead to their collaboration in another experiment, now that a complete white takeover of the nation seems to have failed, which will, attempt to impose the role of buffer state on independent Zimbabwe. The major factors of this role will be (a) that the white settlers who remain behind will have special economic privileges which will be manifested in indefinite tax inducements for those who develop their properties (b) that whites will have virtually nominee representation in the parliament and be assured of representatives for their special interests who are not expected to campaign in the general sense with the black candidates, and (c) that the main economic thrust of the country's development will continue to be towards supplying raw materials to Western markets albeit on an even more sophisticated scale than most other black African countries. The logical development arising from the creation of such a state will be increased cooperation with South Africa who will attempt to supply vast infrastructural benefits to the independent Zimbabwe in an attempt to create a showpiece client state that will attract the interest of neighbouring black African states. In order to make this experiment be successful one of the major desires of the South Africans and the Smith

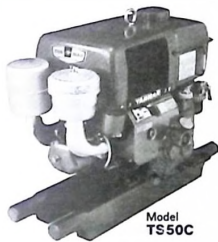
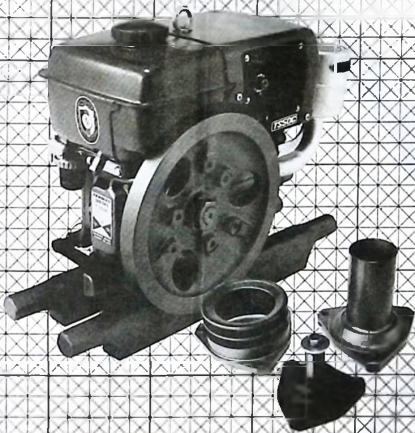
settler clique is for surface political stability. They are certain that this type of cosmetic political stability cannot be manipulated in the first five years after freedom if gained, if the Patriotic Front leaders are included in the political process within the country.

#### The White Strategy

The priority of the white settler clique and the moderate leaders at this time is not so much arriving at an agreement on a method of achieving majority rule but rather is in achieving the elimination of the Nkomo-Mugabe element from the internal politics of Zimbabwe. This is not an easy task since the Patriotic Front has embarked upon a widespread system of underground political education of the masses side by side with the escalation of the guerrilla activities. Their recent action of urban hit and run tactics to their rural incursions and conventional raids has thrown panic into the Rhodesian war machine for in spite of their basic boasts of superior tactics they are not really equipped to maintain the siege of their cities and protect the rural outposts at the same time. The morale of the white settler class is very fragile now especially since it is clear that the guerrilla forces have been able to step up their recruitment with encouragement from the young people in the country. The present talks with the moderate leaders is, among other things, an attempt to offer an alternative to the black masses while at the same time impressing on the frightened whites that there can be progress towards peace which will still preserve some if not all of their special privileges. It is highly unlikely that this tactic will succeed. Even the moderate leaders are beginning to realise that any agreement reached with Smith must constitute a sell-out of sorts and they are trying to seek a compromise arrangement in which Smith and his clique will appear to be making all the concessions and in fact retreating. In order to give this impression they are still in need of the Anglo-American backing that they have tentatively rejected so far. The West on the other hand having realised the extent of the public support for the radical groups is trying to play all sides at once in hopes of avoiding a repetition of Angola.

This complex and confused web of alliances, and objectives, does not bode well for the future stability of Zimbabwe whether the Sithole-Muzorewa group comes to an accommodation with Smith and his settlers or not. It is now quite clear that Smith does not want

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# A Hard Look at Uganda

to face military defeat. The desperation tactics that has led him to risk internationalisation of the war with reckless incursions into Zambia and Mozambique are symptoms of his desire to neutralise the guerrillas not by confronting them but by intimidating their supporters. The merging of this tactic with the continuing talks in Salisbury acts as a kind of propaganda smokescreen behind which he hopes to hide the realities of public support for the Patriotic Front within Zimbabwe while seeking to enhance the political image of his nominal rivals and opposites in the talks Messrs Sithole and Muzorewa. But the most important factor in the entire mess is the fact that on all sides the Anglo-American initiatives have been rejected as catalysts for peace. Each side has its own reasons for rejecting these proposals but at the same time each side seems content to use the British and the Americans (through the instruments of Dr. Owen and Ambassador Young as sounding boards to air their particular stands without actually meeting, or where they are meeting without making their declarations an integral part of continuing negotiations). The result of this cat and mouse game will eventually be to lengthen the negotiations in Salisbury inordinately and give the rebels time to work out strategy for dealing with the guerrillas after they have worked out an accommodation with the moderate leaders who unfortunately now seem as implacably ranged against the Patriotic Front as the white settlers themselves are.

The change of alliances has been slow and subtle. The white man who was the common enemy has become the mediator. Zimbabwe is now seen not as a bastion of white supremacy in the eyes of the West but as a peculiar state in which white privilege will be enshrined as a gift from generous black politicians. This is the core of the matter and all the talk about procedural disagreements such as what powers the transitional chief representing Britain should have etc., is just so much cover-up. The moderates are trying to bargain for a system that will allow them to hide as much as they can of their inevitable sell-out and the radicals are determined that having spilt so much blood nothing short of a categorical hand-over of power should be the outcome of any negotiations. They will not agree to a ceasefire until this principle is established and so the prospects as of now in the struggle for Zimbabwe is for a continuing political stalemate on the one hand and escalating violence on the other.

## Katongole Kyalo, Nairobi

When President Amin of Uganda expelled the 40,000 Asians in the country in 1972, accusations against the Asian community which was mainly involved in trade and business ranged from the fact that they were foreigners but controlled the economy of the country, "milked the cow but never bothered to feed it," and overcharged, over-invoiced on exports and imports and banked vast sums of money abroad.

They were traitors to the country that had accommodated them and had



President Amin... "milked the cow"

therefore so the implication was, forfeited the right to live let alone do business in Uganda. The lucky few among the Ugandans upon whom the Ugandan regime bestowed the spoils of the exercise and who found themselves instant millionaires were happy and agreed with Amin's assessment of the whole move as an effort to get the citizens of Uganda to control their economy. But the years have rolled on and Uganda grappled with one economic crisis after another, accusations of overcharging, hoarding and cheating the people began to be hurled at the new and indigenous business community. Towards the end of 1977, a military spokesman in a terse statement on Radio Uganda, struck a blow at the new business community. From Wednesday, December 28, 1977 he declared no individual person or private firm will be given foreign currency to import any commodities into the country. The reason? The Uganda business community did not behave any better

than their Asian counterparts and have been getting foreign exchange to import goods but bank a substantial part of it abroad. "The government" the spokesman declared "has been spending millions of shillings on these ungrateful individuals who are traitors to the motherland."

Observers do agree that the practice of banking money outside the country was indeed widespread among the country's business community partly because it is hazardous to bank a lot of money inside the country. Soldiers have been known to go to bank and demand to be told how much certain individuals had in their accounts. Such individuals are then required to explain or in some cases are blackmailed into parting with huge sums of money. But the major reasons for banking money outside the country is the insecurity that people have the knowledge that they could become overnight exiles or refugees.

## The Private Sector

There has been recent debate in the Kenya press about Ugandans who are too well off to be categorised as refugees and reports of Ugandan exiles buying up property in Nairobi and Mombasa. According to sources such wealthy Ugandan exiles, particularly the post 1974 were the new class of businessmen in the country and who had the foresight to see that their good fortune would not last forever and so banked many millions outside the country. The Uganda regime has thus taken a legitimate step, according to observers, but this may well make the situation even more difficult for the country. The spokesman stated that only eight state companies will be allowed to import goods into the country. The fact is that these companies have had a near monopoly of such imports since 1974 but could still not satisfy local demand and so the private firms were permitted to complement their efforts.

Without this role of the private firms, the state companies will be just too overloaded to handle the volume required. Furthermore, officials in these companies have too been guilty of the very offences that the private firms are being penalised for. The eight state companies that are to take charge of all imports are; Uganda Pharmaceuticals which will be the sole importer and distributor of medical, surgical, and pharmaceutical products;



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Uganda Motors for all types of vehicle imports; Foods and Beverages for all food products and beverages including locally-produced sugar and edible oil; General Merchandise for goods of general nature and not covered by the other seven companies; Uganda Industrial Machinery for all heavy and industrial machinery and spare-parts; Uganda Hardwares for hardware and building materials; Intra-Africa Traders for exporting Ugandan products to other African countries and overseas; and Transocean for forwarding and clearing of Uganda imports and exports.

All these companies operate under the umbrella of the Uganda Advisory Board of Trade which was created after the Uganda Development Corporation, the equivalent of the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation in Kenya, was dismantled in 1974 for no apparent organisational reasons except that it was a creation of the colonial administration and adopted by the ousted Obote regime.

Whether or not these eight companies will be able to do the tremendous task now imposed on them remains to be seen but observers fear that some of the private firms are going to go out of business, especially those that were doing solely import and export business. Others who were doing distributive business based on imports will also be similarly affected as will those whose retail business involved directly imported goods.

The repercussions are going to be quite widespread though observers think that the new ban will not affect soldiers who are in business, their relatives or the Nubian community and Amin's ethnic group of Kakwa as a whole for these have a privileged position in the country. Speculation that Amin may be bringing in creeping socialism, albeit quite unaware himself,

has been voiced but observers point out that the state in Uganda was quite involved in major sectors of the economy right from the colonial days and Amin's move is prompted more by dire necessity than deliberate policy.

#### The University

Pakistan stands as a would be saviour of Uganda's once renowned Makerere University College from its uncontrollable shortage of staff. Radio Uganda revealed on Friday, December 30, 1977 that a government high level delegation has been sent to Pakistan to recruit teachers for Makerere and other institutions and high level technical manpower for the nation's industrial sector.

The delegation was led by the Minister for Finance Brigadier Moses Ali and the recently appointed President of the Uganda Court of Appeal Justice Mohamed Saed, a Pakistani who accompanied the delegation. Uganda has been suffering terribly from a severe shortage of manpower ever since the expulsion of Asians by Uganda's unpredictable president in 1972 and consequently, several purges have been put and hundreds of intellectuals killed, while others who have

fled the country and are now working in many African countries and in Europe.

In 1972, Makerere University witnessed for the first time the disappearance of its Vice Chancellor, Mr. Frank Kalimuzo now believed to have been killed by Amin's Agents. The man who took over, Professor Asaph Wandira was abruptly sacked and in the same manner, fled the country and at present he is lecturing at the University of Lesotho. Many prominent professors at Makerere University have fled the country one of them being the former President Amin's personal physician Professor John Kibukamusoke who is now lecturing at the University of Zambia. It is true that quite a great number of Makerere most prominent professors, lecturers and tutors are rendering their services at the two other East African Universities—the University of Nairobi and the University of Dar es Salaam. It has now become indispensable for Uganda either willingly or unwillingly to bow and lick Pakistan's boots for expatriates overlooking the fact that Pakistanis were among the Asians Amin gave 90 days' notice to leave Uganda in 1972.

#### WESTERN SAHARA:

## No Military Victory

#### A Correspondent

The continued fighting between Moroccan and Mauritanian forces and the Algerian-backed Polisario guerrilla group in the Western Sahara could be one of the biggest problems facing the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1978.

The United Nations has put the problem in the OAU court, and early in November the UN Decolonisation

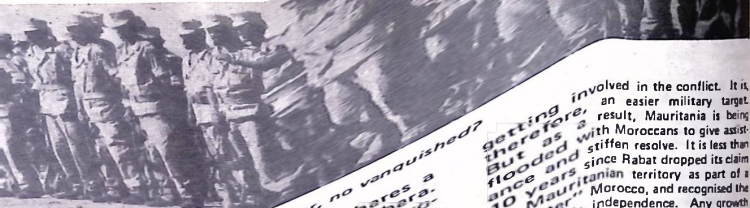
Committee urged the forthcoming special OAU summit on the issue to bring about a solution. The date and venue of the proposed summit have yet to be announced.

The Western Saharan Issue, with its threat of major regional instability, is one of extreme sensitivity, and has already caused some friction inside the OAU membership, with Morocco suspending its membership for five months



Jeeps captured from Mauritanian forces by Polisario.

## Africa Now



Faces of Polisario soldiers . . . no victor, no vanquished?

77) because of the  
the OAU for Polis-

ation of what was  
as developed into a  
of regional and econo-  
occo and Mauritania,  
two main neighbours,  
ween them under the  
November 1975 Madrid  
th Spain after the with-  
nish forces in February

nd Mauritania have certain  
logical, and ethnic links  
tively, the northern and  
arts of Western Sahara,  
uling by the International  
Justice in October 1975  
these were not sufficient  
territorial sovereignty. Any  
discussion of the future of the  
pre-empted, however, by the  
March" of over 300,000 Moro-  
ians into the territory and the  
nt Moroccan Military presence.  
rio (the Popular Front for the  
on of Sagua El Hamra and  
Oro) has never accepted the  
Agreement, and has continued  
ned struggle in support of self-  
mination for the people of the  
The day before the Spanish with-  
al, Polisario declared the establish-  
of the government of the Saharan  
Democratic Republic (SADR).

### Guerrilla Support

The guerrilla group draws its main  
support from the Reguibat tribal  
ouping who dominate the central  
ea of Western Sahara. Traditionally,  
is group is in rivalry with the usually  
ro-Moroccan Tekna in the north and  
he pro-Mauritanian Ould Delim group  
in the south. Polisario, however,  
claims to have overcome old tribal  
divisions in its independence struggle.  
Externally, Polisario draws its main

backing from Algeria,  
short border with Western  
Algeria has consistently  
can and Mauritanian  
territory, and Polisario  
sively from guerrilla  
Tindouf area of Algeria  
border.

On the surface,  
an unprepossessing  
rivers and virtually  
secret of its importance  
ground in the massive  
quality phosphates.  
access to those  
made Western Sahara  
regional issue.

In nearly two years of fighting,  
Polisario has scored a number of not-  
able victories over Moroccan and Mau-  
ritanian forces, including daring attacks  
on the Mauritanian capital Nouakchott  
and the key Mauritanian iron ore  
centre of Zouerate, but commentators  
are beginning to question the likelihood  
of a Polisario Military victory or of any  
military solution to the situation.

The Polisario guerrillas are extremely  
well equipped, politically well-organised  
and possess an enormous knowledge of  
the desert areas of Western Sahara  
over which they enjoy virtual freedom  
of movement. Their ability to ambush  
Moroccan or Mauritanian armed col-  
ons seemingly at will is well established.  
Nevertheless, the guerrillas have yet to  
take a town of any significance, and it  
is increasingly being said that if Polisa-  
rio cannot be beaten in the deserts,  
they cannot win in the towns.

### Guerrilla's Strength

Polisario does hold, however, two  
politico-military cards. Firstly, the  
guerrillas are now plainly concentrating  
their attacks on Mauritania. The effect  
is two-fold: Mauritania is the weaker  
of the two forces opposing Polisario,  
and seems to have less stomach for

getting involved in the conflict. It is  
therefore, an easier military target.  
But as a result, Mauritania is being  
flooded with Moroccan troops to give assist-  
ance and stiffen resolve. It is less than  
10 years since Rabat dropped its claim  
to Mauritanian territory as part of a  
"greater" Morocco, and recognised the  
country's independence. Any growth  
of anti-Moroccan feeling over the  
influx of the exploitation of latent  
anti-Moroccan feeling is an obvious possibility,  
the presence of Polisario  
camps in Algeria's Tindouf area—its-  
self the object of Moroccan  
claims—has brought Algerian-Moroccan  
relations to a new low. (The two went  
briefly to war over Tindouf in 1963).  
Morocco's threat to use "hot pursuit"  
of the guerrillas into Algerian territory  
could bring the two countries to battle  
again. In an internationalisation of the  
dispute, Polisario could hold to emerge  
with something substantial.

The OAU cannot relish the prospect  
of attempting to reconcile this four-  
sided conundrum in the sands of north-  
west Africa. As one observer has  
pointed out, the issue involves two of  
the most vital tenets of the OAU  
Charter—the principle of self-determi-  
nation and the inviolability of colonial  
boundaries.

Yet some experienced observers be-  
lieve the time for talking to begin may  
now have arrived. Morocco and Mauri-  
tania, though they have enormous  
stakes in maintaining their position,  
have become involved in an expensive  
and morale-sapping war that they  
appear unlikely to win conclusively;  
Polisario, too, failed to win wide-  
spread support and recognition within  
the OAU membership, and probably  
cannot gain a military victory.

Both sides may now be willing to  
listen to suggestions for a diplomatic  
solution that could avoid further de-  
stabilisation of a vital African region.

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# World Bank Activities in Africa

Okechukwu Mba

Lending and investment commitments totalling 7,273.5 million dollars was made by the World Bank and its affiliates—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); the International Development Association (IDA); and the International Finance Corporation (IFC)—in the fiscal year July 1, 1976 to June 30, 1977. This is an increase of some 396.1 million dollars over the figure for fiscal year 1976.

Of this year's total, lending and investment in Africa amounted to 1,662.1 million dollars. East African countries received a total amount of 572.2 million dollars; the West African countries 392.1 million dollars and the North African countries 697.8 million dollars and the North African countries 697.8 million dollars. The North African countries are Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.

While the Bank has traditionally financed all kinds of infrastructure facilities such as roads, railways and power facilities, its present development strategy places increased emphasis on investments which can directly affect the well-being of the masses of the people of the developing countries.

It is against this background that this article intends to review the activities of the World Bank and its affiliates in Africa to see how disbursements have been geared to achieve the Bank's present objectives.

## Rural Development

According to the 1977 Annual Report of the Bank, the trend in lending by sector shows that since the fiscal year 1975, agriculture and rural development has continued to top the list of priorities each year. Transportation which was the Bank's first priority in the fiscal year 1974, has maintained a steady second place since then. The provision of electric power comes third followed by Development Finance Companies. Industry, Water and Sewage and Education follow in this order in the fiscal year 1977. The article will however concentrate on the first top three on the list of priorities since these have not changed over the years.

In pursuance of the long term objective of increasing the productivity of the rural poor, who constitute the large majority of the population in all the countries, the Bank's credits were approved for specific project areas and beneficiaries.



Bank President, Mr. McNamara and his affiliates meeting to review performance.

Seventeen countries in Africa benefited from a total sum of 2,307.9 million dollars loaned out for agricultural purposes in the 1977 fiscal year. Kenya received the highest allocation with 110.0 million dollars, followed by Morocco with 76.0 million dollars. Egypt came third with 66.0 million dollars while Nigeria came fourth on the list with 62.0 million dollars.

A close examination of the investment in Kenya shows that the loan was applied to agricultural credit; area development and irrigation. An irrigation system is to be constructed to sustain the cultivation of cotton maize, groundnuts, and cowpeas on 6,700 hectares of land in eastern Kenya where 5,150 families will be settled. The agricultural credit project is to help some 18,000 small-holder farmers and 600 medium-scale farmers obtain seasonal loans for crop production and medium-term credit for farm development.

Morocco's credit was for the construction of a sprinkler irrigation of some 16,600 hectares of irrigated land in the Oum-er-Rbia basin to help increase agricultural production and incomes of 3,400 area farm families, most of whom live below the per capita income poverty level of 195 dollars per annum. The project continues the work of an earlier Bank project in the same area. The balance

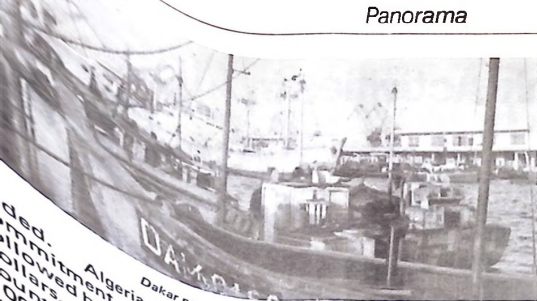
of this year's allocation as did two previous agricultural credit projects in the country aims at increasing agricultural production for domestic consumption.

As many as 295,000 farm families (1.6 million people) in the Nile delta region may benefit from a fourth drainage project in Egypt which seeks to prevent declines (as a result of water-logging and salinisation) in land productivity and to increase agriculture through the installation of field drains, the construction of pumping stations and through remodelling of open drains.

About 150,000 farm families in the Benue State and another 60,000 in the middle belt region of Nigeria—a total of 1.5 million—will benefit directly or indirectly from two projects which aim at increasing food production through improved farm practice and extension services in these areas. Feeder roads will also be developed as well as water supplies, credit marketing advisory services and support for livestock, fishery, and forestry development.

## Transportation

The Bank's second on the priority list in recent years which includes the fiscal year 1977 is transportation for which an allocation of 1,047.6 million dollars was made in the year just



Dakar port... one of the areas of interest to World Bank

ded. commitment allowed 121.5 million dollars. In all, eight West African countries received a total sum of 1.1 billion dollars while the East African countries got 67.0 million

The credit of 80 million dollars to Algeria is for the construction of a new deep water port near the town of Jijel in the eastern part of the country. It is also for the acquisition of cargo handling equipment. The port is to serve mainly the acquisition of cargo Bank's second credit to Algeria is for the construction of 40 kilometres of roads in the dense traffic corridor between the eastern and western parts of the country particularly between Algiers and the Tizi Ouzou and Constantine areas.

Ethiopia's credit of 32.0 million dollars will be used for the first phase (1978-80) of the country's five-year Road Sector Programme. The plan is for the construction of 1,100 kilometres of primary and secondary roads to be rehabilitated or upgraded; 1,400 kilometres of feeder roads and 2,200 kilometres of rural roads to be constructed and a programme of maintenance for both main and rural roads to be undertaken.

Cameroun received a total of 25 million dollar loan for the second part project which will help develop the country's forestry and fishing industry by improving channel access, dredging and maintenance. In addition, it will be used for expanded and more efficient facilities for log handling, and including new fishing berths, cold storage, and yard and floating dry dock.

Third on the Bank's list of priority is the provision of Electric Power. Only five African countries benefited

from this year's allocations. These are Ghana 57.0 million dollars; Malawi 25 million dollars; Tanzania 30 million dollars; Tunisia 14.5 million dollars; and Egypt 48 million dollars.

The Bank's credit of 39 million dollars is for the payment of 24 per cent of the foreign exchange costs of the Kpong Hydroelectric Project involving the construction of a new dam on the Volta River with hydro electric plant and transmission facilities. The remaining 18 million dollars, contributed equally by the Bank and IDA is to help meet the growing demand for electricity in Ghana—a further phase of the development programme of the Electricity Corporation of Ghana.

Some six million people, about a third of whom have never before received electricity in Egypt, will benefit from the improvement and expansion of the electric power distribution systems in and around some 13 cities and 19 rural zones. The Bank's credit to Egypt is for this objective.

While the loan to Tunisia is to help

finance the purchase of seven gas turbine units, the credit to Malawi is for the second stage of the Nikola Falls Hydroelectric Plant (providing 90 Megawatts of generating capacity when completed) on the Shire River. Tanzania needs the loan to meet the growing demand for power through the construction of a concrete dam—the addition of two 50 megawatt units to an existing hydroelectric generating station.

Agricultural productivity is clearly the key to improving the living standards of the bulk of the poor rural settlers in Africa; increased productive investment is likely to help most African countries improve their gross domestic product. Agricultural expansion promotes the growth of agro-allied industries such as fertilizer factories, and processing facilities. The development of a productive, income-earning agricultural sector, provides a natural new source of demand for manufactured goods and hence a stimulus for the development of industry.

The attention given to transportation by World Bank is to ensure easier distribution of agricultural products from the rural sector to either the urban centres or the ports for export. The rural electrification programme is not only to improve the quality of life in the rural areas; it will provide power for the cottage industries and facilitate the preservation of perishable agricultural products.

In conclusion it can be noted that the credit by the world Bank and its affiliates were directed to those projects which are capable of generating income. Because a good number of the countries have very low per capita incomes their allocations of credit had to be tailored to suit their individual needs and ability to pay.

## Hope For African Technology

Benjamin Okri.

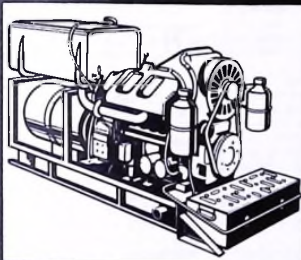
"We are receiving today the conception of a long overdue baby at a time when the world is experiencing great turbulence in the field of technology. At the United Nations Technology convention held in Lima in 1975 a decision was reached to increase the World Industrial output by 25% by the year 2,000. Africa's contribution is

the lowest reflecting the lowness of African technological capacities in a region replete with mineral resources", as was revealed in a speech by Mr. Ndom United Nations Industrial Development organisation (UNIDO) representative at the inauguration ceremony of the African Association of Industrial Technology organisation (AAITO) last year.

AAITO's period of pregnancy began

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with the resolution adopted at the end of a five day conference in a joint consultation on the promotion of Industrial research and services in Africa sponsored by UNIDO and FIIR. The resolution called for the establishment of an African Association of Organisations involved with industrial and technological research. FIIR was given the mandate of undertaking the follow-up action, with UNIDO's assistance for the full establishment of the Association for the grand purpose of: "promoting contact and exchange of experience, capabilities and facilities among African Organisations; meeting annually on a regionally or sub-regional level on general and selected technical aspects of industrial research; establishing links and collaboration between Universities and organised Industrial sector; and the representation of Africa's point or view where a joint action is required on Industrial and technological matter."

A crowning follow-up action led to the long awaited inauguration ceremony of the Association which followed a five-day working group which finalised draft rules of procedure and the budget of the Association. Present at the ceremony were representatives from twelve African countries including Cameroun, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Malagasy, Senegal, Sudan, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia, Liberia and Nigeria, and also seven International Organisations.

#### Objectives

Its objectives and functions, among other things include providing a coordinating forum for other organisations involved in industrial and technological

development in Africa to contribute collectively, by exchange of information, experience, capabilities and facilities as appropriate, in raising the level of technology in Africa. Some other of its aims and objectives are to contribute towards upgrading the level of skills and the development of manpower requirements for industrial and technological research and development in Africa: establishing official recognition with relevant International organisations and collaborating with the OAY/SFRC to expressing African viewpoint on industrial and technological matters.

In order to galvanise the Association from just mere paper work Inauguration to that of action Orientation, a number of projects are to be executed this year with the assistance of experienced, willing International Organisations.

Delivering the keynote address at the ceremony, Nigeria's federal commissioner for co-operatives and supply Alhaji U.A. Mutallab talked of the evils of foreign exploitation of our raw materials. He warned that "while not rejecting offers of genuine assistance in our efforts to develop technology in our continent we should be more discriminating in our acceptance of aid offered. . . . In the final analysis, technology is not going to come to us on a platter of gold. We have to come to grips with the fact that we need to drastically change our attitude of almost complete dependence on the importation of technology."

Dr. Koleoso, president of the inaugurated Association, also stressed the importance of increasing the level of industrial research in Africa in view of its overall low level of technology development. He felt the Association would be instrumental in increasing the technological capability of Africa which would in turn help cut down the enormous exportation of agricultural and mineral raw materials at very small prices and the importation of finished goods at exorbitant prices. He noted also that several African countries had not established industrial research institutes like FIIR and hoped that the newly formed Association would help generate government action to remedy the situation wherever it exists.

In reply to the various speeches, Mr. Odedola, the executive secretary to the OAY/SFRC declared that "Africa is tired of paper institutes. We want action orientated organisations that would apply the principles to solve our very pressing technological problems." He went on to say "we can't develop

in isolation, development is an inter-dependent affair" and called for the coming together of the European co-operatives society and African consumer groups, a stimulation and growth in agro-allied industries in getting import substitutes as away of reducing imports, the resuscitation of an African research directorate and a revision of our presently outworn metropolitan patent laws. On technology transfer to Africa he observed "the West does not seem to want us to know their technology secrets".

#### International Support

Much worthy of notice is the recognition and support given by international bodies. These include: ACP, EEC/CID, EAC, FAO, UNDP, UNESCO, UNIC, OAU/STRC and particularly UNIDO, whose provision of US \$90,000 helped convene the preparatory and inaugural meeting, in collaboration with FIIR and the OAU/STRC made possible the formation and inauguration of the Association. The OAU/STRC offered to act as the temporary secretariat of the association.

Mr. Ndam, reiterating UNIDO's support observed: UNIDO having helped in the conception (of the Association) would not leave the baby stranded. . . . cooperation is assured in areas of mutual interests". In a cautionary remark based on UNIDO's past experiences he felt the success to be achieved by the Association would depend not on the statutes discussed at the working group meeting but on meaningfully designed, well defined projects that should lend themselves to funding agencies.

In another speech read on behalf of the director of the ACP-EEC centre for industrial development in Brussels, the body also declared its support for the Association and offered to contribute to African Industrial research, finance small and medium scale manufacturing firms, sponsor vocational and advanced training, facilitate the acquisition of favourable patent conditions and set-up specialised advisory services and credit facilities.

AAITO has taken off. In a region as industrially and technological backward as Africa the association has undoubtedly got hard times to face. It is going to need much more than international recognition and grand objectives to face up to the challenges before it. As Mr. Ndam rightly asked and observed: "is your association going to be just another international club. . . . you have a blank cheque and a golden opportunity. . . . in technological efforts."



Dr. Koleoso, president of AAITO



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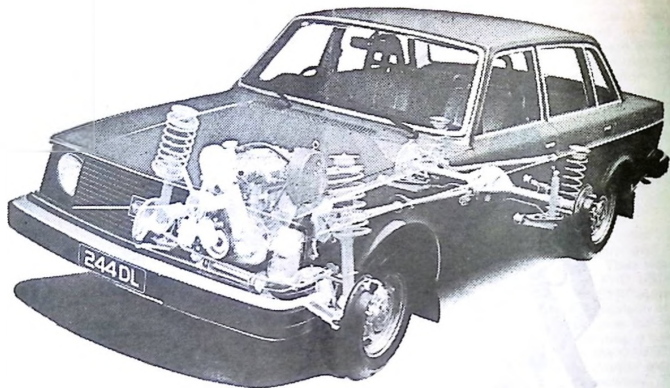
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# Cocoa: Surplus This Year?

\*Henry Atenaga

The International Cocoa Organisation (ICO) started it all. In its first estimate for this year released late last year, it predicted an impending deficit for the year to the tune of 33,000 tonnes. World output was put at 1,397,000 tonnes (52,000 higher than 1976/77 estimate) while Grindings estimate went down from last year's 1,318,000 tonnes to 1,418,000. Of course this report was very much open to doubt even by the organisation.

The first major organisation to tear the figures apart was Gill and Duffus, incidentally the most influential of them all. Gill estimated total world output for the year will be in the neighbourhood of 1,46m tonnes expecting it to even go as high as 1.5m tonnes. Grindings on the other hand, according to Gill and Duffus, will 'definitely' fall below the organisation's 1.4m tonnes say 'as low as 1.35m'.

Another organisation, Holco Trading Company (HTC) endorsed Gill's surplus forecast although it calculated different figures. According to HTC improved prospects in West Africa and Brazil will ensure a surplus should be eminent even if there is no decrease in 1977 consumption level. Of course, no one, not even the ICO is expecting Grindings to maintain last year's level. So in effect HTC was indirectly forecasting a bigger surplus than Gill and Duffus did.

The major quarrels both forecasters had were in the organisation's estimates for Nigeria (195,000 tonnes as against 1977's 165,000); Ivory Coast (220,000 tonnes) and Ghana (315,000 tonnes compared to 324,000 last year.) Gill and Duffus hopes the Nigerian output will reach 240,000 mark this year while that of Ivory Coast should also increase by between 10,000 to 20,000 tonnes or 'even more'. On the demand side the general belief was that there was gross estimate. This was shared not only by the dealer forecasters but also by some members of ICO's Estimate Committee. Most consumer delegates were unsatisfied with Grindings'

demand estimates. For example, the Russian delegate, whose 1977 90,000 tonnes estimate was carried forward intact later told the press "they seemed to have taken the figures from their head" According to him the real figure should be 83,000 tonnes and may even drop so fast to 60,000 next year.

The general trend, according to Gill will be declines all round in major consumer countries. In UK (about 6.5 per cent) because of no-growth in consumer expenditure; West Germany (6 per cent) due to consumer resistance to rising chocolate prices. Same for other consumers including Japan and the United States.

It was more than clear to everybody then, especially consumer countries, that the ICO estimates were wrong, so that it wasn't surprising to see ICO reverse its forecast. As customary, months after the estimate committee's estimates the secretariat issues its own forecast, based more on hard data than the earlier estimate. By January this year, the Secretariat expected output to level at 1,428,000 tonnes as against 1,397,000 earlier issued. Ivory Coast had her figure reversed down to 145,000 but this drop was more than accounted for by mark ups in Dominican Republic (up by 10,000), Brazil (5,000 higher) and Nigeria (5,000 up). On the other hand, Grinding was scaled down to 1,389,000 tonnes meaning 39,000 tonnes will be surplus supply as against 33,000 deficit earlier forecast. However, although no protests have surfaced till date, many questions still hand in the lips of producers this time. Can the Committee estimate be so off the mark? Does Grinding estimate really represent the trend existing or foreseeable?

## Market and Dilemma

These are by no means easy questions. Earlier in January when Ghana announced that her purchases till then were far lower than volume for the same period in 1977, the 120,415 tonnes she quoted was generally believed to be an underestimation. The reason is very clear. Dealers believed that Ghana had deliberately reduced the 139,000 tonnes they thought should be the right figure, mainly because, she (Ghana) wanted to influence the market in the favour of producers. But the sad lesson in this episode is that any country, consumer or producer, may not be above this type of manipulation. France reported 20.7 per cent drop in her cocoa grindings for 1977's last quarter. The United States too reported 27.6

per cent drop to 43,483 tonnes within the same period. The reason given was that there was increased importation of cocoa products. Is it possible they also inflated their drops?

In fact the World Commodity Market is a hide and seek board. So Surplus this year?

Price movement offers no help, either. There were no indications of any influence surplus or no surplus stocks might have had on the market, at least till January ending. Most movements are accounted for by currency strength, shipment news or changing weather conditions. Last September the ICO met to raise range of prices at which it's buffer stock is expected to intervene in the market to stabilise prices but it had no immediate effect on price movement because there was no such stock in reserve.

The unreliability of figures, on the part of both buyers and sellers, not only makes firm forecasts hazardous but also creates grave difficulties for cocoa-producing countries which depend solely or heavily on cocoa for their foreign exchange earnings. Researchers can wait for materialization of trends to re-check facts, but producers and their pressing economic commitments cannot.

For example, despite her export bonus scheme aimed at checking dependence on cocoa, Ghana today is still very much dependent on this commodity. In 1974, cocoa exports brought in 466.4m Cedis (344.8m in 1973) compared to 88.5m from the next single export-log. Invariably, her balance of payments position should still depend on the fortunes of the Cocoa market. Should a surplus be the case as forecasted, she might find herself looking for the nadir of her present bottom level. Her deficit position improved from 1971 to 1972 but later slumped in 1973 and 1974 because of crude oil prices. Since then till now Operation Feed Yourself, Operation Your Industries and some self-starving measures have tended to smother the life towards the bottom. Now what operation can she offer in the face of a new slump in cocoa?

The same goes for Ivory Coast. Cocoa too remains her third major export. In 1972, it yielded 22,646m CFA francs, 27,760 in 1973 and 62, 373 CFA francs in 1974.

In fact the present dilemma in the cocoa market is more or less a mirror of the price instability in the wider commodity market. Surplus or no surplus, the inelastic nature of demand generally makes diversification imperative.



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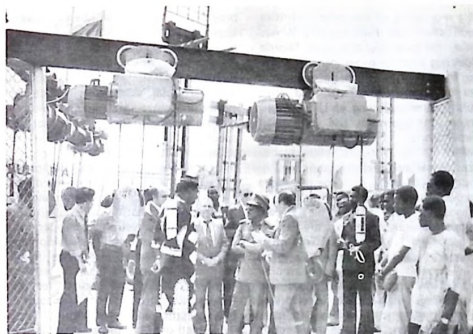


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Ijebu-Igbo, Shagamu, Ifo.



Trade Commissioner Shuwa at high input Lagos Trade Fair.

### THE ECONOMY:

## High Input, Low Output

By A Correspondent

The news that Nigeria's reserves were comparatively low, that the rate of inflow of oil revenue was outstripped by the rate of developmental demand, and that as a result Nigeria had negotiated a major loan of 667 million Naira from a consortium of European Banks to enable her meet her plan commitments, seemed to have taken many people by surprise. This should not have been so since the major factors involved were well known for quite some time. But the fact that the nation has lived in a world of false affluence and importunate privilege for several years and that Gowon Governments has helped to perpetuate the myth of 'oil wealth' was responsible for the feeling of shock that pervaded economic circles when both the Head of State and the Commissioner of Finance seemed to be saying (as one paper bluntly put it) "we are broke". The reaction on the part of the public as well as on the part of economic pundits in the press prompted a flurry of back tracking statements and more detailed explanations but there were certain facts that just could not be denied.

Firstly, Nigeria has now re-entered the ranks of African countries deeply and directly indebted to Western money interests, which many of us had thought was all in the past. Apart from

the 667 million loan she has also negotiated a recurrent annual loan of 333 million from the World Bank of run until the end of the current five year plan period in March 1980. These loans have become absolutely necessary in spite of the fact that in August 1980 Nigeria was said to have foreign reserves of over 4 billion naira in hard currency and gilt edged securities in the world money market. In spite of the flow of oil (which has anyhow been out down) these reserves have been seriously depleted through the effects of inflation and the vicious circle of importation of technology and goods from countries which were their very source of our income. This reached such alarming proportions that eventually it became clear that even our oil revenue was being outstripped by our spending commitments and thus that that revenue was becoming mere part payment of debts.

#### Growth Without Development

The major loans have been negotiated in an attempt, long overdue, to give Nigeria a headstart in primary productive areas of economic development so that in future we can cut down on major imports, conserve our raw material for our own usage, and generate a higher per capita output in terms of making local manpower pay for our own services and produce much of its own needs. Obviously these should have been major priorities in the initial

plan period ushered in by the escalation of oil production in Nigeria in the mid-sixties. Instead that escalation of oil production coupled with the swift growth of the middle-man/contractor syndrome fed by war, ushered in a period of extravagant spending and indiscriminate infrastructural development that was not directly related to the growth of self sufficient industrial and agricultural policies. Individualism in commerce was encouraged to a great extent by the official practice of giving out large contracts for such services as transport, roadworks, and commodity supply to untrained and inexperienced middle men instead of orienting Ministries and other Government agencies towards being service units that could carry out many of these duties on their own. This syndrome led to a proliferation of 'wheeler-dealers' and an escalating elitist class made up of people who simply had much more money to spend than their direct service to the nation warranted and were inclined to spend it on luxuries or on personal development rather than help the money find its way back into circulation as growth-investment.

It seems that the Gowon Government was under the mistaken belief that the contractor syndrome which it encouraged so indiscriminately was a method for spreading the 'oil wealth' around, but the net result was really to create a static moneyed class and stagnate the real growth of development in some major sectors of the economy, especially in agriculture and primary industries. But it is not enough to blame the Gowon Government as a blanket explanation for the alarming rate of depletion of Nigeria's resources. As the Commissioner of Finance recently pointed out when explaining the 667 million loan, because of Nigeria's large population, oil revenue alone could never satisfy the needs of the mass of the people and it is important that external finance be sought to develop major industries and agricultural projects under the current plan to alleviate this problem. It must be realised though that this Government had been in power for two and a half years before they voiced this realisation themselves. Unfortunately they have ruled Nigeria in a period when worldwide inflation wreaked even greater havoc on African economies than before and they instituted certain plans and projects inherited from the earlier Government without adequate study of the real effect that they would have on the standing reserves. While most of these projects

could not be faulted on general philosophical grounds, many of them were bound to spell economic doom.

#### Projects

Although Festac '77 was in itself an important landmark in the politicisation of African culture, and as such represents an important symbol of Nigeria's place in the black world it should have been streamlined and scaled down to be able to generate greater returns to offset some of the staggering cost that early planlessness had rendered endemic to it. This was not done and the resultant sprawling jamboree was an effective depletor of national reserves.

Universal Primary Education is one of the most commendable ideals but it is now becoming obvious that the ideal is also costly. It is certain that if this project is to continue the costing of it and the funding will have to be extensively modified. Those who planned it in its paper stages seem to have overlooked the fact that it is not a one-shot project but a continuing and growing project which must be replenished and up-graded constantly. The simple truth is that the nature of Nigeria's productive economy at the moment is such that it just cannot generate the revenue needed to sustain such a gigantic undertaking.

The First Lagos International Trade Fair was itself a reasonably good idea but one that arrived way before its time in Nigeria. The rationale behind it was not so much for Nigeria to display its products and services as many people seem to believe but rather to provide a forum and marketplace for the exchange of commercial data and the introduction into Africa of alternative products and technologies. In turn this was supposed to bring the African businessman closer to the world marketplace and thus help to give him a sense of choice that would eventually be reflected in the improved quality of his purchases and also in a reduction of cost. In fact the Trade Fair was not what it was meant to be in the end. Since most of the goods displayed were meant to satisfy already tried and proven local demand the general run of exhibits were geared to demands laid down by a few well-placed and already established merchants. The overall effect of the Fair was to entrench inflationary trends in the nation rather than to alleviate them.

All these projects which have, sadly, become symptomatic symbols of Government "squandermania" in the public consciousness, could have been modified or even abandoned in favour

of a reordering of economic priorities soon after the 1975 coup. It was clear, for example, that since Nigeria does not produce paper, pencils, building material, or any other major article for us in the educational field, the full commissioning of UPE would mean an enormous rise in foreign expenditure. FESTAC though not meant to be a tourist extravaganza could have been re-distributed throughout the country to generate more expenditure by visitors outside of Lagos and take a large part of the infrastructural burden off the Federal Government. And if the Trade Fair complex was too far gone at least the Government could have endeavoured to lay the emphasis on products and services geared to priority sectors of the economy such as light industry and agriculture. It is the misdirection of priorities that the blind acceptance of these inherited projects indicate that is largely responsible for the depletion of the national reserves and the need for us to go once again seeking loans on the world money markets.

The 667 million loan which was raised in Europe is to be used to complete the commissioning of the two new refineries and the major iron and steel complex in Ajaokuta. With the commissioning of the refineries it is expected that Nigeria will become an exporter of refined petroleum products as well as crude. But even more important these developments are also expected to make Nigeria self-sufficient in petroleum products and thus remove one of the most persistent areas of inflationary expenditure on the foreign market. The iron and steel project will also alleviate the strain on Nigeria's foreign reserves to some extent but the major asset of that project should be that it will provide a material basis for technological development and increasing internal usage of major raw materials which should generate improved per-capita productive output over a period of time.

#### Economic Re-Order

It is now clear to the authorities as it has been to the masses of Nigerian common people for some time that the agricultural sector has been brutally depleted. The second loan which is recurrent annually of 333 million naira from the World Bank is specifically to be deployed in the agricultural sector of the current development plan. While this is a hopeful sign the experience of economic mismanagement over the last decade has been so all-pervading that one can only hope and

pray that this money will be effectively deployed. Money alone as Nigeria's present predicament has shown is not enough to ensure that the correct direction will be embarked upon in any particular venture. In fact the syndrome that has taken over in Nigeria works in such a way that the spectre of money to be spent seems to unleash a desire to squander same in as many ways as one can find possible. This means that one of the major factors in reordering the economic destiny of the nation will have to be the institutionalisation of proper money management into the development of future projects. Too often in the past real auditing of resources has come too late, and long after the mis-spending or abuse of the resources has become an accomplished fact. The plethora of probes themselves that followed the collapse of the Gowon Government often cost almost as much as the amount of mis-spending that they uncovered.

The most frightening prospect facing Nigeria at the moment however is one that has not received much attention from commentators on these loans so far, and that is that the economic collapse that is threatened if the oil revenues do not once again rise to an appreciably superior level over and above the rate of Nigeria's foreign expenditure will leave us unable to honour these huge debts in the stipulated period. The Government has shown some signs of an awareness of this possibility, and the determined thrust against abuse of foreign exchange by individuals is one of the major signs. But even more important the Government itself has often aggravated the situation by panic measures such as the mass importation of scarce commodities without adequate distribution arrangements. In the case of salt for example it may have been economic to consider to insist on the swift reactivation of the existing salt factories and forced commissioning of their product rather than the attempt to swamp the market with salt because this invariably leads to abuses brought on by the urgency of the measures taken. However what the latest moves have proven is that the present Government is at last growing sensitive to the ugly economic realities that have been hidden under rosy clouds of false wealth for too long and in kicking against this situation they will certainly change the illusions of the common man and will also very likely disturb the status quo enough to change the priorities that have led the nation into its present state of economic lethargy.

## FEDERAL MINISTRY OF CO-OPERATIVES AND SUPPLY, LAGOS

### Tenders for the supply of foodstuffs to the FEDERAL CO-OPERATIVE COLLEGE, ELEIYELE, IBADAN.

Tenders are invited for the supply of foodstuffs to the Federal Co-operative College, Eleiyele, Ibadan for the period 1st October 1977 to 31st July 1978.

2. Tenders must be submitted in duplicate on official Tender Forms. Copies of Tender Forms are available for collection in the offices of the Principal, Federal Co-operative College, Eleiyele, Ibadan and the Secretary, Departmental Tenders Board, Federal Ministry of Co-operatives and Supply, Federal Secretariat, Alagbon Close, Lagos on Production in duplicate of Treasury Receipt of non-refundable ₦10 chargeable to Revenue Head 5 Sub-Head 41 of the current Estimates 1977/78; Payment of the cash deposit could be effected in either the Federal Sub Treasury or any Police Pay Office.

3. The Tender Form gives the schedule of foodstuffs and the quantities required per week. Prices, to be quoted on the Tender Forms should be inserted in the space provided at the bottom of the tender form, Improperly completed Tender Forms will be disqualified.

4. Contractors may tender for the supply of one or more of the items of foodstuffs enumerated below. Successful tenderers may be required to supply such item or items of foodstuffs to the College.

Items	Unit	Items	Unit
1. Yam Flour	per kl.	17. Gari	per kl.
2. Rice	per kl.	18. Bread (Bozs) loaf	per loaf
3. Beans	per kl.	19. Ewedu	per kl.
4. Yams	per kl.	20. Bananas	per doz.
5. Plantains	per unit.	21. Oranges	per doz.
6. Vegetable	per kl.	22. Pineapples	per doz.
7. Iru	per kl.	23. Grape fruits	per doz.
8. Eko	per ball	24. Eggs	per doz.
9. Egusi	per kl.	25. Fish (Fresh)	per kl.
10. Onions	per kl.	26. Fowls	per kl.
11. Fresh Tomatoes	per kl.	27. Liver	per kl.
12. Ground Pepper (Wet)	per kl.	28. Groundnut Oil	per tin
13. Large Pepper (Fresh)	per kl.	29. Okro	per kl.
14. Palm Oil	per kl.	30. Potash (Kaun)	per kl.
15. Meat (Beef) Boneless	per kl.	31. Pawpaw	per doz.
16. Shrimps (White)	per kl.	32. Foo-foo (Cooked)	per ball
		33. Yam-Balls (cooked)	per kl.

5. Production of current Tax Receipt would be a condition precedent to the award of this contract. Tenders should also provide evidence of financial ability to undertake the contract award and evidence of past performance.

6. Tenders must be submitted in sealed envelopes marked 'Confidential—Tender for Foodstuffs' and addressed to the Secretary, Departmental Tenders Board, Federal Ministry of Co-operatives and Supply, Alagbon Close, Lagos not later than 12th December, 1977.

7. The Board is not bound to accept any tender and its decision shall be final and binding for the purpose of this tender.

J. O. Mukoro  
for Permanent Secretary  
Federal Ministry of Co-operatives & Supply.

## PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT

### ART COMPETITION FOR MURTALA MUHAMMED AIRPORT IKEJA

1. The Federal Ministry of Civil Aviation is sponsoring the following two Art Competitions:

1. Design for a free standing sculpture.
2. Design for a mosaic mural.

The Designs are intended for use as part of the artistic decorations of the new Terminal Building at Murtala Muhammed Airport, Lagos. Both, mural and sculpture, will be focusing objects in the front facade of the building. The mural will cover the central staircase, while the sculpture will be centrally placed on the terrain just in front of the building.

2. **PRIZES:**

for each of the two competitions:

1st Prize	—	₦3,000.00
2nd Prize	—	₦2,000.00
3rd Prize	—	₦1,000.00
7 consolation prizes of		₦300.00 each.

3. **ELIGIBILITY:**

The Competition is open to any artist of Nigerian nationality.

4. **ACQUISITION OF ENTRY FORMS:**

Entry forms can be obtained, on payment of the sum of ₦20 (twenty Naira) at the collection Centres, from the following:

1. The Director, National Museum, P.M.B. 12556, Lagos.
2. The Curator, National Museum, P.M.B. 2127, Kaduna.
3. The Curator, National Museum, P.M.B. 1115, Benin-City.
4. The Curator, National Museum, P.M.B. 2031, Jos.
5. The Archaeologist, Ife Museum, P.M.B. 515, Ile-Ife.
6. The Curator, Gidan Makama Museum, P.O. Box 2023, Kano.
7. The Curator, National Museum, P.M.B. 1285, Enugu.
8. The Curator, National Museum, P.M.B. 1004, Oron.
9. The Ethnographer, Federal Department of Antiquities,  
P.M.B. 5760, Port-Harcourt.
10. The Ethnographer i/c., National Museum, P.M.B. 5524, Ibadan.

5. **CLOSING DATE:**

Entries shall be submitted on or before 31st January, 1978 to the Director of Antiquities National Museum Onikan Lagos. Designs and entry forms not received by this date will not be considered.

At the left upper corner of the envelope should be written the words "MURTALA MUHAMMED AIRPORT IKEJA ART COMPETITION"

6. **ADJUDICATION:**

Entries will be judged by a selected jury consisting of seven persons including Nigerian Artists, Architects and a representative of the Federal Ministry of Civil Aviation. Members of the jury cannot participate in the competition.

7. **ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:**

Any additional information on the competition may be obtained from:

The Senior Architect  
(Mrs. C. B. Goco)  
Federal Ministry of Civil Aviation,  
New Secretariat Building,  
Wing A, 8th Floor,  
Ikoyi,  
LAGOS.

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# Neo-Colonialism or Decolonisation

The Contribution of Comrade Samora Machel at Ahmadu Bello University's Convocation, December, 1977.

—Presented by P.F. Wilmot at a Symposium organized by the Political Science Students Association on 20th January, 1978.

Neo-Colonialism is the operation of colonial structures of domination by indigenous elites or ruling classes. As colonialists they retain the characteristics of alien power, divorced from and opposed to the masses of the people, organized in the form of economic social, political and cultural domination, maintained and administered by the monopoly of the instruments of coercion embodied in a state which, far from reflecting the popular will, suppresses and mutilates it. In the words of Comrade Samora Machel: "However, with the development of the struggle, the colonial army was forced to beat a retreat from ever-increasing zones, taking in its wake the colonial administrative exploitative machine. It was here that was posed, not as a technical question but as a demand arising from the development of the struggle itself, the decisive question: what type of reconstruction to have in these regions, and what type of society to build? The answer is there.

## Local re-play

New elements appeared within Mozambican society who proposed to substitute themselves for the fleeing exploiters, attempting to re-establish the capitalist exploitation practised by the Portuguese, in new forms. And we asked, was this really the objective of our fight? Was this really the objective of our sacrifice? The reply of the masses, the popular masses, was clear: to reject any restoration of capitalist exploitation; they asserted that they were fighting for total liberation, not to substitute one exploiter for another, whatever his colour. (Prolonged Applause). We have an expression in Mozambique "a parasite is always a parasite, whether he is white, he is a parasite; whether he is black, he is a parasite; whether he is yellow, he is a parasite."

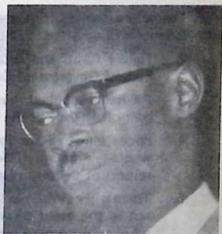
In an interview with Boubaker Adjali, an Algerian journalist in 1970, Comrade Marcellino dos Santos, Vice

President of Frelimo, and comrade in arms of President Samora Machel made the same point. He spoke of the neo-colonial treachery of Lazaro Kavadame and Uria Simango who "aimed at a nationalism which was both primitive and reactionary—which held that the independence we sought could be achieved by the mere substitution of the colonialists, of the whites, by the blacks and by having our own Mozambican flag and national anthem. It was irrelevant to them whether this "independent Mozambique retained basically the same system of capitalist exploitation which we have so long experienced in its colonial form". In the Neocolonies of "independent" Africa where the Simangos and Kavadames have succeeded in installing primitive and reactionary nationalisms, the structures of colonial-capitalist exploitation have not only been retained but refined, amplified, and embellished with bizarre accoutrements. In Abidjan and Dakar,

Houphouet and Senghor offer up their countries as wards of European security systems; in Kinshasa Mobutu is kept in power by the CIA and pre-feudal Arab regimes; Libreville becomes the center of sanctions breaking against the racist, rebel regime in Zimbabwe; and in Bangui, Bokassa declares himself emperor.

## Fundamental Contradiction

The fundamental contradiction of all neo-colonial regimes is that they operate against the permanent interests of the masses they are supposed to serve. As such there can be no basis for popular participation, no avenues, for positive expression of the popular will, no means through which practical links can be established between leaders and led, no organic unity between governors and governed. There can be no "free" elections where money buys everything including Justice, Honour, Freedom, Truth and life itself, and



Died for what? Kwame Nkrumah (left); Patrick Lumumba (right).



... Amilcar Cabral (left); Egypt's Nasser right.



Neo-Colonisation? ... Zaire's Mobutu (left); Dr. Banda of Malawi and Central Africa's Bokassa (right).

where the wealth of the nation is monopolized by alien multinational corporations and their indigenous collaborators. When neo-colonial regimes attempt to "bring government closer to the people," they produce fear, resentment and cynicism, just as a wolf approaching a herd of sheep creates the correct impression that it is hungry for fresh meat.

This contradiction is graphically illustrated by Comrade Machel's brilliant analysis of the devastating effect produced by the destruction of the culture of the people. This destruction reflects the alienation of the colonial economy, political system, social organization and religion, which produced a split personality, a cultural schizophrenic, a black European. The implication

of this process of deculturation and alienation for the neo-colonial system is that the indigenous elite who operates the system is just as alien as their foreign masters despite the colour of their skins, despite their membership in cults, despite the length of their caps, or their eating with their fingers. As such the indigenization of colonial structures of domination into neo-

**TENDERS FOR FOOD SUPPLY TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, IDOANI, VIA OWO, ONDO STATE FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY - JULY 1978.**

Tenders are invited for the supply of various foodstuffs to the Federal Government College, Idoani, in Ondo State for the period January - July, 1978.

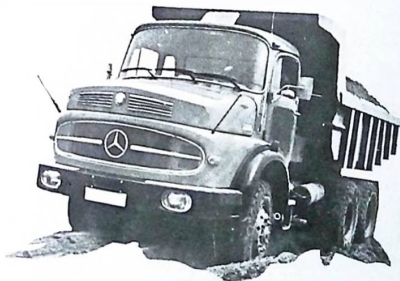
2. Tender forms and details of items to be supplied are obtainable from the Principal, Federal Government College, Idoani, Ondo State.
3. All items supplied must be of the best quality and prices quoted should include the cost of delivery at the Institution.
4. Prices tendered for items subject to price control must not exceed the controlled whole-sale prices. The tenderer is, however, at liberty to quote a monthly charge in respect of delivery of all price controlled articles.
5. There will normally be no change in contract prices throughout the period of contracts, but in the event of any of the items being, during the currency of a contract, the subject of wholesale price control under the provision of any written law or if a controlled wholesale price is increased, the supplier may be granted a sum equal to the increase in the wholesale price. Where a controlled wholesale price is fixed at a figure below the contract price, the supplier shall be paid the decreased price.
6. A non-refundable deposit of ₦20.00 (Twenty Naira) is payable on a tender. This deposit should be paid into any Sub-Treasury under Revenue Head 5 Sub-Head 45 "Deposits on Tenders" of the current Federal Military Government Estimates. The original and a photostat copy each of the treasury receipts should be forwarded with completed Tender forms to the Principal, Federal Government College, Idoani, who will retain the photostat copies and later return the original to the tenderers. No tenders will be considered unless these treasury receipts are forwarded.
7. Completed tender forms should be submitted in sealed envelopes marked 'CONFIDENTIAL' and addressed to the Principal, Federal Government College, Idoani, Via Owo, Ondo State to reach him not later than 3rd January, 1978.

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colonial ones is simply a manoeuvre to facilitate their penetration into the furthest reaches of the colonised society.

"Colonialism, a system for the deprivation of an entire people's freedom, is the greatest destroyer of culture that humanity has ever known. (Applause). African society and its culture were crushed, and when they survived they were co-opted so that they could be more easily emptied of their content. This was done in two distinct ways. One, was the utilisation of institutions in order to support colonial exploitation. The other was the 'folklorising' of culture, its reduction to more or less picturesque habits and custom, to impose in their place the values of colonialism."

Alienation and deculturation which confirm the totality of the expropriation of the national reality produces in the neo-colonial state the eccentric, unstable political system in which the centre of operations, the reference point for values, the orientation and objectives of the society are all located outside. The neo-colonial elite is dehistoricized and ahistorical, following paths of development organized by aliens whose path of historical development is in fundamental contradiction to the national reality of the neo-colonial state: "In our countries history began with the colonial conquest and was reduced to the exploits of the conqueror. They taught us to admire the deeds of Afonso do Albuquerque or of Nelson, but were silent about those of Maguigana or Shaka... Excluded from history, forgotten in geography, we existed only in relation to a colonial point of reference. Thus colonialism asserted that "Mozambique is only Mozambique because Mozambique is Portugal."

The instability, the indiscipline and indecisiveness of neo-colonial regimes are explicable in terms of the assimilation of such alien values which denationalizes the supposed guardians of national independence. For the first time in history the leadership has less direction than the led, the governors less discipline than the governed, the guardians less responsibility than their wards. What former elites said of the plebs, the masses, the hoi polloi, can now be said, with justice, of the neo-colonial elite—they are fickle, indisciplined, incompetent and useless, in short a rabble. Even while Nero fiddled above the burning splendours of Rome, he still retained a measure of control over the Roman legions which pinned down and intimidated

the inhabitants of the empire.

What does Comrade Machel suggest as a remedy for the evils of neo-colonialism? His answer is a form of cultural revolution, the massive political re-education of the people and their leaders, so that they become aware of their alienation and devise means to overcome this alienation. It is a revolution in knowledge which combines theory and practice to destroy the alienating, exploitative structures of colonialism, neo-colonialism and every other manifestation of imperialism. It is a revolution which creates new values which challenge and overcome the values of the conqueror and install in their place the values of national liberation, economic independence, political participation, cultural renaissance and the popularization of the social structure. Comrade Machel issued the challenge to the students of the University to undertake this historic task, to transform science and knowledge from instruments of colonial exploitation into instruments of national liberation: "We want, at Ahmadu Bello University, that knowledge and science should be the instruments of progress, instruments of liberation. We are certain that the university, its leaders, its teaching staff, its students and all its workers, are conscious that the Nigerian people, like all African peoples, expect that our universities should be detachments of the great army, that is the people determined to achieve their complete liberation; the people determined to carry the fight against oppression, humiliation and exploitation, against colonialism and imperialism, to the end, and to build a new society" Awwe, students and staff of Ahmadu Bello University, equal to this task!

I hope so. I will conclude this brief contribution with a quote from an Angolan pamphlet, *Popular Power* which summarizes many of the points made so far: "Of what use is the struggle if we remain subjected to forced labour, in the companies, in the mines—even if they are still directed by Africans? Of what use is the sacrifice if we are still forced to sell our cattle and cotton in markets which only benefit the businessman, even if all of these are Africans? What is the use of so much blood, if in the end we remain subjected to a state which even if ruled by Africans, only serves the rich and powerful? which maintains a police force that seizes and tortures the workers, and an army that fires on the people, even if all the generals are black?"



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*Ethiopians training to defend their home ..... guided by religious undertone*

*Christianity and Islam*

## Threat to African Unity?

The furor over Sharia Court in the Nigeria Constituent assembly has brought what has long been one of the festering problems of African political divisiveness once again to the forefront. The diarchical nature of modern African religious life is too often reflected in secular conflict, and there is no doubt that in spite of such traumatic experiences as the Nigerian civil war where this division was used when convenient by either side to sustain and justify fraternal violence, these divisions are being maintained and nurtured by the very nature of the religious systems that are predicated by adherence to the two major world religions Christianity and Islam.



*Pope Paul VI*

What is most remarkable about the entrenchment of these religions in African life (and what some people see as the major proof of their universality) is the fact that the source of inspiration and creative expression of these forces were never at any time African in either origin or form. Both Christianity and Islam are Mediterranean religions, formed in the Arabian peninsula several centuries ago out of the historic religious and cultural experiences of the Semitic people and modified and consolidated in Rome (for Christianity) and in Saudi Arabia (for Islam) long before the resultant forms were adopted or imposed on African peoples.

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religions in Africa had been through the crucible of European reformation and transformation before they ever raised their head in Africa. Although Coptic Christianity in Ethiopia achieved the status of a national religion in the 15th century and links with the Semitic peoples through Old Testament texts were purported to be established the truth is that Christianity came to Ethiopia with Pauline Missionaries from Greece, a country with which the ancient Abyssinia empire had dealings from several centuries before Christ. In the same way Islam came into Africa proper long after it had existed as a national religion in Spain and the Bosphorus (from Turkey to present day U.S.S.R.) and the major thrust of the religion into 'black' Africa came through traders whose base in Northern Africa made them effective suppliers of African gold, ivory, hides and spices to the Southern European and Eastern European markets. In each case it was trade that preceded belief.

#### Christianity

The golden eras of prophesy in the Arabian (or Semitic) peninsula were eras of political upheaval for the nations and tribes of that area. Both religions were formulated not simply as indices of morality but also as instruments of political liberation. At the time that Christ lived while the major religion was Judaism in that area the political rulership was Roman. This colonial situation had effectively rendered the religion impotent and Christ's achievement was to take elements of the national religion and forge them into an ideological and social code that once again raised the importance of the invisible father of the Jewish nation to a position in ascendancy over the Emperor of Rome. The famous injunction to give unto Caesar that which was Caesar's and unto God (Jehovah—the Jewish nation's father) that which was God's was not as so many seem to think a clever dodge, but rather it was a distinct statement of political defiance. Without going into details of Roman rule we know that Jews were forbidden to pay taxes to the Sanhedrin which had been the case before Roman rule and this effectively symbolised the Roman desire to relegate the national religion to a position subordinate to Government by the colonial power. With such parables as the Widow's Mite, and others Christ flew in the face of Roman policy.

However like all true revolutionaries Christ did not seek a return to the

principles of the past as much as he sought new forces for the future. In his re-interpretation of Judaism he offended the religious conservatives among his own people (witness the throwing of the money-changers out of the temple) and created situation in which the colonial power under Pilate could find common ground with religious conservatives to sentence and execute him. While all this was going on in Judaea, there were no overt attempts to validate the principles of Christianity outside of the specific area. After Christ's death, however, his followers were forced to flee and scatter around the known world and thus began the spreading of the Gospel not as an agent of political protest and liberation but as a moral code. But even in that early period of the spread of the Gospel there is no evidence that either conscious or circumstantial movements of the first missionaries brought any of them to Africa.

#### Moslem

The Prophet Muhammad was also a political revolutionary. His own political achievements however was not in mobilising religious sentiments and attitudes against alien oppressors but rather in setting out to forge unity among the warring tribes and clans of semitic peoples. His own movement can, ironically, be seen as a continuation and development of the progressive thought of Christ if looked at objectively. At the time that Muhammad lived only the Jews (or people of Israel-Judaea) had forged a unity of thought and action through their religion by establishing the belief in one God as the major principle of their morality and social governance. Monotheism was, however, only a vague principle to the other semitic peoples (Arabs today) who continued to worship a plethora of Gods and divine historical figures and constituted themselves into small warring enclaves. Muhammad preached that all Semites were from one father Ibrahim (Abraham) and that there was only one God—Allah. These prepositions found echoes in vague principles and myths of the area, and by his dedication, prowess in battle, and not least his willingness to partake of the secular duties of the communities that he made his mission, he succeeded in creating a unified religious force in his lifetime. This force he consolidated by establishing the ritual of the Hajj before his death.

Unlike Christ he was a successful leader in his time. After the death of Muhammad the spread of Islam into



Will it come to this . . . rifle behind the bible?

Europe was swifter than many people seem to realise. Again it was trade (and let us not forget that Muhammad himself was a successful businessman as well as prophet), that served as the spear-head for this expansion. Trade with African nations has already begun but not on the same scale or in the same manner as it would develop in 15th and 16th centuries when Islamic growth in Africa enjoyed a remarkable upsurge.

#### Foreign Agents of Change

Having given this simplified but basically accurate historical outline of

the beginnings of these religions we can see that parallel religious experiences which were being propounded in Africa at that period may have general principles in common with the great religions of the East but were certainly culturally different. It was after both these religions had become universalised by their contact with Europe and the Northern tip of Africa that they were introduced in full force into Africa. Their rituals, their moral principles, their historical values, had been extensively modified and they had become effective instruments of political control not only for their home areas but for all areas of the world where anyone with military might and trade advantages had the mind to use them.

In other words both religions became really entrenched in Africa as agents of change and did not seek to merge with native African religious experience but rather to supersede it. Christianity, and Islam, have both been the greatest agents of cultural destruction in Africa. In order to attain psychological control and ascendancy over the conquered peoples the agents of these religions have had to negate the native religious myths and beliefs of the subject peoples and in the normal process of historical growth as these peoples leaders are those sanctioned by the agents of the new religions then the religions themselves

become instruments of the people's own governance. This process in Africa has now come full circle and both religions are entrenched to such an extent that they have become instruments of political confrontation.

#### The African Danger

The question of the validity of either religion to African political aspirations today is a touchy one. Furthermore the lingering belief among radical political elements that neither religion can enhance the thrust for the renewal of African cultural purity renders their presence, as well entrenched forces of moral discipline in national communities, both divisive and stubbornly persistent. In other words there can be no attempt at progressive and revolutionary political action in Africa that does not take into account the principles and theories of moral and social form that these religions propound, and as such they are often the greatest obstacles to progressive thought in the community. This is not to suggest the basic revolutionary values of these religions are redundant or untenable in modern life.

Far from it, these religions are beginning to be revitalised in some very specific ways by the African connection and there are adherents to both Christianity and Islam who inject basic

progressive elements of political thought into their interpretation of religious duty. The major problem however is that no one has yet effectively created a median principle of tolerance that can provide for mass unification of the religious codes of these two large forces, and, therefore, the potential for divisiveness and confrontation between these two forces continue to take ascendancy over the prospects for unity in the service of African secular progress.

Religions are repositories of communal emotion, and, as such, are volatile forces which may be rationalised into peaceful tolerance at the behest of elite leadership, but which are apt to erupt into brutal conflict at the level of popular adherence and belief. In the methods of worship and the principles of belief, both Christianity and Islam here in Africa propose conflict and opposition to the common market. It was only to listen to the exchanges between members of educated Muslim and Christian families in Lagos when a Muslim from one proposes to marry a Christian from the other, to appreciate the dangers inherent in even the attempts to forge dicotyledonous unity between the religions.

One cannot rule out the possibility that the profound alienation of the circumstances and geographical placement of the genesis of these two religions may have profoundly affected their empirical nature in such a way that they will always remain somewhat alien to African cultural forms and thus remain potential agents of national conflict rather than of national unity. But even more important one must accept the political realities of their presence. If these religions whose adherents are increasing rather than decreasing in the rural vastnesses of African are to become more valid in the progress and politico-social development of African communities then they must be modified anew in African terms so that there will be a median cultural form that will embody the common moralities of both religions in a peculiarly African way in order to render their adherents more tolerant of each other. If not they shall, in confrontation, destroy each other and in the process destroy the basis of cultural unity that could weaken the stranglehold of alien political priorities on African development in this century. If this happens the irony is that these religions would have done, in Africa, the exact opposite of the political purpose for which they were originally developed in their Mediterranean homelands.



ALLAH, YOU KNOW I PRAY TO  
YOU MOST— 5 TIMES DAILY....  
SO LISTEN...

LISTEN GOD! I SAY  
LISTEN ONLY TO ME !!!...

## The Sweet the Sour

A Short Story by Leban Erapu  
a Ugandan writer in exile

There was a time when Makine Military Prison was the one which had the reputation of being "Siberia"—the place-of-no-return. But although many prisoners ended their political careers there in the first few months of the coup, there were many who did get out alive. It was mostly deadly for Northerners then because the ousted Government was predominately Northern and the men who relieved them of their power though also from the Northern region, came from the smaller tribes which had been used to do the menial military work like the disposal of the unwanted. Having been trained thus, the new regime naturally mistook Government to be the art of the disposal of unwanted persons. So although the prisons were full to begin with, they were very quickly emptied of their inmates who were often dealt away with on the spot to save the trouble of carrying wailing men to a quieter place for disposal. Sometimes the new regime even forgot that it was a costly affair building prisons and consequently blew up whole wings when they might have used the less damaging bullets or the hammer which the PSU had perfected at Namuru.

The one thing that the Sudanic-dominated new regime could not boast of at any level from the raw private to the President was education. They were mostly what were called "illiterates" and they behaved as such. In this way they further debased the Army which had long resisted infiltration by the book-men as the educated people were disparagingly called in the barracks. Even before the coup, the military men delighted at the prospect of doing down the book-men but the grand opportunity never really dawned until the take-over.

In Makine no officer enjoyed playing with book-men more than Lieutenant Long Life did. He shaved some, he disfigured others and de-brained quite a few. But of all the book-men he came to deal with in his career there was to be no one he enjoyed more than Olok-Onen, Esquire, LL.B., LL.M., Lecturer, Barrister and Commissioner of Oaths. The title alone titillated the Lieutenant almost as though they were his. Olok-Onen was detained and thrown into prison for no reason that anybody could remember afterwards except that he came from the Northern

tribes that were being persecuted at every pretext. He had the misfortune of being sent on to Makine Military Prison where he saw people being literally killed just for the fun of it. He waited for his turn to come any moment but it never came. Instead, he suffered the humiliation of being played with like a cat plays with a mouse before it decides to kill it. A typical day would begin something like this:

"How is the book-man this morning?" Lt. Long Life would ask in Kiswahili which was the only language he had a working knowledge of besides his Sudanic. His English stopped with his name, almost for it never went beyond greetings and simple statements.

"Come on, you say you've got two degrees", he would go on. "And you can talk a lot of English. I want you to talk English until I'm tired of listening. Start!"

He would then sit down and draw out his pistol to show that he meant business. Olok-Onen would begin talking just to save his life.

"A pencil. . . . a pen. . . . a house. . . . a hen. . . . a road. . . . a bicycle. . . . a motor car. . . . bananas. . . . a man. . . . a girl. . . ."

He would go on like that until he was tired.

"Go on, I'm not tired of listening yet," the Lieutenant would wake up and urge him. "I want to hear real English like what the white people speak."

"This is my umbrella, it belongs to me, it is mine," Olok-Onen would begin. "Yesterday, I went to the market. Today I shall be going to town to buy some shoes. There's a lady walking down the road. I think I know her name. She lives in a house not far from ours. I see her going to market everyday. . . ."

Soon he would tire of this too but the Lieutenant wouldn't let him stop.

"Go on, go on," he would urge him, raising his pistol for emphasis.

The other prisoners always looked on with sympathy and never laughed as some of the soldiers did. One day one of them couldn't bear it anymore. It must have got on his nerves. He got up and screamed his head off. Lieutenant Long Life let him scream for a little while and then gave him something to really scream about: he fired at him between the legs on the groin and the man yelled with acute pain,

clutching at his balls as he fell down in a faint.

"Now, you're a lawyer," he said, turning to Olok-Onen. "I am a judge and I am quite sure that that man was in the wrong. I want you to convince me that in fact he was right."

"I'm ready to listen to your plea," he said. "Begin!"

"Your Honour," Olok-Onen started, "I would like to submit a plea of Not Guilty on behalf of my client. The Prosecution has based its case purely on hearsay and has tried to baffle us with evidence that was more theatrical than factual. I would like to contend that in fact there is no case to answer. . . ."

He went on and on like that for almost half an hour while everybody (except the man concerned) listened with admiration to this imaginary case. At the end of his submission even the Lieutenant who had not understood what he was saying was impressed in spite of himself.

"Having listened your case," he said, "I'm now convinced that either you're a very good lawyer or a very convincing liar. The prisoner is still guilty by you—you will be taken back to your house which will be searched thoroughly to see if you're not hiding anything dangerous there. Take him!"

Two soldiers stepped forward and took hold of Olok-Onen who—believing his time had come—tried to put up a resistance which was quickly overcome. A blow on the head with the butt of a gun was all that was needed to send him sprawling unconscious on the blood-stained floor. Lieutenant Long Life gave him a few vicious kicks to wake him up and then waited until he regained consciousness before administering another one.

"You think you've got a degree," he said, brandishing the pistol and adding: "My degree is better than yours. You had your time, now it's our turn to rule with our degrees. Get up and do as I said."

Olok-Onen struggled to his feet, unable to believe that he was still alive. The two soldiers led him like a lamb to the jeep that was waiting outside. This time he was sure they were going to kill him somewhere in the forest as they had done with so many people. But the men asked him where he lived and when he told them, they headed that way. He wondered if they intended to kill him in his own house.

There was nobody at home when they got there. His wife had long gone into hiding with the children and even the houseboy seems to have deserted

the doomed house. He told the soldiers he had no key and they decided to blow off the lock. Once inside, they began checking everywhere to see if there was anything suspicious hidden somewhere. There was nothing of interest except a bottle of Johnny Walker and another of Martell which they found in the drinks-cabinet.

"Can we drink some of this?" they asked needlessly.

"Oh, sure," Olok-Onen hastened to answer, getting out glasses for the four of them.

"Come on, have some yourself," said one of the soldiers.

"Just a little perhaps," Olok-Onen answered, bringing another glass. He feared to make them think it might be poisoned or something of the sort.

"Would you like some coke to mix it with?" he asked, having seen some in the fridge.

"That would spoil it," one of the soldiers answered.

"How about some ice?" he asked.

"Bring!" answered another soldier. It must have been the speed at which they drank that did it. By the time they were through the Johnny Walker and the Martell, they were in high spirits and seemed almost human.

One of them asked him the law volumes on his bookshelves.

"Did you write all these books?" he asked, drawing everybody's attention to the Bookshelf.

"Not all of them," Olok-Onen replied. "But as you can see by the name on the back all these here are written by me."

He was pointing at a shelf that contained several copies of his two publications.

"I knew you were a clever man," said the soldier who had drawn the rest to the bookshelf.

"A man who has read and written all those books, do you play with him?" asked another one.

"This country needs such people," said the third one who had not spoken before.

"You can't just kill such a man," said the fourth one who had been silent too. "If we killed all people like him, soon there will be no one writing books in this country."

"And no one reading them either," added the first one.

"What do you think?" asked the second one. "Can't we just tell him to disappear somewhere until all this is forgotten? What has he done after all?"

"He has written books about this country and he deserves to be thanked for that," answered the third one.

"That's exactly how I feel about it," said the fourth.

"Let's get away then before we draw too much attention here," said the first soldier, taking his cap and leading the way out.

"I would lie low for a few days if I were you," warned the last one out.

Olok-Onen just couldn't believe after they had gone that he was really alive and free. Free! That was something he never thought he would feel again—and he didn't feel it then for he

was still in danger and had to go in hiding.

It was only later when he was back in circulation again that the contradiction in the attitudes of the men who had tortured him occurred to him. He never ceased to wonder how the books on his bookshelf had saved his life from the hands of illiterate killers who couldn't even read the title on the cover or the name of the author whom they respected with the blind faith of a child.

## Killings in Uganda's National Theatre

Charles Harrison

Uganda's National Theatre in Kampala was conceived as a bold venture to foster the artistic talents of the people of Uganda. But in the last few months, it has featured in some tragic incidents which are, unfortunately, a reflection of some aspects of life in Uganda today. The latest tragedy to be reported is the execution of three Ugandans by firing squad, after they had been found guilty by secret military tribunal of insulting President Amin, by implying through the medium of the theatre that Uganda does not now have a popular leader. The story of the execution was brought out of Uganda by Stephen Mutengo, a Ugandan who says that, as lieutenant in the army there, he saw the executions carried out. According to his story, the three executed were John Male, the writer of a play entitled *The Office is Empty*, Dan Kintu, Director of the National Theatre in Kampala and Mark Sabuliiba, an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Culture, who attended the first night of the play. The Uganda Government itself has made no mention of the matter, and efforts to confirm Stephen Mutengo's story have got nowhere. Stephen Mutengo speaks very little English, but he's given very detailed account of what happened. According to him he was stationed at the mechanised reconnaissance regiment at Bondo, some thirty miles from Kampala, where the three men were taken after their arrest. He says he spoke to them while they were awaiting trial and after the trial he was present when they were executed by firing squad. According to Lieutenant Mutengo, four other Ugandans were also executed, after being accused of smuggling coffee out of Uganda. He

one condemned man pleaded with him to smuggle them out of the army camp where they were being held, but he couldn't do this. However he says he did promise to deliver their bodies to their relatives after the executions took place at Bondo on the 24th of July with no announcement made about the arrests, the trial or the sentences. After the executions he says he was ordered to take the bodies to the River Nile, but instead he took them into Kampala and delivered them to the dead men's relatives, in return for a bribe of 5,000 shillings (about 400 Naira) which he shared with a sergeant and three privates. However, according to Mutengo, the Commanding Officer of the army unit at Bondo, Lieutenant-Colonel Juma Ali learned that his orders had been disobeyed and ordered the arrest of the Lieutenant. But Mutengo heard of this in time to get away and eventually made his way out of Uganda.

Earlier this year, the previous Director of the National Theatre Byron Kawadwa was dragged from the Green Room at the theatre and murdered. He had been rehearsing a play based on the Christians, who were martyred for their faith in Uganda nearly a century ago. Apparently someone in Uganda thought the play a commentary on the present situation under the military government there, and so Byron Kawadwa, a very well-known figure in the world of the theatre in Uganda for many years, (he led the Ugandan Festac team to Lagos at the beginning of the year) was killed as were some members of the cast of the play. Now, according to Lieutenant Mutengo, Byron Kawadwa's successor as Director of the National Theatre is dead too.

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# Coup d'etat in Recent Nigerian Novels

A review article bringing together four works

Chinua Achebe: *A MAN OF THE PEOPLE*

London/Ibadan Heinemann (AWS 31) 1966.

Obi Egbuna: *THE MINISTER'S DAUGHTER*

Glasgow, Fontana Books, 1975.  
London: KOLERA KOLEJ Ibadan, New Horn Press, 1975

John Munaonye: *A WREATH FOR THE MANSIONS*

London/Ibadan Heinemann's (AWS, 31) 1973.

REVIEWED BY Dr. Olaleré Oladitan.

Perhaps nothing of serious political significance ever transpired between Achebe and any Nigerian administration since the publication of *A Man of the People* in 1966, particularly on the coup d'etat which he prophetically ended the novel. Critics and the general public have however been tempted to suggest a fore-knowledge of the first Nigeria coup. But one could defend the author by saying that he had only studied his society carefully and was able to show in his novel that evil could not continue unstemmed, that there would be a positive intervention, even if only transitory, before a renewal and intensification of the cycle of suffering and frustration. On the other hand, coups in other countries might have served as models for Achebe and he might have given at the end of that novel his own ideal solution to the disillusionment of the first years of our independence.

By the first half of 1975 however, coups-d'etat were no more a matter of prophecy or wizardry, for the public had already known two of such violent events and another was in the offing, to be followed by the attempted coup of February 13 1976. So, in fact, when Obi Egbuna, Femi Osofisan and John Munaonye were writing, they had a reality of coups to work on, unlike their elder brother, Achebe, who would have risked censorship if we did not have our first coup in time.

*A Man of the People*, we remember, is essentially the story of a corrupt political set-up swept off by a coup.

The corrupt politics is embodied in the person of Chief (or Thief) Manga, a demagogue and a swindler of both money and women. He is criticised by the narrator, Odili, who starts off as an idealist but we find later that he himself has all the potentialities to sin. He is particularly a weak match against the Chief in the realm of politics. In a secondary plot, Odili and Chief Manga compete for a girl and it is only the coup d'etat that gives Odili the upper hand. Although the violent event here appears to arrest the situation of political chaos after independence, we are not told anything significant of the programmes of the coup leaders, apart from the suspension of party politics and the impending trial of some politicians.

### The Minister's Daughter

Obi Egbuna's *The Minister's Daughter* is similar to Achebe's work in the picture of public corruption painted, using a political figure who is set against an idealist—his daughter. This innocent girl, like the man in Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautiful Ones* are not yet born, resists corruption, particularly the double standards of her father, the minister. The latter would, on the one hand, claim to stand for the masses, but he would on the other, not receive in audience a poor woman who treks to see him. He also tortures, almost to death, a young brilliant student for urinating on one of the trees in his compound. This student, the old woman's son, had in fact taken the minister's invitation to all afflicted students seriously and has therefore decided to approach him for a scholarship. He finds the minister in company of a white woman, his secretary's wife, and he is only told that the house is not open to 'vagrants' like him. A coup soon puts a brief stop to all these excesses.

In this work, Egbuna, goes beyond Achebe to give us something of a mosaic and immediate justice at a personal level, without developing a second plot. The "Boy"—the minister's houseboy, avenges himself on his master by making him disguise as a beggar and lick his anus in the presence of the soldiers. The climax of this vengeance comes when the boy decides to sleep with the white woman, and at this point the minister betrays himself by his jealousy, and he is almost shot for his past because of this "weakness of the flesh."

Egbuna's other departure from Achebe is the failure of the particular coup whose leaders we see in action. The "dissidents" as they are later

termed, are not only "rounded-up"; they, in effect, start to kill themselves. The leader is shot by one of his colleagues because the former announces marxist programmes, an ideology which does not form part of the original objectives of the coup, if it ever had a purpose.

### Kolera Kolej

As in the works of Achebe and Egbuna, the three coups in Osofisan's work ensue because the society is diseased, and the symbolic epidemic of cholera in a supposedly sane and safe society dramatises the tragedy. Femi sets his work in a University, that peak and cream of society not meant to be pure, capable and uncontaminable by itself, but also expected, among other things, to raise the intellectual tone of society, purify the national taste and supply true principles to popular enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to this ideal, the College is sunk in shallowness and fake intellectualism, all manifested in facial politicking, unprincipled and directionless administration.

The first of the coups in *Kolera Kolej* fails, the second and the final ones succeed. Thus, in this work Femi reflects the high incidence and the variety of 'outcomes of coup—events in the African, and particularly Nigerian, experience. Like Achebe, Osofisan ends his work with a coup, but this is in utter confusion. For, while the coup in *A Man of the People* can be regarded as a positive stop to the tragic state of affairs, the final coup in *Kolera Kolej* comes as another of those events which have virtually recurred as a cyclic return to the absurd.

Femi's novel adds another dimension to the interpretation of the political predicament of the "independent" states of Africa, specifically in the picture painted of the process and nature of independence. The College is granted self-administration because it has problems, because it is incurably diseased and thus constitutes a problem for the colonising country. It is to avoid further involvement in the problematic situation that the colonial power hastily grants "independence." So, the young nation is diseased at birth, and the masters deliberately leave the epidemic there. Moreover, the terms of the independence are crippling. By the Yandi (Yaounde?) Convention of Cooperation, the new invented country has to import its vaccine from mother-country, the language of the old master is to remain the official language, and the newly "independent" country has no right to

# The Last Duty

Author: Isidore Okpewho

Publishers: Longman

Reviewer: Bozimo

## ECHOES FROM THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

The last thing on the Nigerian civil war is yet to be written; perhaps, it never will be written because many stories about the war experiences are continuously being churned out by creative writers daily.

The tragic fratricidal bloodbath has inspired a lot of war literature like poems, short stories and novels—albeit dealing with specific aspects and people's reactions to the conduct of the war, whether in the embattled zones or behind the fortress of falling walls in Biafran enclave.

*The Last Duty*, like its predecessors, deals fictionally with the experience of a rebel occupation of a village called Urukpe, which is a border town on both sides of the federal and Biafran territories. And through the collective evidence of six or more major characters, the author explores with dramatic and compelling earnestness, the reactions of the characters to their different interpretations to the varying themes of honour, integrity, conscience, personal good, self-respect and truth. The amazing thing is that the main protagonists are ridiculously busy trying to impress the reader that no matter the odds and the difficult times, they can each hold out their own.

The novel is written in three parts and like a play, it unfolds by introducing the major characters in this order. Ali is a Brigade Major based at Urukpe and he is at the head of a difficult task of defending this town from further rebel incursion. With the departure of fleeing rebels, many things have happened. All rebels who belong to the Simba tribe have abandoned their rebel hold of Urukpe and gone away into the safety of their towns on the other side of the border. Even innocent Simba women married to non-Simba have to abandon their husbands and families because, in this kind of war, any remotest link with a Simba is regarded as "collaboration with the rebels" in the official parlance. And any proven case of collaboration calls for instant justice which entails detention without trial or lynching by the overzealous federal troops and support-

have its own army, it is to remain permanently under what amounts to a siege.

Thus, apart from the congenital disease, the invalid is deprived of all such future creativity as can be self-healing. Self-reliance which independence should mean in the first instance is denied. That state is thus doomed from the outset, and the spate of coups in the brief period of its existence as well as its consequent failure as a nation can be partly traced to this still-birth. Although, we are not told anything, we can only hope that the final coup which appears to be effected by prisoners, will not only arrest the corruption rate and cure the disease, but will also model a new and true independence for the state. Without that the nation will never be whole.

Suffering and violence are themes common to all the coup-novels, particularly in the portrayal of the situation just before the coups. Indeed Obi's work which delves more into the processes, the planning and the execution of a coup depicts much bloodbath and suffering innocence. In fact, the first victim of the abortive coup is a seven-year-old boy who naively follows one of the dissidents who is disguised as a hunter and mistaken for such by the boy. The latter is shot for seeing too much. Osofin's work is characterised by arrests, detention and deaths. A particular mark of this work is the satirical approach in which all political activities, including the coups, are reduced to a complete farce.

### Similarities

There are a number of features of the coups novels—similarities and differences—which will be interesting to examine in greater detail. In all the works, there are idealists—intellectuals, and naive youths like Odili in *A Man of the People* the poet in *Kolera Kolej* and Nneka and Goddy in *The Minister's Daughter*. These characters appear as a moral standard against which the corrupt politicians are judged; but again, these characters themselves can be compromised in sin, and they are generally ineffective. Furthermore, it is obvious that these novels are closely related to Nigerian history, but the exact relationship needs a serious exploration. A careful use of the historicist approach can be rewarding here and some of the problems to be examined may include the degree, methods and processes of fictionalisation of the historical events.<sup>2</sup> One can appropriately bring in John Munonye's *A Wrath for the Maidens* at this point. This novel, a kind of historical fresco, summarises the major political events in Nigeria from the last days of colonial

rule to the end of our civil war. It mentions at easily recognisable points along the line of chronology two Nigerian coups, those of January and July 1966. In this case one can suggest immediately that the work is heavily documentary.

Strong moral choices also appear to dominate all the novels. The main characters in Munonye's work, for example, are two intellectual idealists, Roland Medo and Biere Ekonte, who maintain a clear political moral stand throughout the novel. Although they appear incorruptible, they remain as ineffective as their colleagues in the other works. Writers have a way of giving social significance to violent events, their causes, processes and outcomes. This we have already found to be very valid for West African writers of French expression.<sup>3</sup> The same is likely to be of particular relevance to the Nigerian case, with all our recent bonds with violence, in political chaos, civil war and coups. This area too can be further examined.

Finally, things happen very fast in Nigeria today. Action and speed appear the order of the day. Happily enough, our writers are versatile enough to meet the challenge of our situation. They have enough to inspire them either into simple imitation of reality or into those wizardly pronostics which DuVignaud has called a "wager"<sup>4</sup>. Since the publication of all the works examined here we have had two other coups d'état: first the bloodless change of administration in July 1975, and then, the bloody, wasteful and unsuccessful attempt of 13th February 1976. We should not be surprised if very soon works are published that make an epic of the July 29, 1975 event and make Murtala a legendary figure of Africa. There is room for a highly poetic and imaginative re-creation of history, with a clear and progressive orientation in social and political terms. A particular social significance which writers can give to the July and February events is the sense of direction which is so painfully lacking in all the earlier coups and their novelistic imitations.

1. Professor Abayoké, O. *Quoting Cardinal Newman in his maiden address to University of the Congregation on 27th November 1975.*
2. Compare Henderson III, Harry B. *Versions of the past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1974.
3. Odion D. *The theme of violence in the African novel of French expression. Ph. D. thesis, Department of Modern Languages, Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan, 1975.*
4. DuVignaud, Jean. *The Sociology of Art*. London, George Allen and Unwin, (Penguin), 1952.



Aku, from undue molestation by all those who hate rebels to the core. Toje, apart from his contract jobs of supplying food to the military men, is emotionally torn between satisfying his sexual orgy with Aku and at the other end of the tragic circle, is Oshvire, facing trial for collaboration with rebels.

The crisis point comes when Odibo and Toje comes to physical grips waving cutlass against each other all in the name of Aku's love. The love crisis and scandal comes to the open and the military men step in to save Aku from the Toje-Odibo love wrangle. At this point, the news of Oshvire's release from detention is broken to all, and that dashes Toje's adulterous dreams. Oshvire comes back from prison to hear that his wife has been in the sex scandal. With a punctured ego from detention and tied to the adulterous shame on his wife's part, the only way out for him is to end it all.

Oshvire goes back to his house, packs up his belonging, burns down his house during the night and tells the wife and the son to follow him. As they walk into the dimness of the night, there comes a stray bullet from the dark and Oshvire apparently dies from a bullet wound. Aku and her son starts crying that her husband/father is dead and the novel ends just there. A good riddance you may say! That is just the synopsis of the novel. But now to the literary gains of the novel.

The author has through the use of the major characters evoked the touchy issues involved in a war situation. There is misconception and misapprehension about the federal mission, but the milk of human kindness which lurks in the heart of sensitive beings makes it impossible for all characters in the novel to show mercy where they would have shown their bestiality.

Herein lies the underlying import of the novel—*The Last Duty*. The seeming conflict between the military mission and his protective turn of mind in the Brigade major is evident in Toje's burning hatred for Oshvire but he loves to protect his rival's wife all because, his last duty, as it were, is to his conscience which must separate evil from good intentions. Oshvire on his part knows the penalty for collaboration with the rebels but because he could not see a young man die under his nose, he offers his help.

The author succeeds in weaving together the reactions of the major characters in the novel to extol the virtues of integrity, honesty, good neighbourliness, justice and fairplay. The strength of the novel lies in its

didactic undertones and with repeated authorial comments put into the mouths of the characters, the message comes out clear—that no matter the emergency it could be war or fire disaster, human beings are basically, the same. There are good ones and bad ones but each in his own way has a principle by which he operates and no threat of firing squad can make him falter.

Beside the glaring lively prose of the author, he succeeds in capturing the vivid war situation by his use of war images and descriptions of hair-breadth escapes which gives the novel a dramatic colour. *The Last Duty* sheds a pinpoint of light on the intricacies of brothers warring against brothers in the biafran debacle.

## A State of Blood

Inside Story of Idi Amin's  
Reign of Fear.

**Author:** Henry Kyemba, Minister in the Amin regime from 1972 to 1977, with a Foreword by Godfrey Lule former Minister of Justice and Solicitor General of Uganda.

**Publishers:** Corgi Books, a division of Transworld Publishers Ltd.

**Pages:** 288

**Price:** 95p (recommended)

**Reviewer:** A. B. ASSENSOH

This book, coming from an insider of General Amin's regime, is not different from a political testament of what has existed in Uganda since the general came to power on January 25, 1971. But waiting for such a long time before coming out to give his side of the alleged brutalities people are said to be suffering in Uganda, of which he may be considered a part, appears to raise serious doubts about the genuineness of his defection. It also raises several serious questions.

Former Health Minister Henry Kyemba offers in a prologue, his reasons for his defection after more than five years in the service of Amin. He wrote: "...But in late 1976, I began to feel my time was running out. Two disquieting incidents, which seemed like omens, further undermined my dwindling confidence. A friend called me late at night from a remote part of the country to find out if I was still alive. ... This, in itself, points to how unsatisfactory he attempts to exone-

rate himself from blame as part of the reported ugly scene in Uganda since Amin came to power. Also, circumstances leading to his return from Tanzania to Uganda on January 29, 1971, barely four days after Amin had seized power, makes mockery of whatever defence he has put up in his book to show that he was an unwilling and helpless member of the regime's leadership. As Obote's private secretary from 1963 to 1971, Kyemba, should not have felt so secure as to make contacts from Tanzania to return after the overthrow of his mentor.

### Gaping Sycophancy?

In African circles, it is an accepted norm or fact that wives often exercise considerable influence over husbands. It was, therefore, expected that if Amin's second wife, the late Mrs. Kay Kyemba was Kyemba's personal friend for many years, as he has stated in a chapter to a photograph in the middle of the book, Kyemba then could have influenced events in his native Uganda for the good through Kay and his own contacts with Amin as his private secretary.

Next, from his own accounts, he did not do anything to influence Amin's thinking, in order to help save some of the lives known to have perished. Did he then serve Amin as a willing collaborator or merely as a gaping sycophant who loved to be part of the machinery that wielded power in Ugandan politics? As Kyemba shows in a chronology of events, his own brother, Rehobaz Lume Kisajja was allegedly murdered by the regime on September 21, 1972; then, on September 30, 1972, barely nine days later, he was on an official visit to Nigeria (page 264). Why did Kyemba not defect from Amin's cause then?

Former Justice Minister and Solicitor General Godfrey Lule's four-page Foreword to the 288-page book is brilliantly presented but his appeal that "Amin is largely supported by trade with foreign powers. This Trade must be cut off," is, in fact, not in keeping with Lule's patriotic gesture. Has he forgotten that the major powers of the world today determine their foreign policies according to their national interests? The trade, in fact, keeps the whole of Uganda surviving, not merely general Amin or his Ministers. Reports have often indicated that Amin has access to Arab money. This means that even if the trade is interrupted, as he suggests, Lule would still find Amin and his ministers still surviving ebullently. To cut off the trade is just to suggest that one should cut one's nose to disfigure oneself.

Indeed, apart from the unaccept-



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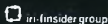
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ability of Kyemba's defence as a victim of circumstances in Uganda and that he got involved in Amin's regime by sheer accident, or that he was a help-

less participant of the Amin scenario, his book adds volume to the documented sources of reference about Amin's regime.

## How Long Will South Africa Survive

Author: R.W. Johnson.

Publisher: Macmillan, London, 1977

Length: Pp. vii, 327

Price: Hard cover **£15.25**, Paper **£6.75**.

Reviewed by: P. F. Wilmot

This extensive text on the racist enclave belongs to the genre of Guy Arnold's *The Last Bunker* which is basically a journalistic survey, a long newspaper article between covers. As such the structure of its argument is impressionistic rather than architectonic, its impact diffuse rather than concentrated, the result of a coherent analysis which shapes and orders facts without leading them.

Both Johnson and Arnold are, of course, sympathetic to the African cause. But sympathy without discipline, without direction and without coherent structure easily degenerates into sentimentality, into cynicism, even into paternalism. And the utter cynicism of Johnson's style, which may fit in quite nicely with the sherry and ancient plumbing of Oxford and Cambridge, will grate on modern African political palates, eager to experience the exhilarating taste of total African freedom, unconditioned by the amity or enmity of Europe.

His account of the assassination of our late Head of State, General Murtala Muhammad, for example, is not likely to endear his book to a Nigerian audience. "Murtala had been a major thorn in American flesh over Angola and an utterly critical figure at the January 1976 OAU Summit; he was now loudly suspicious of U.S. designs throughout Africa, and might well use his influence to sabotage a Rhodesian settlement. Not inconveniently, however, Murtala was assassinated on 13th February 1976 in an abortive coup aimed, apparently, at restoring Gowon" (emphasis mine).

It is clear from a reading of the whole book, and from the impersonal style of the offending passage, that the

author does not necessarily, or consciously, approve of this dastardly act. But the crude cynicism and ambiguous grammar leaves this Englishman, who grew up in South Africa, open to all kinds of political misunderstanding on this emotionally charged and highly sensitive issue.

Another report likely to raise questions about Johnson's motives is his categorical statement on the alleged killing of Rex Nhongo, a ZIPA commander. After stating that Nhongo was a "former Salisbury Hotel waiter, aged 28, and of little education," Johnson stated that "Nhongo's hour of fame was brief. He died of poisoning on 25th April 1977, naming an executive member of the Patriotic Front as his assassin."

A check with sources recently in Maputo revealed that Nhongo was in fact alive and well. Johnson's categorical statement is therefore akin to the BBC reporter's claim that a member of the FRELIMO Central Committee was stabbed by President Machel in Maputo at the very same time that another BBC reporter was interviewing the committee member in Dar Es Salaam.

*How Long Will South Africa Survive* has a number of such distortions scattered in the wealth of detail, gleaned mostly from Legum's African Contemporary Record, but clearly also from the intelligence operative and hangerson which infest the halls of Oxford and Cambridge. While some of these details are clearly factual, and can be checked in a variety of sources, others are clearly disinformation, designed to create confusion. Among the highlights:

- *The CIA's help in constructing four large military airbases for Smith in Rhodesia.*
- *The Royal Air Force electronic base in Botswana for monitoring guerrilla signals in Zimbabwe on Smith's behalf. (Apparently revelation of facts such as this earned ex-CIA agent James Agee and the journalist Hosenball expulsion or-*

*ders from Britain).*

- *Involvement of the French intelligence agency, Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionage (SDECE), in the assassination of Nguabi.*
- *That Hendrik van den Berg, head of South Africa's Bureau of State Security (BOSS) is a key contact man between Vorster and several African Heads of State (Kaunda, Houphouët-Boigny, Senghor and Tolbert).*
- *That Podgorny urged Samora Machel to keep sending labourers to South Africa's gold mines, a rather bizarre "fact" since the racists are the Soviet's main competitors in gold production.*
- *That between 1967 and 1972 the U.S. supplied South Africa with 1376 aircraft of various types, including 10 Lockheed C-130 troop transport planes.*
- *The name of the CIA agent who recruited Mobutu (Lawrence Devlin, now a big businessman in Kinshasa, and one-time employer of Watergate burglar, Howard Hunt).*
- *Details of Lonrho's and Tangayika Concessions' support for Savimbi.*

Other details are clearly false and misleading. The camp at Nyazonia where rebel Rhodesian forces massacred over 800 Zimbabwean refugees in August 1976 was declared by the Mozambican authorities, by ZANU and a representative of the UN High Commission on Refugees to be an unarmed refugee camp. Proof for this came from the rebels themselves who said that their forces suffered no casualties, an unlikely result if armed guerrillas were present. Yet Johnson refers to the complex at Nyazonia as "guerrilla camp."

Again Johnson claims that there were never more than 2000 South African troops in Angola at any time, a claim contradicted by facts presented by the writer himself. For example he admits that the MPLA had complete control of 12 of Angola's 16 provinces before the South African invasion, meaning that its forces were superior to the FLNA-UNITA combination. It follows then that there should be at least as many South African as Cuban troops present in Angola at the height of their respective strengths since both are modern, mechanized forces, with the Cubans having the edge in motivation and experience. Since Johnson accepts Western intelligence estimates of 13,000 to 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola, he cannot at the same time insist that there were never more than

2000 South Africans present.

Between November and December 1975, *The Daily Telegraph*, hardly, a foe of the Apartheid regime, detailed racists troop movements into Angola of at least 6000. In January 1976 there was a call-up of 15,000 conscripts, described by the Western press as the biggest mobilization in South African History. And today the racists have an estimated 60,000 troops in Northern Namibia to combat SWAPO forces considerably less powerful than the MPLA and its Cuban allies.

On a more substantive level the book is remarkably silent about the British role in propping up the apartheid system despite the facts that Britain has investments of a billion Naira, is still South Africa's biggest trading partner, that 40% of the racist population is of British descent, and that Britain is far and away the most important source of immigrants to the apartheid enclave. Johnson has sub-chapters on the "Bonn-Pretoria axis," and "Tokyo Line" and the "French-Connection" but none on the "London-Pretoria Coitus." He details the antics of Kissinger and the racists but not the steady stream to Johannesburg of high Conservative Party officials, M15 operatives and leaders of the Confederation of British Industry and the very influential United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA). Viewing all these facts one cannot avoid the inference that this book, rushed to publication by Macmillans, is a result of resentment at encroachment by "outsiders" on Britain's "traditional sphere of influence" in her former colony.

The final chapter which presents an analysis with only tenuous connection with the rest of the book makes an essentially negative assessment of black revolutionary potential in South Africa, meaning that the author's answer to the question asked in the title of the book is that the apartheid regime will last a very long time indeed.

This negative assessment can be summarized in seven points: (1) The black South African working class lacks trade union organization (2) there is a conflict of interest between the urban working class and the migrants from the Bantustans (3) there are ethnic conflicts between blacks. (For example Johnson repeats the official racist reports alleging that Zulu hostel dwellers attacked Soweto residents, despite the fact that Buthelezi investigated the incident and found that the reports were disinformation spread by the racists with the precise objective of creating ethnic divisions. After all Zulu reside in Soweto also,

so that even if the attackers were Zulu, their attack could not be based on ethnic animosity). (4) The coercive apparatus of the state is too efficient (5) The Soweto uprising indicated communal rather than class solidarity (6) Urban guerrilla warfare will be ineffective as it was in Latin America (7) The prospect of long term unemployment, very real for the urban black in the depressed South African economy, may lead to apathy and starvation rather than revolt.

Rather condescendingly Johnson sees the greatest power of the South African Black as his ability to scare away foreign investments by occasional strikes and riots.

Black salvation in South Africa could come about only from outside forces through the following rather unlikely scenario: If the present recession in Western economies continues, the Soviet Bloc will catch up and surpass them; The combined political economic and military weight of the Soviet and Afro-Arab blocs could pressure the West to pressure South Africa to hand over power to the black majority: "As Soviet power grows, so South Africa will feel increasingly threatened; at the same time she will be driven into ever greater dependence on the West militarily and economically; and the West will be under ever greater pressure from the Soviet bloc and the non-aligned states to use her leverage to ensure black majority rule in South Africa."

If this highly speculative scenario is the black man's only hope of salvation, then the racist enclave will certainly last forever. But what of the elements of Johnson's negative assessment? On a general level they smack of the wishful thinking and intellectual narcissism displayed by Western intellectuals, even on the "left", in assessing African liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies. As late as 1974 these characters were referring to the "formidable grip" of the Portuguese fascists.

On a more specific level: (1) Considering the intensity of repressive anti-trade union and anti-strike legislation governing black labour, the existence of any black trade union activity and the occurrence of any strike by blacks effectively disposes of Johnson's argument that the black working class lacks trade union organization. (2) The intensity of the conflict between black and white makes insignificant any conflict between urban and migrant blacks who after all, spend most of their working lives in the urban areas. Conflicts that do occur are normally between strikers and strike-breakers

trucked in by the authorities, a normal happening in any industrialized or industrializing country. (3) Racist oppression and the level of industrialization have replaced ethnic differences with racial solidarity. South Africa is remarkable for the absence of accounts of ethnic, as opposed to racial conflicts. The Bantustan programme and the attempts at residential segregation are efforts by the whites to retribalize the Africans in order to replace the black majority with ethnic minorities. (4) The myth of the invincibility of the white coercive apparatus was shattered by the devastating defeat in Angola. Against defenceless school children even unarmed thugs can be effective. (5) The claim that the Soweto uprising was based on communal rather than class solidarity is a result of the racist elitism in most Western political thinking which interprets African political realities in ethnic terms. Soweto is a black township of 1.5 million ethnically undifferentiated and industrially unproductive blacks. How a struggle against institutionalized white racism and black collaboration could be termed "communal" is hard to fathom. The Soweto students, backed by black underground movements, especially the ANC, organized a massive general strike, burnt government-owned property as well as houses of black policemen and members of the pseudo bourgeoisie. This appears to be the result of precocious class consciousness at a very high level. (6) Urban guerrilla warfare failed in Latin America because the guerrillas were recruited primarily from the bourgeoisie and had only tenuous connections with the urban workers and the peasantry. The same is not true in South Africa. Urban guerrillas achieved their political objectives in Algeria even though they were militarily defeated. The OAS (terrorist organization, consisting of French settlers in Algeria) were more successful in terms of pure military destructiveness but failed to achieve their political objectives because these were retrograde. Johnson should study the relations between war and politics and social structure. (7) Africans have been told before of their apathy, their submissiveness and acquiescence in the face of brutal injustice. But they triumphed in Algeria, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea-Bissau. Today the walls around the apartheid enclave are collapsing in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Let those who believe that South Africa will survive forever, dream on. And May they never awake from such sweet sleep.

The struggle continues and victory is more certain than death.

**TO PROPRIETORS/OWNERS OR MANAGERS OF ALL HOTELS, PRIVATE GUEST HOUSES AND CATERING REST HOUSES**

The National Hotel Classification study commences on December 12th 1977 and ends on February 15th 1978.

If you are the Proprietor/Owner or Manager of any establishment whose main trade or business is the provision of sleeping accommodation and food, then you must complete one of the Hotel Classification study questionnaires.

The questionnaires are available for collection from the State branches of the Federal Ministry of Trade listed below.

Once you have completed the questionnaire and returned it by hand to the office from which it was obtained, you will be given an Interim Certificate which must be prominently displayed in your establishment until further notice. This certificate is formal evidence that you have complied with this instruction.

When the study has been completed.

Hotels  
Catering Rest Houses  
Private Guest Houses

Will be graded and awarded Star ratings in each of these categories. Details of the ratings awarded will be published in a National Tourist Guide that will be sold in Nigeria and Overseas.

**REMEMBER YOU ONLY HAVE FROM DECEMBER 12TH TO FEBRUARY 15TH 1978 TO COMPLETE THE NATIONAL HOTEL CLASSIFICATION STUDY.**

**STATES**

**Anambra:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
9 Kingsway Road,  
Enugu.

**Bauchi:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
Baki Kura Ward,  
Bauchi.

**Bendel:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
2 Sapoba Road,  
Benin City.

**Benue:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
55 Aliade Ourkpo Road,  
Makurdi.

**Cross River:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
12 Bassey Duke Street,  
Calabar.

Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
26 Oron Road,  
Uyo.

**Gongola:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
Yelwa Ward Jimeta,  
Yola.

**STATES**

**Imo:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
95 Hospital Road,  
Aba.

**Kaduna:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
1 Ali Akilu Road,  
Kaduna.

**Kwara:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
93 Ibrahim Taiwo Road,  
Ilorin.

**Lagos:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Broad Street,  
Lagos.

**Maiduguri:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
Nguru Road,  
Maiduguri.

**Minna:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
11Y Sabon-Geri Road,  
Minna.

**Ogun:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
Oke-Ilewo,  
Ibara-Abeokuta.

**STATES**

**Ondo:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
41 Alakure Street,  
Akure.

**Oyo:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
2 Lakanmi Close,  
Ibadan.

**Plateau:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
35 Langtang Street,  
Jos.

**River:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
Bank Road,  
Port Harcourt.

**Kano:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
Nasarawa Street,  
Kano.

**Sokoto:**  
Federal Ministry of Trade,  
Domestic Trade Division,  
Yakubu Gowon Street,  
Sokoto.

**Permanent Secretary**  
Federal Ministry of Trade  
Lagos.

**5th December, 1977.**

# COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

## PRODUCT NEWS

### SOYI-OGI

Nigeria's traditional maize beverage, pap, has been given a scientific touch by the Federal Institute of Industrial Research, Oshodi. The resulting product is called Soy-i-Ogi and contains more protein than the traditional one. It is a blended mixture of corn (maize) and Soya bean forming a mash which is later fortified with vitamins and minerals. Soy-i-Ogi is most useful in acute cases of Kwashiorkor—that disease which manifests from protein deficiency.

### QUALITY COPIA

Leventis Technical Ltd. is now marketing a new copying machine. Trade marked copia 400; it has no "warm-up" period. The first copy is produced within seven seconds while subsequent copies are at the rate of fourteen per minute. OLIVETTI, the manufacturers, claim it can copy "virtually anything that may be required in an office". Colours and tones are reproduced in different shades of black and white to give the product a marked quality. And because the toner is contained in a sealed Cartridge, no liquid is to be poured so there is less mess and stain.

### POTATOE COOKING TIME

A Swedish firm ELECTROFOOD AB, has developed a new cooking process that halves the present cooking time of potatoes without damages to flavour. Called Oscillating cooking, it provides for potatoes to be immersed in water between two alternating current electrodes. These are inside a specially designed cooker which can contain up to 7kg of potatoes. Claims the designers, the raw potato is cooked in 8 minutes as compared with present 18 minutes and above. The new technique was developed with financial assistance from the Swedish Board for Technical Development. How I wish we Africans can borrow a leaf from here!

## INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY CHEMICAL PRODUCTS FOR INDUSTRY

In today's Industrial Technology, there lurks behind the consumer's scene a host of products upon which the quality and effectiveness of industrial products depend. Be-

cause they act mostly as catalysts, process media; purification and cooling agents, their existence is known only to the users—industry. Even then, how they are manufactured is known to few. Although some are used in their raw states how they are retrieved; mined; purified are hardly known by users and consumers of their end products.

Major among these chemical products are Ammonia gas, Methyl acide, the oxides of Carbon, Nitrogen and metal pigments.

Ammonia exists in many different forms in the industrial scene. There is Ammonia solution which is produced by dissolving ammonia gas in water. This is used mainly in neutralisation of Acid media and industrial cleaning. Ammonia itself, which is produced by Catalytic reforming of gaseous or liquid hydrocarbons, is used as a cooling agent and in the heating of high carbon steels. In the production of dynamites, Nitrates of Ammonia are used. These Nitrates are produced by direct reaction of Ammonia with Nitric acid. A solution of Carbon dioxide and Ammonia gives Urea solution which is used mostly in synthetic glues for wood and paper, Textile finishing materials, plastics, films and vanishes. Carbon dioxide, a gas that can be collected during purification of Ammonia synthesis gases, is used in Nuclear power generation as heat-carrying fluid in reactor exchangers and is also applied in the preservations of food items.

Mineral pigments are also very useful. Iron Oxides are used in colouring of industrial paints; cements and concretes, cattle feed and in the manufacture of polishing compounds. Zinc sulphides, on the other hand, are used in the colouring of all plas-

tics, printing inks, glass, enamel and ceramic pieces among others.

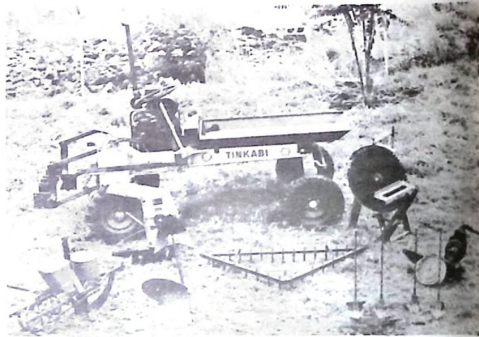
The list really is endless and the few processes and applications above were spotlighted at the courtesy of a french company—AZOTE ET PRODUITS CHIMIQUES. It just shows how dependent industries are and should act as guideline for African countries in the process of industrialisation. As the Iron and Steel industry cuts across most industries, so chemical products spread their tentacles into other industries.

## FOCUS

### TINKABI—FIRST AFRICAN TRACTOR

If nothing else, the recent Lagos International Trade Fair provided a marvellous opportunity for exhibition of the little Africa has been able to achieve. Like many other visitors, your correspondent held his head high when he saw on display Africa's first ever Tractor—TINKABI. Many who believe that finance is a major handicap to Technological development in Africa, should be having second thoughts because TINKABI was designed, manufactured in none other than one of Africa's poorest nations—SWAZILAND.

Literally, TINKABI in Swazi means "many oxen" and that precisely is where the idea came from. With farms averaging four hectares in Swaziland, farmers in the past used oxen to plough fields but not in the dry season. These animals were far too weak to plough under the scorching sun. This imposed a limitation on volume of production—a problem that pricked the conscience of Agricultural engineers at Swazi branch



*Tinkabi and the many implements that make it "more than a tractor"*

# COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

of University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and gave birth to TINKABI.

A 16 hp diesel engine from India powers the tractor through a hydraulic system. This eliminates the need for clutch, gears and brakes. To go forward, the driver only pushes a lever forward and for reverse, the same lever is pulled back. This tremendous ease of operation is one of the points in favour of Tinkabi on the African scene. Yet because of the lack of brakes and the rest, maintenance is made up of only changing of Oil and air filters periodically—a process that can easily be done by the farmer however illiterate.

A United States Information bulletin, TOPIC said "Tinkabi is more than a tractor—it's a farming system." This is because TINKABI can plow about two hectares a day or by turning the blades over, make ridges for crops; carry a half-ton load on a tray over its front and also pull a cultivator in the rear. And with the aid of a v-belt drive, it can also pump water for irrigation; cut wood with circular saws, shell and grind maize.

The one contribution rich African countries like Nigeria can offer to make the whole machine totally African is to provide funds to finance research into ways of developing African models of those parts of the machine imported from abroad.

## FINANCE AND COMMERCE

### REPORT IMPLICATES IRAN

Iran, one of the middle east oil giants, has been charged with supplying the bulk of Apartheid South Africa's Oil need in the first 10 months of last year by an independent ginger group HASLEMERE GROUP. The Financial Times, quoting a report issued by the group late last year, disclosed that Iran now appears to "supply 90 per cent of South Africa's crude oil imports". According to the report, the remaining 10 per cent appears to originate from other countries which claim to operate an embargo against South Africa. The tentative report suggests Oman as providing up to 5 per cent while Indonesia, Abu Dhabi, Qatar and Bahrain supply one per cent each.

The report is based mainly on an analysis of the movement of 258 oil tankers between crude oil states and Durban from January to October last year; as recorded by Lloyds. Durban is the major port for South Africa's Oil imports.

## KENYA:

### TEXTILE INDUSTRY THREATENED

Kenya's £17m textile mill, Nanyuki textile mills, has given its 1,200 employees a month's leave with pay after closing down. A receiver has been appointed by its major creditors, the Kenya Industrial Development Bank and the East Africa Development Bank. According to Commerce and Industry Minister Mr. Mwangi the closing was due to "a technical weakness in the mill." No doubt, a pointer to the fact that the mill started with secondhand German Machinery.

But the mills Management blames clothing imports from Britain and America for the Mills predicament. Not unexpected other mills Management share this view. Most of them have long been begging for protection from adverse effects of the dumping mainly of rejected clothings and jumble sales from Britain and America. The Rivatex textile mill threatened in last June to lay off its workers if the illegal importation of these materials was not checked. Most of these goods are those meant for neighbouring countries but dismantled in an unknown area by some unknown in Kenya.

## TANKER MARKET:

### NEW HOPES IN GLOOM

The World's ship owners and builders are still trading in a crisis market but new signs for adjustment are surfacing. According to the Secretariat of the International Association of Independent Tanker Owners based in Oslo, Norway; surplus capacity still exists in the market but both builders and owners are working aggressively to adapt to the condition.

A report from the Secretariat States that in October last year alone, scrapping exceeded deliveries for the first time recording a drop in total world tanker capacity. It hopes that this year the reduction will be to the tone of 700,000 tones deadweight as scrapping will exceed delivery by this margin. The report welcomes indication from Tokyo to the effect that the Japanese Government is planning to contract 25 tankers for storage of oil for two years from May this year. This alone will remove at least 5m tones from the present capacity.

## NIGERIA:

### TRANSPORT FARE CRISIS

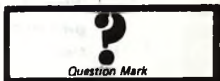
Transport fares in Lagos state, Nigeria started this New Year with a 100 per cent rise much to the surprise of inhabitants. The Lagos State Government owned transport Corporation, LSTC, announced increases of between 10 and 50 per cent late last year operative from this year. As a result, Kombi Bus (Danfo) owners have in like manner raised their fare to 10k a drop as

against 5k before the LSTC announcement.

Earlier, Taxi-cab drivers had parked their vehicles in protest against the state government's new directive on meters. None was ready to install meters as directed and for a day, there appeared to be a stalemate but apparently, because, the drivers' action lacked the backing of the owners Union, cabs were back on the roads the next day.

The sum total of these was the transport crisis that hit Lagos and its environs early this month. Minibus drivers were refused their increases while the Government closed its eyes to the increase by the Corporation. As a result, Mini buses not only went off the roads but also blocked major routes of the Transport Corporation.

It will be recalled that when the Murtala/Obasanjo regime came into power in 1978, a down-to-earth campaign was launched to check the skyrocketing bus fares. The measures were so effective that for a time bus users were all smiles. However, in the face of recent increases, many have started wondering if this can be attributed to a weakening of programme. Yet from all indications, it doesn't seem probable that the Corporation will rescind its increase unless there is a directive to that effect from the Government!



## WHAT OF CONSUMER EDUCATION?

### "Henry Atanaga

Many Africans at heart will, no doubt, find it difficult to disagree with a call for a buy-made-in-Africa campaign but only few, I believe, will agree with the need for a full fledged consumer education programme. To the Majority, directives like the recent urging by Nigeria's Head of State General Obasanjo, calling on countrymen to buy made in Nigeria products, surfaced to prick the conscience of the African. What they appear to forget is that this trend of lacking confidence on African products runs deep in brother Africans. To everyone, the African product is very inferior when compared to imported ones.

What we all need is not a call but an education programme. Tell the people the standards of African products in relation to imported ones, and most important, explain why they must help their country grow by buying their products. Then back this up with a closed gate to ensure they buy in case they don't want to!

Now I can ask: what of consumer education? Full scale not just lip service.

# FEDERAL MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

## SCHOLARSHIPS DIVISION

### OVERSEAS FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIP 1977/78 AWARDS

1. The Federal Military Government has awarded a total of 438 Post-Graduate scholarships to deserving Nigerians under the 1977/78 programme.
2. To facilitate the implementation of the awards, the recipients are advised as follows:-
  - (i) Offers of Provisional Award are now being despatched to the addresses given on the application forms, from where recipients should collect them.
  - (ii) Recipients should allow a reasonable time for the provisional letters of award to reach them by post, before writing to the Scholarships Office for any enquiry that they might have.
  - (iii) Applicants should note that the Board will not enter into correspondence with students or entertain callers who wish to know why they were not awarded a scholarship. Such students should please note that the Board's decision on successful applicants is final.
  - (iv) Recipients are also reminded that Award regulations require them to accept the offer and complete all necessary bond formalities before the award can be implemented.
  - (v) The 438 Recipients of Post-Graduate scholarships in the following disciplines are listed below:-

Secretary Federal Scholarships Board  
for Permanent Secretary,  
Federal Ministry of Education.

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## SUBJECT: AGRICULTURE (GENERAL)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
1.	CAREW NMGBEDE SILVANUS	BENUE
2.	UDOH DOMINIC JOHNSON	CROSS RIVER
3.	MUSA SALISU FUTUA	KADUNA
4.	AROKOYO JOHNSON OLATUNJI	KWARA
5.	OYELAJA OLAKUNLE	OGUN
6.	JACOBS AGUSTA ADETEJU	OYO
7.	ALAWA JOHN PETER	RIVERS

## SUBJECT: AGRICULTURE (AGRONOMY)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
8.	ANUSIONU JAMES OKECHUKWU	ANAMBRA
9.	OKOLI PAUL SUNDAY OKWUDILI	ANAMBRA
10.	OBIERIKA IKEDICHUKWU	ANAMBRA
11.	ERUOTO PETER GODWIN	BENDEL
12.	ORODE MALACHI OUBIOMODIOHWO	BENDEL
13.	KALU BENARD AWA	IMO
14.	OKEREKE OKORONKWO UDENSI	IMO
15.	ONUKOGU E. A.	IMO
16.	EJEMBA, M. I.	IMO
17.	GWARZO, D. M.	KANO
18.	FALEKI, A. M.	KANO
19.	MOSHIDA CHRISTOPHER OLUWADARE	ONDO

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

20.	LAWSON MERCY INETUBO	RIVERS
21.	OZOLUA, KELLY OTABO	BENDEL
22.	OMIYI P. I.	BENDEL
23.	MEDIAVADU JEROME OLUPOYI AJAYI	KWARA
24.	OGUNBAMERU BANKOLE OLUFEMI	ONDO
25.	DON-PEDRO KIO NOEL	RIVERS

## SUBJECT: AGRICULTURE (AGRIC. ECONOMICS EXTENSION)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
26.	JITERU ADOLPHUS ISICHERI	BENDEL
27.	SAMBE SAMMUEL AYUA	BENUE
28.	ISMAILA ARUNA PETER	GONGOLA
29.	ARAH NEBO	KANO
30.	ONI DAVID OLAJIDE	KWARA
31.	IJEOMA SAMMUEL IBEGBU	IMO
32.	JACOB GORDON ADENIYI	OGUN
33.	ADIGUN JAMES ADEDIRAN	OYO

## SUBJECT: AGRICULTURE (FISHERIES)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
34.	AKITOYE CHARLES ADEREMI	LAGOS
35.	ALFRED-OOKIYA JOHN	RIVERS

## AGRICULTURE: (FOOD/PROCESSING/STORAGE)

36.	ANABA ROLAND NNAMDI EMEKA	IMO
37.	MANNAH COMFORT ORONI	RIVERS

## POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

38.	ADENIJI AYODEJI OLANREWAJU	OGUN
39.	ADEWUSI AYODELE OLUMUYIWA	OGUN
40.	BOYIKILIA STELLA	GONGOLA
41.	FAPOJOWO OMOLOLU OLADELE	OYO
	AGRICULTURE: (FOOD SCIENCE)	
42.	ANINYE AKER JOSEPH	BENUÉ
43.	EBOH LUCY NNE	CROSS RIVER
44.	UDOAMANA UMANA WILSON	CROSS RIVER
45.	OKORO CHIOMA EZIMA	IMO
46.	AKOBUNDU ENOCH NWANKWO	IMO
47.	KAMALU JOHNSON AMALA	IMO
48.	DACOSTA FREDERICK ADEOYE	LAGOS
49.	OLUBANJO OLUFEMI OLURANTI	OGUN
50.	SOLEYE FEHINTOLA O. (MISS)	OGUN
51.	AKINYOSOYE AKINSOLA FELIX	ONDO
52.	OJO T. K.	OYO
53.	ADESOYE SAMSON	OYO
	AGRICULTURE: (FORESTRY)	
54.	EKWEANU ALOYSIUS IFEANYICHUKWU	ANAMBRA
55.	OKORO SAMUEL PATRICK	BENDEL
56.	OMOKURO DAVID MOSAKHARE	BENDEL
57.	ATIA EFFIONG EDET	CROSS RIVER
58.	MBAKWE ROY CHUKWUEMEKA	IMO
59.	AKINYEMIJU OLUYEMISI AMOS	ONDO
80.	ADEGOROYE, MODUPE ELIZABETH	ONDO

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## AGRICULTURE: (PLANT PATHOLOGY)

61.	IGBOKWE PATRICK EMEKA	ANAMBRA
62.	UMECHURUBA CHARLES IKECHUKWU	IMO
63.	EJIDE DANIEL OMOTOSHO ALABI	KWARA
64.	SALAKO EZEKIEL ADEBAYO	OYO
65.	FAJUYICHE DANIEL OLATUNDE	OYO

## AGRICULTURE: (SOIL SCIENCE)

66.	OHIRI AUGUSTINE CHUKWUMA	IMO
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## SUBJECT: AGRICULTURE (VET. ANATOMY)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
67.	EIMONYE JOHN ONUMIYA	BENUÉ

## AGRICULTURE: (VET. PATHOLOGY)

68.	PESSU R. E.	SOKOTO
-----	-------------	--------

## SUBJECT: EDUCATION (MEASUREMENT)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
69.	ONUOHA IFEYINWA ABAOBI	ANAMBRA
70.	OKEREKE, NDI (MISS)	
71.	ITSUOKOR DENNIS EDMODE	BENDEL
72.	AFOLAYAN JOHNSON ADEBISI	KWARA
73.	BRODERICK E. E. T.	LAGOS
74.	ADIO-MOSES ANUOLUWAPO OLUJOKE	OGUN
75.	OGUNBAYO FESTUS OLOYEDE	ONDO
76.	OKELOLU FESTUS OLUFUNSHO	OYO

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## EDUCATION: (GUIDANCE & COUNSELLING)

- |     |                                     |         |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---------|
| 77. | ARIYO REBECCA                       | BAUCHI  |
| 78. | EHIKHAMETALOR EGBE T.               | BENDEL  |
| 79. | OLUTIMAYIN MARY ANYINIMIA AMINA ALI | BENUÉ   |
| 80. | BAGU JOHN WPYE                      | KADUNA  |
| 81. | OBAGA RUTH AISHETU                  | NIGER   |
| 82. | TAIWO F. G.                         | NIGER   |
| 83. | OGUNSANYA ELIZABETH ADETOKUNBO      | OGUN    |
| 84. | GARBA ROSO KANDE                    | PLATEAU |

## EDUCATION: (P S Y C H O L O G Y)

- |     |                   |         |
|-----|-------------------|---------|
| 85. | ATO M. T.         | BENUÉ   |
| 86. | NDAHI S. W.       | BENUÉ   |
| 87. | SHITTA H. J.      | GONGOLA |
| 88. | MAMMA HASSAN ESUA | KADUNA  |
| 89. | BICHI, N. Y.      | KANO    |
| 90. | IHEJIRIKA C. J.   | RIVERS  |
| 91. | GARBA, S. D.      | SOKOTO  |

## EDUCATION (PLANNING & RESEARCH)

- |     |                                 |         |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------|
| 92. | GAR KUMA JOHN                   | BENUÉ   |
| 93. | OKORO MARTIN UMACHI             | IMO     |
| 94. | SIDI, M. M.                     | KADUNA  |
| 95. | ABUBAKAR, A. Y.                 | PLATEAU |
| 96. | UCHENDU, ACHINIHU JOSHUA        | RIVERS  |
| 97. | MOMOH ANAKHUAGBOR MOHMOUD BELLO | SOKOTO  |

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## EDUCATION: (ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION)

- |      |                            |        |
|------|----------------------------|--------|
| 98.  | UCHENDU PATRICK KENECHUKWU | IMO    |
| 99.  | DAMBO LAWAL                | KADUNA |
| 100. | MOLTA BOYI BAKA            | BAUCHI |

## EDUCATION: (SCIENCE OF EDUCATION)

- |      |                           |             |
|------|---------------------------|-------------|
| 101. | ANOCHELL BONYFACE CHIAZOR | ANAMBRA     |
| 102. | OGBUIKA FELICIA UGOYIBO   | ANAMBRA     |
| 103. | USORO H. S.               | CROSS RIVER |
| 104. | NWOKE NWOKE UDUMA         | IMO         |
| 105. | CHIMAOKWU C. E. C. K.     | RIVERS      |

## EDUCATION: (LIBRARY SCIENCE)

- |      |                            |         |
|------|----------------------------|---------|
| 106. | OBAKA DANIEL NEWTON        | BENUE   |
| 107. | HAMZA MARGARET             | BORNU   |
| 108. | UDOH VICTORIA WEIMUNA ETIM | GONGOLA |
| 109. | DOUGLAS ELLA OTONYO        | RIVERS  |

## SUBJECT: EDUCATION (HOME ECONOMICS)

- | NO.  | NAME IN FULL       | STATE        |
|------|--------------------|--------------|
| 110. | EKPENYONG A. M. B. | CROSS RIVER. |
| 111. | OJI M *A.          | IMO          |
| 112. | NWANKWO J. N.      | RIVERS       |

## EDUCATION (ADULT EDUCATION)

- |      |                     |         |
|------|---------------------|---------|
| 113. | MUSA MUSA BATA      | GONGOLA |
| 114. | BINGEL ANTHONY DUNG | PLATEAU |
| 115. | OKORO VINCENT LOUIS | RIVERS  |

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## EDUCATION: (CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT)

116.	DENGA VICTORIA BODUNDE	BENUE
117.	SHANONO HARUNA MUHAMMED	KANO
118.	OYELEYE FELICIA MODUPE	KWARA
119.	TOYO OLAWUNMI OLUTOSIN	OGUN
120.	AIYESE TIMOTHY OLAYINKA	ONDO
121.	ADEWOLE MICHAEL AYO	OYO
122.	MPEKE EYEDEWARE ERNEST	RIVERS

## SUBJECT: ENGINEERING (CIVIL ENGINEERING)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
123.	OGAH EMMANUEL THADDEUS ADAWOLE	BENUE
124.	IBENYE IKECHI S.	IMO
125.	MUSTAPHA S.	GONGOLA
126.	MUAZU DALHA A.	KADUNA
127.	UMARU ABDULAZEEZ ALHAJI	KANO
128.	PHILIPS C.	NIGER
129.	TONGMAN PATRICK YAROP	PLATEAU

## ENGINEERING: (CHEMICAL ENGINEERING)

130.	IKE CHUKWUKA	PLATEAU
131.	OSAMOR FIDELIS CHUKWUKA ABUDU	BENDEL
132.	EKPENYONG DAVID J.	CROSS RIVER
133.	ONYEKWERE PAUL CHINEDU	IMO
134.	OKUYIGA MEYOSORE OLUSHOLA	LAGOS
135.	SOKUNBI SAMUEL OLAKUNLE	OGUN

## POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

136.	OLUGBADE EBENEZER AJIBOLA	ONDO
137.	AKINOLA T. O.	OYO
138.	ABASSAH CHRISBOR IFEANYI	RIVERS

### ENGINEERING: (AGRICULTURAL ENGINEERING)

139.	ANEKE DENNIS OGBONNA	ANAMBRA
140.	MUSA HARUNA IYOCK	KADUNA
141.	GWARZO M. A.	KANO
142.	ADEOTI JOSEPH SUNDAY	KWARA
143.	EWUMI JOSEPH OLUKAYODE	LAGOS
144.	ADEMOSUN OLUGBOYEGA CORNELIUS	ONDO
145.	AKINSANYA M.	ONDO
146.	FASHINA ADEPOJU BOLA	OYO
147.	RAMALAN ALIYU ABUBAKAR	PLATEAU
148.	AKOR ALEXANDER JOHNSON	RIVERS

### SUBJECT: ENGINEERING (MECHANICAL ENGINEERING)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
149.	IRISOMINABO HORSFALL AKURO	RIVERS
150.	ALHASSAN IBRAHIM SIBIRUI	SOKOTO

### ENGINEERING: (ELECTRONICS)

151.	AGBARA BASSEY	CROSS RIVER
152.	ILUMOKA A. AJOKE	OGUN
153.	ANJUGU DANIEL	PLATEAU
154.	DAVID-WEST M. A.	RIVERS

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## ENGINEERING: (COMPUTER SCIENCE)

155.	WILLIAMS JUSTINE SAMPSON	CROSS RIVER
156.	ABARI VICTOR HANANIYA	GONGOLA
157.	OZOEMENA EMMANUEL EMEKA	IMO

## SUBJECT: ENGINEERING (INDUSTRIAL ENGINEERING)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
158.	AGOM ANDREW AGABA	BENUE
159.	UMOFIA PATRICIA USORO	CROSS RIVER
160.	OBIORA AFAMEFUNA CHRIS	KANO
161.	SABO MOHAMMED SANUSI	PLATEAU
162.	SAALE NWIKE BROTHER	RIVERS

## ENGINEERING: (MECHANICAL ENGINEERING)

163.	OYIGBO GABRIEL AUDU	BENUE
164.	OBONG NSE BEN	CROSS RIVER
165.	CHINYIO ELIYA AUDU	KADUNA
166.	AMUGO SAMUEL CHIDI	KANO

## SUBJECT: ENGINEERING (COMPUTER SCIENCE)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
167.	OPADIRAN JAMES OLUWOLE	KWARA
168.	DAINI O. A.	OGUN
169.	OKOBI E. G.	RIVERS

## ENGINEERING: (METALLURGY)

170.	ASAWA EDET EFFION	CROSS RIVER
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# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

171.	OKORIE BONIFACE ADEH	IMO
172.	KEHINDE MICHAEL ANTHONY OLUKAYODE	OGUN
173.	ADEYEMI FOLARIN AKANMU	OYO
174.	GYAOG SAMUEL	PLATEAU
175.	ASUWATA SYLVANUS OBIOMA	RIVERS

## SUBJECT: ENGINEERING (TRANSPORT ENGINEERING)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
176.	EGWUATU ALEXANDER CHIKE	ANAMBRA
177.	EDEKI AUGUSTINE OHIKHOKHAI	BENDEL
178.	OKENWA ETHELBERT CHUKWUEMEKA	IMO
	ENGINEERING: (HIGH-WAY ENGINEERING)	
179.	OGUNGBAYI K. E.	KWARA
180.	OLUDURO CHRISTIAN OLUKAYODE	ONDO
	ENGINEERING: (ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEERING)	
181.	MBA HAROLD CHIKE	ANAMBRA
182.	OSAYIMINESE O. J.	BENDEL
183.	UDESOH C. I.	CROSS RIVER
184.	OLABIRAN E. O.	OGUN

## SUBJECT: ENGINEERING (TELECOMMUNICATION)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
185.	MANUEL FRAMYIM JIMRUNA	GONGOLA
186.	MOHAMMED MAYATU DEEN	KADUNA
187.	ODUMAH STEPHEN CHARLES	KANO
188.	FADEHAN AYoola ALABI	OYO

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

189. GYANG TIMOTHY NYAM PLATEAU

SUBJECT: ENGINEERING (GAS & FUEL TECHNOLOGY)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
190.	EZEANILE GABRIEL UDOJIMBA	ANAMBRA
191.	OBATOR JOHN ONO	BENDEL
192.	ACHARA NNOROM	IMO
193.	ABOABA OLUWOLE ADEBAYO	OGUN
194.	BRAIDE KOMBO MANSON	RIVERS
195.	OGUNMAKIN VICTOR OLABIMI	ONDO

ENGINEERING: (PETROLEUM ENGINEERING)

196.	OKOYE DAVID MOBIKE	ANAMBRA
197.	EZEKWE NNAEMEKA JOHN	ANAMBRA
198.	ESU UZOR BEN	CROSS RIVER
199.	OFOEGBU B. U.	IMO
200.	IBE-ONUOHA B.	IMO
201.	AKANBI WASIU OLAYINKA	OYO
202.	EBIFEGHA M. E.	RIVERS

ENGINEERING: (STRUCTURAL ENGINEERING)

203.	OKAFOR HILARY OKAFOR	ANAMBRA
204.	OKOYE C. M.	BENUE
205.	USIN A. U.	CROSS RIVER
206.	SOFOLUWE ADETOKUNBOH BABATUNDE	OGUN
207.	OLALEYE A. A. B.	OGUN
208.	ASAMAOWEI GESSY COLE	RIVERS

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## SUBJECT: ENGINEERING (ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
209.	SHEHU, B.	KADUNA
210.	BALARABE, M. L.	NIGER
211.	BOT, G. M.	PLATEAU
212.	ORUYE, O. O.	RIVERS

## SUBJECT: ENVIRONMENTAL ARCHITECTURE

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
213.	AIYANYO GALINA VIADIMIROVNA	BENDEL
214.	OKORE ALBERT OKWARAEKE	IMO
215.	OGUNSANYA, E. O.	OGUN
216.	OJO JOHN OLADIRAN	OYO

### (CARTOGRAPHY)

217.	KENINE PAUL IFEANYI	IMO
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### (ESTATE MANAGEMENT)

218.	AJAYI OLUBUNMI MOSES	OYO
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### (ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE)

219.	NDUKWE NDUKWE KALU	IMO
220.	WAI-OGOSU OLU UDOBANG	RIVERS

## SUBJECT: ENVIRONMENTAL LAND SURVEYING

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
221.	OGBECHIE AFAM ANSELM	BENDEL
222.	AWA NGWOKE KALU	IMO

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## (QUANTITY SURVEYING)

223.	ANYADIKE EMMANUEL IFEANYI	ANAMBRA
224.	ACHARA OBIOMA EJIKE	IMO
225.	GIADOM BERNARD OPNADUKPA	RIVERS

### SUBJECT: REGIONAL/TOWN PLANNING

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
226.	ONYILOKWU A.	BENUE
227.	ALADI, C. C.	IMO
228.	AGBEDE, R. C.	ONDO
229.	ALALADE E.	OYO

### SUBJECT: HUMANITIES (ENGLISH)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
230.	OKERE AUGUSTINE CHINEDUM	IMO
	HUMANITIES: ( F R E N C H )	
231.	OKAFOR EDWIN ENYEGBI	ANAMBRA
232.	OFOMA ESTHER CHINYE	ANAMBRA
233.	OAHIMIN-AKHIMIEN EDET IDIAKHEO	BENDEL
234.	DU-SAI DU-SAI EMMANUEL	BENUE
235.	MOHAMMED MARIAN AJUA	BORNU
236.	SHALONG NERA MUSA	PLATEAU
237.	JIYA EDWARD MUSA DANTANIMU	NIGER

### SUBJECT: HUMANITIES (LANGUAGES)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
238.	BAWA MUSA BALA	KANO

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## HUMANITIES: (AFRICAN STUDIES)

239.	ESEMUDE SOLOMON OSAZENAYE	BENDEL
240.	MIACHI THOMAS AJAYI	BENUE
241.	EKAETE GENEVIEVE	CROSS RIVER
242.	MOHAMMED AHMED MODIBO	GONGOLA
243.	JAMES IBRAHIM	KADUNA
244.	APATA ZACCHAEUS OLADELE	KWARA
245.	ABDULRAHEEM OBA SHUAI	KWARA
246.	SAVAGE EMMANUEL AKINNIYI	LAGOS
247.	DANMOLE HAKEEM OLUMIDE	LAGOS
248.	OLAGBEMIRO FLORENCE OYEFUNKE	OYO
249.	FATOKE ADEREMI SAMUEL	OYO
250.	ANWUNI BENJAMIN EZIWOKE EGBO	RIVERS

## HUMANITIES: (L I N G U I S T I C S)

251.	BADEJO BAMIDELE ROTIMI	OGUN
252.	OJO VALENTINE	ONDO
	HUMANITIES (F I N E A R T S)	
253.	EMEJI MICHAEL JOSIAH	RIVERS

## SUBJECT: HUMANITIES: ARCHAEOLOGY

NO.	NAME IN FULL (L I B R A R I A N S H I P)	STATE
254.	ANETOR SUNDAY JOHNSON	BENUE
255.	CHUKU ELIEZER CHUKU	IMO
256.	ORUBE BE R. T.	NIGER
257.	ORIMALADE OLURONKE OLUBAMBO	OGUN

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## SUBJECT: MEDICINE (ANAESTHESIA)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
258.	ANYAGO GODSON CHICHUBA	ANAMBRA
259.	OKEY JAPHET ITAFU	CROSS RIVER

## MEDICINE: (B A C T E R I O L O G Y)

260.	UTSALO SIMON JAMES	BENDEL
261.	ERO CELESTINE	BENDEL

## MEDICINE: (CHEMICAL PATHOLOGY)

262.	NNAJI-EMEASOR JOSHUA ESINWOKE	IMO
263.	TOWOBOLA OLAKUOLA AKINWUNMI	OGUN

## MEDICINE: (I M M U N O L O G Y)

264.	MOSHESHE AUGUSTINE AGBUGBE	BENDEL
265.	AGUWA OKECHUKWU CORNELIUS	IMO
266.	ZAKARI HOUWA ROSALIND	KADUNA

## SUBJECT: MEDICINE (INTERNAL MEDICINE)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
267.	TOR-AGBIDYE SAMUEL	CONGOLA
268.	ABBA MAI-WADA	KADUNA
269.	TEKENAN PATRICK EBITARI	RIVERS

## MEDICINE: (MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE)

270.	ANDAH EME NNEETE	RIVERS
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## MEDICINE: (N U R S I N G)

271.	ODSUNLE ALICE OMESHINDU	NIGER
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# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

272.	OMDANSI FOLASHADE FALIUNT	OYO
	MEDICINE: (OBSTETRICS & GYNACHOLOGY)	
273.	OHIKHUARE MAXWELL AIDELOJE	BENDEL
274.	UROWNA ETEM AKPAN	CROSS RIVER
275.	ESOMONU IBE ALEX	IMO
276.	FAKEYE OLUROTIMI OMONNIYI	KWARA
277.	OGUNBIYI BAMIGBOYE EZEKIEL	KWARA
278.	SAWYERR FELIX AKINBAYO	LAGOS
279.	SOBOWALE OLADELE BABAJIDE	LAGOS
280.	BENEDICT LEONARD ABENUGA	OGUN
281.	IGAH ADOKI BENNET	RIVERS
	MEDICINE: (P H A R M A C O L O G Y)	
282.	UDEINYA IROKA JOSEPH	ANAMBRA
283.	OFULUE IFECHUKWUDE SONNIE	BENDEL
284.	OMORUWI ANTHONY DADA	BENDEL
285.	KOLAWOLE FALIFAT FUNMILAYO	KWARA
286.	UKAEGBU VINCENT EBERE	IMO
287.	OGUNTIMEHIN BABAJIDE OLANREWAJU	OGUN
288.	OREDIJE OLADIPO AYOKU	OGUN
289.	THOMAS OLUFEMI OBAFEMI	OGUN
290.	ADEFEMI OLUSHOLA ANTHONY	ONDO
291.	IDOWU OBAFEMI ADEYEMI	OYO
292.	UGORJI EDMUND HILARY OKECHUKWU	RIVERS
293.	IBIM EOBKASUA EDMUND MARK	RIVERS

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## SUBJECT: MEDICINE (PAEDIATRICS)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
294.	OKEZIE CHRISTIAN ENYINNA	IMO
295.	DOWYARO JONATHAN HARUNA	KADUNA
198.	JINADU BABATUNDE ADEGBITE	LAGOS

## MEDICINE: (PURE HEALTH)

297.	HABIB MOHAMMED	KADUNA
298.	SAMAILA ELSIE	KADUNA
299.	ADEBIYI ADETUNJI LAWRENCE	KWARA
300.	KURA MUKTARI AHMADU	KWARA
301.	OGUN OLUFUNKE OLAIDE	LAGOS
302.	ONI ADEDAMOLE OLAGOKE	LAGOS
303.	EZE EMMANUEL EBELECHUKWU	IMO
304.	FAMUYIWA OLUWOLE OLUMAKINDE	ONDO
305.	AGBAYEWA MESHAK OLUWAFEMI	ONDO
306.	OKUSAMI TAIWO	OYO

## MEDICINE: (S U R G E R Y)

307.	IHEZUE HENRY CHIKWEM	IMO
308.	UBANI DANIEL MCKNIGHT ABARA	IMO
309.	OREBIYI OLUSOLA ADEDAYO	OGUN
310.	OLADIRAN BABATUNDE	OYO

## MEDICINE: (R A D I O L O G Y)

311.	IKO B. O.	IMO
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# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

345.	UBOM, G. A.	CROSS RIVER
346.	ONUOHA NKEM IROEGBU	IMO
347.	KOLAWOLE G. A.	OYO
348.	DAMBATTA B. B.	NIGER

PURE SCIENCE: (E C O L O G Y)

349.	OSINUBI OLUWOLE	OGUN
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PURE SCIENCE: (G E O L O G Y)

350.	UBON E. E.	CROSS RIVER
351.	OTI MICHAEL NDUBUISI	IMO
352.	DURU T. C.	IMO
353.	BANKOLE A. A.	OYO

SUBJECT: PURE SCIENCE (MATHEMATICS)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
354.	MBANEFO UYAMADU	ANAMBRA
355.	MBAEYI PETER NWOYE OGIDI	IMO
356.	ANAEJIONU BENEDICT NNODIM	IMO
357.	AKIBOYE RUFUS AYOOLA	OGUN
358.	OGUNTADE OLUFEMI OLABAMIDELE	ONDO
359.	ADEDOKUN GANIYU MORADEYO AREMU	OYO
360.	ABIFARIN OLADITI	OYO
PURE SCIENCE: (MICROBIOLOGY)		
361.	SAMUEL EMMANUEL OLU NYONG	CROSS RIVER

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

362.	NZERIBE BRYAN OKONYA'	IMO
363.	OKAFOR IPHRAIM IKE	IMO
364.	AJILORE GRACE ENIOLA	OYO
	PURE SCIENCE: (M I N E R A L O G Y)	
365.	GEORGE CHIJOKE	IMO
366.	OLANIYAN OLUFEMI	KWARA
367.	OGUNBAJO MASHOOD SALAWU	LAGOS
368.	ALAO ADELAYO WILLIAMS	OYO
	PURE SCIENCE: (S T A T I S T I C S)	
369.	ERHIABWE ROBINSON SURU	BENDEL
370.	EBONG DANIEL WILSON UDO	CROSS RIVER
371.	JOLAYEMI EMMANUEL TEJUMOLA	KWARA
372.	OSHO JOHNSON SUNDAY	ONDO
373.	OMOTADE ADETUNJI	ONDO
	SUBJECT: PURE SCIENCE (PHYSICS)	
374.	MRAGBA PETER OSIKARERE	BENDEL
375.	ESANG CHRISTOPHER BASSEY	CROSS RIVER
376.	UKAZIM E.	IMO
377.	AINA ADEBAYO OLANIYI	KWARA
378.	AYENI ISAAC OLUWAFEMI	OGUN
379.	AKINLOYE MARGARET KOFOWOROLA	ONDO
380.	EBONG IMEH DANIEL UDOH	RIVERS
381.	AKUTA M. O.	RIVERS

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## PURE SCIENCE: (Z O O L O G Y)

382.	OHAEBULAM LAWRENCE NWOKEDI	IMO
383.	ATTAH KADIRI PETER	BENUÉ

## SUBJECT: SOCIAL SCIENCE (ACCOUNTING)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
384.	CHIBUZO EDWARD OKECHUKWU	ANAMBRA
385.	AKPOVI MARY OBARO	BENDEL
386.	SAR JOHN IYORPENDA	BENUÉ
387.	UDOYOP SUNDAY EFFIONG	CROSS RIVER
388.	ANYANWU CASIMIR IBENYENWA	IMO
389.	SESSI OLADIPO KEMNAVI	LAGOS
390.	ABDULLAH ZUBAIR ALHAJI	KADUNA
391.	POPOOLA EZEKIEL OLUDELE	ONDO

## SUBJECT: SOCIAL SCIENCES (DEMOGRAPHY)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
392.	IYERE DAN AKHIGBE	BENDEL
393.	NDUBUISI SAMUEL CHINYERE	IMO
394.	EDEM EDEMEKONG	CROSS RIVER
395.	OSIGBESAN BABATUNDE FOLUSO	OGUN
396.	EKEKE CHIDI INGLIS	RIVERS

## SOCIAL SCIENCES: (FINANCE/BANKING)

397.	NWOKOLO PAUL EZENWA	ANAMBRA
398.	ESEMUEDO SAMUEL IDAHO	BENDEL
399.	DARI GAMBO ALHAJI	BORNU

## POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

400.	UDOETTO BASSEY JOSEPH	CROSS RIVER
401.	AKANET SOLOMON	KADUNA
402.	SOBOWALE TAIWO HOSSAN	OGUN
403.	ADEKOLA ABIKE RUTH	ONDO
404.	THOMAS EDWARD OLUSEGUN	OYO
405.	KPASA GOODLUCK MAIL	RIVERS
406.	ASEME NNAMDI GEOFFREY	IMO

### SUBJECT: SOCIAL SCIENCES (GEOGRAPHY)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
407.	OKPALANMA LAWRENCE OKECHUKWU	ANAMBRA
408.	EGBORGE CHARLES EDWIN	BENDEL
409.	OBOT JOHNSON UDO	CROSS RIVER
410.	OKPO MAGDALEN SISTER	IMO
411.	WADA IBRAHIM	KANO
412.	OLADIPO EMMANUEL OLUKAYODE	KWARA
413.	ALKALI SALIHU	NIGER
414.	ADESINA HEZEKIAH OLANREWAJU	OYO

### SOCIAL SCIENCES: (E C O N O M I C S)

415.	YANZAH JOE DANLADI	KADUNA
416.	USMAN SHAMSUDEEN	KANO
417.	BALAMI MUSTAFA HASSAN	GONGOLA
418.	KAWA SAMAILA MUSA	PLATEAU
419.	HASSAN UMARU	SOKOTO
420.	WAKAWU M. L.	BENDEL

# POST-GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDS 1977-78

## SUBJECT: SOCIAL SCIENCES (MANAGEMENT)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
421.	IYAJI ABU	BENUE
422.	KISHIMI ISHAG MOHAMMED	GONGOLA
423.	MAYAM ILIYA BEN	KADUNA
424.	BATURE UMARU KADO	KANO
425.	HOOMKWAD KATHRYN HAUWA	PLATEAU
426.	GONI-ASKIRA I.	BORNU

## SOCIAL SCIENCES: (MASS COMMUNICATION)

427.	OKPE IDOKO GODWIN	BENUE
428.	TILLO MAXWELL SARAUTA	GONGOLA
429.	GARBA DANIEL DANTALA YOHANNA	GONGOLA

## SOCIAL SCIENCES: (POLITICAL SCIENCE)

430.	MOHAMMED YUSUF NGALUNGO SUDI	BAUCHI
431.	BUKARAMBE BUKAR	BENUE

## SUBJECT: SOCIAL SCIENCES (POLITICAL SCIENCE CONTD.)

NO.	NAME IN FULL	STATE
432.	MOHAMMED MAI ALIYU	BORNU
433.	IBRAHEEM UMAR TOUNGO	GONGOLA
434.	ADAMU YAKUBU	KADUNA
435.	MUHAMMADU ABUBAKAR ALHAJI YAK	KANO
436.	MUSA ADAMU	SOKOTO
SOCIAL SCIENCES: (IND. PSYCHOLOGY)		
437.	DAKWOJI JAMES NDAMUDI	BENUE
438.	CHUKWU TOBIASE ABIARAKWEM	IMO