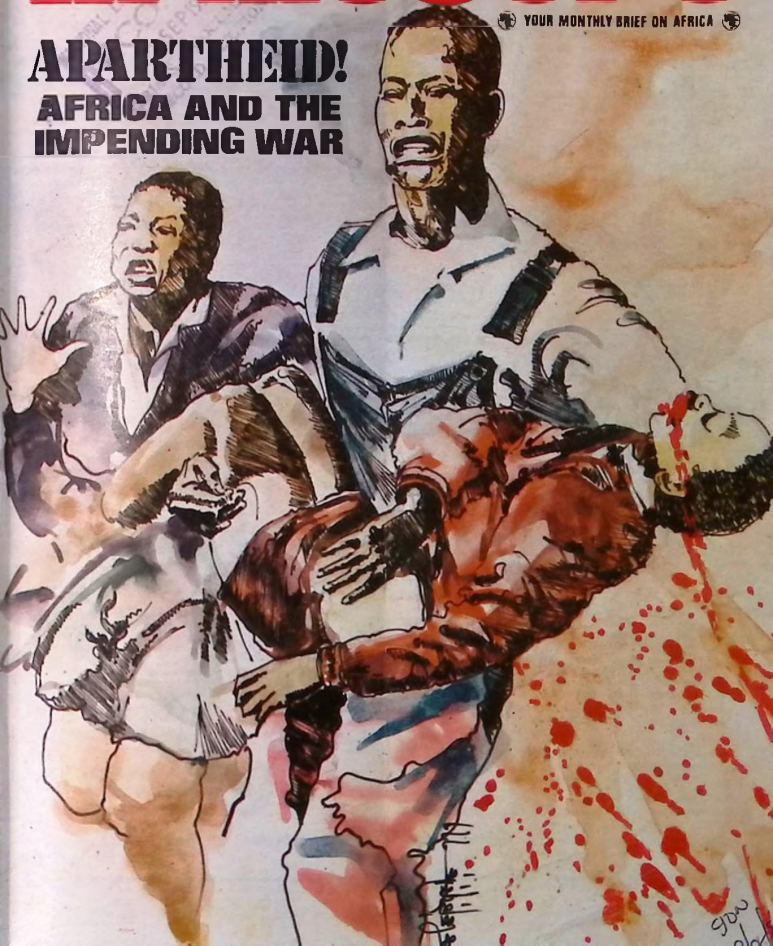


# AFRISCOPE

YOUR MONTHLY BRIEF ON AFRICA

## APARTHEID! AFRICA AND THE IMPENDING WAR



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## Acheampong and Ghana

In spite of our commitment to the development of the highest level of popular participation in African politics, we cannot but sympathise with the fate of the Acheampong regime in Ghana. The sympathy flows not so much from the merits of Acheampong's political programme as from the vacuity of the stand of his opponents.

A barrage of violent arguments that at no point offered a single viable alternative is not a cheerful pointer to the healthy political development of Ghana. Admittedly, Acheampong's earlier political programme was reactionary, retrogressive and unbearably elitist. It is surprising that someone who has displayed such an admirable mixture of horse-sense and noble idealism that has earned his regime the highest marks since the demise of the Nkrumah regime could have allowed his mind to lapse into such a miserable depth of mediocrity. The proposed Union Government could never have guaranteed either stability or growth to Ghana. Good enough it met popular firing squad.

But the opponents offered no alternative. A Westminster model is no alternative. It has been tried and found inadequate to Africa's political temperament and socio-economic needs. Besides, it is yet to be proved that a status-quo-biased system is the ideal political framework within which to conduct the less glamorous but in the long run more important politics of economic development.

Ghana's dilemma mirrors Africa's. The civilian elite groups who have to lead, seem to have little to offer beyond the xeroxed copies of political text-books, and this is often in the narrow spirit of in-or-out game of self-aggregation. From Nigeria to Algeria, from Ghana to Gabon, it is the sprawl of one huge tribe that has lost its brains.

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# report cockroach

## THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA

Quite a hurried preparation, a hasty journey, and a destination yet to be defined.

A tight schedule is now to race Ghana to the dreamland. Return to civilian rule on July 1, 1979. The steps are more hurried than the rapid trots of a new soul late for entry into paradise. Referendum March 13, 1978. Appointment of a constitutional commission April 1978. Constituent Assembly November 1978. General Election June 15, 1979.

Quite fine, the 'democrats' have won the battle, as they did in Nigeria.

What bothers one is the definition (or non-definition) of 'democracy' in African politics. The definition—the privilege of West-educated elites—waves the most exciting banners from the finest in Western political tradition—one man, one vote, constitutional rule, etc. The frame of reference remains Western parliamentary democracy. Not just a model. The elites want to uproot the tree—soil, roots, climate and all—and transplant it right here.

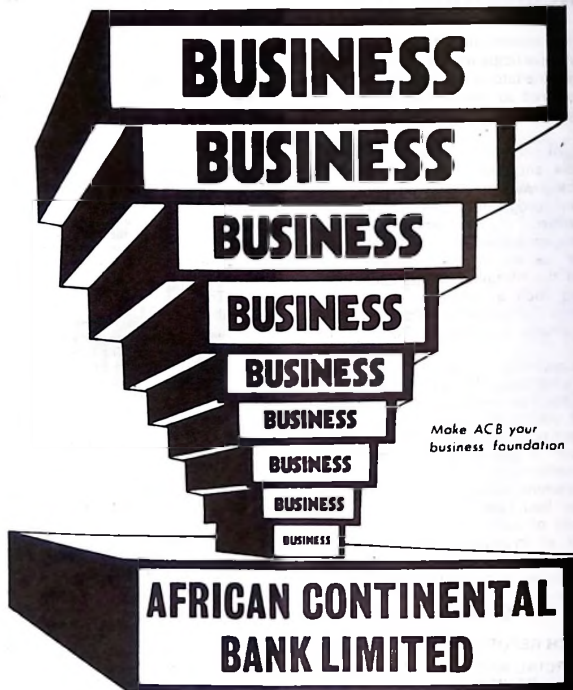
To what extent all this politicking is self-serving is yet to be determined. What one is sure of is that the masses, in whose name the players strive to score goals, suffer a lot worse than that of bystanders. Just stranded there—between the devil and the deep sea.

## IF YOU WANT PEACE, PREPARE. . . .

Even the most elementary schoolboy has heard about this ongoing military strategy—if you want peace, prepare for war. Idi Amin applied this simple strategy in the Libreville OAU Summit. He succeeded. So, there was peace.

The precincts of an OAU summit are usually hallowed as a demilitarized, peace zone. Leaders—although over half are soldiers—normally come to the hall, unarmed. Not for Idi Amin, fresh from the battle for Commonwealth attendance and the scare of a coup at home. He came with a revolver conspicuously hoisted on the waist. It was rumoured that the revolver was fully loaded and that one of his usual company of security men was carrying a full box of bullets—just in case of a need for refill!

As the traditional sermons from the throne wore on, Idi Amin adopted a single strategy. He quietly sent word to every head of state present that he



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**BRANCHES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY**

## COCKROACH REPORTS

would not like any of them to attack him in his speeches or he would lose his temper!! Needless to add, the presence of the pistol delivered the rest of the message. So, not a single speech as much as referred to—not to mention, criticize—Idi Amin.

Perfect peace reigned.

## FREEDOM, AFRICAN STYLE

African leaders probably took themselves quite seriously when they made all the usual noises in Libreville about collective action. They also probably believed that collective strength—emerging from collective will—would flow henceforth. For struggle against Africa's enemies.

But, who arranged and serviced the summit for them? The airports, lodging, catering facilities, secretarial services?

The French. The main arms ally of South Africa.

Quite a new tactic in the history of military strategy. I mean, this novel tactic of inviting your enemy to kill himself. Anyway, there is something, like African juju.

## PAN-SOMALIA

After some two years of lull, the storm seems to be gathering again around the frontiers of Kenya.

(For Ethiopia, it is a daily running battle. The goal of Pan Somalia has long been complicated by the intrusion of other factors—imperialist appetite over Djibouti, moslem jihad, etc.)

It's been until recently quiet on the Western front (Kenya's West Frontier Front).

This horn, quite a classic ground for super-power horn-locks.

## RETURNS AND EXITS

The setting is now reversed.

A few years ago, it was Sithole and Muzorewa in exile—breathing fire and waving violence. Joshua Nkomo stayed home—safely—to try to make his own deal over the ashes of Victoria Falls conference; Smith and Kissinger even got it known that he was their man.

Today, Sithole and Muzorewa are home, playing down violence and fighting a defensive propaganda war against charges of sell-out. Nkomo, with his new tonic of a Patriotic Front, is abroad declaring show-downs over the microphone.

The chess-board in Southern Africa is indeed Zimbabwe's African ranks.



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Sierra Leone: Tractor & Equipment, Division of UAC of Sierra Leone Ltd., P.O. Box 127, Freetown, Tel: 2807  
Liberia: Liberia Tractor & Equipment Co., P.O. Box 299, Monrovia, Tel: 22279

### ACCIDENT-FREE TABLE FAN

In a bid to check risks in present partial exposure of fan blades, Mistral SUNRAY Company of Australia, has produced an encased model called 'GYRO-AIRE portable cooling fan. As both motor and blade are totally encased, air distribution is achieved, with the aid of rotating louvers situated at the front. The conventional push button speed selector system is eliminated with the siting of a solid state, variable speed slide control systems. Above all, the whole thing is so light that it can be carried with one hand by any grown-up.

### SMALL OFFSET PRESS

Compactness continues to be one of the main objectives of present day research. Latest in the series, according to a release from British information, is the "the World's most sophisticated and versatile small offset press" which has been developed in Britain. Trade-marked CROWN MARK II, this new development occupies a floor area of only 1.85m x 1.05m yet has printing speed of 2,000 - 8,000 impressions per hour with an ability to handle sheets of between 205mm x 280m and 395mm x 545 m dimensions. Inside, a photocell detects inaccurately laid sheets and triggers where necessary to reduce wastage.

## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

### PRODUCT NEWS:

#### WINNERS OF 1977 DESIGN AWARDS

Out of 36 entries for this year's British Design Award Scheme for Medical Equipment, four award winners emerged because of good engineering design and application of well tried engineering Techniques. Below are briefs on two of the winners (the rest two will be featured in next month's issue).

#### GAMMA-COUNTER

Designed primarily to enable medical staff to identify allergies without any discomfort to the patient; the Gamma-Counting System 2001 made by Wily International Limited, Ashford, accommodates up to 100 tubes, each of 15mm diameter x 120mm when fully automated. It is of Modular construction enabling it to be built up gradually from a simple manual counting Unit to a fully automated system on a modest budget.

#### ACRYLIC TEETH

Given the fact that artificial teeth must be designed to act with greater efficiency than natural ones, the cosmopolitan Back teeth designed by AD International Ltd, London, got a prize for good design. Picture shows their functions in normal chewing actions in (left to right) positive centric, working and balancing bite movements.



# NITECO'S

## winning team



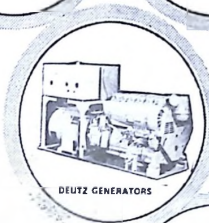
STEYR TRUCKS



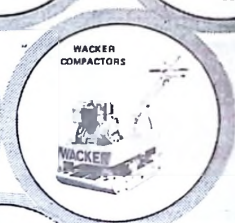
STEYR TRACTORS



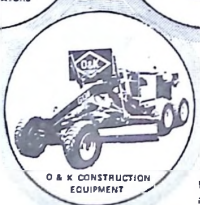
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## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

Amtralia can install single product plants for each of these food items depending on the wishes of the customer.

Basically this many product model comprises Raw Material stores for Oil, fat, skim milk, sugar; a melting vessel; mixing vats; Pasturizing plates; Homogeniser and packaging Units. Mixing of ingredients is done in the Mixing vats while the pasturising plates sterilise the mixture to a degree fit for human consumption. The homogenizer, on the other hand, ensures that the mixture is turned into one homogeneous solution by stopping the cream from settling down.

At the start of operation, fat drums empty into a melting vessel from where these are transferred to the mixing Vats in which a desired amount of water has been placed at a given temperature—say 40°C for recombined milk. From thence, the mixture is transferred to the pasturizer and later to the homogenizer before the packaging section.

In all, the building or better still structures required to occupy the plant's land area are the material stores; Mixing, Packaging and processing rooms; Emulsifier and salt store for cheese; and laboratory.

When it comes to the single product models, special equipment are added like in case of cheese processing plant, cheese cutter and shredder; scales and stainless steel tables are needed.

### FOCUS:

#### TOFT SUGAR HARVESTING SYSTEM

The need for a green revolution appears to have at last rightly come to the attention of Authorities in Africa although still on paper in some countries. Hence, in a bid to sustain this awareness, focus this month shifts its attention to a sugar Harvesting system noted for being very hygienic and supplementary to manual labour.

Toft harvesting system, a brainchild of Toft Bros. Industries Ltd., is made up of two parts—the harvesting and Transporting Units. The first Unit, which, incidentally, is the most complicated, can cut up to 300 tons of Cane per day depending on the preparation of the field. And, although its design depends on Texture and weather



Modern production line speeds output.

condition, some implements are common to all models. There is the Topper, which cuts off the top of the cane, the Base cutter and of course the primary and secondary extractors.

The cut cane is picked up by a system of power feed rollers and conveyed to a chopper which cuts it into billets. Through a primary elevator, these are transferred to primary and secondary extractors where extraneous matters are extracted and from thence, the clean billets are emptied into the transporting Unit.

This second Unit is mostly of the 4-wheel tandem trailer type and come in three versions—4, 5 and 6 ton models although these are other of 2-wheel. Depending on the level of the ground, these transporting units can be mounted on tractor; trucks or self-propelled on a full track rail.

Finally, one is happy to note that this highly rated system now operates in Ivory Coast; Senegal; Sudan; Swaziland and a host of other African countries.



### INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY: LAVERY'S RECOMBINING PLANT

The multi-purpose model of this plant is capable of making butter, ice cream, margarine and other food products although the designers, David Lavery and sons PTY of



## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

### FINANCE AND COMMERCE:

#### MANDILAS: MOTORS SHORT-PERFORMS

The motors Division of Mandilas, short-performed last year because of increased company overhead charges (a product of Inflation) and Government Price Control measures which cut deeply into the profits. As a result, the overall profit of the whole company was slightly less than was recorded in 1975/76 financial year despite 50 per cent increase in turnover.

Addressing a two-day conference of the company's Branch and department managers, the Managing Director, Mr. C. R. Harding, regretted that Management's legitimate hopes that last year's large scale salary increases would yield dividends in terms of higher-productivity and profits have not been fully realised. "It is therefore of the utmost importance that at your division meeting during this conference, you must identify the problems holding back the Company's growth and find effective solutions" he declared.

In his opinion, however, apart from incidence of competition and price control which admittedly, are outside the control of manager, Staff indiscipline especially among middle Manager and a large amount of outstanding debts; stood out as two of the most influential problems yet "both are not unrelated" he added.

Unlike Motors; other divisions (Air Conditioning, Engineering; Construction and Travel) had very good records for the year.

Land forming and tilling Equipment: Backhoes, Graders; Hydraulic Excavators, were featured among others. The organisers, Tractor and Equipment of Nigeria; Caterpillar Overseas S.A.; Fleco Corporation and Roca Industries, specially conveyed 28 Caterpillar machines to Kano for the demonstration.

Last year, similar meetings and demonstrations were successfully organised in Botswana, Zambia, by Caterpillar Overseas S.A.; its local dealers for officials from East and Central Africa. With plans for other parts of Africa under way, one can only hope Caterpillar will reap from the seed of investment it is helping us to sow.

### NIGERIA:

#### BANKS' DECEMBER ACTIVITIES

According to a recent release by the Central Bank of Nigeria, Commercial Banks aggregate loans and advances outstanding increased by ₦39.8m (1.9 per cent) in December last year to ₦2,122.9m compared with 4.8 per cent and 3.3 per cent increase in the preceding month and December 1975 respectively.

Their investments also rose by ₦234.5m or 20.8 per cent as against ₦234.5m (per cent increase) in November. The increase occurred in Treasury Certificates ₦197.1m, Banker's Unit fund ₦17.6m; Development Stocks ₦10.2m; Deposit certificates ₦9.4m and Treasury Bills ₦7.9m and together offset the decline in holdings stabilization securities and unclassified assets.

Cash ratio fell from 21.1 to 16.1 per cent as a substantial part of idle cash was invested in new issues of treasury certificates.



Question Mark

### HOW ABOUT GUARANTEED RETURNS?

#### \*Henry Atenaga

In recent years, many African Countries have rightly engineered indigenisation policies aimed at forestalling Development cum private investment with exploitative tendencies. As a result many of the countries today (with the exception of Zaire) are less dependent on external aid than they were in the sixties. This, at least, is a good omen although a very costly one.

In most cases, after these attempts at indigenous control, investors from abroad who, admittedly, are expected to bring all know-how transfer, hesitate before committing themselves financially or otherwise to the debit of the developing countries. In fact African officials appear to have recognised this hence some continued drop concessions here and there but unfortunately we are yet to touch the root of the matter.

To me, the investors hesitate, not because they see no immediate benefit in being in their capital, but because the very future appears to be very uncertain. In this month's question: Why don't we specifically state guaranteed returns on capital, how long foreign control will be allowed, last in investment contracts necessary for know-how acquisition process? Then, at least, everyone will know what to expect from the future.



#### CATERPILLAR: In Service of Africa

In line with its determination to be of immense service to African Agriculture, Caterpillar Overseas S.A. has once again organised a series of Agricultural conferences. This year's Conference, which took place in Kano recently, was attended by over 250 Nigerian officials, technicians and field ins-

pectors under the theme of 'operation land Development.'

After the opening by chairman Yazidu of OFN's national Committee, two 3-day seminars on methods of land development and the selection and use of Machines were followed by a special one-day machine demonstration in which track-type Tractors;



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## Military Coups in Africa: WHY THE GUNS ARE NEVER SILENT

\*L. Adele Jinadu, University of Lagos

How is one to explain military intervention in African politics? What are the preconditions as opposed to the precipitants of military intervention? Is military intervention something aberrant, a symptom, as some have argued, of a deepening malaise in the body politic of many an African state? Or has it become part of the evolving African political culture, something to be lived with or even looked upon, as one prominent U.S. social scientist once suggested, as a sign of healthy political change and progress?

These are some of the questions that one can raise in view of recent political upheavals and systematic disruptions in the Republic of Benin, Ethiopia and the Sudan. What answers can one give or are the questions so formidable and unanswerable that one had better speculate about them? The way the questions have been posed, however, assumes that there is at least a sense in which military intervention is analytically different from the intervention of other functional groups, that there is indeed something unique about military intervention. Yet from an analytical point of view what this uniqueness consists in may be problematic. Perhaps it is better to avoid the problem by looking upon military intervention as a species of political system adjustment to disequilibrating forces in society. To say this is not, however, to dispose the problem of explanation.

For one thing there is something vague and intellectually uninteresting in merely saying that military intervention is a variety of systematic adjustment to stress. In fact to say this is not to offer any explanation at all—much more is needed if it is to acquire explanatory status. For another thing, the best one can say in relating military intervention to systemic disequilibrium is that such a perspective then leads to the interesting task of investigating and constructing indices which can be used in relating military intervention to systemic disequilibrium. This is no easy task, if only because one may have to grapple with variables that are not only unquantifiable but also ephemeral and ir-

retrievable. Even where such variables are quantifiable there will still be problems of attaching relative weight and importance to them, which is to say that identifying the most crucial variable or variables may be a difficult enterprise.

This is, however, only part of the problem. There is the task of conceptual clarification as well as designing the best strategy to adapt in explaining military intervention. On the latter point, should One's explanation be nomothetic (i.e. universal) or ideographic (i.e. particularistic)?

To put the problem in another way, can one provide an explanation that will cover the broad spectrum of those events we have lumped together under the category of military intervention? Or is it preferable to confine oneself to the explanation of specific and culturally-bound manifestations of military intervention, only hoping, as Weber once suggested, that what is specific may shed some light on what is a general phenomenon? Or are the specific manifestations merely variations of the general phenomenon, in the sense that fundamentally the pattern and preconditions are the same? Whether this is indeed the case in an empirical question and the discerning investigator may indeed notice and document such a fundamental similarity. The important thing for him is not whether there are differences—differences there must be—but what similarities there are and how significant and revealing those similarities are. If viewed in this way, then there probably need be no unbridgeable chasm between nomothetic and ideographic explanations.

As for the task of conceptual clarification, one needs to establish the meaning of military intervention and, perhaps, set up a typology of such intervention, i.e. distinguish between types of military intervention. But if we are agreed on what the 'military' means, it is problematic how we are to understand 'intervention.' For example, is 'intervention' the same thing as 'involvement'? At one level, it can of course be argued that there is indeed a difference. To

the extent to which the military serves security functions and makes in-puts (either in the form of demands or advice) into the formulation and execution of public policy, one can say there is hardly any society or state in which the military is not involved in politics—for on one view politics is concerned with the formulation and execution of public policy. But this involvement is an advisory one—the military is not the decision-maker—and in this respect its role is functionally similar to that of the bureaucracy. When the military assumes formal political power and becomes the political decision-maker then one can say the military has intervened in the political process. On this view military intervention should be used to designate the seizure or take-over of political power, such that the military as a corporate body becomes or attempts to become the decision-makers in the formulation of public policy. The military need not necessarily be the initiator of the seizure—it can be invited to assume political power.

This distinction between military involvement and military intervention can be tenuous, however, if one focusses more on informal than on formal political processes and forms. For example there is a respectable school of elitist theorists whose thesis about a military-industrial complex has had a profound effect on the analysis of political power structures in western societies, e.g. U.S. and Great Britain. The thrust of their position is that in these countries the military does in fact rule. If one accepts this thesis then there is only a thin line of distinction between military involvement and military intervention.

However, it seems that military intervention has been used in the literature to designate the formal assumption of political power by the military in African and other developing countries. One result of this has been the failure or deliberate refusal by most western scholars to see that military involvement in politics is as much part of their own political processes as it is of African politics. We are not yet in a position whereby, as has been done in the Latin American case, military involvement and intervention as well as revolution in Africa is attributed to a socialization process which encourages violence. What is usually overlooked by those who make this reductionistic social psychological assumption is that, whether one takes a Hobbesian or Marxist view, any state is maintained by terror or the fear of terror. If one accepts this view then it becomes problematic whether what distinguishes the pattern of military involvement, say in Latin America, from that in Great Britain or U.S., is in fact a socialization process that assumes a violent form.

It is often claimed that the British and

French trained their African armies in the tradition of non-involvement and non-intervention in politics. But we know as a matter of fact that such armies were used to suppress guerrilla and other anti-colonial nationalist activities. If such uses of the army are not political what else can they be? This is why it was claimed above that there is hardly any society in which the military, where it exists, is not involved in politics. And even where it does not exist, it must have some functional equivalent. For the British and French to talk of non-involvement is to attempt to prevent their African armies from questioning the very basis of colonial rule. Some African leaders accepted this view of the political army and showed little interest in the political orientation of their armies. Nkrumah, writing from exile in Guinea, admitted that for a long time he bought the thesis of an apolitical army; he then suggested that it was his disregard for politicizing the army that accounted in part for his later brushes with the Ghanaian army, especially over the Congo crisis in the early 1960's. What was not realized was that though the British talked of an apolitical colonial army, they were concerned to ensure that its political orientation was congruent with colonial needs; indeed the socialization process and training soldiers went through were essentially designed to prop up the colonial oppressive machine.

What form has military intervention (as opposed to military involvement) assumed in neo-colonial Africa? There is mutiny on the one hand, and there is military coup d'état on the other hand. But there is a third form which is not usually referred to in the literature—this is typified by the assumption of de jure political power by para-military organizations engaged in protracted wars of national liberation against settler-communities, e.g. Algeria, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola.

A mutiny is usually distinguished from a coup d'état by reference to the fact that the former is an instance of insubordination to officers and concerns such issues as higher pay, promotions and service conditions. In short, a mutiny does not necessarily have to involve the overthrow of a government. The mutiny of the Congolese (now Zaïrean) Force Publique in 1960 and the East African mutinies of 1964 are examples of this type of military involvement. But a mutiny can lead to the overthrow of a government as is exemplified by the Togolese case in January 1963 when President Olympio was assassinated by mutinous soldiers and war veterans. It might be argued that what happened in Togo in January 1963 fell short of a coup d'état because the soldiers did not intend to overthrow Olympio—only to make him comply with their demands by a show of force—and, having assassinated him, invited his brother-in-law Nicholas Grunzitzky to take over power. The point, however, is that a government was overthrown by extra-constitutional means and the new President held power at the invitation of the army. In short, while there is an analytical distinction between a mutiny and a coup d'état, empirically the distinction can be a tenuous one to make as the Togolese case seems to show.

What causes military intervention in African politics? Two things must be said. First, one cannot be categorical in what one says. The combination of forces and factors that lead to military intervention are complex and varied and one cannot be sure that without them, i.e. in their absence, there would be no intervention. Moreover the same combination of forces and factors may exist elsewhere and yet there may be no incidence of military intervention as we have defined it. Secondly, it is not unlikely that the same combination of forces and factors can be used to 'explain' trends and tenden-

cies in African politics other than military intervention.

It was suggested earlier on in this essay that it is perhaps better to look upon military intervention as a species of political system adjustment to disequilibrating forces in a society. This suggestion can be pursued in a number of ways. Thus one variety of this suggestion is the view that there is some strong connexion between the incidence of domestic violence and military intervention. This would seem to be the view of such power deflation theorists as Claude Welch in the book on *State and Soldier in Africa* which he edited. A situation whereby force and coercion replace the normal relationships of government and population is referred to as Power Deflation and the thesis itself is derived from Talbot Parsons. One hypothesis of Welch in the book referred to above is that in the African context what prompted military intervention is power deflation. The argument draws from African political experience and goes something like this: The disintegration of national consensus, or the failure to achieve one after the departure of the colonial power, leads to a disruption or dysfunction of the normal processes of governing. As a result some African governments attempt to establish unanimity by clamping down on opposition parties and dissenting voices; by so doing, they deviate from constitutional or accepted channels of ruling and increasingly rely on extra-constitutional measures as well as force and coercion. But such measures are counter-productive: the increasing use of force enhances the significance of the police and military and since constitutional avenues of protection are no longer available or reliable, opposition parties and dissenting voices themselves resort to the use of force to press their demands.

Welch argues that in such a situation there is power deflation and this is probably



one cause of military intervention in African politics. The military resents the chaos and disorder, the breakdown of law and order and comes to believe that the drift toward further chaos or the degeneration into something akin to Hobbes' hypothetical state of nature is best avoided by its staging a coup d'état. It must be pointed out that the power deflation thesis rests on a distinction between power and force, a distinction which assumes, perhaps, that force in the context represents an abuse or misuse of power. Or put differently the distinction is between the legitimate and illegitimate use of force; since to exercise power, some force may be necessary.

What is one to make of the power deflation thesis? First, it is not clear what what the thesis offers is a description of events leading to military intervention or an explanation of why it happens. For example, he summarizes events that preceded the January and February 1966 coups in Nigeria and Ghana respectively and attempts to show that they conform to a power deflation situation. Yet a summary of events is hardly an explanation. Secondly, Welch does not distinguish between phases of power deflation process. All he does is summarize the events that lead up to the loss of legitimacy by Nkrumah's and Baleka's regimes, without showing how the events are related. The need for specifying the relationship at least is important since eight characteristics of power deflation are identified as not random events that have no relationship with or link to the deflation process. For example, it would be interesting to see whether some of the alleged disequilibrium variables are causally related—for example, does rampant electoral manipulation influence the transfer of allegiance by intellectuals? Thirdly, there is a problem of measurement. For a case to show how much power deflation must precede before the military can decide to intervene, this problem is of course complicated by the fact that as described by Welch power deflation is a dynamic situation, one of fact if one can do a graph of the power deflation situation, one will find that it does represent an over-increasing use of force there are times when it subsides, stabilizes and then increases again.

Fourthly, power deflation really cannot explain military intervention. This is because there is always a gap between perception and behaviour or action, so that one cannot link the two. A situation of power deflation itself may be present. But it does not mean either that the military perceive the situation as one of power deflation or that, having perceived it, reaction will be one of military intervention. After all what needs to be explained is the power deflation situation but why the military intervenes. To do this it is necessary to explain the jump from perception to military intervention.

Another variation of the social disequilibrium thesis is to be found in J.J. Johnson's *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*. The attempt here involves relating military intervention to disorientations and value conflicts generated by the modernization process. Politicians cannot cope with these disorientations and conflicts. Thus, then disequilibrium and perverse development as a result of which the military intervenes to save the situation. Yet another variation of this same thesis can be seen in C.S. Whitaker's essay, "A Dynamic Process of Political Change," in *World Politics* (January 1967), which stresses differential market access and unequal educational development as a possible cause of disequilibrium or 'dysrhythmic pattern of change and hence of military intervention to restore equilibrium.

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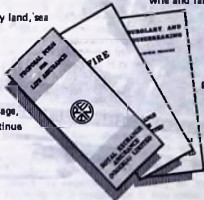
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power deflation thesis can be brought against these variations of the social disequilibrium thesis. For example, if military intervention is an attempt at tension management, one can also argue that the prominence of ideology and political religion is due to tension management considerations. There is also the need to explain the jump from a perception of disorientations to action aimed at removing them.

One finds another variation of the reaction to tension-creating situations thesis in Sam Finer and William Guttridge. This is the suggestion that we view military intervention as an attempt to redistribute social status. This position is based on the assumption that recruitment pattern into African armies is much broader than that of any other occupational group; the result, it is suggested, is that the army becomes 'a haven for the disadvantaged'. In Finer's words, "the seismic zones of military intervention . . . tend by and large to be areas where social stratification is marked. . . . the army provides one of the few avenues of social advancement."

Military intervention in African politics has also been explained in terms of a lack of congruence between military morality and competence and the corruption and incompetence of the political-bureaucratic leadership. Different versions of this thesis can be found in Welch, Finer (in their works already referred to) and M. Jauowitz's *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations*. Welch, for examples, observes that "to clear up the affairs of state and restore fiscal integrity and responsibility are themes frequently expounded upon by the leaders of coups d'etat. . . . Attempts to reduce government spending, undertaken by all military leaders under review in this volume, may be viewed as a response to a belief in widespread corruption. Similarly the banning of political parties. . . . was partially intended to cut down opportunities for corruption." (*Soldier and State*, p. 31).

This thesis rests partly on an assumed isolation of the military from the corrupt environment of social and political life prior to intervention; it also partly rests on what is taken to be the technical competence of the army in virtue of its weaponry and communication system which enables it to act swiftly and deftly. Thus Edward Feit in *World Politics*, January 1968, argues that "as the apogee of administration, armies would appear to have obvious advantages in reconstructing an administrative-traditional order. With their chains of command, allocation of functions, specification of rank, and unity of purpose, everything is structured to ensure centralized control and coordinated action. In Africa this has even greater significance for the army is often the only well-organized and coherent arm of government. . . . armies enjoy certain moral advantages over civilian branches of government: the moral force associated with self sacrifice, discipline, and courage; freedom from the taint of corruption. . . ." (Emphasis in original).

Yet what is troubling about this thesis is that it tends to confuse the issue or question why the military intervenes with that of what the causes of intervention are. The reasons for intervention, i.e. its justification or rationalization (the removal of corruption, ineptitude and maladministration) cannot, one suspects, also be the causes of intervention. If looked at from this perspective it is tempting, and indeed perhaps correct, to identify this thesis as a variation of the tension-management one. This is because both thesis ultimately attempt to explain intervention in terms of some malaise, failure or dysfunctionality in the political system. Moreover what is objectionable about Feit's position is the questionable attempt to deduce reasons for (or causes of) military intervention from a characterization of the attributes



Zaire's Seso Seko.

of the military. These attributes cannot of themselves tell us how the military will necessarily act in specific or general situations.

Thus far we have been examining those accounts that attempt to relate military intervention to domestic conditions or causes. But we live in an interdependent world, one result of which is that incidence of domestic violence, of which military intervention can be a species, often has internal as well as external causes and ramifications. Any explanatory effort that overlooks or glosses over the possibility for an external factor or cause in accounting for military intervention therefore runs the risk of being unsatisfactory or incomplete. Indeed in view of the high dependency of African armies on foreign military hardware, it is doubtful whether any divorce can be meaningfully made between domestic and external causes of military intervention.

Interesting, although by no means conclusive, work in this respect has been done by scholars of Marxist or neo-Marxist persuasion who have conceptualized the contemporary international system as one of imperialist hegemony and capitalist penetration of domestic political systems. One of the earliest attempts to link military intervention with the nature of the world capitalist system is to be found in some analyses of the coup which displaced Kwame Nkrumah in February 1966. The general framework for this type of analysis was foreshadowed, if not inspired, by Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*. The thesis, simply put, is that military intervention is best understood in terms of the colonial inheritance. For example, military intervention in Ghana in February 1966 was merely one chapter in a world-wide capitalist conspiracy to prevent Nkrumah's regime (and similarly oriented regimes) from breaking out of the neo-imperialist network and attain economic independence. This would seem to be part of Roger Murray's argument in his "Militaryism in Africa," (*New Left Review*, July-August 1966). In Murray's words, "paucity of domestic capital formation, dependence on trade for budgetary revenue, absence of effective control over commodity prices, shortage of exchange, leave these countries open to externally catalyzed political crisis."

It is, of course, debatable whether one can deduce military intervention from an analysis of the nature of the international economic situation. But this is only part of the problem. As Murray himself seems to be aware, to say that there is an identity of interest between the military on the one hand and international monopoly capital and 'metropolitan' governments on the other hand is not to say that they share a common interest or that they have conspired to topple Nkrumah's government. It is also difficult to prove a conspiracy in this respect. This failure to establish an identity of interest resulting in a conspiracy is one weak point in the otherwise persuasive and insightful work of contemporary theorists of neo-imperialism as Magdoff, Jalec and other underdevelopment theorists. That there is neo-imperialist penetration, actively encour-

aged and instigated by 'metropolitan' governments, cannot now be seriously denied in the face of revolutions about the activities of multinationals.

Two other 'explanations' of military intervention should briefly be mentioned. One is the contagion thesis and the other is the idiosyncratic thesis. The contagion thesis, according to Welch, holds that "successful seizure of control in one state may touch off a series of coups." He then speculates that "the intervention of Soglo in December 1965, may have helped touch off coups in the Central African Republic, Upper Volta, Nigeria and Ghana." A basic problem with this thesis is that it still leaves the question why the alleged contagion or demonstration effect in Ghana or Nigeria is not replicated in Senegal, the Ivory Coast or the Gambia. Another problem is that it is not clear whether it is being put forward as an explanation of either the effect or cause of military intervention.

The idiosyncratic thesis, expounded by Samuel Decalo (in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, March 1973), tries to explain military intervention in terms of the personal humiliation of army leaders. Intervention is then seen as an attempt by a coup leader to settle an old score with the toppled head of state. He explains Soglo's overthrow of Ahomadegbe as Dahomey's head of State in this way: "In a very real sense Soglo's actions can be seen to stem from his own anger and hurt pride. . . ."

While the idiosyncratic thesis can only be regarded at best as a partial explanation, it nevertheless points to the fragile nature of some post-colonial African regimes. One implication of this is that so-called heads of state were not, in the Hobbesian sense of the expression, sovereign individuals to the extent to which they were not in full control of the coercive paraphernalia of the state. If it is therefore true that Ahomadegbe did not really control the coercive machine of the state, then obviously his was not properly speaking (at least from a Hobbesian perspective), a government at all and Soglo's action is best viewed as an attempt to form a government.

An interesting attempt to offer an explanatory framework for the study of the cause of military intervention along these lines has been offered by Claude Ake (in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, March 1976). He suggests that military intervention in Africa is linked to at least two dimensions of Africa's political economy: the divorce of office from control and the structural simplicity of African governments.

The problems of developing an adequate explanatory model for understanding the causes of military intervention in Africa constitute part of a wider problem: how does one explain the dynamics of social change? If I have been unduly critical in this essay it is merely to point to the dimensions of the problems and, perhaps the intractability of the phenomenon of military intervention in Africa and not to offer any alternative explanation myself.

There is probably a logic of military intervention, as Finer would put it; but precisely what is problematic is its nature, such that we can isolate causes or factors which uniquely relate to military intervention. But since military intervention itself constitutes one possible response to the political and socio-economic environment it is doubtful whether its causes can be neatly divorced from the causes of other possible responses. This is why it was suggested earlier in this essay that, first, one cannot be snugly categorical about what one says and, secondly, that it is not unlikely that the same combination of forces, factors or causes can be used to 'explain' trends and tendencies in African politics other than military intervention.

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# Against The Titans In Nigerian Literature

## \*Gerald Moore

It is with a certain initial shock that the foreign reader encounters references to 'the older generation of Nigerian writers' as if to some mouldering institution long due for overthrow. After all, most of this 'older generation' are still in their middle forties and some of them may yet produce their best work. The impatience to thrust them aside seems premature. Perhaps the fiercer competition for light and growth in the tropical forest has something to do with it? But deeper reflection reveals that the critical divide between these two discrete generations is probably the Nigerian Civil War 1967-70. The first wave of Nigerian writers in English, figures such as Chinua Achebe, Amos Tutuola, Wole Soyinka, Cyprian Ekwensi, Christopher Okigbo or Elechi Amadi, had all established their reputations during the decade which preceded that upheaval. However little the war may have contributed to resolving the problems of Nigerian unity, it was undoubtedly a greater trauma in the national consciousness than is always realized.

By contrast with this earlier group, all the writers to be considered here have done most of their work in the aftermath of war and of formal decolonisation, in a world where government has become the monopoly of a home-grown military group. This is far more important than counting the slender bands of actual years which separate them from their elders, and accounts for the way these latter are seen, often somewhat dimly, as weary Titans, almost comatose after their huge efforts in the old Nigeria of colonialism and visionary political hopes.

As a creative attitude this healthy iconoclasm may have much to recommend it. As a critical position, it has the weakness of implying that nothing more of great interest of importance can be expected from the waning Titans, whereas there is a distinct possibility that the outstanding work of the seventies might still come from them, or from others. No other Nigerian writer can match the quality and variety of new work which has come from Soyinka's pen since 1970, for example. This includes three major plays, (*Madmen and Specialists*, *Death and the King's Horseman* and his version of *The Bacchae*); the long novel *Season of Anomy*; and the difficult, rewarding poetry of *A Shuttle in the Crypt*. But the exceptional status of Soyinka seems to be recognized by the new generation, who are the first to acknowledge the stimulus of his example as writer and spokesman, even if they quarrel with many of his ideas.

The purpose of the present article, however, is to measure the stance and achievement of this emergent group on its own merits. They are undoubtedly voices with which the new generations of school and university readers can identify more easily, since they share the same historical experience and contemplate the same horizons of hope or fear. Whereas the previous generation spent a significant portion of their lives awaiting the arrival of 'flag independence' in 1960, the younger generation have to contend with the full measure of neo-colonial manipulation from overseas and of unscrupulous collaboration or adventurism at home. At the same time these bleak contemporary facts have met a definite response in the political thought and action of African statesmen such as Julius Nyerere, Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto, whose political careers have all unfolded in the years since 1960. Political horizons are now somewhat broader than in the closed colonial societies of the fifties.

One may generalize then, to the extent of saying that these young writers have a leftward orientation, an ability to identify the growth-points of indigenous African response to the continent's now exposed situation, and a perception of a Nigerian society significantly different from that of today. If they are short on analytical method (mainly owing to an emotional suspicion of Marxism as being a 'white' ideology), they are fairly long on the real choices of direction facing African countries today. All these are positions which their elders may or may not have arrived at, but certainly could not inhabit when they began writing twenty years ago, in the era of nationalist agitation and millenarian hopes.

Nevertheless, the sheer size of the country and the predominantly ethnic character of most of its universities (which persists despite pious governmental pronouncements about federal control) still mean that these younger writers tend to exert their influence mainly in a few centres of concentration, rather than across the nation as a whole though they do their best to counter this isolation through journalism, broadcasting and lecture-tours.

## Femi Osofisan

One such centre is Ibadan University, the oldest in the country, where a loosely defined 'group' is gathered around the poetry magazine *Opun Ifa* and the journal *Afriscope* (Published in Lagos, but with many Ibadan contributors). Interestingly, the leaders of this group are not associated with the English Department, as tended to be the case with the literary magazines of the 'fifties'. Femi Osofisan, the editor of *Opun Ifa*, is a Francophone scholar, and one of his principal collaborators, Kole Omatoso, is among the very few non-Muslim Arabists teaching in Africa. Both men, however, have strong and inspirational interests in traditional Yoruba culture also. The title *Opun Ifa* is scarcely a revolutionary clarion call, for it is the name of the divining tray used in the Ifa cult, and Osofisan has declared his intellectual allegiance to Orunmila, the god of divination. His editorials are couched in the elliptical language of the oracle and, like everything associated with Ifa, they speak of an eventual wholeness and harmony rather than of endless struggle. There is a pre-occupation with means rather than ends and how could it be otherwise when the whole Ifa system is based on the perfect symmetry of the number 16? Listen, two enemies freedom has. The One who does not believe it. And the One who believes but who, in the fight to achieve, will first raze the land. . . . Priest translated. In the wake of knowledge and logistics comes the desired revolution.



But Orunmila represents divine intention rather than divine foreknowledge; and these intentions are frequently frustrated by Eshu, the god of fate, whose portrait is carved upon the Ifa tray itself. It is thus somewhat ironical that Osofisan has taken Soyinka to task for his allegiance to Ogun, the Yoruba god of war, iron and the creative urge in man. In a recent paper on 'Ritual and the Revolutionary Ethos,' Osofisan observes:

" . . . Soyinka has consistently subsumed history with the apparatus of ritual, while his public utterances and behaviours are an advocacy of social revolution. . . . The truth is, at this moment in history, the world-view which made for animist metaphysics has all but disintegrated in the acceleration, caused by colonialism, of man's economic separation from Nature. However one may regret it, myth and history have no longer complementary, and to insist otherwise is to voice a plea for reaction?"

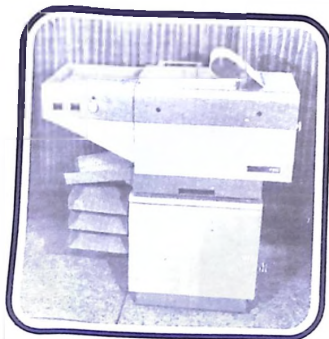
Osofisan goes on to contrast Soyinka with Brecht and Chekov, who constantly assert in their plays 'their faith in a human agency for change' and who eschew the self-enclosing, cyclic world of ritual. It remains to be seen, however whether Orunmila will yield a stronger revolutionary impulse than Ogun. For if the one brought 'knowledge and logistics' to man, the other brought warfare and the weapons of war, which are forging actual revolution in Southern Africa.

In the writing of his recent play 'The Chattering and the Song,' Osofisan claims, Orunmila was 'the presiding spirit.' So this play must yield the proof that his own use of mythology and ritual (for what is Ifa, if not ritual?) is more dynamic, more open to the future, than Soyinka's use of lone heroes, taking their inspiration from Ogun, and seeking to 'open a path for man.' It is true that Soyinka's heroes often seem at the last to lapse into a kind of demonic anger and despair (e.g. Professor in *The Road and the Old Man in Madmen and Specialists*.) They lash and exploit their followers, in the name of their 'enlightenment,' as mercilessly as the prevailing power-systems which they aim to expose last these same 'lay-figures' in the name of order and obedience. But Osofisan does not seem to allow enough for Soyinka's sense of the unpedestable, the unprecedented event, which cannot arrest the cycle here represents mythology, then the iyole in the iyole represents history, since it renews possibilities formerly lost. Even Soyinka's latest play, *Death and the King's Horseman*, which comes dangerously near to the narcissistic fixation on a beautiful past which he has always deplored in negritude, still exposes a weakness (or degeneracy?) within the traditional system, which opens it to destruction by alien values from without. Traditional Africa here contributes to its own downfall.

Turning to Osofisan's play, 'The Chattering and the Song,' we shall see a young writer who both shows and acknowledges the powerful influence of Soyinka, to whom the work is partly dedicated. Like Soyinka in *A Dance of the Forests* and elsewhere, Osofisan makes use of multiple role-playing by a small cast of characters, and formalises this by the device of the play-within-the-play. Furthermore, the formal structure resembles that of Soyinka's early play, with a first act presenting the characters in their modern roles; a central act in which they play out a historical situation; and a final act in which they return to their original roles, changed and marked by their interaction with assu-



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ed 'masks' of their ancestors. The debt to Soyinka even extends to giving a special dramatic function to a proverb already used in Soyinka's comedy, *The Lion and the Jewel*: 'The Monkey sweats, it is only the hair on his back which still decives the world.'

But there is innovation in *The Chattering and the Song*, as well as acknowledged borrowing from Africa's leading play-wright. During the inner play, the characters do not so much discover themselves *à la mode* de Soyinka, as expose themselves. Thus the stage is charged with tension and danger, which are transmitted into the last act and entirely transform the seemingly light-hearted, youthful banter of the play's opening. The wild young Sontri emerges as a serious challenge to the country's corrupt regime; his rival Mokan turns out to be the inevitable policeman and informer; and the enigmatic Laja, having played the rebel in the inner play, develops his role as the organizer and theoretician of revolt:

LEJE: Look, your concern is one I am familiar with. In my drive for recruitment, I call on, say, a carpenter, and he asks me: what if I lose my skill? Or, a blacksmith who asks: What if the light takes me on the road to exile? Of alienation?

What will happen to the old forge, to the tools abandoned?

FUNLOLA: Yes? What will happen?

LEJE: Renewal, I always answer. No one who commits himself will ever be asked to break with his ancestral roots.

FUNLOLA: No?

LEJE: On the contrary. But seasons change, oppression and injustice surface in new forms and new weapons have to be devised to eliminate them.

In this scene Osofisan also makes skilful re-use of the riddling game already played at the opening of the drama, by a different pair of lovers. There, it was no more than a device for courtship; here, it combines both courtship and political education.

LEJE: In your searching and thirsting, I came across you: I am the Tortoise, The great traveller.

FUNLOLA: Please Mister Tortoise, my life's in your hands: I wori oturu: you've travelled the world Lead me into safety, to fertile lands—

LEJE: I wori oturu: Just hold my hand And climb on my back:

I've travelled the world, I know them all, Those fertile lands—

FUNLOLA: I wori oturu, Be gentle with me. I'm famished and weak, I'm just like a thread—

LEJE: A thread in a loom? The loom of the state? Say I am a shuttle—

FUNLOLA: And I the thread?

LEJE: I wori oturu: across the loom If we dance as one,

I the shuttle and you the wife—

FUNLOLA: Dancing together,

In the loom of the state: Iwori oturu

LEJE: We'll weave new patterns out of our world

And make of our dance a journey of hope . . . . . Unfortunately, the close of the play is marred by the triteness of the Farmers' Anthem, which supposedly embodies the values of the new revolutionary order. Osofisan is no Rouget de Lisle, and would have done better to leave us with a fade-out on the riddling speeches of Laje and the young girl Funlola.

Another interesting feature of the play is the choice of King Abiodun for the role of historical tyrant. Abiodun is generally seen by historians as wise and unifying monarch, who rid the Yoruba country of the bloody oppression of the usurping Prime Minister Gaha. But Osofisan wants to attack all forms of autocratic power, however 'benevolent.'

For him, heroism is a collective, not a kindly virtue:

The death that is coming is for you. Yes! Because the earth, fouled with your contagion, cries for cleansing. . . . Soon it will be the last card and the cry will hit you where you hide in your safest corner. Last card! Last card!

More than any play of Soyinka's *The Chattering and the Song* offers a model of the new society as well as a condemnation of the old. And this model bursts open the carefree world of the play's opening. The same steady deepening of tone can be found in Osofisan's novel, *Kolera Kolej* (Yoruba: Osofisan's novel, *Kolera Kolej* [Yoruba spelling for cholera College]). This opens as a satirical satire on African academics and their devious politics. The epidemic of cholera which sweeps the campus and the country is merely the outbreak of an inner corruption. Hence the response to it is merely an intensified form of the usual profiteering and panic:

The Prime Minister was beginning to lose his temper under the barrage of questions. He took a breath and then continued: 'I hope Ministers will realize that this is an emergency. Personally I believe the epidemic is God-sent. The colleges have been unruhly these past months. They refuse our fatherly guidance. . . .

Amid mounting chaos, the state is taken over by one of the professors' wives and proclaimed an absolute monarch (a weird anticipation of the Central African Empire, announced in the following year). Blood, terror and oppression mount until the final page, when there is a sudden explosion of liberty. The 'disease' has run its course and exhausted itself by sheer excess.

Traditional Yoruba literature offers plenty of precedent for satirical humour and Osofisan may well have taken much of his inspiration from there. But his use of short, rapid chapters and of a comic device which escalates to the dimensions of nightmare both remind one of the work of Kole Omotoso, discussed later in this article. *Kolera Kolej*, again exhibits Osofisan's talent for creative borrowing from his contemporaries. Less original in his choice of devices than either Soyinka or Omotoso, this writer has a rare talent for employing them to new effect and for making them carry the burden of his own ideology. *Kolera Kolej* has been turned into an effective play and Osofisan's work for the theatre is lauded by his considerable experience as actor and producer. It may well be in drama that he will make his most important contribution bringing to it a more specific political commitment than was evident in the first wave of Nigerian dramatists.

### Odia Ofeimun

In his work as editor of *Open Ifa*, Osofisan already finds himself acting as to some extent a patron and encourager of younger writers; already the magazine has devoted one number to the work of new poet of unusual strength and maturity. Odia Ofeimun, who is a twenty-six year old post-graduate student at Ibadan, seems to have mistimed or quickly disposed of the romantic and introspective phase so common in early Nigerian poetry. His voice is urgent, public and clear. No search here for the 'imitation', the re-united self so often pursued by the older writers. He is ready immediately to turn his pen to the issues which overhand his contemporaries. His poem for Miriam Makaba ends with the cry:

Black woman, you rouse in me a bestial joy  
Whetting a desire to fight  
to plunder, if only to fulfill  
the promise,  
the gentle gleam of that canaan  
on your horizons.

Like Christopher Okigbo and Soyinka before



Odia Ofeimun

him, Ofeimun believes that there are times when the poet should throw away the pen and take a sword, yet he does see a specific role for the artist in struggle. Perhaps he hasn't fully resolved yet whether the poet is better sticking to this role than becoming a guerrilla. He acknowledges Neruda as a master, and no one can accuse Neruda of having failed to contribute, by the pen, to revolutionary consciousness in South America. In a published interview with Osofisan, he comes nearest to defining this specific role:

The greatest art one can find must be very good propaganda too. . . . Good art should thus push things under people's noses, like propaganda. . . . Choice is made easy. As far as I am concerned, it is making you see what you should see that gives the artist his real forte, especially in bad situation like ours.

With writers like these growing up, Nigerians will not long be able to ignore the contradictions which separate their domestic policy from the comforting militancy of external pronouncements supporting social revolution elsewhere.

### Kole Omotoso

Kole Omotoso, who is Osofisan's colleague at Ibadan, shares with him the wide range of activities characteristic of this group. He too is practically engaged in local publishing, in editorial work (he is Literary Editor of *Afriscopie*), in playwriting, fiction and poetry. Both men have simultaneously to establish their positions as academics, involving the usual stream of conference papers and publications. Omotoso claims that in this respect it is much more difficult for them to function than it was for their elders twenty years ago, though these same elders would not necessarily agree with that assessment.

Omotoso began his writing career with a short novel, *The Edifice*. The *Edifice* appeared to be very much preoccupied with the manner of telling, with its short chapters and somewhat cinematic technique, but the tale itself was seemingly the familiar one of the breakdown of an inter-racial marriage, under the strain of transfer from student idealism in Britain to the lovelessness and ruthless careerism of modern Lagos. I have called the text cinematic, not only because of its rapid sketches of scenes and angle, but because it moves freely and without warning from one narrative voice to another. Thus, the first half of the novel is dominated by the restless, edgy but apparently idealistic Nigerian, Dale who complains constantly of the silence and coldness surrounding him in Britain, but finds sympathy and devotion in the white girl Daisy, whom he marries. Obviously, his two black friends in Britain oppose and boycott the marriage. After a climatic quarrel between the couple, the voice and viewpoint switch over entirely to the wratched Daisy, whose plight in Nigeria is infinitely worse than Dale's in Britain. His family hate her and apparently murder her child (this episode strains probability and



Kole Omotoso

is a mistake, his friends ignore her, Dele abuses her, beats her and is openly unfaithful under their own roof. Yet through it all she cries

*Since the death of Dele junior I had left more and more a part of Nigeria. My own flesh and blood was part of the manure that was keeping it going. I felt a part of the country. I knew then, I could not go. Moreover, as the Yoruba say: if the blacksmith does not die, might he then not yet fashion another knife better than the one that was lost?*

Truth-telling of the kind found in *The Edifice* is both rare and courageous. Although writing it while still in Britain, Omotoso did not allow Dele to become an auto-biographical mouthpiece for his own exile's anger and debasement. These are voiced, but Dele himself is firmly placed as a man who gives for more cause for complaint to others than he ever suffers himself. The two halves of the novel balance its record of the pangs and griefs suffered by all who lose the protection of their own culture, and who put their faith in the tenuous bond of a personal love which is itself culture-bound.

The publication of *The Combat* in 1972 came as something of a surprise. The style here is racier, the pace is hectic and the satirical technique is one of steady escalation. A fight between two taxi-drivers in Omotoso's native town of Akure takes on a more and more national, and finally global aspect, as the two former friends invoke aid on an ever larger scale from within and without Nigeria. Like all the best satire, *The Combat* is both funny and sadly bitter. Its deflationary comment on the rhetoric and self-justification of civil war is not universally popular, which tends to reinforce one's view of its effectiveness. The technique of comic escalation carries the reader along with it and then swifly catches him guilty smiling in the wrong places. As Ojo Dada and Chuku Dede fight over the ownership of a ten-year old child (the Republic), the child itself dies. Similarly, the narrative device of a personal duel between two unskilled opponents gives Omotoso plenty of scope to satirize the cynicism of foreign participants in the combat.

*(The military adviser) produced two pistols. He placed both of them on the banner of his jeep. Then he brought out two parcels of ammunition and one pistol to Chuku. Through some careless administrative mistake the ammunition . . . were dummies. But the pistol was a real, hard-slugging Tokarer model 1933 known for its reliability in the hands of unskilled users. Could one expect Chuku Dede to know such trifling things as the difference between live and dummy ammunition?*

*... He turned to his pupil "It is unimportant with what lies many conscientious imperialists must have indoctrinated you," and Chuku almost stopped him to protest that as a matter of fact consev-*

*ive imperialists had not indoctrinated him with anything, but he did not.*

*His father went on:*

*"The pistol is the last stage in the development of the hand gun, "the old equalizer." You can only improve on it, you cannot replace it. This is not true of the revolver."*

The germ of the plot in *The Combat* had in fact lain in an earlier short story which was simply about a local quarrel between two drivers, one of whom had carelessly killed a child. The volume in which it appeared, *Miracles*, was Omotoso's first venture into local publication. Although he denies any intention of condescension towards his local readership, this is nevertheless a very different exercise from that of trying to please a London publisher and the London reviewers. The situation, the narrative development and the style of *Miracles* are of kind instantly familiar to a reader nurtured on the novelettes and short stories which have been produced in Nigeria for the past thirty years or more. But a conscious literary artist is in control, and the best of these stories amount to a challenge for that readership by widening its awareness. Nigeria stands in some danger of developing two literate publics, in the manner so wisely familiar in the West; one intellectual and fastidious, the other voracious and indiscriminate. Omotoso and his friends see this problem as one to which the writer must address himself, if he is ever to affect the consciousness of his people, instead of abandoning them beneath the stream of pulp and paper which now floods into Nigeria. Osofin opens a recent article, (*Afriscopie* Vol. 7 No. 1 of January 1977) entitled, 'Literacy as Suicide' with the challenging words: 'If James Hadley Chase did not exist, the majority of Nigerians would have happily chosen to remain illiterate.' Even if he goes on to paint the situation of the writer too darkly (or too whitely), it remains in many ways discouraging. Every supermarket and airport bookstall is overflowing with imported pornography and crime fiction of the most degraded type, a situation which seems to cause no concern whatever to the authorities, who are under no obligation to spend foreign exchange in this way. African authors still have to be sought out in specialized bookshops dealing with students, since these are obliged to read some African titles for their examinations. Only a book like Soyinka's *The Man Died*, aided by political notoriety, has been able to break out of this situation and establish big sales which are not based on syllabus requirements.

This is the challenge to which Omotoso is more and more directing his work. His third novel, *Sacrifice*, was published in Ibadan in 1974 and is in many ways his best. It is, in the words of D.H. Lawrence, an attempt "to make the reader's sympathy flow into new places." The tendency of this reader to identify with the young, successful and the modern is discouraged by the staggering callousness, incomprehension and cowardice displayed by the rising Dr. Lana Siwaju and his bourgeoisie wife towards the former's mother, a deserted woman who has practiced prostitution for years in order to push her son through college. But her cry of desolation becomes more than personal, it becomes the cry of a bewildered and abandoned generation, who cannot understand why they are being elbowed into the corners of their own society.

*Lana wanted her out of his way. She was of the past and had no share in the present. But how would the period of eighteen years between them make such a difference in their ways of life? That was a question she would like to ask him. What happened in Nigeria within eighteen years to make them so incompatible, such citizens of two different worlds? . . . for him which made him want her out of his life? Why had she been*

*so unable to change from her pre-birth mentality?*

Satirical escalation is again present in the climax of the novel, in the lavish pre-burial funeral held by Dr. Siwaju and his friends, once his mother had conveniently bequeathed herself. They even make a slight profit of the presents left by the hundreds of 'mournerers,' who come mainly in order to display to each other their new cars and their expensive funeral cloths.

Although simple and direct in language, *Sacrifice* employs a sophisticated narrative technique, with constant jumps in time and persons, which build up the picture as a sequence of events in the manner of a picaresque. The narrative 'voice' also moves from omniscient narrator to interior monologue and to interior dialogue (achieved by the device of private notes exchanged between Siwaju and his estranged wife, which articulate the secret thoughts about each other). Published as an impetuous and relatively cheap paperback, a book like *Sacrifice* again challenges the prejudices and expectations of the local readership, whilst seducing it by its familiarity and simplicity of its presentation.

Less successful have been Omotoso's late attempts to produce a homegrown variety of the detective novel or political thriller. He lacks the formidable technical knowledge and meticulous detail of writers like Len Deighton, Fleming or Simenon, which is an important part of their appeal. But as trouble goes deeper than that; he has simply chosen the wrong models. A political thriller of the left must not invite the reader to fall in love with its hero's car and hotel suite, furnished (in the James Bond formula) with willing and decorative, allegedly Socialist, broads. The progressive thriller demands a more austere protagonist who is in no sense a member, even of a subversive one, of the push Nigerian elite. He must work outside its terms; whereas Omotoso's Fella (in Fella's) *Choi* is comfortably employed in the counter-espionage wing of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore his technical ignorance, or, if author's, is such that at one point he fills his carburettor with a bucket of water! He also makes a miracle journey through Lagos to reach the airport in about a quarter of the time it would actually require; a detail which can only infuriate the Nigerian reader who flips into bed with this book after three hours in a solid traffic-jam. There is a pervasive sloppiness of detail and implausibility of motive and event in both these books.

Surprisingly, given these lapses of technique in popular spy fiction, Omotoso is meticulous, even a gnomic poet.

*a poem is the poet free of the shackles of poetry.*

He is also, like most committed writers in a non-reading society, powerfully attracted to the theatre. His play *The Curia* has had a number of successful productions on stage in Ibadan and elsewhere. It uses the same satirical method as *Sacrifice* and *The Combat* — an apparently simple plot about a matron who jumpy imprisons his servants while going on a journey, which becomes a paradigm of political life in Africa and elsewhere. The first thought of the servant when he emerges from his cage is how to poison himself by locking up everyone else. The rhetoric of liberation is abandoned as soon as achievement possible. Pursuit of the chimera of 'security' turns the whole population into jailers and prisoners. In the end as Soyinka has only observed in *The First Citizen*, the greatest is the only free man, because he is the only one who has nothing more to lose or to fear.

#### Biodun Jeyifo

Less prolific so far than his Ibadan colleagues, but with a bolder grasp of the ideological realities in modern Nigeria, is the

# COLOUR TELEVISION IN THE NIGERIAN SCENE

\*Chike Ajaaraonye

To some people, the introduction of Colour Television (CTV) in Nigeria was economically unwise; at least at this stage of development, they argued; but others felt that since Nigeria was moving with time in other spheres of development, CTV should not be an exception. At least those were the feelings in 1975 when it was first suggested that Nigeria was to go colour in her television transmission.

The role of a Television network, colour or black and white, in a developing nation such as Nigeria cannot be overemphasised. Perhaps this suggests why the protagonists of CTV have prevailed over its antagonists. It is very desirable to agree that no government can forge ahead in the direction of development without a well organised media of information. And if it is agreed that the role of Television, an arm of the information media, is to assist in general education, enlightenment and motivation of the nation,

then there exists no basis for scrapping the project.

The history of Television in Nigeria dates as far back as the late '50s when the then Premier of Western Nigeria, Chief Obafemi Awolowo decided it was time his people were placed on the same pedestal as their European counterparts. Thus arrived the first television network in Africa. It was then criticised as an elitist project or venture since not many people could afford a set then. Today, Chief Awolowo stands vindicated and now the industry, by going colour, is assuming another welcome dimension.

As mass literacy increases, in Nigeria, more people are becoming thirstier for news and information of happenings at both home and abroad. It is then, therefore, a happy situation to observe that the various media of information—newspapers, radio and television—are trying hard to cope with this arduous task.

## Impact

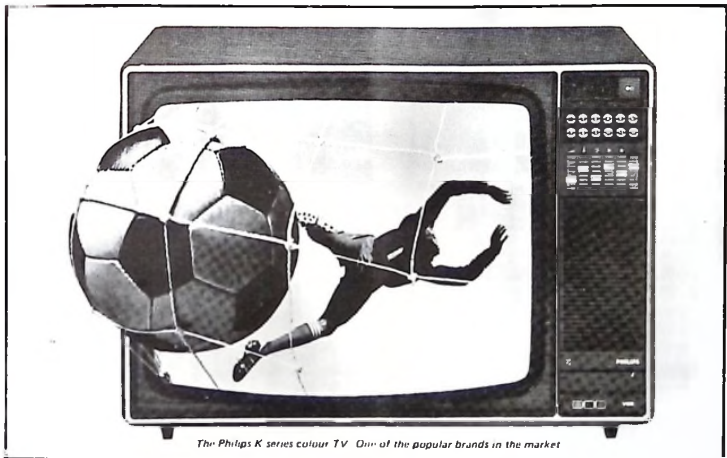
There is no gainsay of the fact that

television has an edge over both newspaper and radio. This unique position derives from its ability to present programmes in pictures thereby giving viewers "eye-witness" accounts of events. One can only dispute what one hears but not what one can hear and as well see. It is obvious, however, that the television cannot cope up with radio as far as speed is concerned, and with the newspaper as far as detail is concerned. As far as documentation is concerned, the newspaper is yet to be rivalled by the other two media.

To worsen the position of television as far as speed is concerned, at least in Nigeria, television is only viewed in the evenings except on certain organised occasions when live programmes are presented anytime of the day. This is not quite the same in some other countries where television operates for twenty-four hours of the day. Even then, the time lag involved in relaying programmes has not been eliminated in those countries. However, people do not mind so much if they 'see' their programmes later provided they get the desired impact. And now that television has gone colour, the impact has been further enhanced.

## Education & Entertainment

As I have mentioned elsewhere in this article, television is a source of both education and entertainment and when fully tapped, its position, as far as these roles are concerned, cannot be matched by any other media. Though not yet widespread, television is now being vigorously used for various



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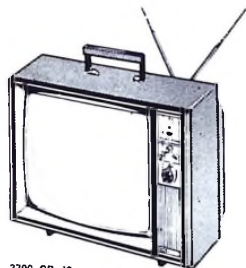
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educational programmes. In Lagos in particular, the television transmits during morning hours when it features 'Schools programmes'. During this period, School Children avail themselves of the opportunity of programmed lessons. Apart from the fact that this method of imparting knowledge enlivens the atmosphere among the pupils, it also punctuates the monotony and boredom of constant reference to books. At primary level, the



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idea of watching the television arouses interest among the pupils. Many objects are more identifiable when seen than imagined out of the description collected from books.

It is in the field of entertainment that the role of television is even more appreciated. This is evidenced from the falling number of cinema-goers. One can now almost depend on the television set for all that one had gone to see in the cinema.

The greatest role television has so far played in Nigerian scene was during the FESTAC. After the opening ceremony which pulled the largest crowd ever for any event in Nigeria, it was reported that subsequent events never saw a fairly large crowd. Though financial constraint was a factor but the possession of television by many people worsened the situation. It was even an added glamour for those who owned CTV. People felt that there was no need going to any of the arenas for the FESTAC activities since they could sit back at home and see all the happenings and in colour for that matter. It really worked, though to the detriment of the purses collected from the FESTAC venues.

Nigerians, who are ardent soccer followers, are now reaping the benefits of television. With the erratic traffic in Lagos, many sports lovers dread venturing out on sporting days. With the use of satellite, we can now view, simultaneously, events taking place in any part of the world. It was this welcome innovation that made it possible for Nigerian viewers to watch the Muhammad Ali-George Foreman fight in far away Kinshasa. Also during FESTAC, the legendary Steve Wonder was awarded the highest honour in his musical career though the event took place in America, Nigerian viewers were able to be part of the occasion via television.

#### Constraint

In as much as CTV has been accorded warm reception in Nigeria, it is regrettable, however, that many homes are yet to enjoy the unlimited benefits afforded by a colour television set. As before mentioned above, the high cost of a CTV is responsible for this sorry situation. From our economic survey, it was discovered that the cheapest CTV in the market may not be lower than four hundred naira. This situation, therefore, has restricted prospective buyers to 'black and white' television which could be bought from any local market at such a low price as one hundred naira.

It could not even be said that television viewing is nation-wide in Nigeria. Whereas some states are yet to establish their television network, the existing ones, even the national service, operate within limited radii. This particular constraint is serious, because there are many localities that have not seen a television set let alone owning one. Perhaps, when the proposed National Television Authority finds its feet, it would be able to encourage the establishment of a television network that would cover the length and breadth of this vast nation. It would also establish collective viewing centres or a close-circuit system as in America. By this system, many more people, especially among the low income group, would be opportunistic to view TV.

In some exceptional cases, prospective buyers

have insisted on buying black and white although they could afford CTV. Asked why some of them held that our stations are not to get their bearing right as far as transmission in colour is concerned. They lamented our producers are poorly equipped or trained to mix and produce the natural colours of their subject. A colour programme is supposed to appear as natural as possible.

In spite of these teething problems there is no doubt that CTV has a bright future in Nigeria. The Federal Military Government is even proposing establishment of television assembly plants in various parts of the country. It is envisaged, therefore, that within these projects take off, the prohibitive prices of various CTV will be tremendously reduced. It is only then that it could be rightly said that the government is encouraging television service in the country.

## THE COLOUR TV MARKET

### A Correspondent

The demand for colour TV is at the moment a status symbol craze in Nigeria. The possession of one is an index of the social tastes and status.

Naturally, very many Electronics Companies have to top the demand. Westinghouse Co. have brought in Super Colour TV sets manufactured by Grundig; while E.M.U. Ltd introduced its Rank Arena Series. Others are Philips, Pan Electric Co. and Kayce (Nig) Ltd. Among the most popular ones are Grundig's Super Colour, Kayce's J.E.M.I.'s Rank Arena and Philips Colour TV.

Like every other high activity market, the colour TV market has become a man's market—a Market in which, due to the technical nature of the product, a distributor could enter and survive without the required technical services to go on. In practically all mini-markets over the country, colour TV Sets could be seen in Electronic Stores mostly without provision for servicing and repairs if need be. Even in the black markets especially in Lagos, Colour TV Sets have become common and sold in the open without receipts and other commercial protocols. At the 'Murti Market' along Bodagry expressway (road) that such a market should be named as a national hero, Colour TV sets are grabbing phasing out Black and White Sets in terms of sales Volume.

In spite of the booming black and white markets, the bulk of the sales turnover still remains with the well-organised big companies mentioned earlier.

One happy development that keeps the big companies smiling despite the threat posed by the small stores, is these small stores' inability to deal in Remote Control

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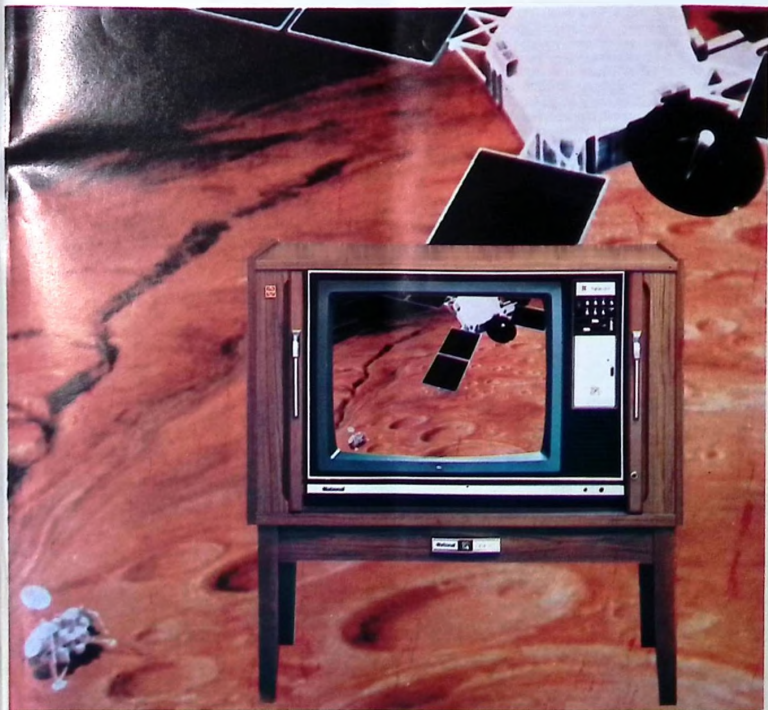
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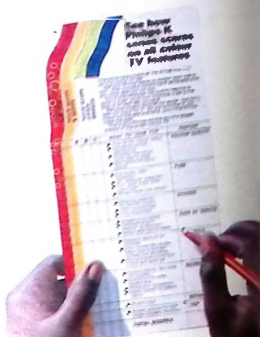
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The best reasons to select a Philips K series colour TV come when you score its features against the other sets you can buy.



One of the modules in the Philips K series colour TV set. It makes servicing as easy as changing the batteries in your flashlight.

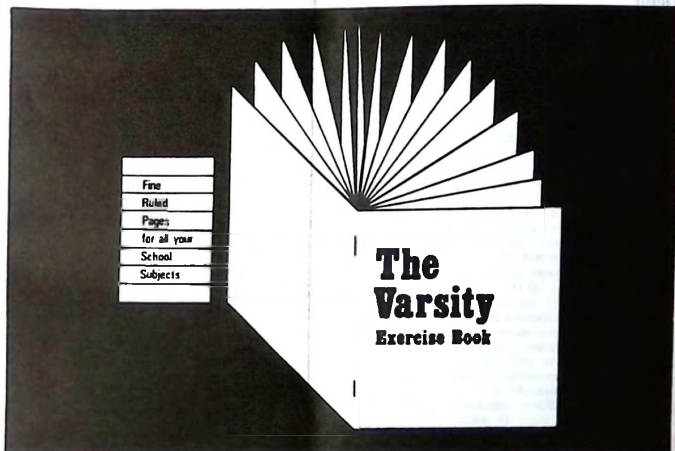
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Bradun Jeyifo

theatre artist Bradun Jeyifo. If the horizons of the others have been broadened by exposure in Arabic or Francophone literature and intellectual tradition, Jeyifo has fished in the troubled waters of Black American theatre in New York. He is fiercer in his public utterances, but perhaps less sensitive than a man like Osofisan, who dwells always on the perils of commitment to the artist, in our age when many fists are flying, and most have no single truth behind them. . . . Listen: the end of our journey must be not merely to establish a system, but to preserve and enhance our humanity. If Osofisan is circular, Jeyifo's style is sometimes closer to that of the manifesto. A generous indignation fuels his pen:

*In the new world that is coming, human needs will not feed on nostalgia or be aborted by class distortion of human mutual recognition.*

Those who have seen the 'class distortion' bred by party privileges, by 'foreign-currency only' shops in Prague or Moscow, by tourist hotels on the Black Sea or the Adriatic, will be less confident that the desire to look down on someone else is merely a capitalist's, and not human, phenomenon. Still, a young writer needs the sort of visionary hope which makes Jeyifo.

*When we bulldoze the ugliness and the dusty squalor out of our cities, these names which signify naught will express a new liveable, unalienated community.*

Certainly he is far from the obscurantism which claims that the political institutions and mythologies of the past can save Africans from analysing the painful realities of the present, or can provide a model for the delivery of the future.

In a comment on the recent official glorification of Festac culture in Nigeria, Jeyifo has written:

*"Culture and politics are inseparably and dialectically related. The future of African culture is inseparable from the future of African politics. And let it be clearly recognized that by politics I include not only the struggle for power in society, but the economic organization of power in society."*

The observation is painfully necessary at a time when so many African leaders are wrapping traditional culture around themselves like a toga, barely concealing their shiny military uniforms or three-piece suits. There is a general failure to recognize that a new social order must inevitably produce a new culture: not just something to be put on the stage for the plaudits of foreign visitors, but the total expression of a way of life presently lived. Much of the culture now paraded by African governments, ancient and beautiful though it may be, is expressive of a feudal

order already vanishing. We need a concept of 'appropriate culture' to match that of 'appropriate technology.' Film, ballet and graphic art in Cuba and Algeria seem to be giving the lead here.

Jeyifo has also written interestingly on Soyinka's *The Road*, pointing out that while the dramatist concentrates his interest upon 'Professor's part psychic, part intellectual grope towards the essence of death, he has nevertheless faithfully presented a picture of Nigeria's urban proletariat, enmeshed in a dehumanized and rapidly industrializing society. This presentation has a dynamic of its own, which asserts itself alongside the more mystical intentions of the author, for these creations live just as intensely as Professor himself, and their existence extends beyond the domination of his will. Contributions like these suggest that Jeyifo has the potential to develop an African criticism which clearly perceived its direction and which is continuously engaged in the struggle for a liberated social order. Such a criticism has generally been lacking in the West African scene, and its development may prove to be one of the significant contributions of one of the 'Ibadan school.' A Nigeria which is rapidly urbanizing and industrializing, which stands seventh among the world's oil producers, will scarcely resolve its new social and economic problems by the methods which suffices for the village and the city state. One can both learn and protect oneself by noting the lessons learnt so painfully outside Africa, in societies like Vietnam, Chile or Cuba, which are at least comparable to Africa in their peasant base and in their historical experience of colonialism and capitalism. But the race war developing in the South and the blatant interventionism of the Western powers have, quite understandably, forced black cultural nationalism into a more defensive stance. There seems to be less critical assessment of painful realities in Africa's past, moanings upon its symmetry and heroic qualities, than were evident fifteen or twenty years ago. Thus a writer like Wole Soyinka, who once assailed Leopold Senghor for the state's sycophantic adulation he detected in his poetry sills perilously close to some real in the heroics of his poem *Ogun Obibiman*. In this celebration of guerrilla war in Zimbabwe, Soyinka even comes up with Senghor's old hero Chaka the Zulu, and produces a mythological hybrid worthy of the late Janhelz Jahn by mating him with his native warrior god Ogun.

The historical evidence suggests that Chaka, though an effective commander and organizer, was also a tyrant who drove many of his followers into exile by his cruel excesses. Can this really be the model for the type of leader now needed in Southern Africa, a leader who must not only defeat racism but recreate the humane values it has destroyed? This can only be the task of a whole people, not of a legendary hero. Frelimo, whose declaration of virtual war with Ian Smith was the occasion of the poem, provides better models for such leadership than Chaka or Ogun.

Here again, Femi Osofisan has pertinent words to say.

*"Perhaps the greatest danger now is to yield completely to the anger in our entrails, that anger roused by rampant contemporary injustices, and erroneously fuelled by the rhetoric of the hunt, to yield so much as to cease to be human."*

The young writers examined here seem to be collectively aware of this 'greatest danger', despite the grotesque provocation of events like the Soweto Shootings or the political executions in Salisbury. It will be for them to articulate both the anger and the humane alternative vision which can sustain the age through its present, and deliver it into a tolerable future.

# Negotiations in Zimbabwe: ART OF MANOEUVRE, ART OF WAR

by P. F. Wilmot

Western-oriented intellectuals have picked up their masters' habit of labelling without the corresponding ability to recognize what these labels mean. Thus, they gratuitously brand as "radical," "Marxist," "communist," or "socialist" any aspect of African nationalism which asserts the primacy and inalienability of Africa's interests, regardless of East-West conflicts, Sino-Soviet dispute, or any other form of great-power rivalry.

The intellectual leaders of western imperialism, however, as opposed to their errand boys and stable hands, its certified spokesmen as opposed to their long-winded and bombastic African echoes, recognize what their labels mean. On the issue of Zimbabwe, for example, two of western imperialism's leading intellectuals make it quite clear that "moderation" and "radicalism" are to be understood solely in terms of compatibility or incompatibility with western interests.

In a refreshingly laconic outburst, Kissinger, ex-US Secretary of State, spoke of imperialism's stake in "not having the whole continent become radical and move in a direction that is incompatible with western interests." Speaking a few months later, to other NATO foreign ministers in December 1976, the late Anthony Crossland said that if the issue were settled on the battlefield it would seriously lessen



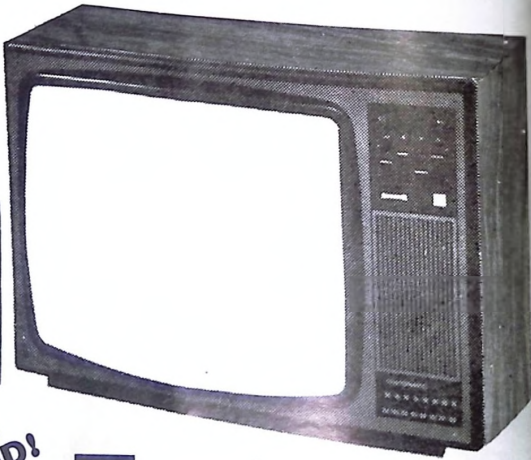
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sets. Although, the demand for these is increasing rapidly, the complexity of these sets has tended to forestall any attempts at selling without specialised knowledge. The MODULE Unit inside these Sets, a compact and costly assembly, is so delicate that a non-specialist can damage the whole thing.

As of now, there are two types of Remote Control Sets in the market—the ULTRASONIC and INFRARED sets. Both control by transmission signal from a compact transmitter on to a receiver which translates the signal into the language of the set. At the press of buttons, the right signals are transmitted to put off or on sets and adjust shades from the control box held in hand by the viewer. The only difference between the two types of remote control is in the effect of external sounds on them. For example, the Ultrasonic models are disturbed by external sounds like ringing telephones that are of the same frequency while the Infrared is not affected.

On the demand side, Colour Sets are understandably, still limited to the growing but still small elite group. This is because of the price. The lower income groups, if they buy at all, still buy black and white sets despite their shortcomings. But this is not to say that the demand for colour sets is not high. It is high no doubt but its most notable feature is its growing ability.

It is a fact that as the Nigerian economy continues to grow, thanks to increasing national income, the composition of the population is also changing thereby increasing the proportion of the high to the low-income groups. The present demand itself can be broken up into different categories made up of those elites that can afford only manually operated ones as against Remote Controlled Sets. Even the latter group can further be broken down into those who go for Ultrasonic and Infrared models respectively. The general trend is for these Sets to become a sort of status symbol.

#### Constraints

Besides the high prices, technical inade-

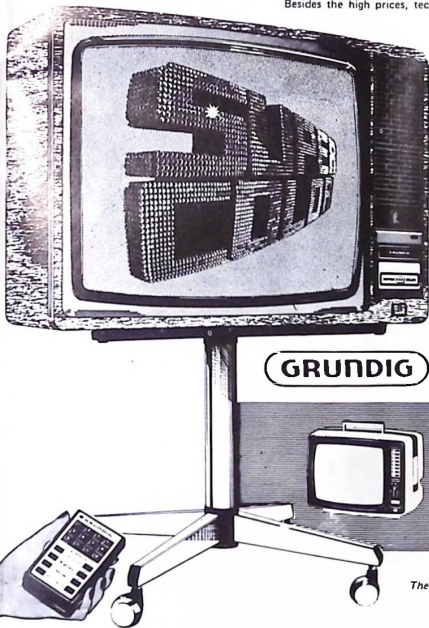
quacy of the present Television network operation has also tended to make many think twice before spending so much money. Colour transmission, a new thing in the country, is yet to be perfected and as a result, according to one owner of a colour set, "One discovers that a coloured programme abruptly turns black and white for a few minutes only to return later to a blurred and ineffective colour mix" Here the fault lies with the transmission and rarely with the assembly of the set.

Anyway, the assembly itself is another market constraint. No company manufactures colour sets in the country as of now so that supply of these sets is a fluctuating thing.

Then, of course, we have the question of service. Facilities, as of now, are inadequate mostly because of the small stores who sell without these facilities. The big companies get more than they can cope with within a reasonable time hence consumers with faulty sets wait for too long for repairs to be effected.

As a result of these constraints, especially the inadequate service facility, a new development is now sweeping through the market. At the rate of ₦24.75 per month, consumers with faulty sets or who for one reason or the other are yet to buy their own, can now rent coloured sets. RENTACOLOR, the premier Company in this field, provides free service, free aerial wire and many other incentives to lure its customers. The impact of this cannot be far-fetched. Many Nigerians even if they cannot afford something, find themselves renting such things for special purposes and occasions in most cases to boost the ego. What stops a bachelor from going to hire a coloured TV set because his friend from the States is coming to whom he wants to show off? All these are normal things in the Nigerian setting. It accounts for why within a year of operation Rentacolor is now planning to set-up branches in other parts of the country.

In fact instead of being a direct threat to outright sales, Rentacolor's renting exercise is really a boost for the market. The truth is that no one can go on renting for ever and you find that when the time comes to stop this, the new TV addict finds it hard to do without one. So either way the Colour TV market remains a growing one with potentials that multiply every passing day of a changing Nigeria.



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The Grundig Remote control and other models in the Nigerian market.



Robert Muzorewa of the Patriotic Front.



Joshua Nkomo—a new mandate from the Libreville recognition?

function in some African political systems in the past. Doubtless Muzorewa's status as a man of the cloth fuelled hopes that he could perform the political miracle of uniting, even temporarily, the factional rabble that constitutes traditional nationalism among the elites of Zimbabwe. The bishop's taste for certain things of the flesh, however, plus his acquired taste for political visibility, simply led to a further fracturing of the elitist nationalist movement.

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The outlines of a new manoeuvre are therefore transparent. Rebel Smith together with his Western backers will build up the prestige of the Bishop while trying to discredit and undermine the position of the Patriotic Front and its supporters. The Western media has been giving unusual prominence to Muzorewa, stressing his statesmanship, his "moderation" and maturity at the same time. The BBC regularly refers to nationalist guerrillas fighting under the Patriotic Front umbrella as "terrorists" and accepts Smith's propaganda reports that the freedom fighters are responsible for the killing of missionaries. The falsity of this is, however, quite apparent since Smith has been jailing and otherwise intimidating missionaries because of their sympathy for the nationalist cause. Yet on 21st April the BBC carried, without comment, this preposterous "evidence" supplied by the rebels: a diary found on a dead guerrilla allegedly detailed the killings of the seven missionaries; just coincidentally, a rifle found on another dead guerrilla turned out to be one of those used in the killings!

Zimbabwean sources report that Muzorewa has hired an American public relations firm, as did Clemens Kapunga the "moderate" leader being packaged in Namibia. Inside Zimbabwe the Bishop receives the open support of the rebels, ranging from jobs for his followers, to transport for his meetings, to funding for his cosmopolitan life-style (at the Mauritius summit of the OAU the Bishop was observed in a top night club till the early hours of the morning, with the type of company difficult to maintain on the lips of his impoverished congregation.)

On the military front the rebels are building four new air-bases capable of taking supersonic aircraft. Since the rebel airforce (consisting of Canberra, Hunter MK9s, Vampires, Buccaneers, T52 Provosts, and Dakota aircraft) has no supersonic aircraft at present, it seems reasonable to assume that they are expecting some from somewhere. It is reliably understood that France, the main arms supplier to the racist regime, will be supplying supersonic mirage jets and alouette helicopters to the rebels through South Africa. Rebel pilots are currently training with mirages at an airbase in the northern Transvaal. The rebels are also building a new air-base near the joint Mozambique-Zimbabwe border, similar in scale and facilities to bases at Katime Mulilo in the Caprivi strip near the Zambian border, and above Grootfontein in Namibia near the Angolan border. On 29th April 1977 Radio Moscow reported that the British were supplying Long-rang 100mm guns to the rebels.

In early April the American embassy in Dar es Salaam admitted that hundreds

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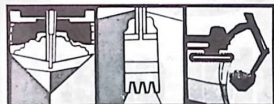
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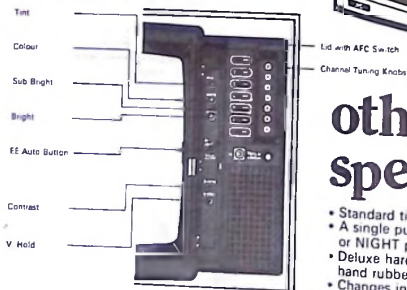
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Even the women are being trained to fight: Rhodesian Service women during a parade.

the chance of bringing about a moderate African regime in Rhodesia and would open the way for more radical solutions."

In considering the Zimbabwean issue, or any other political issue, therefore, African intellectuals, whatever their ideological leanings, should avoid western-manufactured labels and consider the issue strictly in terms of compatibility or incompatibility with African interests. In the immortal words of the late General Murtala Muhammed at the extraordinary OAU summit on Angola: "we know our own interests and how to protect those interests: . . . we are capable of resolving African problems without presumptuous lessons in ideological dangers which, more often than not, have no relevance for us, nor for the problem at hand."

The ideological "dangers" of the Soviet Union, China and Cuba are non-starters and political red-herrings. None of these countries has ever possessed a single colony in Africa, none operate multi-national corporations in Africa and, of the three, only the Soviet Union has negligible foreign investments in such trading companies as WAATECO. On the other hand the Soviet Union, and China, until its bizarre political convulsions in Angola and Zaire, have been the main external supports of the African liberation struggle. And Cuba, to the everlasting glory of its heroic people, has done what every African leader has publicly dreamt about doing, that is to defeat apartheid aggression on African soil.

#### Anti-Imperialist Struggle

The struggle in Zimbabwe, therefore, must be understood strictly as a struggle against western imperialism which, since the Berlin conference of 1884-1885, has regarded Africa as a western "sphere of influence." Again in the

words of General Muhammed, "the Government of a many western countries saw the African struggle against imperialism as directed against western interests. As long as Africa remains dependent, it is within the orbit of NATO countries and is available for exploitation to sustain Western prosperity while the Africans sink deeper into poverty."

In "Kissinger's African Initiative," an article published in this paper at a time when high hopes were held out for Kissinger's African "shuttle," I argued that:

*"Today there is a war in Zimbabwe and Africans must recognize the causes of this war if they are not to be manoeuvred by Kissinger and company into transforming a war of National Liberation into a civil war, a race war into a war of the black man against his own kind."*

Today Kissinger has happily departed the political scene, his "initiative" has collapsed, but the war has continued because the conflicts which gave rise to it persist. Nothing that the British or the Americans have said or done since, however, indicates the slightest change in their objective to keep Zimbabwe in the Western "sphere of influence," to keep the resources of that country available for exploitation by installing a "moderate" regime pledged to safeguard their interests. Nothing in their negotiating positions indicates a recognition of the authenticity of African nationalism, of the inalienable rights and interests of Africa. Instead their main aim remains to defeat the nationalist guerrillas, who have shouldered the heroic task of resurrecting the historic destiny of the peoples of Zimbabwe, by making a deal with the most retrogressive elements among the traditional "nationalist" leaders. Since, therefore, the premises remain the

same, Africa can expect the same results from the manoeuvres of Vance and Owen as they did from Kissinger's and Crossland's.

A year ago I pointed out that the "moderate" leader chosen by Western imperialism for executing the neo-colonial option was Joshua Nkomo, at the time the most discredited of the traditional "nationalist" leaders. Nkomo was discredited by a series of private and public contacts with Ian Smith, culminating in drawn-out negotiations between 15th December, 1975 and 19th March, 1976 in a Salisbury army barracks. Since this manoeuvre collapsed Nkomo, through skilful political footwork, and with the aid of his close friend Kaunda, has managed to form a tactical alliance with Robert Mugabe in the Patriotic Front.

Today Nkomo's opportunistic instincts have been tempered by the lowered prestige of Kaunda after his Angolan fiasco, by the principled stands of Presidents Nyerere, Machel and Neto, by his recognition that further opportunism could destroy what little grass-roots support he still possesses, and awareness by the Soviets who have traditionally supported ZAPU that the only effective nationalist movement in Zimbabwe is the one emerging in the refugee and guerrilla camps in Mozambique.

Imperialism has therefore been forced to dredge up a new "moderate" leader, Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The Bishop is a political non-entity who was chosen to head the ANC in 1974 precisely because of his status as a non-entity. Because Nkomo, Sithole and Chikerema, the established political leaders of ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI could not select a leader from among themselves, they turned to the bishop as a compromise, a stop-gap or neutral factor. Eunuchs performed such a



Robert Mugabe of the Patriotic Front.



Joshua Nkomo—a new mandate from the Libreville recognition?

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Since the collapse of the Geneva fiasco, Smith has been busy eliminating nationalist opposition to the Bishop, arresting leaders associated with the Patriotic Front, principally supporters of Robert Mugabe. Muzorewa has spread the hostile propaganda of the rebels that atrocities committed by the Selous scouts (an elite killer unit, equivalent to the American Green Berets or the British Special Air Services) are the work of nationalist guerrillas. On 17th March 1977, the Voice of America reported that Gordon Chavunduka, Muzorewa's deputy addressed a meeting at the South African Institute of International Affairs. The subject concerned holding a referendum to test Rhodesian opinion. (See also Daily Times of 19th March). It seems reasonable to assume that Chavunduka took the opportunity to demonstrate the "moderation" of the Bishop to Vorster and his racist clique. On 21st March, the BBC's Focus on Africa reported that the rebel regime had allowed Muzorewa to hold a mass meeting inside Zimbabwe, a right denied to supporters of the Patriotic Front. The subject was the same as Chavunduka's in the apartheid republic, a referendum to test opinion.

Bishop Muzorewa met twice with the British foreign minister in the month of April. In the third week of April he met with the American Foreign Secretary at the State Department in Washington. At the time of writing, Muzorewa is out of the country. Since his whereabouts have not been announced, the assumption is that he is in South Africa. Both the BBC and Voice of America of 2nd May, 1977 reported that Muzorewa, in marked contrast to Mugabe and Nkomo, welcomed American participation in renewed constitutional talks. American participation is designed to counter Soviet support for the Patriotic Front leaving racist South Africa to decide the issue in favour of western imperialism and African "moderation." And there is evidence of orchestration between the statements of Smith and the Bishop coming out of Salisbury. These focus on the rights of the white minority, i.e. the rights to continued suppression of the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of the black man in Zimbabwe.

The outlines of a new manoeuvre are therefore transparent. Rebel Smith, together with his Western backers, build up the prestige of the Bishop while trying to discredit and undermine the position of the Patriotic Front and its supporters. The Western media has been giving unusual prominence to Muzorewa, stressing his statesmanship, his "moderation" and maturity at the same time. The BBC regularly refers to nationalist guerrillas fighting under the Patriotic Front umbrella as "terrorists" and accepts Smith's propaganda reports that the freedom fighters are responsible for the killing of missionaries. The falsity of this is, however, quite apparent since Smith has been jailing and otherwise intimidating missionaries because of their sympathy for the nationalist cause. Yet on 5 April the BBC carried, without comment, this preposterous "evidence" supplied by the rebels: a diary found on a dead guerrilla allegedly detailed the killings of the seven missionaries; just coincidentally, a rifle found on another dead guerrilla turned out to be one of those used in the killings!

Zimbabwean sources report that Muzorewa has hired an American public relations firm, as did Clemens Kapunga, the "moderate" leader being packaged in Namibia. Inside Zimbabwe the Bishop receives the open support of the rebels, ranging from jobs for his followers, to transport for his meetings, to funding for his cosmopolitan life-style (at the Mauritius summit of the OAU the Bishop was observed in a top night club till the early hours of the morning, with the type of company difficult to maintain on the title of his impoverished congregation.)

On the military front the rebels are building four new air-bases capable of taking supersonic air-craft. Since the rebel airforce (consisting of Canberra, Hunter MK9s, Vampires, Buccaneers, T52 Provosts, and Dakota aircraft) has no supersonic aircraft at present, it seems reasonable to assume that they are expecting some from somewhere. It is reliably understood that France, the main arms supplier to the racist regime, will be supplying supersonic mirage jets and alouette helicopters to the rebels through South Africa. Rebel pilots are currently training with mirages at an airbase in the northern Transvaal. The rebels are also building a new air-base near the joint Mozambique-Zimbabwe border, similar in scale and facilities to bases at Katime Mulilo in the Caprivi strip near the Zambian border, and above Grootfontein in Namibia near the Angolan border. On 29th April 1977 Radio Moscow reported that the British were supplying Long-rang 100mm guns to the rebels.

In early April the American embassy in Dar es Salaam admitted that hundred

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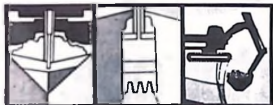
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of Americans were fighting with the rebels. But the American government has taken no steps to ensure that its citizens comply with the law forbidding them to fight under a foreign command. The object of this unprecedented build-up is clearly Mozambique, where the Zimbabweans maintain over-populated refugee camps and temporary transit camps for guerrillas trained in Tanzania. After the massacre of over 800 refugees on 9th August 1976 at Nyazonia near the Zimbabwe border, the refugee camps were moved further inland. The mirage jets and alouette helicopter gunships will presumably allow the rebels to penetrate deeper into Mozambique.

In their manoeuvre against the Zimbabwean revolution, the imperialists makes full use of "moderate" African regimes. On the night that the Israelis were using Kenya as a base for their aggression against Uganda, Newsweek magazine reported a "cloak and dagger operation" in which an Iranian air-force transport, carrying machine-guns and air-to-ground rockets, used Nairobi as a transit point on its way to Durban and Zimbabwe. Kenya's disruption of the East African Community's joint services is clearly aimed at diverting Tanzania's attention from the Zimbabwe struggle. The same object is being pursued by Uganda, with its constant threats to invade Tanzania. On 4th May Amin announced that 37 Tanzanians and exiled Ugandans, who allegedly formed the advanced guard of an invasion force from Tanzania, would be executed and that Tanzania might be attacked in retaliation at any time. It is somewhat strange that Idi Amin who was helped into power by Israel and British intelligence, and whose closest advisers are British (Robert Astles) and American (Mobutu) agents, should use Soviet arms to threaten Dr. Julius Nyerere, one of the most stalwart defenders of Africa's interests. The Soviet Union should review its policy of supplying arms to Amin who has opposed the general thrust of Soviet policy on Angola, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

In the Daily Times of 19th March 1977, Robert Mugabe of the Patriotic Front accused Zaire, Gabon and Ivory Coast of breaking sanctions against the Rebels. Although it has closed its border with Zimbabwe to its own traffic, Zambia still allows the transshipment of goods between Zaire and the rebels. Zaire copper is shipped mostly through this route and out through South Africa, giving the rebels badly needed foreign exchange as transit fees. The Daily Times of 7th May, 1977, reported that freedom fighters blew up a train carrying Zaire copper from Rhodesia to South Africa, 30 kilometres South of Bulawayo, on the

night of Tuesday, 3rd May. The rebels also use the cover of Zaire copper shipments to smuggle their own. In the reverse direction large quantities of Rhodesian foodstuffs and other commodities are exported to Zaire, to be distributed by the Societe Generale D'Alimentation, a food distribution company owned by Mbothi Litho, a cousin of Mobutu. Litho is reputedly the second richest man in Zaire, after Mobutu himself. As a general extension of French policy, Gabon and Ivory Coast maintain extensive dealings with the racist and rebel cliques in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. For sometime Air Rhodesia operated under the cover of Affretair, a company registered in Gabon. In 1976 Houphouet-Boigny announced his intention to allow landing facilities to the apar-

down as soon as the popular uprising began in Shaba Province, against the retrograde regime of the traitor, Mobutu. And France, the most brazen supporter of Apartheid South Africa, has just recently (3rd May 1977) threatened Algeria over its support for the patriotic forces of Polisario. Algeria, Congo and Nigeria supported the MPLA in 1976 and support the Patriotic front in 1977.

The line-up of forces is already obvious from the OAU ministerial meeting where the "moderate" countries lobbied to defer endorsement of the frontline states' recognition of the Patriotic Front to the upcoming Summit. There was feverish behind-the-scenes diplomatic activity by the United States, Britain and France to block recognition of the "hard line," "radical"



*Crafty rebel Ian Smith: How much time has he left?*

theid South African Airways.

As the 1977 OAU summit approaches, therefore, the following can be expected: there will be increased pressure on the Patriotic Front and its frontline supporters. The rebels will intensify attacks against Mozambique; Kenya and Uganda will increase harassment of Tanzania; and Zaire, in collaboration with South Africa, will step up aggression and subversion against Angola. At the same time Muzorewa and his supporters, funded by South Africa and the West, will proceed on a guided tour of "moderate" African capitals such as Dakar, Abidjan, Cairo and Rabat. Outside the confrontation states, countries that voted for the MPLA in 1976, and are likely to vote for the Patriotic Front in 1977, should expect threats, destabilization attempts, attempted coups, and assassination plots.

General Murtala Muhammed was assassinated just a month after he led patriotic Africa in the fight for Angolan and African independence at the extraordinary summit on Angola on 11th January 1976; Marien Nguabi, a staunch African Patriot was gunned

"Marxist," "Moscow-oriented" Patriotic Front, similar in scope and content to the diplomatic campaign mounted against the similarly labelled MPLA in 1976.

When the forces represented by the Patriotic Front are examined, however, the equivalence between "moderation" and "support for western interests" becomes obvious. The Patriotic Front which speaks for the armed wing of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle, represents the irreconcilability of the political conflict between the peoples of Zimbabwe and the forces of imperialism, settler colonialism, fascism and racism. Because of this irreconcilability, the issue could be settled only through war, since war is a continuation of politics, a political action which occurs when all other means of resolving political problems have failed. The history of negotiations in Zimbabwe since 1965 proves the necessity of war, African trust in the good faith of British negotiations was betrayed because the British, even before UDI in 1965, had created conditions which made negotiations impossible.

In 1963 when the Central African



Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole

Federation broke up, the British handed over the entire air force and most of the other armed forces to white-ruled Southern Rhodesia. The Kariba dam was built at a site to ensure Rhodesian control of Zambia's power supply. When U.D.I. was imminent, western oil companies, including the British government-controlled British Petroleum, helped the rebels to stockpile reserves of fuel through the Beira-Umtali pipeline owned by the British company Lonrho. After UDI, BP built a refinery, in the northern Transvaal near the Zimbabwe border, to supply the rebels with fuel. Despite the sanctimonious self-congratulations of the British about sanctions, the rebels continued normal trading activities with their traditional trading partners by routing their imports through South Africa and Portuguese-ruled Mozambique. These included spare parts for British air-craft and other military equipment handed over to the white regime in 1963. The only way to apply sanctions to Rhodesia effectively was to apply sanctions to Portugal and South Africa. But Portugal was Britain's NATO ally and all UN resolutions concerning mandatory economic sanctions and arms embargo against the racists were vetoed by Britain, the U.S.A. and France. Under these circumstances, therefore, Africa's asking the British to beg the South Africans to request Ian Smith to give up Zimbabwe was just like a Sunday-school teacher beseeching the association of armed robbers to send Dr. Oyenusi to lecture her class on the evils of stealing sugar.

If the issue of Zimbabwe's independence can only be settled through armed struggle, an "independence" movement without an armed force cannot be taken seriously. Bishop Muzorewa, whose sole equipment seems to be a white collar and a big mouth, should return to the pulpit, leaving Vorster, Smith and their Western backers to be negotiated with in the only language they understood, i.e. organized violence. Without the organized capacity for violence, all that the Bishop or any other traditional elitist nationalist can achieve is a change

in the colour or the regime, leaving the structures of exploitation intact, and leaving the exploited masses of Zimbabwe even more exposed to the ravages of neo-colonialism and racism.

#### Authentic Liberation

Nkomo and Mugabe, leaders of the Patriotic Front, are political spokesmen for the Zimbabwean liberation forces. The guerrilla leaders who are political and military cadres are too preoccupied with creating the social, economic and political structures necessary to rule a genuinely decolonized Zimbabwe. They must ensure that the 6,000 heavily capitalized and mechanized white farms responsible for over 90% of Zimbabwe's agricultural production are taken over by co-operatives, and used for the benefit of the peoples of Zimbabwe, not for pot-bellied and hedonistic, black and white, secular and religious elites. The same applies to the rest of the economic system, the political system and the military organization, which must reflect the popular nature of the armed forces now fighting in Zimbabwe. Given these onerous and historic tasks they obviously lack the time to waste in sterile "negotiations" with Smith and his western accomplices.

Patriotic Africans interested in the long-term historical development of the continent should listen to Samora Machel, who fought Portuguese colonialism and South African racism for over a decade, to achieve an independence not subject to negotiation or compromise with the forces of apartheid poised right on his borders:

*In Zimbabwe, it will be a people's struggle and it will be protracted. It will allow Zimbabweans to transform the present nationalist struggle into a revolutionary struggle that implies profound changes in the society. . . So we would like the struggle to be a long one in order to liberate the mentality of Zimbabweans.*

Such patriotic Africans must keep in mind that the struggles for Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Namibia are but preludes to the struggle for the apartheid enclave itself, and that the outcomes of these struggles will profoundly influence the ultimate struggle to decide whether four hundred million blacks will continue to be humiliated by four million whites and their western backers.

Africans who have no historical future, who have already betrayed the historical destiny of Africa, who preside over bankrupt and retrogressive regimes, cannot be taken seriously. In a recent press conference (4th May 1977) the President of Senegal said that he refused to recognize the Popular Republic of Angola because of the presence of Cuban troops there. But French troops have been present on Senegalese soil since that country was granted "inde-

pendence" in 1960. And the President knows that his very "moderate" regime could not exist without them. It is doubtful that even the West German who gave him two honorary doctorates took him seriously since they have hundreds of thousands of American, French and British troops on their soil. And, most important of all, his French patrons and West German hosts were among the EEC countries who practically fell over each other in their rush to recognize the MPLA regime that they tried so hard to destroy. Patriotic Africans should scrutinize carefully the Senegalese position when the O.A.U. meets to consider the status of the Patriotic Front because this position is very likely already being worked out in Washington, London, Paris and Pretoria.

As I argued a year ago: *"On the part of the Zimbabwean nationalists, on whose shoulders rests the heroic task of resurrecting the historical development of the people of Zimbabwe, the war must continue until this political objective is fully accomplished. Until then they must counter the melodious persiflage (abstract) humanism with Von Clausewitz reminder that 'in such dangerous things as war, the errors which proceed from a spirit of benevolence are the worst'."*

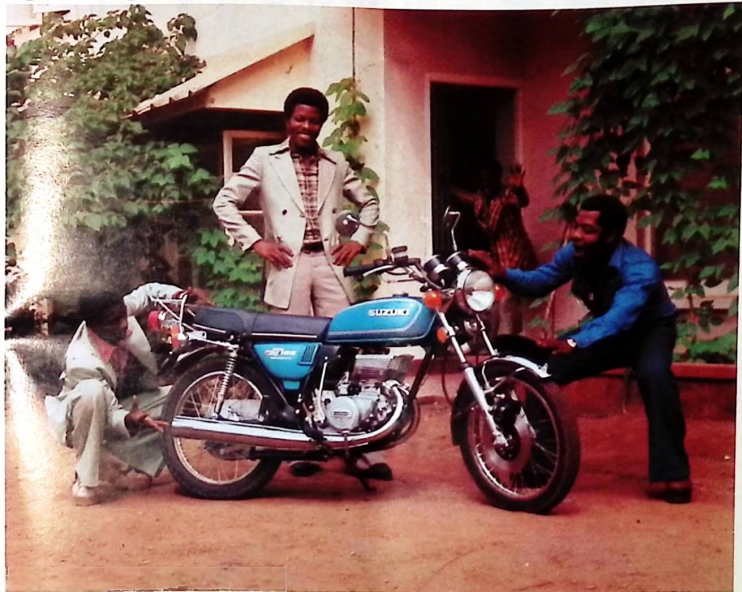
As long as these firm principles are not compromised, however, Africa should do everything possible to hasten the end of the war, and to reduce the sufferings of the devastated population caught up in this terrible conflagration of death and destruction and loss. Zimbabwe which has imposed terrible sacrifices on itself by closing its border with Zimbabwe to its own traffic, should close its border to all traffic, regardless of its origin or its destination. African countries should rush food and medicines to the refugee camps in Mozambique. Money being collected in Nigeria for the Southern Africa Relief Fund could be used for these purposes. Multinational corporations, such as British Petroleum, which have been violating sanctions against the rebels should be punished. The Polisario Front should be recognized and supported if African appeals to the rights of people to self-determination are to be taken seriously. Patriotic African governments should begin to plan their Zimbabwe strategy now, as they did, under the leadership of the late General Murtala, for Angola. "Moderate," and "responsible" African leaders are already planning their strategy under the auspices of imperialism and apartheid.

**A luta continua! (The struggle continues!)**

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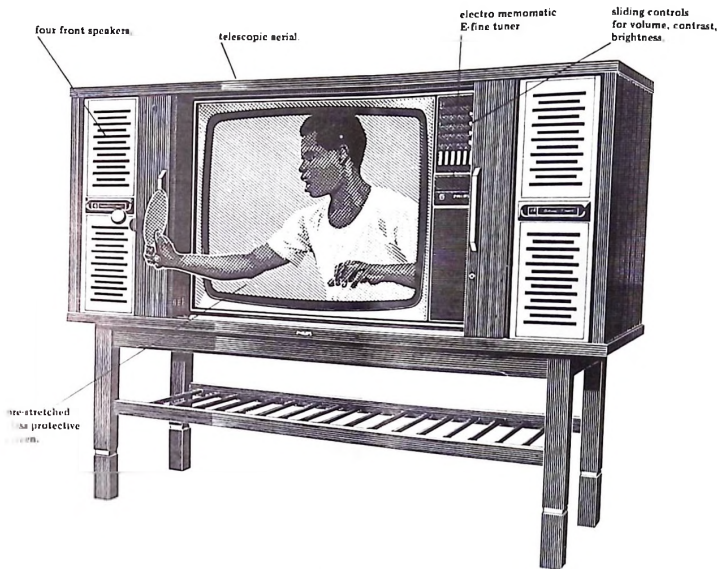
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South African Police holds a revolver to the head of an African. No questions are asked as long as the dead are Africans.

# S. Africa and the impending WAR

viously disguised fact that the only and ultimate solution to the colonial and neocolonial problem in Southern Africa lies in War.

By helping to prove the negative through such positive means, this time-honoured process of peaceful negotiation is indeed aiding the course of history. As each peaceful conference does its fancy circular jigs with the semantics of the complexities of a range of peaceful options, the reality

that follows soon after re-emphasizes the grim message that all options except one (war) are closed. The pattern is clear: the initial long glitter of peaceful dissertations in the United Nations at the turn of the sixties was followed by Sharpeville Massacre. Soweto quickly followed Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy. Concerted military attacks on Mozambique and Zambia followed Havana. What follows the Lagos conference no one can say, but it is certain to re-

\*Saka Fadairo, Lagos

The Lagos conference on apartheid is one more positive step towards disaster. For, what each of the several multinational conferences which have appeared with increasing frequency on the international scene in the recent years has achieved is to add a new clarification and emphasis to the ner-



OAU Chairman Omar Bongo



South Africa's John Vorster

create psychological setting for a new Pretoria-initiated panic reaction to an escalating guerrilla offensive.

From this observers' certainty that the only viable option on Southern Africa is armed conflict, it is logical and more profitable to focus a survey of the prospects of this Lagos conference on the role of African States. This is not to deny the cheer-leading value of international and regional conferences. It is an acknowledgement of the need to start a timely stock-taking in our armoury, while the prelude of peace is sugaring itself to a sweet death.

The role of independent African countries in bringing apartheid regime

of Vorster to its knees has been an admixture of outright militancy and shameless cooperation with the Pretoria rulers.

#### Role of Individual African States

On the individual nation level, the stance taken on apartheid has been conditioned by a number of factors viz: economic interest, response to the dictates of the former colonialists, accident of geography and the country's perception of the OAU's role.

The economic interests of countries like Malawi and Lesotho are tied to those of the racists, but in spite of the fact that Lesotho's main means of

revenue is her labour, (about 200,000 Basothos) work in South Africa at the export of 4,000 tons of sheep wool, Lesotho has courageously refused to be blackmailed into recognising its independence which the racists illegally granted Transkei last October. "I don't want to be held hostage by South Africa" Lesotho's foreign minister Molapo said. In fact, the racists are getting jittery that Lesotho may become a sixth frontliner as it is being taunted that the five frontliners have formally invited her.

Some of the African countries ensnared by the apartheid regime contrivance of detente—a deceit use

## The role of the Western Powers

### \*Ogeh Appah

If apartheid is universally abhorred and condemned, there should be no justification whatsoever why those who have protected and sustained it should be given a pat on back, and here the Western Powers, notably Britain, the USA, West Germany, Japan and France have consistently betrayed their "roof-top sermons" on human rights and democratic principles by playing "big brother" to an oppressive system that has been universally adjudged a threat to world peace. The Western powers have sustained, fuelled and protected apartheid over the years, in spite of their professed commitment to eradicate racism and uphold democratic principles all over the world, purely for their selfish economic, political and strategic ends.

But for the protection of the Western powers through the indiscriminate use of their veto at the Security Council and their permanent negative position towards anti-apartheid measures at the UN General Assembly, South Africa would have long been kicked out of the world body. But for the sanction-burstings of the West, South Africa would have long gone down on all fours to plead to be accepted again in the community of nations; and but for the continued arming of South Africa by the West, the racist government would today not be emboldened to shun African opinion and dare the whole world. Below is a country-by-country analysis of Western investments in the world's citadel of racism.

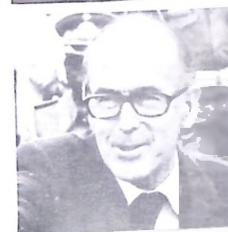
#### Britain

There are 630 British companies operating in South Africa, the total investment of which amount to 58 per cent of all foreign investment in that country.

#### U.S.A.

There are over 494 U.S. companies

operating in South Africa: among them are some of America's topmost corporations such as General Motors, Ford, Xerox, IBM, Gulf Oil, Mobil Oil, ITT, Union Carbide, General Electric, American Cyanamid, Burroughs, Caltex Petroleum, Citicorp, International Harvester, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company, Otis Elevators etc. etc. Another 16,000 firms do business through licensing arrangements or distributors. The total U.S. investment in South Africa is 1.5 billion dollars, which amount to 16 per cent of the country's foreign investment and 40 per cent of America's total



investment on the entire African continent.

#### West Germany

The 132 West German concerns in South Africa have not been doing badly in their competition with other Western powers in maintaining a buoyant economy for the racists. Trade between the two countries grew at an average rate of 36 per cent between 1972 and 1973 representing 12 per cent of all South African commerce. West Germany has also been an active collaborator in South Africa's march towards achieving nuclear capability.

#### Japan

Japan is striving hard to become South Africa's major trading partner. More than 70 Japanese firms have opened offices in apartheid South Africa; among them are Toyota, Mitsubishi, Sony and other major Japanese enterprises. Trade between the two countries grew during the 1960s by 500 per cent, jumping from about 100 million to about 561 million dollars. Now the fourth largest business partner, Japan now accounts for 10 per cent of the republic's trade.

#### France

Besides the 85 French companies now operating in South Africa, France has been the racists' biggest gun-runner. Between 1969 and 1973, she delivered over 32 million dollars worth of arms to South Africa as against 16 million dollars worth to Sub-Saharan Africa. Also, France has been the worst offender in abetting South Africa's lust for nuclear energy. She sold two 922 megawatts Nuclear Power Stations to John Vorster and is helping to get the stations installed by 1981.

These countries (we need not discuss Israel—the main intelligence prop of South Africa and the fastest-growing foreign investor), have been the mainstay of apartheid.

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by the racists to buy time and to divert attention from their racial policy while at the same time fill their armory with the most deadly offensive weapons. Ivory Coast, Liberia and Senegal and seven others are black African countries that favour dialogue with South Africa and this led to Vorster's visit to Liberia in 1975 while Ivory Coast's information minister, M. Laurent Dona Fologo paid a visit to the racists with the memorable "Message of peace" from President Felix Houphouët-Boigny.

It is sad for Africa that many of the countries' foreign affairs policy are greatly influenced by the former colonialists and this is even evident in South Africa where the NATO-backed Western countries have large investments. For example, France's uranium needs of up to 75 per cent is being supplied by Gabon, and it is this same uranium which is being used as ingredient for nuclear power plants which France has decided to sell to South Africa.

## Evils of Apartheid

A Correspondent

"Plural democracy," "Separate development" these are some of the new names which the South African racists are currently employing to justify their apartheid policy as they stand condemned before world opinion for ruling by the discrimination of human pigmentation.

The practical implications of the apartheid system to the victims are too humiliating. For example, 87% of the whole of South Africa is regarded as the reservation area for the exclusive use of 4 million whites while the remaining 13% is carved out in carefully planned non-contiguous "bantustans" for over 18 million Africans. Apartheid means harsh laws depriving African males outside their reservations of family life for nine months of the year because they must live in all male labourers' hostels as migrant workers for white industries. It means past laws that regulate the movement of Africans within their own land of birth. Apartheid ensures that the blacks are denied jobs above a certain level, irrespective of their education or qualifications, laws that forbid them to organise themselves into trade unions, above all, harsh laws that would make the blacks hewers of wood and carriers of water.

According to the 1970 census of South Africa, there were 5.6 million black workers who out-numbered white workers (1.5 million) by almost four to one. But a survey by

the Federated Chamber of Industries showed that in 19 sectors covering about 80 per cent of the economy (excluding agriculture) the pay gap between the white and black workers had actually increased between 1968 and 1971 and white pay increased by 31.8 per cent and black by 26 per cent. According to the statistics released by the racist government, the pay gap in South Africa's massive public sector was 560 per cent. The whites (250,951) earned an average of R330 a month; the coloureds (67,896) earned an average of R162 a month and the blacks (314,187) earned an average of only about R50 a month.

### Deaths and Imprisonment

There are also catalogues of iniquities being perpetrated daily by the apartheid regime by way of torture, imprisonment, indefinite detention and outright killing of the blacks. When the youths of Soweto revolted against apartheid's education system last year, over 600 blacks were slaughtered and about 100 received over 666 years imprisonment. Mrs. Mduli, wife of the former official of the ANC, sued the police and justice minister, J. Kruger to court, for the death of her husband who was reported to be tortured to death in his cell by the police. Even Kruger himself admitted that when some arrests were made in 1975, 92 people died in detention. He also agreed with the breakdown that 27 of the 92 died on the day of the arrest; 28 the following day; 8 on the third day and that only 8 survived for more than a week. 24 were said to have committed suicide. The blacks also lack adequate health care, while the whites are adequately catered for by the government. Statistics reveal that between 8,000 and 9,000 black Africans are suffering from mental disorder, which according to United Nations publications are traceable to forced mass uprooting of blacks from their natural habitat, forcing splitting of families, enforced economic deprivation and poverty, enforced inferior status and deindividuation, harassment, and basic insecurity, cultural double-hand situation and denial of means of self-expression and coping with stress.

There is not a single black psychiatrist in South Africa for instance, and vital decisions about sanity or otherwise of patients are made by part-time physicians who do not even speak the language of the patients.

The majority of the African mental patients who are ridiculously referred to as "the sediment of mentally maladjusted persons and deviants" are simply certified mentally ill by the state and transferred involuntarily to profit-making "Sanatoria".

Apartheid is therefore a threat to international peace which is why the United Nations has repeatedly condemned it. It would be completely liquidated hopefully, if all member nations of the World Body unite to quarantine the racists in South Africa.

Individual countries like Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola are sworn enemies of apartheid of course. In fact, Nigeria has an anti-apartheid committee in the country and recently presented \$7 million donated by the government and subscribers to the victims of apartheid while Tanzania is the liberation movement's home of ANC.

### On Continental Level

On the level of collective responsibility as represented by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) the picture is not radically different from what it is at the member-nations' level. Although



U.N. Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, with hope for the Lagos Conference?

there are resolutions on apartheid or racial discrimination among which are independent African States should offer scholarships, educational facilities and employment opportunities to refugees from South Africa, independent African States should support the recommendations of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, sanctions against South Africa should be concerted and coordinated by the international community and that all governments should break diplomatic and economic links with South Africa.

Laudable as these resolutions at the OAU battle against apartheid has revealed both strong points and weaknesses in the strategy of unified diplomacy and coordination. This is entirely the fault of the organisative since the Charter simply provides a working body that is of limited practical use for some of the time. The inadequacy of the Charter could be seen in the Congo operations and the brief tangle over Angola when there was no consensus among African nations at the recognition of the MPLA even when there was abundant evidence of the rival nationalist movements' collusion with South Africa to invade part of Angola. That evidence alone, ought to have recommended MPLA for immediate recognition.

Again in spite of sanctions resolutions, is it not an embarrassment to the



Two young Soweto students carry the body of a young pupil killed by racist bullet, during the Soweto disturbances. In bullet for

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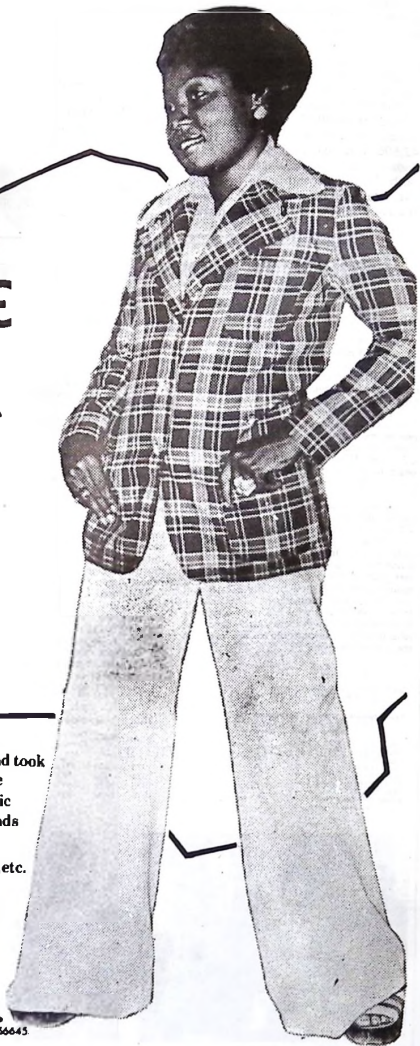
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organisation that Mauritius which hosted the OAU in 1976 and whose Head of State was the Chairman has been maintaining an increasing trade link with the racists year in year out in spite of the OAU yearly rhetoric? In 1971 Mauritius imported goods worth R36,402,514 from South Africa and exported goods of R680,177 and with steady increase to 1974 she imported R161,142,596 and exported R24,204,411 goods to the racists. Mauritius is South Africa's second home for holidays, while South African goods are on open display in the Gabonese market.

et. Many African countries have not paid their liberation fees for years yet they profess to be signatories to the liquidation of apartheid in South Africa.

When the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa called on African athletes to boycott the Olympic Games in Montreal Canada, last year, because of the New Zealand's participation which had sporting links with South Africa all the African countries but two, Ivory Coast and Senegal stayed on to compete—they were obeying the master's orders from Paris. It was out

of desperation of issues like these that Tanzania's Nyerere remarked in 1976 that Britain and France had more power in the OAU than did the African States "... this is sad for Africa. Africa is in a mess. There is a danger somewhere."

But the OAU can boast of achievements in South Africa as well. It is its credit that the continual condemnation of the apartheid policy in the OAU General Assembly has been due to the united efforts with the Latin American countries and the Eastern bloc.

Its non-recognition of the joke called

## Economic props of Apartheid

### \*Henry Atenaga

South Africa remains a gold mine which quick-profit-minded foreign investors find hard to ignore. South Africa is also the only African Country qualified for that magic crown—'developed' at least, in the broad sense of the word.

Table 1 below shows the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in purchasers values and percentage contribution by major sectors. Compiled at current and not constant prices; GDP was R5,274m in 1960; R1,919 five years later and by 1974 and 1975 it had risen to R22,770m and R25,832m respectively.

On year to year basis, (not shown in the table) GDP grew by 9.3 per cent in 63/64; 7.3 per cent in 67/68, 10.8 per cent in 70/71 and between 1973/74 by 19.3 per cent only to drop to 13.4 per cent in 1974/75. Since then, however, the drop has been so fast that in 1975 and 1976, real GDP as against gross GDP grew by only 2.2 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively. The question then is: What and who has been sustaining Apartheid all through these years? Secondly, who or what is responsible for the reverse in the past three years?

TABLE 1  
GDP in Purchasers Values At Current Prices '60=100

Year	Amount	Sector Contribution (%)			
		Mining	Agric.	Manufact.	Finance Insurance Etc.
1960	5,274	13	12	22	2
1965	7,919	12	10	22	1
1968	10,203	11	9	21	2
1971	13,870	8	9	22	1
1973	19,014	8	9	22	1
1974	22,770	—	—	—	—
1975	25,832	—	—	—	—

Source: UN Yearbook of National Accounts \* - not available

### Domestic Activities

From Table 1 above, the Manufacturing Sector stands out clearly as the greatest contributor to G.D.P. over the years followed by Mining and Agriculture. In terms of Foreign Exchange earnings, however, Mining stands at the top because most of its products are exported.

Gold and Diamond remain the highest Exchange earners. In 1970 Gold brought in R236.7m, R2,565 in 1974 and from thence dropped in the next two years to R2,346.4m. In the first quarter of this year Gold's earnings was R609.1m. Diamond, on the other hand, brought in R402.8m in 1975 and R528.9m by 1976. Happily for South Africa, the drop in Gold was offset by increases in Coal and Uranium earnings. Production of both went up by 11 per cent each in 1976. Major companies providing mining operations for South Africa are mostly foreign owned and include, among others, Anglo-American Corporation, Charter Consolidated Ltd (34 per cent of its assets are in South Africa as against 33 per cent in Europe), De Beers (which dividends amounting to R100m to foreign shareholders in 1975) and Union Corporation.

Vorster's Apartheid government has been running deficit budgets over these years due to increased defence spending. Balance of payments' too has been out of balance.

TABLE II GOVERNMENT FINANCE IN '000

YEAR	Deficit	Domestic Borrowing	Net foreign Borrowing	Total Foreign Debt
1970	-609	175	129	258
1974	-558	349	104	538
1975	-1679	1611	257	918
1976	-1979	1683	459	1327



The Economic Giants of the West: they are also the main backers of the racist regime in South Africa.

### Source: IMF FINANCIAL STATISTICS

Most of the Domestic credits were provided by Barclays 1976 total advances in Economy R2,190m (Standard Bank 1976 advances R1,99m) and Volkskas (R181m advances in 1976). Others are Central Finance Bank (South Africa's biggest Merchant Bank), West German group (the biggest insurance company) and a host of others.

### External Transactions

except, maybe for the past two or three years, foreign investors have been helping keep Vorster afloat and they are mostly from U.K.; U.S.A.; France; Belgium and Luxembourg.

Securities of many South African Companies are quoted in Exchanges all over Europe and America especially in Luxembourg and London. With the aid of Banks like HSBC, Samuel, Midland, City Bank of New York, Barclays South Africa and under the management of Banks like Rothschild, Baring de Paris et des pays bas lieven arrangements for Vorster late 76) and Kredietbank in Luxembourg. South African Banks and Companies are able to arrange and procure loans from the Euro market. City Bank of New York, for example, had financed Vorster to the tune of approximately \$750m out of which about \$450m was raised this year.

In the field of external trade, United States, West Germany, U.K., Japan stand out as South Africa's first four partners. U.S. imported South African goods worth R1,269m in 1976; West Germany (R10,500 million), U.K. (1,031m) and Japan (R600m) others are France (R256m) and Italy (R212m) all in 1976. France's figure includes arms sales. As for exports, U.K., Japan, West Germany, U.S. and Belgium were the first five of South Africa's suppliers for 1976.

Although these countries are taking steps (very slowly however) to stop supporting Apartheid economically, reality remains that this is a dream of the very few. Vorster's Economy will survive, thanks to them and their Companies, whether or not Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique draw their labour force. By the way, this year 200,000 workers from Lesotho and about 100,000 from Mozambique are in South Africa helping in the mines.

Either way, it is true investors are growing cold feet over the future of South Africa, especially after that last year's spread in the Property Market which spread the Banking institutions. But then with the world's Uranium and Coal exports are now growing up in the mix of steady Gold prices, investors in South Africa will feel the pinch long enough for Vorster to go about. Come to think of it, can companies like Britain's De Beers, Eveready, Anglo-American's Phelps Dodge and a host of other many others, afford to forgo the tax income from Apartheid?

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apartheid is doomed in Africa.



*Kwazulu leader, Chief Buthelesi, he fights from within the racist enclave.*



*Nationalist Leader, Oliver Tambo Africa's ANC*