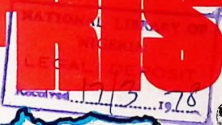


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AFRICA 1978

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AFRICA 1978

There has been little to cheer about 1977, but we must cling to the hope that the apparent lull and stagnation of the last one year is an incubating prelude to the birth of a higher level of awareness and activity in 1978.

Clinging to hope it must be, because there is little on ground to support a firmer assertion. Nothing in the last 12 months suggests that Black Africa has moved a centimetre nearer a break away from the familiar pattern of circularity of motions which for the last two decades have offered us illusions of progress. Instead, things have gone worse. The initial timid confused steps towards institutionalization of our collective strength have been firmly halted with a rapid internalization by all, of the virtues of territorial sovereignty. Not that this norms checks irredentist impulses like Somalia's violent claims on Ethiopia, but it does serve as a most convenient institution which enables member-states of the OAU to discuss or pursue any course but one that could lead to meaningful African unity. The impact is being felt on the economic plane where Black Africa's helpless dependence on the industrialized nations continues to increase. On the political front, the initiative for the stride and bearing of decolonization has been recaptured by the West while, internally, the jungle trials in Zaïre and Bokassa's eccentricities continue to mock the hopes of freedom which inspired the mass decolonization struggle of the fifties.

The least we can do in 1978 is at least to win (not patronizingly be awarded) one decolonized area. Zimbabwe is a prime candidate. Namibia is another. But liberation of these two areas will be no achievement because the West has gradually come round to the obvious point that she has little to lose from independence packaged and delivered on her own terms. The real achievement will be the liberation of Africa. We cannot do this without a firmer foundation of Black Africa's collective strength.

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GOOD INITIATIVE, BUT. . . .

For Egypt's national interests, President Sadat's courageous and unexpected attempt to break what he called the psychological barrier and negotiate directly with Israel may be commendable. Egypt's economy will be liberated from a crushing burden of annual war budgets, and—at least in the distant future—the two erstwhile belligerents may ease an inch away from the status of big powers' surrogates.

The implications of the development for the Middle East are quite a different matter.

But this does not interest us for the moment.

Our interest is the implications of the move for Africa, Black Africa.

One prospect frightens us. Zionism, in collaboration with imperialism, has faithfully provided South Africa all the wherewithal to sustain the apartheid system. In the possibility of a viable Cairo-Tel Aviv detente backed by the all-powerful Gulf Oil States, is there any guarantee that the spirit of mutual accommodation will not spill over to South Africa?

SYRIA AND LYBIA

Assad and Gaddafi could help matters if they could offer—although that would not be in character—a clear and viable alternative to Sadat's initiative.

The characteristic response so far has been to invoke fire and hell on all sides.

Sadat's course may be circuitous but an uncharted voyage through a sea of permanent storms is not less dangerous.

HURRAY TO MENGISTU

Whatever the revulsions from the blood-letting in Ethiopia, one must appreciate the hard fact that every difficult phase in history requires a difficult man. Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam is Ethiopia's man of the hour.

He may be combining too much in one stride (liberation from feudalism and liberation from imperialism) but History will remember him for at least making a bold try.

To the over-publicized issue of neutrality of the United States, he observes: "Unless the United States corrects



Lt-Col. Mengistu Haile-Mariam . . . a good try

its stand towards freedom movements in Africa, the Middle East and in other parts of the world, it will lose its credibility. . . . Ethiopia's anti-imperialist policy does not mean that Ethiopia is against the countries and peoples of United States, Europe and others but only against exploitation and oppression which are part of the imperialist system."

When you remember whence post-Selassie Ethiopia began her political journey, you will quickly agree that Lt.-Colonel Haile Mariam is NOT General Idi Amin.

OIL EMBARGO

Zambia's Daily Mail has rightly criticized Iran for her refusal to meet an OAU team seeking the cooperation of oil-producing states in applying an oil embargo against South Africa's racist regime.

According to Zambia's Foreign Minister Siteke Mwale (the mission's Chairman) Iran bluntly told the emissaries to forget their mission and enter Iran as tourists!

The Daily Mail comments: "For Iran to suggest that the OAU mission should visit the country as tourists is a direct insult to the OAU member-states, Afro-Arab solidarity and the UN, whose resolution on an oil embargo against the racists is supposed to be complimentary to the OAU mission's objectives."

Iran is neither here nor there—neither Arab nor African nor Asian nor European.

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AFRISCOPE

International le Fair

as a rendezvous. After walking round the vast areas many visitors ended up at the beer gardens for some bottles of beer or stout. Some would not move until they were drunk. There were those who visited the Fair ground only for the beer and nothing else would interest or impress them. The "beer" stands also served as rendezvous for hundreds of amateur photographers who besieged the complex. They need to have some drinks as well as solicit for business.

Apart from the brewery stands, each pavilion seduced as many of the crowds as possible with a strategy of excellent display and on-the-spot sale of consumer goods. They organised souvenirs like caps, biro pens, bags, pads, balloons and handouts. Some children took delight in just gathering the handouts which they later abandoned at a corner when they were about to leave. There were, however, several serious trade inquiries in almost every stand but no one could confirm so early how serious they were. The Fair organisers did not distribute questionnaires for participants trade inquiries. To get the information, one needed to go round himself. There were those who gladly gave out the information, others thought this was confidential. My random survey however indicates that every pavilion received at least a hundred serious inquiries.

Total sales declared has been substantial. Among the 20 pavilions I picked the highest sales was recorded by Britain with ₦83.25 million. This is only a conservative estimate since

only 66 out of 112 companies which participated supplied their sales figure to the British co-ordinator. The United States pavilion that had at least 3,000 serious enquiries declared sales of ₦2 million with an expected future trade valued at ₦236 million. Austria, Hungary and Canada sold goods worth ₦2 million, ₦1.5 million and ₦1 million respectively. Nigerian companies that participated, equally made fantastic sales. Agri-build (Nigeria) Limited like Leyland Nigeria Limited, used the Fair to launch its name. The company is expecting to sell about 10 of the Arrow Mobile Hydraulic Hammer model D 500 which it exhibited, the equipment costs ₦28,000 each. A lot of agricultural machinery and materials were also sold by some of the 80 companies and countries that participated.

From all probability electronic and electrical equipment attracted more visitors and a lot of these products were sold on-the-spot. There were up to 138 exhibitors who displayed the equipment. They included ITT, Adebowale Electrical Industries, Adobi Organisation, AFROTEC, Allis Chalmers, R.T. Briscoe, Mandilas, General Electrics, UTC, UAC, VYB and WAATECO. There were also JOAS, Maiden Electronics, Kabelmetal, Siemens, Philips and Olivetti. The exhibitors for the electrical and electronic equipment were apparently more in number.

About 73 companies had exhibited motor vehicle and spare parts which also attracted very many people. All the motor companies in Nigeria participated except perhaps LBT Motors Limited that market Subaru cars and vans. Some people wanted to know why companies like Incar, SCOA, UTC, Intra Motors and R.T. Briscoe had to participate when they could not even satisfy the local demand for their vehicles and spare parts. At

Major attraction at the fair: the breweries stand.



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least the Nigerian companies that participated regarded the fair as a forum to show what they had to offer, what they can produce and market locally and probably, how big they were. It was all a prestige show. The companies engaged in intensive advertisement both for themselves and for some of their special products. They backed up their participation with other advertisement in both the print and broadcast media, throughout the Fair period. After all, the Federal Government saw the Trade Fair as one strand in the continuous process of the internationalisation of the Nigerian economy and the exposure of its potentials to the outside world.

The next widely exhibited product was building materials and components which had 69 exhibitors including Portland Cement, Obi Nle Aro Trading Company, Henry Stephens. There were companies from Spain, Romania, Canada, Uruguay, China, Korea and Ireland which also exhibited this product. Fifty three companies exhibited office equipment which equally attracted a good number of the visitors. The exhibitors included 3M, VVB, Niji Stationery, Nigerian Office Stationery Stores, NCR, IBM, to mention a few. Telecommunication equipment and systems, were exhibited by 42 companies, while 40 exhibited Textiles and clothing materials.

A total of 58 classified products were on display at the Fair, all exhibited by 3,500 exhibitors. Initially, the countries that participated had been known to be 57 including Nigeria but by the end of the Fair, official sources gave the figure as 48. It was not immediately possible to know which was the correct figure. Could that mean that about nine countries withdrew after indicating their willingness to participate? Some countries had problems with the Customs and could not even come into the show until a few days after. Some of them who originally intended to make an impressive display could only bring a fraction of their displays. Out of frustration, they decided to give up the idea. Generally, it took three to four days for the Fair to take off. During the opening ceremony, on November 27, there were still a few exhibitors working on their pavilions. They had earlier been instructed that they must complete the erection of their stands at least 48 hours before the opening of the Fair. They were also expected to hand back the site ten days after the end of the exhibition.

Highlights of the Fair include National Day celebrated by nearly every

country that participated. Britain was the first to celebrate her national day and Nigeria was the last. The National days attracted senior ministers from home governments and hundreds of diplomats from the embassies and high commissions, in Nigeria. Company executives that represented the various foreign companies in various countries were also present. At the National Day celebration, the various governments explained why they had to participate and the state of their countries' economy. They also enumerated the various products they had on display and the various companies taking part from their countries.

Ivory Coast, represented by 14 companies, explained that she had to participate to promote bilateral economic co-operation between Ivory Coast and Nigeria. The country's minister for trade who represented the country at the fair said also that Ivory Coast wanted to find out what joint actions would encourage the development of trade between the two countries and to enable businessmen to get to know each other better.

The British Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (Trade), Mr. Michael Meacher said in a speech he delivered on the British National Day that Britain's reserves had now reached record levels and that inflation in that country was falling steadily. In recent weeks, Britain had been embarrassed by the amount of money flowing into, rather than out of London; he added.

Ghana had an impressive National Day celebration. They showed a double decker bus they built together with other products which they claimed were all manufactured in Ghana. Theirs was on December 2. On that day too, Finland, Republic of Benin and German Democratic Republic had their own. The National Day celebration of the United States of America, Hungary and Korea were a day before, while Chile and France had theirs a day after. Between December 4 and 11, Sweden, Austria, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Morocco, Niger Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Japan and Tanzania celebrated their own National Day. While some countries celebrated theirs in their own pavilions, others preferred going to their ambassadors' residences or their embassies.

Some companies and organisations similarly declared certain days as their own day. They used the opportunity to further advertise themselves.

Chamber of Commerce

The Nigerian Association of Chamber

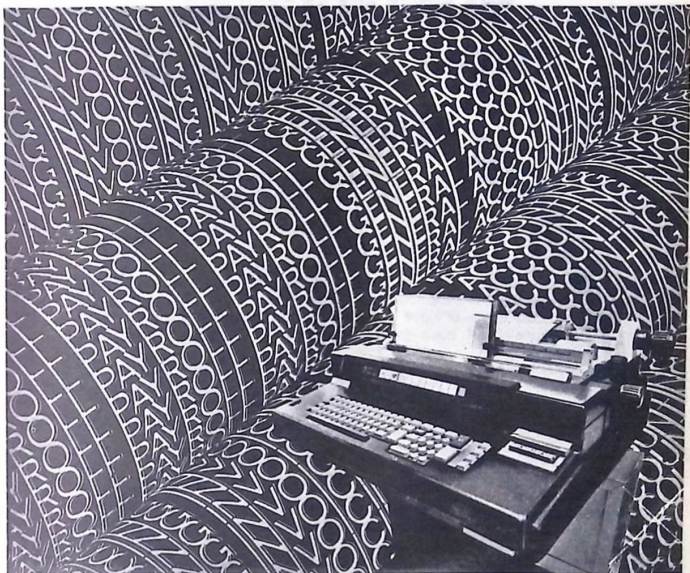
of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA) was not left out. It had its day on December 5, at which time it distributed what it called "profile", which was intended to introduce the visitors to the Association and give some hints on business opportunities in Nigeria. NACCIMA believed that the Fair was a unique opportunity for Nigerians and foreign businessmen to establish meaningful cooperation. In recognition of the benefits of the Fair, its members actively participated in the Fair and according to "profile" they constituted the majority of Nigerian exhibitors displaying "Made-in-Nigeria products" at the fair. One wonders if this claim can be upheld before the Nigerian public. There are those who failed to see any Made-in-Nigeria product except those exhibited at the Federal Pavilion. What the NACCIMA was claiming to be made in Nigeria were tyres, soap, soft drinks and beer to mention a few, and probably assembled cars, trucks and other vehicles. The Head of State, Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo even remarked at the opening of the Fair that the technology process, licenses essential for these products do not belong to us and that "we are controlled by others." He said that the programme of import substitution which constituted the spearhead of "industrialisation" has so far not yielded satisfactory results.

NACCIMA put up a pavilion to serve as information and meeting centre, where foreign businessmen who wished to do business with Nigeria could be put in touch with interested Nigerian businessmen. There was another business centre situated within the complex secretariat. Both centres were however made use of. The businessmen had to grope for national pavilions and interested groups to make trade inquiries. There was in fact no arrangement to ascertain the extent of trade inquiries.

Symposium

An aspect of the Fair was the Symposium which, unfortunately, was poorly attended. The theme of the symposium was Nigeria's Trade with the World. There were sessions on the Historical Perspective of Nigeria's Trade, the country's trade with the Americas, African countries and the problems and prospects of Nigeria's external Trade. Papers were presented by Mr. S.B. Falegan, Prof. R.O. Ekundare, Dr. E.U. Ekong, Mr. G.O. Niyi and Mr. Sam Nnebe Agumadu. Counsellor Luiz Jorge Rangel de Castro spoke on the economic and commercial

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- (x) Senior Scientific Officers (Microbiologists) Grade Level 10: Salary ₦5,460 – ₦6,432 p.a.
- (xi) Drug Inspecting Officers Grade 1 Grade Level 09: Salary ₦4,368 – ₦5,340 p.a.
- (xii) Drug Registrars Grade 1 Grade Level 09: Salary ₦4,368 – ₦5,340 p.a.
- (xiii) Drug Inspecting Officers, Grade II Grade Level 08: Salary ₦3,264 – ₦4,164 p.a.
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DUTIES

(i) ASSISTANT DIRECTOR (LABORATORY SERVICES)

Responsible to the Director for policies relating to development and operation of all the laboratories of the Directorate and the co-ordination of their analytical and research programmes.

(ii) ASSISTANT DIRECTOR (DRUG CONTROL SERVICES)

Assists the Director on all policy matters pertaining to safety and quality of drugs and cosmetics in Nigeria and on measures for regulating their importation, manufacture, advertisement and sale as laid down, by the Food and Drugs Decree, 1974, and the regulations prepared under it.

(iii) CHIEF FOOD INSPECTING OFFICER

Takes charge of the food surveillance services of the Directorate and co-ordinates the duties of all food inspecting officers throughout the country. Responsible to the Director on all policy and routine matters affecting food surveillance within the framework of the Food and Drugs Decree and the regulations.

(iv) PRINCIPAL FOOD INSPECTING OFFICER

Co-ordinates Food inspection activities within a zone assigned to him (a zone normally consists of several states). Prepares and executes with the assistance of area offices, consumer enlightenment programmes, such as lectures, demonstrations, exhibitions, film shows, etc. Liaises between area offices and the headquarters and advises

continued

to drug inspection in accordance with the provisions of the Food and Drugs Decree 1974, and the regulations prepared under it. These include inspection of all types of on policy measures affecting food inspection.

(v) PRINCIPAL DRUG INSPECTING OFFICER

Similar to the duties of the Principal Food Inspecting Officer but having responsibility for drugs and cosmetics.

(vi) PRINCIPAL DRUG REGISTRAR

Co-ordinates several functions of the Drug Regulatory Unit of the Directorate. Some of these functions include convening meetings and acting as Secretary to the various committees of the Food and Drugs Advisory Council dealing with drugs and cosmetics; processing applications for the registration of drugs; monitoring information on drug actions and disseminating pertinent information among interested bodies; maintenance of up-to-date register of drugs; etc.

(vii) SENIOR FOOD INSPECTING OFFICER

Takes charge of food inspection activities in a state and co-ordinates duties of all the inspecting officers in that state. Carries out regular studies, prepares situation reports and makes recommendations for improving food inspection activities in the state. Executes consumer education programmes of the Directorate in the state.

(viii) SENIOR DRUG INSPECTING OFFICER

As for Senior Food Inspecting Officer but with responsibility for drugs and cosmetics.

(ix) SENIOR DRUG REGISTRAR

Takes charge of a defined function or section of the Drug Regulatory Unit of the Directorate. Some of the functions or units of which a Senior Drug Registrar may take charge are as described under the duties of the Principal Drug Registrar.

(x) SENIOR SCIENTIFIC OFFICER (MICROBIOLOGIST)

Takes charge of a microbiological laboratory carrying out microbiological examination of food, drugs or cosmetics for the purposes of determining safety and quality, and research on analytical methodology as it affects these products.

(xi) DRUG INSPECTING OFFICER GRADE 1

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(xii) DRUG REGISTRAR GRADE 1

The duties are similar to those of Drug Registrar Grade II, but with a higher degree of responsibility.

(xiii) DRUG INSPECTING OFFICER GRADE II

Assists and understudies the senior members of the cadre in all matters relating

continued on page 80a

ties between Brazil and Nigeria.

The actual number of visitors to the Fair has not been known. There could be a mere estimate in due course when the organisers would have checked the total number of tickets sold. The director of the Fair Mr. Olufemi Akande had hinted that they could use that and ten percent of the total to estimate the number of people who gained access with or without tickets. At a cocktail party the director organised for members of the press and the directors of the different pavilions, he said in an interview that there could not be less than a million visitors. He admitted the rumour that the counting machine ordered for the counting of visitors did not arrive and that it could be difficult for that reason to have an actual figure.

Medals

At the end of the Fair, gold medals were awarded. Twenty Nigerian firms won medals including five gold—Ibru Organisation, Ashamu Group, Alumaco, UAC and Project Development Agency. 15 foreign countries also won gold medals, 16 got silver and bronze went to 15 others.

Among the 15 foreign gold medalists, we have China, Republic of Benin, Ghana and Tanzania. Others are Sweden, Yugoslavia, Hungary, United States, Britain and a host of others.

Some critics are still arguing whether the fair was a worthwhile venture or not. The matter has been argued pro and con but it seemed more people saw no good thing achieved by spending almost ₦142 million on the Fair on the Fair complex and another, may be, ₦3.14 million on the organisation alone. Whichever way one sees it, the amount spent was quite substantial and whether the venture achieved its many desired objectives, we are yet to know.

The Chairman, Nigerian Trade Fair Advisory Board, Alhaji Baba Dan Bappa remarked that the basis of criticisms had often been the notion that developing countries do not stand to gain much from such gigantic ventures. "To them I would like to make a point that in the scientific era we live in, where production techniques change frequently, the most appropriate market for conducting such business and gathering latest information on technological development and techniques are trade fairs and exhibitions," he said.

In the final analysis Nigeria should have learnt some lessons from the venture and these should serve as food for action and not only food for thought.

Nigeria 1979:

What The Constituent Assembly Predicts

*A Correspondent

Although, in theory, the Constituent Assembly is not a political forum but a body selected for the purpose of formulating a proper constitution which will enhance the re-introduction of civilian politics as the source of leadership in the nation, right from the start it has been clear that both to the public and the members, the Assembly is really a guinea-pig parliament in which future political issues and alliances will be tested and formed. In that light, it would probably be unfair to try to form hard and fast judgments about what post-1979 politics in Nigeria will be so soon but at least certain trends in debating style and selection of issues became hardened early on in the sittings and one can speculate on the broad outlines of politics in 1979 if many of the members who are so vocal in declaring their interest in standing for election when the time comes do find themselves victorious.

Bleak Outlook

The general outlook to say the least is bleak. Divisiveness of ethnic (or rather regional) forces seemed more

than ready to rear its head again. The issue around which this tendency crystallised very swiftly was over the matter of the Shari' Courts, but the quality of debates in the first few days over this issue revealed a wealth of ignorance of the history of Shari' Courts within the nation's traditional system of rulership, and often an unwillingness to let the issue resolve itself through an comprehensive reading of the situation that led to its inclusion in the draft. The Chairman of the Draft Committee Chief Rotimi Williams who is also a nominated member of the Assembly attempted to clarify the Draft Committee's stand on the issue but this did not alleviate the rush to emotionalism and wild allegations of 'religious' despotism by some members.

The core of the Williams explanation was that Shari' Courts already deal with a substantial amount of civil litigation in predominantly Muslim areas of the country and have become entrenched as effective judicial instruments in certain communities. Rather than aggravate an already touchy situation by abolishing them then, it seemed the logical thing to provide an



Assembly chairman Justice Udoma (extreme right) taking the oath before Chief Justice Alexander, while Chief Williams (in native attire) looks on.

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avenue for appeals to a higher court on the same principles that obtained in the existing Sharia courts. The reaction to this explanation by members both for and against the issue, however, soon ignored the rationale laid down by Chief Williams and in no time at all the debate degenerated into an exchange of unpleasantities, generalities and innuendoes.

The other issue that generated much interest right from the start of the Assembly's sitting was the issue of whether a clause guaranteeing Freedom of The Press should be inserted into the constitution. Again the first arguments raised both by those for and against the issue were surprisingly trite. The major protagonists in the early confrontations on this issue, by virtue of their former importance in

from the dictionary Col. Njoku pointed out that Press Freedom simply meant the right to publish and broadcast without licence or permission. After his contribution a whole spate of supporters emerged it seemed clear at last that such a simple and fundamental issue would no longer exercise the patience of the Assembly.

Grandstand Rhetorics

But the whole point of the early debates seemed to be that people were jockeying for positions from which to launch grandstand rhetorics for the sake of giving the impression that they were now prepared to sacrifice their all for national leadership. This impression had become so all-pervading at the end of the first fortnight of sittings that some newspaper column-

ber to comment on the 'one man show' it would have probably delivered an insight into the real concerns of some of the members who while claiming to be motivated by such patriotic zeal made the first major issue of their Assembly the quality of their housing and later raised a loud stink over the quality (not quantity) of their food.

So far the radical elements within the Constituent Assembly have been remarkably silent, although from all reports available this is not for want of trying. Apart from the hilarious but highly revelatory confrontation over sartorial style between Chairman Justice Udoma in his dark suit and bow-tie and Segun Okeowo student representative and President of the NUNS, in his fire red jump suit and fashionable hat, it appears that some of the newer



Faces at the Assembly: old and new in the quest for a new constitution

the press, were Alhaji Babatunde Jose, and Mallam Adamu Ciroma. While Alhaji Jose took the side of those who wanted the clause inserted, Mallam Adamu wanted it left out. But the interesting thing is that neither of these learned members seemed to have bothered to take a clear reading of the meaning of the phrase "Freedom of the Press." •All their contributions to the debate seemed to be based on the assumption that freedom of the press was a privilege rather than a right and meant the freedom to decide who to attack and who not to. But some days later an extremely lucid and intelligent contribution to the debate put the whole issue into a more sensible perspective for the first time when Col. Hilary Njoku, a former army officer rose to speak. By the simple and clever debating device of quoting

ists (Mohammed Haruna, New Nigerian Nov. 1977) felt safe in pinpointing Presidential aspirants among the members. This in turn led to a spate of denials, protestations of selflessness, and declarations of non-intent which were nothing if not political in tone. And then a Nigerian citizen with a fine sense of humour turned up before the assembly hall one day with a beautiful placard, depicting the common Nigerian as the archetypal beast of burden—the camel—and stating in succinct and economical terms just what the real needs of the common man was. Food. Free Medical Care. (Lower) House Rents. (Better) Transportation. Human Rights. Equal Share of The National Cake. He paraded before the Assembly for some hours but unfortunately no journalist thought of asking an Assembly mem-

personalities or younger elements in the Assembly feel that they are being ignored by the Chairman. They complain of having to struggle for recognition with older personalities and better known members who seem to have begun to form themselves into cliques of lobbyists and power brokers and who, some of them feel, are gaining the Chairman's recognition more easily. Whether this is true or whether it is simply sour grapes brought about by failure on their part to understand the principles of parliamentary lobbying we cannot say, but one thing that seems quite clear is the fact the radical elements have not vocalised any new or exciting alternative viewpoints at this writing which could galvanise the debates.

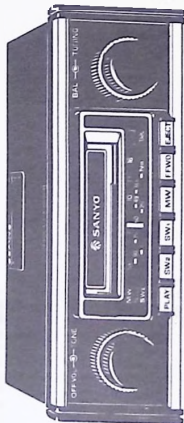
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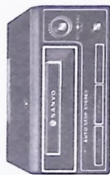
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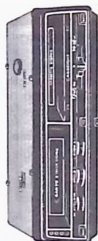
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parliamentary processes and style in 1979 will be then we can speculate that the general tone of the first civilian parliament will be marked by a return of some of the most ineffective issues and attitudes of pre-military politics. But at the same time, it seems that if the debates and the deliberations continue to follow the almost directionless pattern of the early weeks then most members will so expose their selfishness and lack of grasp of fundamental issues and the problems of the general populace that by 1979 no right thinking Nigerian will vote them into office.

Which Direction

The belief that much of the utterances and ideas aired in the debates were really more cosmetic than substantial seemed to get a boost from one particular contribution from a nominated member Mrs. Olakunrin when she grabbed headlines with her unconventional support for the idea of "legalised polygamy" and equal rights of inheritance for children born both in and out of wedlock. On the surface it seemed that she was proposing very enlightened conversion of marital laws and the laws of inheritance but then on closer examination it was clear that there was no definite principle outlined in her concept either of 'legalised polygamy' or of equal rights of inheritance. First of all she did not spell out whether she considered the present system whereby multiple marriages under the recognised customs of the land were recognised as legal conjunctions in the courts of law was either inadequate or undesirable. If that was the case then she did not explain why. Also she did not seem to take into consideration the fact that automatic rights of inheritance were a sensitive traditional area of conflict in most Nigerian communities and that as a result the definition of the true heir would of necessity first have to conform to communally acceptable customs before the conversion of the laws governing this principle could be changed. But she did serve the purpose of enlivening the debates at just the time when they seemed doomed to settle into fatal lethargy.

The most telling highlight of the first sitting on the Constituent Assembly however, happened almost outside of the Assembly. Up to the time of this writing, the full story of the confusion caused by the circulation of a certain document for members' signatures has not been revealed. However the Daily Times first broke the news that a new organisation dedicated to

"furthering the cordial relations that already exist between all Nigerians" had been formed. The organisation, the newspaper announced, was to be called the National Union Council, and the paper confidently stated that several big names within and without the council had signed the declaration setting up the council. However the real interesting part of the exercise was the nature of the alliances that this document seemed to reveal. Old line radical liberals such as Abiodun Aloba (popularly known as Ebenezer Williams), a frontline journalist and bearer of pretensions to constant idealism, were reported to be linked in the council with such dyed-in-the-wool conservatives as Alh. Waziri Ibrahim. Such aloof and illustrious career administrators and intellectuals as Dr. Pius Okigbo, and Dr. J.O.J. Okezie were linked with firebrand career left-wing politicians such as Dr. Tunji Otegbeye. The incongruity of the alliances on paper in fact was the major factor in any assessment of the seriousness of purpose behind this announcement and so very few people were surprised at the next move. On the day that the Daily Times published its story the Constituent Assembly was thrown into total confusion. Several members scrambled to disassociate themselves from the N.U.C. claiming that they had simply signed as a routine gesture because they had been told that the document they were signing was part of an attempt to forge unity of opinion in the Assembly.

Now apart from the fact that if this is true they were showing a remarkable amount of naivete for people in such a sensitive position there is also the fact this does not explain why so many Nigerians who were not members of the Constituent Assembly at all had also signed. In the end the general public belief was that certain wealthy presidential aspirants had used this very transparent and amateurish ruse to try to forge loyalties to themselves within the assembly, and that in fact had the Federal Government not made the strong statement that it did in response to the report further overtures quite possibly financial would have been made to the signatories. As it is this comic opera piece of politicking served to show up one weakness of certain members in the Assembly which is that they remain anxious to leap on any semi-political bandwagon in an attempt to keep up the appearances of political concern but when their motivation is examined it remains quite clear that their desire is to grandstand now



Headline Outfits: Student leader Okeawa (top) and Mr. Aper Aku (bottom)

for the image of the future and they are not yet serious enough to examine carefully the real issues within the country. If this was not so the fiasco of the N.U.C. could not have caught them unawares.



Meeting of the extremes: the gambler, President Sadat and his host Prime Minister Begin of Israel.

Invitation To Peace Or Formula For New War?

A Correspondent

When Anwar Sadat decided to throw all previous Arab tradition to the wind and pay a state visit to Israel, he was making a calculated gamble that was clearly sanctioned by one faction of Arab leadership, but not overtly so. The determined secrecy with which the source of his confidence, that there was backing for his move outside Egypt, and within the Arab world, was cloaked, immediately indicated one great danger in the developments that will follow his dramatic move.

This is the danger that if the Western powers cannot convince the Israeli Government to accept certain basic concessions which Arab radicals have demanded for several years, then the moderate factions in the Arab world will have no alternative but to intensify their hostility towards the state of Israel. It is clear now that under the prodding of certain circumstances and a new set of economic realities some Western powers have themselves come

to accept such principles as the provision of a homeland for Palestinians, and the return of occupied lands which the Israeli's captured in 1967 to the Arab nations from which they were excised, as prerequisites for any hope of a lasting peace in the area.

Oil Politics

The underlying factor in all deliberations within the Middle East is the very visible one of oil. No matter what

moral or political formulae are offered as justification for the new direction in Middle East negotiations and diplomacy the real cause is that volatile mineral whose importance to the modern world has reached such a point that it threatens to trap both the consumer and the producer into a veritable waltz of interdependent relationships. The real reason for the stubborn and consistent Western support of Israel in the Middle-East, and indeed the true



Syria's Assad



PLO's Arafat



Col. Gaddafi of Libya



Algeria's Boumedienne



King Khalid



King Hussein of Jordan



President Sadat inaugurates a new village after the trip... some nerves!



Anwar Sadat sells his trip to the people... downright unusual and innovative!

genesis of the country itself, was the provision of a client state there that could influence and oversee the development pattern of the area so as to maintain an imbalance of power beneficial to Western nations in the post-colonial era.

The reason for this desire to maintain continuous power and influence in the Middle-East was none other than the West's enormous dependence on oil to fuel its own technological and economic development and sustain its industrial ascendancy. Ironically a certain faction of Arab power in the area led mainly by Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Lebanon, welcomed this particular factor as a stabilising force for their own purposes since their systems of Government are such that they rely effectively on the West for weaponry not only to confront Israel with but mainly to maintain their internal security. The sad fact is that since the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt under Sadat has drifted into that camp.

It is Egypt's previous Nasserite reputation and position as the vanguard nation in the confrontation with Western exploitation as symbolised by Israel that has made it so important in the new thrust for a change of situation in the area. Psychologically, Egypt remains the main antagonist against Israel in the continuing state of war that exists in the Middle East and as such that nation is considered the major supporter of the Palestinian people in their struggle to re-assert their presence as a national entity in the area which was pre-empted by the formation of Israel and which forms the major rallying point around which various shades of Arab opinion coalesce

and find some unity.

For Sadat to decide then to give Egypt the new image as the Arab entity willing to accept Israel is to make an attempt not only to change the realities but also to discard certain notions and policies which have become natural adjuncts to Arab political history in the last three decades. It is highly unlikely that he would have attempted such a far-reaching innovation in political direction if the prospects for support for his stance not only among fellow Arabs but also in the U.S. on which much of his military development now depends, were not very good. High diplomacy of the nature of his visit is very much in iceberg action with only the tip being visible while the real bulk of international activity that goes into the setting up of such an unusual meeting is hidden. So it should now be clear that Sadat's move was not simply a signal to the U.S. that Arab positions and policies are changing but also a move that was encouraged and actually engineered by the Western powers, especially the U.S.

The Sadat visit is a direct result of the Kissinger diplomacy of the previous Administration. The real irony of the circumstances that led to the visit both remotely and directly is that the American or pro-Israeli forces are now hoping to be able to co-opt some of the most important radical positions for themselves. Kissinger, the supreme pragmatist or opportunist, had already seen the probability of this having to happen if, a real breakthrough towards peace in the area was to be made but he was also aware that for the sake of credibility and continuity he could not be the catalyst of this move.

Palestinian Factor

The supreme achievement of Kissinger's moves in the Mid-East was in getting certain Arab nations to state their willingness to accept Israel as a sovereign state in the area under specific conditions. Once this was achieved pressure was put on the major Palestinian liberation movement the P.L.O. to take up a similar position in exchange for security for its operations within these other Arab communities. In working out that new situation several internecine feuds broke out into the open and this was the direct cause of such conflicts as the massacre of Palestinians in Amman by the Jordanian Army, and the Lebanese Civil War.

Frightened by the fury and futility of fraternal violence that was unleashed by this change of policy the P. L. O. has tempered its militancy and added its voice and its own set of conditions to the faction of Arabs willing to recognise Israel's sovereignty. However so far the P.L.O.'s conditions differ drastically from those of even the most radical of the nations that have declared their willingness to live side by side with Israel. While leaders like Assad of Syria simply demand the return of all lands held in the 1967 war by Israel, Jordan and Egypt have emerged as being in favour of allowing a few major adjustments to boundaries that will satisfy Israel's definition of secure borders.

The P.L.O. on the other hand are asking that Israel's internal policies and balance of representation in parliament be changed and the nation secularised so that the "true Palestinians" can live side by side with their Jewish compa-



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35 BRANCHES THROUGHOUT NIGERIA

tricts in peace. This of course seems too idealistic and far-fetched for almost anyone to believe possible except maybe the P.L.O. leaders who have formulated that concept themselves, since even in their organisation splinter factions, have developed that consider their stand almost conservative. It is at this point, and because of this syndrome that Sadat's dramatic decision to establish a new diplomatic beachhead with Egypt at the forefront begins to make some sense.

The greatest obstacle to a new full-scale peace conference in the Middle-East now is Israel's continued refusal to recognise the P.L.O. as a legitimate organisation representing the rights and interest of the Palestinian people. Sadat's major task now will be to get them to do so and it is clear that his signals from the U.S. suggested that if the Arab nations that wield the most power militarily could make a gesture that would show their overwhelming commitment to the acceptance of Israel as a sovereign nation in their midst, then the U.S. could begin to apply pressure on Israel to reciprocate by accepting at least to hold discussions in a venue where the P.L.O. is acceptable.

Sadat's decision to visit Israel was that gesture and the major follow-ups to that remarkable 'volte-face' will include his own attempts to convince other Arab leaders to sit down to a peace summit with Israel leadership where the P.L.O. will not at first be present but where the recognition of the P.L.O. by Israel will be one of the major points of discussion and negotiation and the eventual modification of the stands taken both by Israel and the P.L.O. will be among the major concessional aims of the summit.

Innovative and Enigmatic

Sadat's move is not only innovative it is downright unusual and virtually unheard of in diplomatic history because it proposes a summit conference of hostile forces as a preliminary step to peace negotiations. It is in this formula that Sadat's own initiative is most visible and there is no doubt that this aspect of the manoeuvring in the Middle-East has caught the Carter Administration totally by surprise. If Sadat succeeds in convincing his tacit supporters such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Lebanon that this is the surest way to get the kind of settlement that will render Israel less dependent and loyal on and to the peculiar interests of America in the region their endorsement of his latest tactics will be automatic.

Even more importantly though, Sadat needs and is seeking the endorsement of Assad of Syria in order to present the eventual achievement of his moves as being a new development in unifying Arab opinion. There is no doubt that if the U.S. can convince Israel to ease up on some of its more intransigent demands then Assad will throw his lot in with Sadat and the irony of that situation is that it is not ideological harmony so much as internal insecurity that will be the real cause of this unity of policy change spearheaded by the nations that were once considered the most implacable foes of Israeli sovereignty in the Middle-East.

If this polarisation of forces becomes a reality in Middle-East politics the repercussions in Arab Africa will be far-reaching and there is no doubt that Sadat will have spearheaded a resurgence of American influence in the area. After oil, the second most important factor in defining the true alliances that govern policy direction in the region is military capability. This factor allied to economic dependence has played a large part in determining Sadat's diplomatic adventurism.

The effects of the two wars of 1967 and 1973 on the Egyptian economy has been disastrous. Apart from the long holiday from Suez revenues, the loss of manpower, and the depletion of financial reserves which may have been channelled into development projects, has coupled with a population explosion over the last decade to place Egypt in a very sad economic position. Sadat who is understandably concerned with his domestic following and the development of an alternative image to the colossus of his predecessor's charismatic reign, has rightly realised that if direct confrontation led to an outbreak of war again in the near future, even though by sheer force of numbers the Arabs may achieve another stand-off, his nation would be left in a state of near irreparability.

With this prospect staring him in the face and at the same time understanding that in order to maintain credibility within Arab circles only a dramatic initiative on his part could preserve Egypt's role as power broker for the Arabs Sadat has opted to set new course in the region which would quite possibly lead to increased interdependence of all nations in the Middle East including Israel, under the protective umbrella of America and the rest of the West. There are compelling political and economic reasons for this and Egypt has been joined most conspicuously by the Sudan and Somalia in

subtly but deliberately pushing this line.

West's Re-Entry

One of the most interesting and at the same time controversial developments to arise out of the institution of national control of oil supplies as a political weapon is that such nations as Saudi Arabia who have nothing but oil to depend upon for their major source of revenue, is that embargoes and sanctions can backfire and affect the supplier just as much as they affect the consumer. Iran is one other country that has discovered this and although it is not strictly considered an Arab country it is bidding fair to be one of the major financial supporters of Sadat's regime in Egypt (along with the Saudis) provided Sadat can bring peace and stability to the area and aid in the establishment of an anti-Communist bulkhead made up of powerful nations armed by the West. At every step of the way Sadat's initiative is not only being monitored by such nations but fresh formulae for the unprecedented negotiations of the terms of peace are being introduced by various Arab leaders and what all this indicates is a willingness on the part of a large Arab faction to come to a fresh accommodation with Israel's greatest ally, America.

This is the touchiest and potentially most disappointing aspect of the latest Middle-East diplomacy. If the Palestinian question which remains the most dangerous time bomb in the entire situation cannot be satisfactorily resolved with Israeli cooperation it is likely that all attempts at historic accommodation will breakdown at the initial stages of discussions and then Sadat will be left with a bitter choice. If his initiative is to continue to be justified in the eyes of the world he will be forced to come to a separate peace with Israel. In spite of the fact that Egypt is the most populous Arab nation this will shatter Arab solidarity. It may force some of the most moderate Arab leaders to heighten their hostility to Israel and bring the prospects of a fresh war (in which Egypt under Sadat will not participate) against Israel much closer than prospects of peace.

It is unfortunate that the realities of the situation in the region have not changed at the pace of Sadat's initiative and not really because of any magical foresight on the part of the Egyptian President as the American and European press continue to suggest, but because the basic forces in the relationships between nations there remain the same. While Israel would welcome a situation where its dependence of American

wealth and military might could be lessened it will continue to be an economic satellite of American industry and political form by the very nature of its growth. The only way in which that nation can reconcile its existence in the Middle East with reasonably normal relationships with the surrounding Arab nations is if those nations become as it were companion client states of American industry as well.

It is this situation that underscores the importance of oil policy in furthering the consequences of Sadat's overtures to Israel. While Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan can form a powerful alliance in support of pro-western policies they can only be sure of internal stability in their nations if they give the impression at least that the question of the Palestinian homeland has been effectively settled, and the lands captured in the 1967 war and the Golan Heights will be returned to the Arab fold. There is no sign so far that Sadat has moved the Israeli's unilaterally into making the gestures in these areas that would even minimally satisfy the basic Arab demands. If he is relying on American influence to break the Israeli deadlock on such matters as the settlements in the Sinai and their insistence on the reordering

of boundaries in the Golan Heights and on the West Bank, then he has put himself in an awkward position as the new broker for American policy in the Middle East. Egypt with her serious economic problems and precarious military situation brought on after the expulsion of the Russians who have not agreed to re-equip the Egyptian army, cannot afford a war without support from the West.

Peace or War Prelude

One of the gravest dangers incumbent upon the consequence of Sadat's visit is that he may have increased Israeli military arrogance by that move since it could be seen as a step towards a unilateral thrust for peace by a weakened enemy. If Israel under Begin continues its rightward thrust and begins to arm the Sinai settlements heavily Arab opinion could harden both against Egypt and Israel and result in a limited strike against still vulnerable parts of Israel by a less unified Arab force. Even though this might be military suicide for the Arab forces it could cause enormous damage to Israel and thus anger America into attempting to starve the area of badly needed technology which both Syria and Egypt is now making it plain she need in order to implement her economic plans.

This is one of the new factors changing the face of oil politics in the Middle East. If in the event of a new outbreak of war Egypt refused to enter the affray on the Arab side, this would mean that that country was effectively a silent ally of Israel. A new balance of power would have occurred in the area and the chances for an early peace will have been shattered. In other words one of the ironies of Sadat's unilateral diplomacy is that it has heightened the prospect of escalated warfare while at the same time opening new possibilities for negotiation.

At this writing it is clear that the Israelis are seeing the Sadat move as an admission by an implacable foe of their near invincibility, their right to exist, and his unwillingness to fight anymore. From this perspective they find themselves in the enviable position of having their military victory subtly acknowledged which does wonders for public morale. They are now under no internal pressure to change their expansionist policies while Sadat, Hussein, and Assad, are under domestic pressure to negotiate a just peace without war.

Sadat's visit has raised Israeli hopes for peace but has at the same time demoralised the Arab populace whose sympathies lie with the Palestinians. The courage and boldness of his move is not in question. The real problem lay in the unilateral nature of the firm moves, but now he must bring off an even greater coup. He must find a way to unify all shades of Arab opinion around his central theme, which is acceptance of the Israeli nation as an equal partner at the level of nationhood and he must get the leaders of all the 'confrontation states' to attend a summit meeting with Israeli participation.

This may be a more difficult task than Sadat thinks and in fact it is the detailed nature of the demands from both sides rather than the vague generalisation of issues which he presented at his speech in the Knesset which have to be clarified first. It is because these demands are so basic to the issue of Arab recognition of Israeli nationhood that the gap has remained so wide in the Middle East, but if both sides agree to accept all these demands as negotiable then the way will be clear for a meeting. The situation is tricky to say the least and at the moment there are not developments that point to a clearcut way out of the maze. If Sadat's methods triumph it can only be at the instance of great changes in Israeli thinking, and it seems that the key to compromise is still really held by the oil states and American money in the Middle East.





Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa stands before his throne. Below: Crown Prince takes the royal ride in childhood ignorance!

Letter from Europe:

In Defence Of Bokassa

E.N.L. Jean-Baptiste

With Princess Anne's baby, it appears that there's no such thing as being born "Royalty." It's something you're called or not called. Her son is a "commoner"—whatever that may mean. But "commoner" or not the British tax-payer is soon to learn that from now on it will be called upon to pay the little chap quite a "Royal" pension for the rest of his life for doing nothing at all. The tax-payer must pay for every piece of pudding he eats. A Buckingham Palace spokesman (who wasn't there) reported: "The Princess's labour started naturally. Both labour and delivery were normal"

For those of us who didn't know that even Royalty has the same labour with pain, and delivery with blood flecks on the new-born as everybody else, we know now.



Still the little "commoner" received his 41 gun salute, the only one of all the commoners born in England and the world yesterday to be given such a greeting. Mr. Willie Hamilton, Scottish Labour member of parliament and indefatigable critic of the Royal Family, commented when the news of the birth was announced, "how charming—another one on the payroll!" No doubt he was thinking of the recent pay-rise awarded the members of the Royal Family (300,000 pounds) at a time when there are one and a half millions unemployed in the country and the government is applying a tight pay squeeze everywhere. The police have threatened to strike for more money and the Fire Brigade is out.

Prince Philip has been once more on his campaign of abusing the British



Empress Catherine Bokassa... royalty at the stroke of her husband's pen!

public for its industrial and commercial laziness and incompetence. Lack of incentive, he said, was due to the National Services which prevent a man from looking after himself. Still he was the second highest beneficiary of the pay-rise granted out of the generosity of the tax-payer.

A probable Willie Hamilton: "Philip should worry, being kept as he is by the lazy and inefficient tax-payer. Let the lazy continue to bite the hand that feeds him." This year, at an auction at Sotheby's, a pair of queen Victoria's knickers—looking like a windsock with its sides blown-out, a shoestring cord around the waist, and the VR stamped on the leg, was sold for quite a handsome sum. The wonder is, who got the money?

Then, Another....

The U.S.A. too have just had a visit from Royalty, in the person of the megalomaniac Shah of Iran. He, at least, need not worry being called a "commoner", there being no more royal blood in his veins than in mine. His father, a major or Lt. Colonel in the Palace Guards, deposed his emplo-

yer, as in the days of Charlemagne and his ancestors, and pocketed the crown, later passing it on to his present son.

Which makes it so hypocritical to hear Europeans heaping ridicule on the head of a former French colonial soldier who wants to become Bokassa the First. Why shouldn't Bokassa make himself King if he has a mind to? Why should Europeans and those they give their blessings to, like the Shah of Iran and King Hussein of Jordan, be the only ones to adopt titles they have no right to?

In America, the Shah has got his quid pro quo before going on to France for the same: more arms, Mr. Carter, and I'll see that the price of oil doesn't rise by a penny more in the coming year. Funny that Mr. Carter, concerned as he is about human rights did not make his quid pro quo bag a little bigger to include things like torture and political oppression in Iran; or like asking the Shah to help him bring South Africa to heel by following the example of the other OPEC countries of cutting off oil to South Africa.

That would have been a good quid pro quo—which, of course, wouldn't do at all since the industrial nations in the Security Council were just vetoing the Resolution of the African nations to apply trade sanctions against South Africa.

Anything but that. The West needs trade with South Africa as the Greeks needed the bow of Philoctetes. Or the Greeks would have nothing to do with Philoctetes himself who had an incurable sore that stank to heaven. In a couple of years' time—so things the power-hungry Shah—Iran will be the most important and powerful nation in the Middle East, militarily, industrially, culturally. The Shah, direct descendant of Xerxes and Darius, will raise Iran once more to the ancient dignity and power of old Persia.

So what is a whiff of tear-gas in the nostrils on the lawn of the White House in comparison? What, indeed! And France, under Giscard d'Estaing, money hungry, all-for-trade, also desperately after a style and dignity that have gone, like a madman with a net after a butterfly, will get her quid pro quo from the Shah. It's like doing business over the counter: a loaf of bread for a stick of chicory.

President Nyerere complains that this year he has to sell twice as much sisal to the industrial nations in order to be able to buy the same model farm tractor as last year. This tells us a lot about the North-South dialogue and the true intention behind the formation of the E.E.C. (Common Market), the club of the Haves. The club doesn't want the Third World to get out of colonialism that easily. The point of the E.E.C. is to keep "the wealth of nations" located where it has always been. Inflation is rampant in Europe, the number of the unemployed is soaring like a bird a wing month after month. The price of Western exports must rise while the price of raw material



Britain's Princess Anne (left); Shah of Iran (centre) and King Hussein of Jordan: Shades of royalty in defence of Bokassa!



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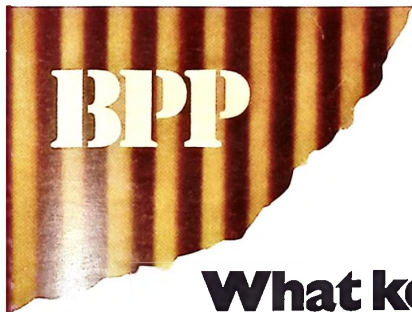


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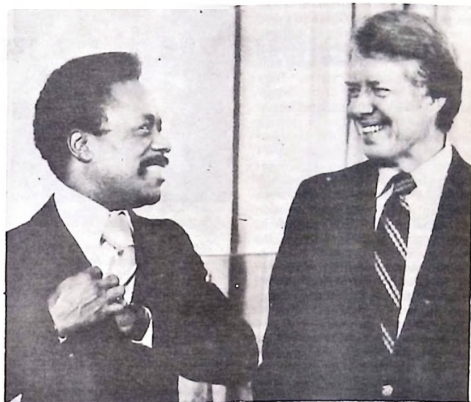
imports must be stabilised, otherwise the Western Industrial Nations will not be able to make the extra-profit from the raw material countries so as to be able to lend it back with interest to the raw material countries so that they will be in a position to pay for the rising cost of Western exported goods which, if necessary, can be paid for with raw materials which will be re-exported as finished products... The tail is back where the head was. France and Germany will hear nothing of North-South dialogue exchange on parity. And the Shah of Iran has just assured the Americans and the French.

The Shah, of course, need not worry since he has cornered the oil market of his OPEC partners in Israel and South Africa. The Shah is on the Shah's side—as Japan is on Japan's side. They did not make the jungle. They only live in it. The jungle is perhaps redder in tooth and claw than it used to be in the days of Darius, but then there's no continuity—in spite of the Shah's pretentious airs—between Darius's Persia and Pahlavi's Iran, in the same way as there's no continuity between the Greece of today and the Greece of Socrates and Pericles. The jungles have been re-planted: different animals different habitats. Greece of today has no place in the civilized world. And Persia, the old rival of ancient Greece (then the civilized versus the barbarian), under Pahlavi is making a desperate bid to create a third world power beside America and Russia by twisting an umbilical cord of raw nylon back to Darius.

The cold hand of fear is gripping the heart of Europe. Once there used to be vociferous voices, proclaiming Communism here. Now those voices have been muffled down to whispering Euro-Communism like a policeman who has removed his noisy shoes to walk his beat in his socks. It's Euro-cold-feet. Belliguer of Italy, Carrillio of Spain, Georges Marchais of France—all suddenly standing barefeet on ice. Either muffle down like Soares of Portugal, like Schmidt of Germany, like Harold Wilson and (worse) Jim Callaghan of England or there'll never be a chance of getting into government. The system is Western, European, Industrial Capitalism. Whatever names you give yourselves the system must remain the same. Cosmetic, yes; a bit of skin-grafting from the backside onto the face, yes; name—changing by deed-poll, yes; but the sinew and bone structure must be always the same—or you'll find yourself perpetually out in the street, shouting. Euro-Communism might just do the trick.

The U.S. and Africa:

Images And Reality



OAU Chairman Omar Bongo and President Jimmy Carter... grip at the elbow for Africa?

*Lindsay Barrett

The supposed change of heart of the United States Government as far as its major policy attitude towards liberation movements in Africa is concerned is without a doubt the most important development in the internationalisation of African political progress this year.

However the change has to a large extent been evaluated by many leaders on the terms of the American Government's rhetoric rather than on the base of the realities within the changing world scene. When Nigeria's General Obasanjo paid a state visit to the U.S. earlier this year he in fact simply continued a trend that has been remarkably consistent since mid-year of respected African leaders going to the Carter White House to offer public endorsement to the avowed desire of Carter to bring the American Government and public to a more realistic involvement with the hopes and aspirations of the legitimate Governments and the people of Africa.

Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, Omar Bongo and Anwar Sadat, all preceded General Obasanjo to the White House, and the communiques that were issued

following their visits were all similar in tone.

However in the case of Nigeria a new dimension was effectively added to the statements that followed General Obasanjo's visit, which pointed up the real interest of America in maintaining reasonably harmonious ties with African nations. The volume of American trade with Nigeria was continuously stressed as a major theme and basis for constructive links. It should be clear to any serious student of American politics then that two major factors motivate the cosmetic changes that the Carter Administration would like to bring about in the relationship between America and African nations. First there is the desire to consolidate and expand lucrative markets for American goods, and secondly there is the desire to protect American heavy investments in Southern Africa in the event of a full-scale war breaking out in that area.

Equivocal Welcome

The reaction of the American media to General Obasanjo's visit was, however, highly equivocal and ambiguous reflecting the real dangers inherent in

any headlong rush towards accepting the possibility of American power being thrown behind the real acts of legitimate military confrontation by liberation fighters.

In the first place there is evidence that a powerful commercial lobby had briefed members of the American press prior to General Obasanjo's visit on what they considered to be acts inimical to American commercial interests in Nigeria which were being supported by the present regime. They cited certain provisions of the Indigenisation Decree which stipulated increased Nigerian participation in foreign companies as well as the increased Governmental participation in the oil industry and painted a picture of creeping nationalisation as the real policy of the Government towards the investments of foreign companies in the nation. Since these commercial forces control a vast portion of the American Economic sector and since one clear purpose of the Obasanjo visit was to clear the air concerning the nature and prospects of foreign investment in Nigeria the cold shoulder delivered by the majority of the American press to the visit indicated that the media, and possibly public opinion in general, had largely concluded that the alarmist sentiments of the commercial forces were correct. If this is the case now, then it is not far-fetched for one to conclude that by the same token the belief that the liberation movements, which are so visibly and consistently supported by the Nigerian Government, will not demand control of existent investments in Southern Africa when they become rulers.

Economic Priority

While the cancellation of President Carter's scheduled visit to Africa has been couched in suitable diplomatic explanations there is reason to believe that in fact his aides have been influenced by some of the negative arguments put forward about the safety of America's economic future in a totally free Africa and that he is now planning a new strategy of subtle pressure to gain assurances of preferential treatment for American investors and industrial interests in Africa. This conclusion gained some credibility with the behaviour of America in the U.N. recently when in one single week she supported the much touted arms embargo, but then vetoed the much more important and effective economic sanctions which African nations demanded against South Africa.



OAU Sec-General Eteki Mboumoua

The arms embargo can only be truly effective if Israel, America's major ally outside of Europe, will not be used as a conduit for spares and new technology to South Africa, in much the same way that South Africa has been used as a conduit to the Rhodesian rebels. It is clear however that the strategy for survival in the event of this embargo had been decided upon by the Vorster clique some time ago and the swift consolidation of Israeli-South African relationships could not have been achieved without some measure of clandestine American approval.

In the meantime the continued existence of strong economic ties between the Western nations and South Africa ensures that the basic infrastructure for continued industrial ascendancy will remain intact and thus be able to support the continuing development of the South African weapons industry which it has been concentrating on for the last two years. It would be naive of us to assume that the American Government is not aware of these factors, and although Carter himself may not approve of the trend of clandestine support that American big business advocates for South African minority power, his domestic situation is making him increasingly powerless to fight that aspect of his nation's relationship to Africa in general.

The American establishment press is largely liberal in outlook according to American standards but American liberalism subscribes to a vision of the world that owes a lot to the 'missionary' syndrome and as such relates to Africa still as an entity that is in need of Western guidance, and absolute

self-determination is translated in the system as 'isolationism.'

Given this attitude, it is clear that the Carter Administration's drive for new initiatives in Africa, especially spearheaded by Andrew Young, faces an uphill task in attempting to win media support for any concessions which are demanded by the more radical forces in Africa. Even where the threat of 'communism' has been demonstrated to be a non-starter, it is clear that the American press will continue to cling to that 'bogey' as a means of convincing the American public that support for liberation movements that are willing to fight for their rights militarily is inimical to American interests. President Carter is a 'conservative populist' and cannot afford to break faith with the people. His domestic politics calls more and more for going to the people to override his difficulties with the political establishment and so he is growing increasingly willing to sacrifice the realities of African demands to the exigencies of American politics.

Double Standard

The result of this situation in American/African relationships is the increasing development of a double standard of relationships that call for increased American overtures to alternative forces within in Africa. This is the real danger that flirting with America's new African interests poses for Africa. The decision of the U.S.A. to allow black chiefs serving in Ian Smith's rebel parliament to enter the U.S.A. points up one of the dangers. So-called moderate black leaders who are in reality completely manipulable stooges of minority white interests are now being touted as real alternatives to radical black fighters who are prepared to die for the principle of self-determination and it seems certain that this trend will eventually become the lynchpin of American involvement with the liberation struggle in Africa. Andrew Young's shocking statement that America has "decided that armed struggle is not the answer" in Southern Africa is only a preliminary shot in the development of a climate of opinion that will make this move the next act of so-called 'change' in American attitudes towards the liberation of Southern Africa.

The Afro-American community in the United States is slowly coming to a realisation of the polarity of interests which the American Government in conjunction with American business interests are promoting in Africa. The recent call by an influential group of

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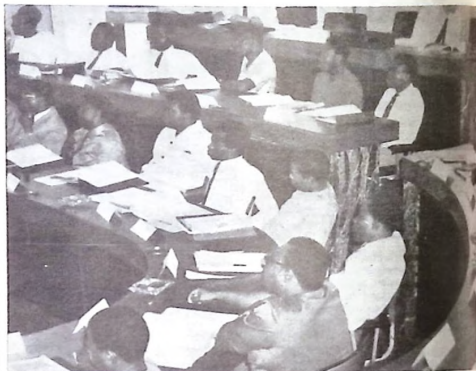
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Management Problems in Africa:

Dichotomy Outgrowth



Managers at training course. . . pulled down by dichotomy strings?

Onyema Ocheoha,
University of Ife, Nigeria.

There is no gainsaying the fact that management is still in its infancy in most of the under-developed countries and this unfortunate situation mainly goes to confound the problems of development.

In most parts of Africa, for instance, a good many people rush into certain areas of business without any feasibility studies; with no prior planning, co-ordination and organisation which are essential attributes of management. Their guiding principle appears to be that as long as Messrs A, B, C had succeeded in a given business, why not X, Y, Z; which latter group includes the prospective business investor. He would not even take any pains to find out what plans Mr. A. made before launching his business nor obtain data on the flow of goods, imports, availability of raw materials, etc.

No doubt, the primary objective of any businessman is profit maximization and since most investors in the under-developed countries are in a hurry to make quick money; to live as affluently as their mentors; and to belong to the high social circles of "those who have made it"; they invariably plunge into

those spheres of business which, to them, appear to be the underserved fertile grounds for profits. Aptitude and ability are thrown to the winds.

The result is that these areas soon become flooded and services deteriorate with:

(i) a proliferation of mediocres in high places in the under-manned service areas;

(ii) sycophants who have "succeeded" that is, if money is to be used as the barometer for measuring Success and

(iii) half witted "Managing Directors" who know next to nothing about the principles and practice of management.

While those fertile areas for quick profits without much efforts become thronged with an avalanche of greedy investors, some other vital areas of lower, but surer profits and longer capital amortization periods, are terribly starved of personnel. Such is the case in some African states today with the mass drift of people from the "less lucrative agricultural sector to the "more profitable" areas like the distributive trade, general commerce and the construction industries.

This in itself raises some basic management problem of investment and manpower planning for an agricult-

tural country that can no longer feed itself and a country with much money in the hands of a few but very few essential commodities at exorbitant prices for the masses of the citizenry. Much better results and more balanced development would have been achieved with better planning and management of the national economy.

What Is Management?

Professor Dalton Macfarland defines management as "...The process by which managers create, direct, maintain, and operate purposive organisations through systematic, coordinated, co-operative human effort," while Koontz and O'Donnel look at management from the more generic angle as "getting things done through and with people." To do things done properly, you need people, leaders and assistants of some sort, not machines and robots all the time; and to obtain good results from the efforts of these people, you require some sound management techniques.

Among the major principles of management are: planning, organisation, staffing coordination, budgeting and control. Anybody who supervises and directs the activities of others with the purpose of achieving some set objectives is a manager in the strict sense; be he a chief clerk, an executive officer or a permanent secretary in a Ministry; an editor in a newspaper office; a supervisor in a supermarket; the chief Architect in a consultancy firm; the financial controller of an investment firm; or the General Manager of a manufacturing company.

To ensure success, all efforts in an organization must be geared towards achieving some definite objectives, hence the concept of management by objectives (MBO), which was emphasised in the Report on the Udoji Commission. Consequently, there should never be a permanent wall between the manager and his staff otherwise there would be a wide communication gap and lack of coordination of activities.

Nobody is a manager all the time. A manager's work consists sometimes of doing things himself, i.e. operational activities; and more often of getting other people to do the work under his supervision, i.e. managerial functions. The more managerial and less operational a man's work consists of, the higher he is up the management hierarchy in his organization, and vice versa if his work is mostly operational and very little managerial. The major problems of management in Africa are lack of adequate planning or feasibility studies; inadequate supervision, coordination and control; and lack of executive

capacity and training facilities for staff. These defects are more conspicuous in smaller organisations with their "Jacks of all Trades" than in the larger establishments with more trained staff and specialists of various categories.

In the larger organisations, the greatest problems are sheer lack of objectives—orientation; i.e. objectives are either not known to all and sundry or no attempt is made by management to gear the efforts of the workers towards achieving the objectives of the organization; and of course, the rigid bureaucracy and colonial heritage of dichotomising the workers in large establishments into two mistrusting, if not warring factions, respectively known as the line and staff personnel. It is for this reason that I shall devote the rest of this article to discussing the obsolescence of the line and staff dichotomy in modern organizations.

The classical or early scholars of management perceived organizations from a highly regimented viewpoint. Consequently, in terms of classifying the personnel working in any industrial organization, they came out with the line and staff dichotomy or principle.

Line Management

Among the greatest advocates of the line and staff principle were J.D. Mooney and A.C. Reilly who were Executives of the General Motors of America. According to them, workers in any organization should be classified into two broad categories. These are the line personnel and the staff personnel.

The Line Personnel are those whose activities are fundamental to the *modus vivendi* of the organization, for example, teachers and research fellows in a University; doctors, nurses and pharmacists in a hospital; Journalists, printers

and newsvendors in a newspaper organization or a publishing house; production engineers and salesmen in a manufacturing firm, etc.

The Staff Personnel, on the other hand are regarded as the auxiliary or supporting staff whose activities are incidental rather than vital to the existence of the organization, in the sense that they perform general services consisting mainly of ideas, advice and support. Examples are members of the accounting cadre, personnel, catering and welfare departments in the aforementioned organizations.

What the protagonists of the line and staff principle are in effect saying is that every organization has a definite purpose or the essential reason for its existence. A university, for instance, exists basically for teaching and research; a hospital to cure the sick, a publishing house to produce books and journals; a Housing Corporation to build houses; a ministry of works to construct and maintain roads and bridges; an automobile factory to manufacture cars and buses etc. In all these organizations, there are some *sine qua non* personnel who form the pillars of such establishments, the indispensable elements without whom the various organizations could not perform their basic functions. Such people are said to constitute the line personnel because they are in a sort of vertical line relationship with each other in the organization's hierarchy and towards the accomplishment of its objectives.

The other group of auxiliaries or supporters who are not so vital or indispensable to the organization's existence are referred to as the staff personnel. Accounting, personnel, welfare and public relations activities are generally classified as staff functions in a manufacturing firm because these



Nigeria's Dr. Omalayole and Chief Akinyemi at world management congress...real outgrowth?



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However, there is no hard and fast rule about how the classification is done. The guiding principle is the fundamental objective of the organization concerned. Thus a professional could be a line man in one organization and a staff man in another. For instance, an Accountant would be a line man in a financial institution wherein an Engineer is a staff man; whereas the same Accountant would be a staff man in a construction firm in which the Engineer is a line man.

One of the obstacles to efficient management in the under-developed countries is that the line and staff dichotomy had been swallowed up in the raw way it was imported from the erstwhile colonial masters. The result is that in most of our establishments there is too much class consciousness and lack of team spirit which is a vital aspect of management.

From the fore-going analysis, I wish to adduce two major arguments in this paper; first, that in modern principles or organization, no professional is regarded as being perpetually a line man or a staff man in any establishment, no matter its objectives, output or *modus vivendi*; and secondly, that in modern management principles and practices, the idea of the line and staff dichotomy is fast becoming an obsolete concept, if not an anachronism. We in the developing world, should therefore, move with the times.

To expatiate on the first point, in any modern organization, there is usually division of labour or departmentation. Each department performs a specific function and by so doing, is contributing its quota towards the success of the organization. The staff of each department are said to be in line relationship with each other in the sense that there are clearly delineated schedules of duties, authority and responsibilities in each of the component units. In other words, the relationship is vertically hierarchical that is, a boss-subordinate relationship. Thus, in a construction firm, you could have the Engineering Division headed by a Director of works below whom are Chief Engineers, Senior Engineers, PUpil Engineers, etc. The same organization could have a Finance and Accounts Division, headed by a Director of Finance and below whom are other subordinate Accountants in line relationship.

All of these divisional heads, however, are said to be in staff relationship with each other because they are equal partners in the progress of the firm

with each Director controlling his own department and staff. The relationship in this case is not vertically hierarchical but horizontal.

On the other hand, all the divisional heads are in line relationship with the overall boss of the organization, the general manager, Permanent Secretary or Director-General as the case may be. For instance no divisional head can issue direct orders to another except when he is acting on behalf of the overall boss. Nor could the Head of the Engineering Division directly query an Assistant in the Accounts Department except through the latter's boss. The Divisional Heads could, however exchange memoranda and advice in good faith, but anything bothering on orders is normally routed through the overall head of the establishment for onward transmission down the line to the appropriate sections. Such then is the circuitous route in a model organization. All these may appear bureaucratic and cumbersome but are necessary for maintaining the principle of coordination and unity of command.

An Ignored Concept

My second point of argument would even require a greater emphasis, namely, that whole concept of line and staff dichotomy is fast fading into oblivion in modern organizations. It is a pity that this dichotomy has persisted even to the present day, especially in the under-developed countries. The result is that those who arrogate to themselves the self-glorified title, "line men," labour under the self delusion that they are the indispensable elements without whom the organization could not perform its basic functions. At the same time, they look down on their counter-parts, the so-called "staff men" who are, in a sense, just being "tolerated" and whose activities are viewed as merely auxiliary and not vital to the survival of the organization. The situation had given rise to class warfare and bitter acrimony between the two groups in those industries where the line and staff dichotomy still persists.

It is essential to note that except in a small scale individual proprietorship, no one man could perform all the functions. This is because modern organizations are becoming more complex with roles more specialized, diffused and inter-dependent. Consequently, modern management scholars and practitioners like to view organizations from the systems concept or inter-grationist approach. The father of systems theory is David Easton who viewed the political system as consist-

ing of inputs and outputs.

A system is a collection of essential and interacting parts, a whole made up of inter-related parts. But we always emphasise the wholeness of a system rather than its component parts. Perception in parts is known as reductionism and does not serve the desired cohesive purpose in modern management theory. In systems analysis, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. This is one way of saying that no single part of a system could function independently of the others.

If we apply the systems concept to a hospital for instance, we observe that the hospital as the medical system cannot exist in a vacuum, but has to exist *Par Passu* in a symbolic arrangement with other systems, such as the educational system, economic, engineering and agricultural systems. The hospital system *per se* is itself a complex and organized whole with several interdependent and mutually interacting subsystems, none of which could function in complete isolation. Thus you could have the medical subsystem i.e. the Doctors; as well as the pharmacy, Nursing, Laboratory, Engineering and Catering sub-systems.

The Doctor may pride himself into thinking that he is the only indispensable pillar of the hospital until it dawns on him that other sub-systems are equally essential in caring for the patients in wards (the Nurses), dispensing the prescribed drugs (the pharmacists), or even paying his salary (the Accountants). The best drugs would not make a patient well if the catering staff starve him of food. He may even die of malnutrition.

Inter-Relationship

If we view the hospital system vis-a-vis other systems in the economy we see at once that the hospital system cannot exist without the service and cooperation of other systems. This fact could better be illustrated with the wave of industrial unrests which characterised the aftermath of the Udoji salary awards. Doctors and hospital workers in the public sector were the first to go on strike or "work-to-Udoji." The impact of their strike action was greatly felt by sick people who could not afford alternative treatment in private hospitals. Eventually, Government granted the Doctors 40% minimum pay increases before they took up their stethoscopes again.

The Engineering system (Civil, hydro and electrical Engineers) felt jealous and cheated and so wanted to demonstrate their importance in the economy and by this extract their

own concessions from government. The adverse effects of the two days' strike by Engineers far out weighed the impact suffered by two weeks of strike by doctors. The taps went dry, there was black-out everywhere, and lifts were still. Everybody suffered, both the sick and the healthy—doctors and patients alike. The doctor quickly realised that because of the non-cooperation of other systems and sub-systems, he could not perform his surgical operations in the dark theatre; many of his patients discharged themselves since they had no water to drink in the hospital; and the doctor himself could not render good services because his wife was unable to cook his usual meals in the absence of water and electricity.

As an organization grows in size and scope, the task of management becomes more complex and prodigious. The best Engineer may not necessarily make the most efficient or capable General Manager of a construction firm; nor would the best personnel or Accounting Manager either. Management is a complex and nearly all-embracing field, hence good managers are rare. Therefore, whoever climbs to the hot seat of Chief Executive in any organization must have the ability to coordinate the activities of others and should endeavour to view his organization from the systems perspective. This is the way of a dynamic and forward-looking manager who wants the best for his organization.

The fore-going analysis had tried to highlight the defects of categorising the personnel in an organization into two camps known respectively as the line and staff personnel; and of creating the impression that one group is vital to the organization while another group could easily be dispensed with. Conversely, the systems concept as herein advocated views every atom of a system or every department of an organization as a mighty atom interacting with others to achieve the desired goals of the organization. Without any of these interacting parts the whole would not function effectively.

In many of the more advanced countries, the line and staff dichotomy is fast becoming an obsolete anachronism which should be swept into the limbo of history. It is in this light that managers in the under-developed parts of the world are called upon to adopt the systems approach to management along with other related models such as management by objective, operations research and project evaluation techniques which are the modern trends in management.

Intra Sub-Regional Trade in Africa:

Search For Panacea

Our Ecowas Correspondent

Intra African trade had existed, although quite small, for a long time. The trade has until quite recently been on barter basis. With the balkanisation of African states it has tended to decline rather than grow. One major reason for this decline is the very nature of colonial economic policies which geared each economy of the dependent African countries to the export-import trade with the foreign power. The imperial traders would bring in certain precious commodities manufactured in the metropolises for exchange with locally produced agricultural commodities. In this period, the industrial revolution was gathering momentum and each colonial authority zealously guided its overseas markets. As the African economies advanced, the investment flows, transportation networks, tariff rates, commercial and government purchasing policies and the provision of infrastructure and services were shaped as replicas of this pattern and therefore served to re-inforce it.

Colonial Arrangement

The minimal trade which existed during the pre-colonial period did give way to the new trade pattern. Trade among the territories of Africa invariably became Sub-ordinated to the international trade which became more rewarding and in terms of the commodities traded, more attractive. As more and more parts of the African countries became exploited some

valuable minerals began to be mined. These minerals were exploited solely to serve the new manufacturing industries in the overseas countries. Such minerals as Iron Ore, coal, bauxite and recently petroleum became attractive sources of foreign private investment. The Trade between the African countries therefore continued to dwindle because of the further changing pattern of production depending on which European country occupied the territory.

At later stages in the growth, the overseas companies undertook some industrial activities. The history of industrialisation in the continent of Africa had its roots in the processing of agricultural commodities by the colonial traders who wanted to reduce the volume of such commodities needed for export. Industries were established as closely as possible to the location of the raw materials. These were processed and transported by rail or roads to sea ports from where they were normally sent abroad. Invariably one colonial authority controlled a group of countries and adopted similar patterns of policies towards the organisation for production and trade. The processing industries were designed in such a small scale that each one only processed materials lying close to the vicinity of the plants. Identical plants were established in all the countries of Africa and this did not encourage intra-African movement of commodities and trade. Each country produced its own raw materials to feed its own industries.

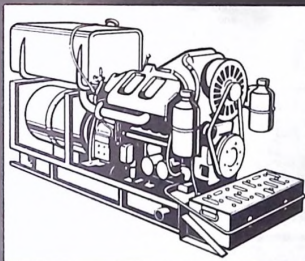
The output of the industries so established were designed to provide inputs to the large scale industries in the overseas countries. They were therefore geared towards production for exports. The industrial enterprises established in the African countries were either subsidiaries or branches of large multi-national enterprises in the overseas countries. Most of the machinery and the skilled labour were imported. This again meant that the markets for the industrial products had a ready market in the overseas countries while the products of the overseas industries, find ready markets in the colonial territories. The direction of trade was



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consequently consistent with the colonial arrangement of the period.

The colonial past of the countries of Africa continues to hamper the development of intra-African trade. Because of the pattern of development of the industrial sectors of the economy, the infrastructural development in the past was not conducive to the rapid expansion of intra African trade even after independence. The rail roads constructed in the continent of Africa were only designed to provide aid for an export oriented trade. For example in Nigeria, the Eastern Railways was constructed to move the coal produced in Enugu to Port Harcourt for eventual evacuation to the overseas markets. There was no east-westward rail road which would have engendered trade with Nigeria's neighbours to the east and West. The same pattern of road and rail construction was noticed in all the other countries whether they were British or French colonies.

The coordination and cooperation which appears to be an important factor that would have encouraged the expansion of intra African trade had been hampered by the diversity in political and cultural patterns of development in the States. While the relationship between Britain and her former colonies were relatively loose, those of France and her former colonies were quite close. The economies of these territories were closely managed from France. France regarded these colonies as their overseas territories. She balanced the budgets of these countries. The overseas territories were required to sell their products via Paris so that the proceeds could be used to defray the budget deficits. The French territories imposed high tariffs on imports from countries outside the entente. This adversely hampered intra African trade in the sense that goods imported from any African State would become so expensive that they would be unable to compete with other preferred products from France. For example, cigarettes manufactured in Nigeria were expensive in Cotonou only a few miles from Lagos. The situation has not changed markedly even after independence.

Fiscal Balkanization

The multiplicity of monetary zones and trading currencies with sub-region of Africa has been another very important factor hampering the growth of Intra African Trade. In the areas where some form of unified payment system existed, trade was quite large. This has been found to be the case in respect of the former French territo-



At ECOWAS more papers: Can this be the beginning of the end of the search?

ries. Colonial French West Africa had developed a substantial interior-coastal trade in cattle and fish largely independent of any customs union. There was also a limited trade in the sale of goods produced in Dakar and Abidjan to other coastal and adjoining interior colonies.

In the past, there was no system whereby settlement of claims among the countries in the sub-region could be effected. This has been considered as a serious obstacle to the development of intra-African trade. A good payment arrangement is considered as inextricably tied up with the generation of trade relations between the states of Africa.

The former colonies of France in West Africa were strongly linked to the colonial monetary system and this situation continued to exist despite the fact that the countries are now independent entities. France still backs the currencies of the francophone countries and the payments for the minimal trade existing between these countries and other anglophone countries are usually settled through Paris and London. This has been considered as cumbersome and unhealthy. Although this was true for trade between any English speaking State and a franco-

phone country, trade and payments within the franc zone are free from these incumbrances. Payments are made in C.F.A. francs or French francs or currencies of any 'other' operations account country. However payments for transactions with a non-franc zone country are usually made through a correspondent bank in France in any currency of countries which are quoted on the Paris exchange market. Payments for imports from non-franc zone country must similarly be "domicilled" with an authorised bank if the values exceed a predetermined limit. All these formalities constitute barriers to the easy flow of trade in the continent.

The lack of foreign exchange resources in the countries of Africa do also have a serious repercussion on the level of trade in the sub-region. In order to protect the countries' abilities to import capital goods for their industrial sectors all the countries practice strict foreign exchange controls. Except for some few countries, these controls are usually so strict that they completely cut off trade from certain areas leading to retaliations from the other countries. In order to minimise the impact of the foreign exchange controls some forms of bilateral arrangements are entered into. Such bilate-

ral arrangements in the sub-region has not been considered successful.

Search For Panacea

The fact is that every African country considers that the solution to the diverse problems of economic development lies in industrialisation. All the countries have imbibed infant industry approach to industrialisation. Invariably, the products of all the countries are identical as it is in the case of their production in the agricultural sector. This does not encourage intra-African trade. The capital for the industries have invariably come from the developed countries.

In this era of space crafts and faster modes of transportation and communication, the world has become a small place. The economic problems of the under developed economies could no longer be described as peculiar to the developing countries. They have become pervasive and the developed economies themselves have enough problems which require urgent solution. This presupposes that the developing countries will now be required to pursue policies which will enable them become self reliant. Since they are unlikely to get the beverage from the developed economies, they will have to turn to Africa for their salvation.

In order to achieve the desired level of self reliance, on a sub-regional scale, the countries of the sub-region should now consider those aspects of their economic, political and social policy goals which have hitherto isolated them. One sure way of achieving effective cooperation and coordination of development efforts is to generate greater level of intra-regional trade.

The sub-region of Africa has to embark on large scale industrialisation but this cannot be undertaken unless there is concomitant large-enough market for the products of such industries. It would appear that no single country in the sub-region possesses the type of market which will justify the desired type of industries. In order to generate such a market there is a need for coordinated plan for industrialisation covering the whole region. In this way the intra-African trade will increase.

In order to generate trade at the scale in which this would really benefit all the states, there must be a sound arrangement for payments. The present system of having to route all payments through London and Paris, has not encouraged intra-African trade. The West African payments arrangements which has come into operation is a step in the right direction. It is to be

hoped that all countries will cooperate and make the attempt a success.

In the interest of the countries of the sub-regional and the trade in the sub-region, it is not advisable that the countries in the sub-region should have reciprocal payments arrangements with some advanced countries. This can always harm intra regional trade. There is a need for the countries of the sub-region to work out a unified tariff structure which would be applicable within the sub-region.

The Economic Community of West African States appears to have proposed concrete ways through which a solution would be found to the problems which impede intra-African trade. It is strongly suggested that all states in the Sub-region would see the formation of the ECOWAS as the beginning of greater cooperation, trade and economic growth of Africa.

Gambia Rethinks

*M. D. N'Jie.

When The Gambia started the implementation of its First Five Year Development Plan, in June 1975, it was with an air of reasonable optimism and confidence, but a confidential report presented to the National Planning Committee in May this year revealed a disturbing situation.

The report maintained that, using financial expenditure as a guide to plan implementation, it could be said that after two years there was only 13 per cent implementation, much of it during the year 1976/77.

Clearly, there was an urgent need for drastic remedial measures. The first of these was a decision to give no more new projects to the country's public works department—The Gambia's biggest employer—which would henceforth concern itself with maintenance, design, and supervision.

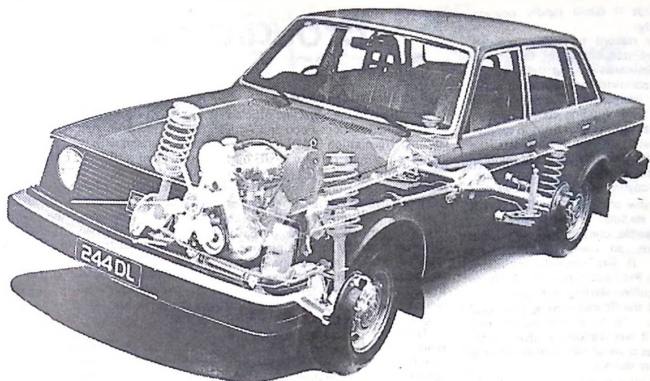
This was a brave move, for the resulting laying-off of labour, though economically sound, would be politically unpopular. Not that there was much public sympathy for PWD casual workers, who were said to "receive" their wages as opposed to earning them. In fact, the government virtually admitted as much when it said that "the present system whereby casual labourers employed by the PWD receive a salary without doing any work has become an unacceptable strain on the government's recurrent budget."

The projects taken from the PWD were to be given out on contract to firms which would take on the laid-off labour and produce reasonable results at a faster rate.

The confidential report lists a number of reasons—such as inadequate planning of projects by ministries and even less consultations between ministries and departments—for the slow implementation rate. It cites as an example a health centre project which did not take into account electricity, water, and access roads—features with-



President Jawara hands over yet another cheque that failed to stop the rethink



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out which it could hardly operate efficiently.

Other reasons for delay included the inordinate amount of time taken by preliminaries in negotiations with funding countries for externally funded projects (visits, etc.); the requirement to buy from funding countries (tied aid); delays by overseas firms in supplying material ordered for projects (the result of strikes, lockouts, and shipping movements); and imported inflation.

A re-costing of the Plan shows that it will now cost D306 million (£76.5 million sterling) at 1977 prices with The Gambia contributing only 15.8 per cent, an obviously inadequate figure. It was originally estimated that the Plan would cost D150 million (£37.5 million sterling) with about one-third of the finance coming from local sources. To help increase the new figure, it was decided to give priority to projects which would generate revenue more quickly.

Remedies to secure speedier implementation were applied. Externally, the attention of funding countries and agencies was drawn to the delaying effects of protracted negotiations for money. Internally, a system of all-round monitoring was introduced which required every head of department to prepare monthly returns showing progress (or lack of progress and the reason for it) on every project. There was more than a hint that officers would be held personally responsible for unjustified delays in implementation.

President Jawara has been in the forefront of the monitoring exercise as Chairman of the National Planning Committee. He has inspected every project in the country, demanding to know why implementation of any project was behind schedule, and praising workers where they deserved praise. Ministers also toured the country on inspection in relays.

There are indications that the actions taken have begun to produce desirable results. Since they were announced, a PWD-constructed clinic has been completed and handed over, three-quarters completion has been reported on a number of direct labour projects, and faster implementation rates have been recorded in most projects.

The appointment as Minister of Economic Planning and Industrial Development of a young man with a reputation as a hard pushing go-getter has added some degree of confidence that a fair amount of success will be achieved at the end of the Plan period.

Drought Again?

By Augustine Oyamish-Oyowa

Authorities in the Sahel and officials of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) have been expressing serious concern in the past four months over the poor pattern of rainfall in the region.

Hopes had hinged on a reversal of the trend, but with the rainy season virtually over in West Africa, the Sahel is almost certainly in for a prolonged spell of drought and famine. They could be particularly severe and varied, though in no country except perhaps Mauritania will the effects match the magnitude of the 1972-5 period.

The grim picture Mauritania presents is perhaps not a surprise. The country has been in the throes of a guerrilla war over Western Sahara during the past two years—a war that has almost paralysed the economy and has

been seriously affecting agriculture.

Last year, Mauritania's cereal production was estimated at 26,000 tons. In comparison with normal output the represented a deficit of 160,000 tons. Livestock was also affected: from 11 million head in 1972, it is believed to have declined to less than seven million last year. This year, the country is reported to have had a rainfall deficit of between 50 and 80 per cent, which leaves one in no doubt that the coming 12 months will be very critical for its 1.5 million inhabitants.

Neighbouring Senegal presents a pathetic, of unusual case, particularly in the north of the country. There, rainfall deficit by mid-September stood at 60 per cent, a drop well below the recorded average between 1931 and 1960, while in the south it was somewhat disappointing except in the Fra-



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chidier basin area, where rainfall was rather more than usual.

For both Mauritania and Senegal, the consequent effect of low rainfall on the River Senegal is serious. The River, which rises every year and floods the surroundings lands, is extremely low and is not expected to increase in volume under the circumstances in the foreseeable future. The surrounding fields are usually planted with wheat, millet, and other crops.

According to the Senegalese Minister of Information, Daouda Sow, the overall effect on Senegal, without being very bad, raises cause for concern. But estimates by the country's Services Agricoles tend to show that the minister understated the case, especially with regard to Senegal's food production.

Admittedly groundnut, which is Senegal's principal crop, will be near to normal, though precise figures have not yet been mentioned. For millet and rice, however, harvests will almost certainly be less than 50 per cent; and even cotton, where production has risen remarkably in recent years, does not present a bright picture.

In the Gambia, rainfall has been sparse and rather erratic. Last year, this tiny West African nation recorded an average of 513 millimetres by August but by the same month this year she had recorded only 100.4 millimetres. The dry weather has affected grazing and water supplies to livestock, and has provoked pest invasion of fields. Grasshoppers, for example, are said to have virtually ravaged maize farms.

The Gambia Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Yaya Ceesay, told parliament recently that although it was impossible to give a specific figure to the inevitable deficit in cereal



That's the question: Another round of carcas everywhere?

production this year, output was almost certain to be less than 40 per cent.

The Cape Verde Islands and Guinea Bissau have also not escaped the drought. It is perhaps worst in the Cape Verde Islands, where FAO officials in Rome have described the situation as "chronic." In the island of Santiago, which provides 60 per cent of the country's maize, rainfall deficit is put at 60 per cent. With a very large and overcrowded population in relation to its size, the situation is nothing short of desperate.

Upper Volta

Equally serious is the condition in Upper Volta. This was the only country in the Sahel proper which did not record good agricultural harvests last year, and matters are not expected to improve. The government has already appealed for 56,000 tons of cereal aid.

Chad has something in common with Mauritania. Like Mauritania, she is under the double scourge of drought and guerrilla war in the Aouzou strip with Toubou rebels. Famine is acute, and General Felix Malloum has appealed for help, especially from France.

Due to good harvests last year, the situation is not expected to be as bad in Niger and Mali, but from Mauritania right across these countries to Chad, FAO officials maintain that millions are threatened with starvation and undernourishment.

For the past five months aid has been flowing from abroad to individual Sahel countries. Gambian authorities requested assistance from FAO early in August and got US\$750,000 worth of emergency aid as an interim measure. In June, France despatched 4,000 tons of grain to Chad, and is currently planning to send more in response to another appeal from President Malloum. Chad also recently received US\$1 million from USAID to help drought victims. Similar assistance has been given to Cape Verde islands and Guinea Bissau, by the FAO and developed nations.

Reginald Pollaris of the FAO recently said in Rome that at least 200,000 tons of cereals will be required to help the whole Sahel region through the difficult period ahead. This figure is likely to be insufficient in the final analysis since already two countries—Mauritania and Chad—alone are expected to have 160,000 tons and 100,000 tons cereal deficits respectively.

FAO Director-General Edouard Saouma has called a conference of aid donor countries including the United States, Canada, and West European countries to discuss the matter urgently.



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South Africa: What has 1978 to offer?

1978: Frontiers Of Freedom?



occupation, have increased their military presence there and are in fact preparing for a long and debilitating battle to control the terms of independence in that nation. One thing that may not have occurred to the moralists of the West who have been declaring that they have seen signs of retreat by the South Africans on fundamental issues concerning the independence of Namibia is the fact that the racist Government of South Africa has decided to use Namibia as a kind of testing ground for its larger military



Top: Rebel Ian Smith and Left: his Supreme Commander Lt-Gen. Peter Walls.



1978 new frontiers? Vorster (top left), for black South Africans (above) or refugees in Mozambique (left)?



aims and tactics. For many years they used Zimbabwe in the same way but realising that this was tantamount to spreading themselves thin, they changed their military policy in the area to a point where their role in Zimbabwe became that of trainers, and in Namibia they escalated their counter-revolutionary military activities.

In the light of the above realities we have now to judge the prospects for liberation movements in Africa in 1978. Unfortunately one of the major forces holding back the thrust to freedom in the continent is the continuing division that exists between sovereign nations who are members of the O.A.U. Since ideological, and conflicting nationalistic, policies and differences are tearing the surface unity of that organisation apart the racists, colonialists, and their economic allies have continued to increase their own bases of unity in order to aid in spreading internal confusion among the nations that should now be presenting

a united front in the confrontation with the forces of oppression in Southern Africa. In the absence of either an African High Command with the co-ordination of all liberation efforts in Southern Africa as its main duty, the consolidation of various national forces into strike groups under joint commands could still deal effectively with the problem by providing trained manpower and sophisticated material, to be controlled and directed by the commanders of liberation forces native to the area. But with some of the most effectively equipped armies in free Africa tearing at each other's throats the incentive on the part of their other colleagues in the organisation to face the counter-liberation forces is obviously less than it should be. The raging battle in the horn of Africa between Ethiopia and Somalia on the one hand and Ethiopia and the Eritrean Liberation Front on the other has helped to underscore the possibility of internal divisions and problems

threatening the stability of these nations and thus made it less likely that any of these nations will be in a hurry to commit their own forces to aid the wars of liberation on a unilateral basis.

Areas of Challenge

In Namibia in recent months there has been a visible increase of military activity on the ground. The increased sophistication of the weapons being used by the liberation forces point to better coordination of military policies and probably also to the opening up of new sources of economic aid to these groups. In Zimbabwe there has been similar escalation in the continuity of attacks and the quality of material, which also indicates the growing strength of the liberation force not only as fighting unit but also as legitimate political entity. However ideological differences still exist in the Zimbabwean liberation movement and even with the advent of the Patriotic Front it appears that the so-called "moderate" group led by Rev. Sithole is poised to cause enough division of opinion and even to cooperate to a certain extent with the colonialists within the country in the event of a sell-out situation arising which may gain the approval of the sponsors of the Anglo-American Proposals. If such a situation should arise the prospects are not for a cessation of fighting in Zimbabwe at all, but instead for the development of the fighting along Angolan lines from a war of liberation into a civil war. It is indeed sad that at this moment in



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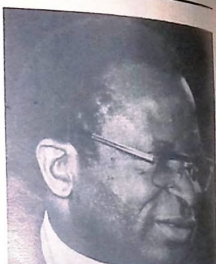
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Leyland Nigeria

See Leyland Nigeria at the First International Lagos Trade Fair from November 27th, 1972



what have you got to offer in 1978? Sam Nujoma of SWAPO (left); and Zimbabweans: Joshua Nkomo (middle) and Bishop Muzorewa (right).

time the prospects for this happening seem even greater than the prospects for an effective victory of the liberation forces over the forces of oppression. In fact the morale of the Rhodesian rebel forces by all reports (even from those who fight against them) seem suicidally high. It is also a sad fact that at this time the kill ratio in this war seems to continue to favour the white forces of the rebels although this could partly be explained by the nature of military strategy in the war so far where guerrilla forces still outnumber white forces two to one and in any direct confrontation there are simply more blacks willing to die than there are whites.

The forces of apartheid in South Africa have given categorical notice of their intention to harden their stand against any suggestion of the restoration

of self-determination to the black peoples of that land, and they have also indicated by their latest actions that common democracy is the furthest principle from their minds as far as any real change of the system of rule there is concerned. Ironically some of the latest actions of the racist regime in South Africa reveal a new willingness to go a long way further than anyone would have suspected last year towards alleviating some of the sad effects of their inhuman laws on the lives of black people. For example new modifications to the hated pass laws which were announced at almost the same time as the notorious clamp down on the liberal and radical movements which was triggered off by the riots following Steve Biko's death, show clearly that at this late date the apartheid regime is responding

to protests which had their genesis as far back as the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Other minor concessions to human pride such as the relaxation of restrictions on movements of certain categories of black people and the opening of certain categories of jobs and professions to qualified black people, are indicators of the extent to which the white regime is ready and willing to concede the basic rightness of the cause. However, at the same time such concessions simply delineate the real limits of the regime's ability to face the reality of a situation in which the majority is demanding complete freedom and the minority is still hoping to buy time for itself with concessions which are both outdated and inadequate to the needs of the community.

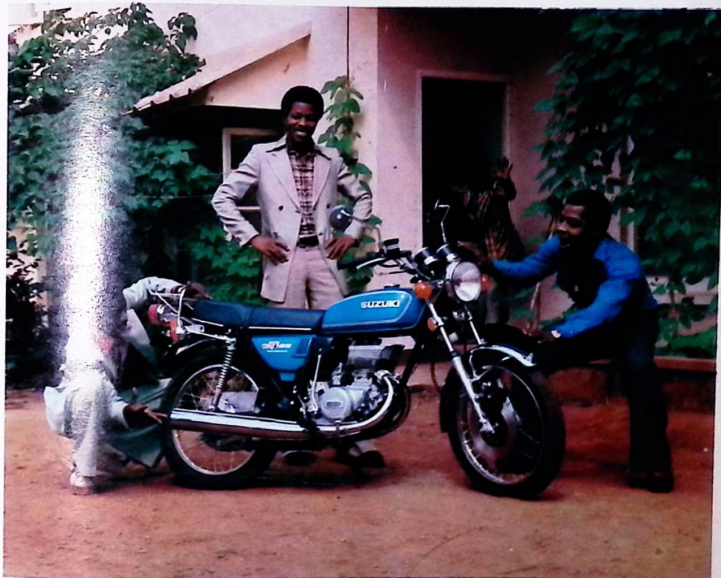
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Bodies after a village massacre... so what about 1978? More bodies or new frontiers of freedom?

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increased bloodshed. There is no indication either in the developments on the international level or in the situation 'on the ground' in the continent that the forces of oppression and exploitation are prepared to even compromise to the slightest degree to achieve a semblance of humane parity in the major areas of conflict. It is now too late for lip service and cosmetic concessions to solve the real problem in Southern Africa, which is how to bring about real democratic rule in the nations where racial fascism has become the only means of survival for a minority that is pledged to the maintenance of imperialistic privilege not only as an economic ideology but also as a basic way of life. It is very likely that towards the end of 1978 the South African Government may be forced to abandon Namibia in order to face squarely the certain escalation of protest into conflict and confrontation in South Africa itself.

This will be especially necessary if the U.N. arms embargo develops real bite at any time, but it is more than likely that with Israel quietly helping out in the background, South Africa will be able to maintain weapons parity and thus continue its aggression in Namibia while meeting fresh challenges at home. As a result it is only logical to expect that the real trend of fighting in Namibia should be continued escalation of the conflict on the part of the liberation forces, unless the U.N. can find a way to intervene effectively to expel the occupiers and pave the way for a political takeover by indigenes of the country either through referendum or open elections. This seems a far-fetched idea now, however, and after so much blood has been shed by SWAPO it is highly unlikely that anything short of a unilateral takeover by that organisation whether through victory in the field or mandatory transfer of power with U.N. help will settle the situation there.

It is quite clear now too, that, without falling for the Western propaganda that has tended to cloud the issues, the Angolan situation is definitely still one that must be taken very seriously. There is evidence that the anti-Government forces in that country have been reinforced and financed to continue their insurgency. The traditional modes of political disruption in Africa, tribalism, regional loyalties and the exploitation of economic disparities, have been cleverly manipulated in that country to keep alive the divisions inherent in the transition from colonial rule to independence. As an aftermath

of civil war this is not surprising but what is most revelatory is the extent to which these traditional modes of disruption have been "internationalised" by a section of the Western press in an attempt to encourage greater support for the insurgents than even they themselves expected. Savimbi's continuing rebellion fuelled by a conglomerate of interests, and Roberto's sudden re-emergence after several months of silence pose a threat not only to Angola's stability but also the balance of ideological realities in all liberation movements which are still active in Africa.

In general terms the real nature of the new frontiers of freedom in Africa in the coming year will not be measured in geographical expansion but in the escalation of confrontations and the turning of the tide of liberation wars more in favour of the liberationists than obtains so far. The major duty of the O.A.U. in this coming year remains first the de-escalation of the wars between brothers, and the concentration of their political efforts on creating a strategy of unified confrontation against the illegal and oppressive regimes of white minorities in the southern sector of the continent. An alarming development in the deliberations of the O.A.U. this year has been the subtle return of ideological and political differences that have subtly grown so important that they have obscured the trappings of unity that seemed so well developed before. The 'fiasco' in the U.N. over Nigeria's election to the Security Council seat was only a small symptom of this creeping divisiveness in that organisation. In the coming year if this trend continues (as well it may, since the richer nations are definitely showing signs of an inward looking complacency that may lead to an insidious form of 'big brotherism') the O.A.U. may well be bogged down in vocal deliberations when it should be escalating its role as a co-ordinating force for concrete action against the oppressive minority regimes.

We feel safe in predicting that, the most positive act of the more stable black nations at the start of the new year will be a concerted diplomatic initiative to overcome these symptoms of division and consolidate the indices of unity. The nature of support for liberation movements will also move from the purely financial to the sharing of tactical ideas and strategic information available to wealthier nations through their access to sophisticated technological instruments which can provide them with classified data con-



Steve Biko on his way to final rest... more in 1978?

cerning the situation on the ground in the battle areas. If this trend can be developed the coming year should be a landmark year in turning the tide of liberation in the continent and thus preparing way for full liberation not long after.

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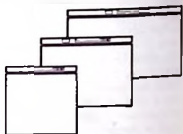
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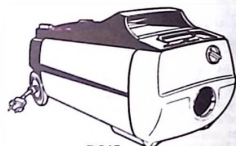


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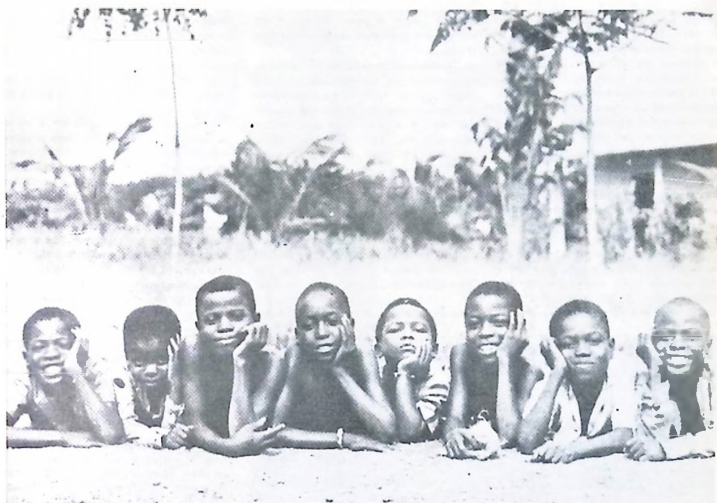
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All smiles and hopeful at the crossroad of fatherland: Which way socialism or neo-colonialism?

Neo-Colonialism Or Socialism? The Challenge For Africa

Dr. P. F. Wilmot
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria,
Nigeria.

The debate over whether African countries should adopt socialism or capitalism as a model of socio-economic development has been conducted generally without a precise knowledge of what "socialism" and "capitalism" mean, without a clear understanding of the structure of the contemporary global socio-economic system, and without conscious awareness of the historical development of currently existing socialist and capitalist states.

The issue is compounded by the multiplicity of African states claiming to be "socialist." One has the "pragmatic" socialism of Azikiwe which allowed private accumulation through "initiative" and "hard work," the African socialism of Senegal which spawned a rapacious comprador petit-

bourgeoisie; the Arab socialism of the Sudan which made Osman Saleh one of the richest men in Africa; and the humanist socialism of Zambia which did not preclude making deals with Lonrho. In fact, so negative an image has capitalism among the masses of Africa that not even Zaïre, the Ivory Coast or Malawi, three African countries most subject to capitalist exploitation, claim to be capitalist.

Given this confused background it is necessary first to ask what capitalism and socialism are before asking whether, given the nature of the two systems, African countries have a realistic choice between capitalism, and socialism.

Capitalism: Commodity Production and Exchange

The basic tendency of capitalism is to reduce every object in society to a commodity, i.e. an object meant primarily for

exchange. This tendency extends to the human being himself whose labour power, the creator of the value embodied in all commodities, is itself commodified, is itself reduced to a commodity which is purchased by the capitalist through wages. As a commodity, labour power represents a specific embodiment of value created by the activity of other labour powers, i.e. that creating the means of subsistence necessary to keep the labourer, and hence his labour power, functioning. In less abstract language the capitalist pays as nearly as possible a subsistence wage, just enough to purchase the essential commodities necessary to keep the labourer alive.

Besides being a commodity, however, the human labour power purchased by the capitalist, is also the creator of other commodities whose value is an excess of the commodities representing the means of sub-

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A process of production which benefits from all the essential aspects of social being—creativity, co-operation, scientific knowledge communication and the learning of complex skills—turns upon society to reduce it to a scatter of individuals alienated from each other and from society.

Socialism: Rationalization of Production For Use

Socialism aims to overcome alienation by recognizing in all aspects the social nature of production. By producing for use rather than exchange, socialist man can see himself reflected in the product of his labour. But since his being is social he must recognize that production is for society, not for his exclusive, private, individual needs. Socialism does not therefore represent a retreat into an abstract, narcissistic individualism. Nor, on the contrary does it represent an equally abstract conception of social necessity which negates or subordinates the existence of the individual. Socialism, correctly understood, is concerned with the fundamental needs of the individual, that is to say his socially recognized needs.

In our example of a capitalist farmer hiring agricultural labourers to produce yams, we showed that the yams were not in themselves meant for either the capitalist or the worker but of exchange required destroying the yams this would be fine for the capitalist since it would save transportation and storage costs as well as increasing demand by reducing supply. This is a regular occurrence in the United States where grain is burnt or pigs, chickens and cows are slaughtered and destroyed. In a socialist co-operative consisting of the same workers, the same tools, the same fertilizer and land but minus the capitalist (unless he joined the co-operative as a worker), production would be for use. The workers would be aware that they are producing for themselves and for other workers and that production depends on the co-operation of all. Although their reward would be proportionate to their labour, they would recognize that a certain amount of their production would have to be taken for re-investment and for other social needs such as education, social welfare, internal order and external defence. The workers could see that individual and social development go hand in hand, that society and the individual are correlative. There would thus be no question of alienation since society would now be the expression of the creativity and productivity of all.

Misconceptions of Socialism

Conceptions of socialism amounting to caricatures are nevertheless abundant. And such conceptions are not limited to capitalists and their sympathizers whose obvious interest is to make socialism seem unattractive and utopian. The emphasis on distribution rests on the incredibly naive idea that wealth produced in the society belongs to



Victims of rebel army raid into Mozambique: cost of resisting the status quo?

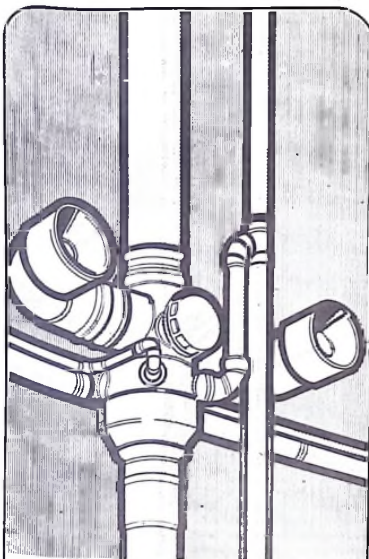
all of society and therefore should be divided equally among all the members of society. Of course the mischievous capitalist then includes wives and children among society's wealth so that socialism becomes associated with principles offensive to the most cherished ideals of social existence, the sanctity of family life, the love and respect of one's children, and the privacy of one's home.

Socialism, however, is geared toward increasing production, albeit in a more rationally organized and less socially harmful manner. Marxist socialism which grew out of an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of capitalist production does not deny the elements of capitalism which made this mode the most productive in man's history. Efficiency, organization, investment, mechanization, application of scientific knowledge would be enhanced not curtailed in a socialist system. The forces of capitalist production represent rationality at a very high level. It was in the relations of production, in private accumulation and appropriation of the surplus that Marx found irrationality which made relations of production contradict and hence threaten the productivity of the capitalist forces of production. Where the most productive system of economic organization in history produced poverty on a scale unknown when the means of production were virtually in their infancy something obviously was wrong and had to be changed. What had to be changed were the social

—actually anti-social—relations of production, not to substitute consumption for production. Socialists cannot hope to reap where they do not plough. The socialist motto is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." "Socialists" should realize that associating socialism with poverty, individualism, indiscipline, laziness and sentimentality is not a convincing argument in favour of this system.

Opposed to this category of conceptions which rest on an almost solipsistic individualism is the equally naive conception based on an abstract and vacuous conception of the individual's relation to society. Here the individual produces for a society which is opposed to him, with which he does not identify and consequently which fails to motivate him. Unwilling to produce for such a society he yet expects everything from society. The capitalist's critique of such a society is that its excessive collectivism fails to appeal to the self-interest of the individual, a rather touching concern for the individual from a system of production based on the expropriation and mutilation of the individual. Nevertheless, even well-meaning socialists criticize certain "socialist" societies for excessive regimentation, centralization and denial of individual rights.

Although excessive individualism and collectivism are opposed, they spring from the same fundamental source—alienation. In such an alienated system the individual



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fails to identify with the society and the society fails to satisfy the socially recognized needs of the individual. Where the individual perceives himself as overwhelmed by social forces beyond his control, he may go to irrational lengths to assert his individualism against the society, i.e. the Beatniks and Hippies in capitalist society, dissidents in Soviet bloc societies, where representatives of society, usually the state power, perceives the individual as persisting obstinately in certain anti-social behaviours, such representatives may go to irrational lengths to reduce the individual to a socially pliable unit. In both cases, the individualistic and collectivist strategies produce the opposite of what they intended, i.e. an increase in alienation.

"Socialism" which is thus criticized is actually state capitalism in which bureaucratic managers who control the system of production replace private capitalists who own it. In such a system social relations of production are transformed but still remain in opposition to the forces of production. Because of the elitist bureaucratic and hierarchical nature of such a system, the individual experiences the same types of opposition and resentment to it. But even state capitalism is superior to uncontrolled capitalism because of the higher degree of social collectivity it involves and because its socialist ideology is a tool that can be used by progressive elements to push it towards genuine socialism. Then it is recognized that the conditions for the existence of the society are the conditions for the existence of the individual and the conditions for the existence of the individual are the conditions for the existence of the society. With such organic unity established the individual is no longer alienated from the society and the social relations of production are no longer in opposition to the social forces of production. Thus the productive forces of society are liberated from the shackles of an outmoded system of ownership and control, capable of realizing their full potential, thus freeing man from his curse to eat by the sweat of his brow.

Historical Development of Capitalism

A brief historical sketch of the development of capitalism and socialism will flesh out the rather schematic outline given above. How, for example, did our capitalist farmer acquire in the first instance the capital used to purchase the labour power of the agricultural workers? And why was the worker forced to sell his labour power? These problems of the primitive accumulation of capital and the appropriation or dispossession of the worker have been with capitalism from the very beginning.

Primitive Accumulation

Primitive accumulation in Britain, the first successful capitalist state and a useful model for all capitalist systems, was based

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on trade, primarily the slave trade, piracy, and the possession of land by the crown and feudal estates. Walter Rodney, in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* and other publications, has shown how important the slave trade was for the establishment of capitalism in Western Europe and the United States. The slave was a human being reduced to a commodity, captured, degraded, bought and sold. As commodity he was purchased for a derisory price—in beads, cloth, alcohol, metal bars and later fire-arms. The slave traders, mostly British, made fantastic profits when their human cargo was sold in America or the West Indies. Prominent capitalists such as Barclays and Lloyds had their start here. Ports such as Liverpool and Marseilles which handled the traffic became entrepôts for fantastic wealth into Europe.

The Slave Trade

Slaves were the basis of the wealth of West Indian sugar and American cotton plantations and much of this wealth was repatriated to Europe, especially Britain. Slaves also produced the raw material, cotton, the basis of the first successful capitalist industry in both Europe and the industrialized north of the United States, i.e. textiles. In Africa, South America and the West Indies much of the gold and silver produced and exported to Europe to form the basis of the monetary system were produced by slave labour. If industrialized Britain much later on pressed for the abolition of the slave trade, this does not alter the fact that this trade was necessary for the establishment of British industry and its global dominance in the first century of the full-fledged capitalist mode of production.

Feudalism

Feudalism enabled landlords to accumulate a certain amount of capital which was later invested in industry. In Britain the Reformation led to the seizure of Church land and its transfer to loyal barons who ejected the occupants they did not need as agricultural labourers. When the woolen industry made sheep farming a profitable business the feudal lords enclosed communal lands reducing peasants and tenant farmers to agricultural or industrial workers. Thus feudalism helped lay the basis of capitalism, a far superior system of production which was soon to undermine feudalism. By throwing peasants off the land, feudalism provided capitalism with a prostrate, dispossessed proletariat; by its development of agriculture it provided both raw materials and food for the landless workers; and some of the capital accumulated from ground rent and large scale farming, found its way into the hands of merchant capitalists who satisfied the propensity of a decadent aristocracy for luxuries.

Piracy

Piracy was important for capital accumulation, especially as the goods pirated were

usually bullion necessary for the monetary system. The importance of piracy for British capitalism can be judged from the titles of the pirates Sir Henry Morgan, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake who received their sovereign's reward after providing a lot of jewels for her crown. African capitalists who engage in a bit of piracy on the side, show the low grade of their ambition by stealing commodities as plebeian as cement and sardines. But they too receive their rewards, if not from crowned heads at least from offices as exalted, whose magic staffs can convert loot into property, piracy into high finance.

Capitalist Contradictions: The Ravages of Proletarianization

Capitalism which began in dispossession, alienation and degradation of the working class continued its development in further dispossession, alienation and degradation of an ever increasing mass of devastated men, women and children, thrown upon the labour market by the destruction of peasant agriculture, crafts and small scale industry. Marx in scientific analyses and Dickens in fiction show the extent of this social disintegration, in the destruction of the family, in child labour, in the ravages of disease and death, in a system of production gone wild, Marx' prediction based on his social and economic analyses of the capitalist mode of production can be reduced to the proposition: if capitalist production continues in the way it is currently doing (i.e. in the second half of the 19th century), then capitalism will collapse. That this was not simply an analytic proposition, a tautology, was evidenced by the periodic crises of over-production which paradoxically reduced demand by precipitating bankruptcies and further unemployment.

But even in the time of Marx, adjustments, both internal and external, were taking place to allow capitalism to continue on its erratic course, without final collapse. In Capital, for example, Marx showed that the system of credit was developing to speed up circulation and accumulation and avoid bottlenecks in production. Agents of the capitalist state such as factory inspectors and enlightened members of parliament were forcing the capitalists to act in their own best interests by reducing the working day, restricting the labour of women and children, guaranteeing meal-times and reducing health hazards. The development of trade unions forced the capitalists to come to an accommodation of interests with the workers, guaranteeing a certain measure of labour peace and stabilizing demand. One should not forget also the superstructure of the capitalist state system—the educational institutions which taught the virtue of obedience and submission to one's betters, the religious institutions which taught that reward for hard labour and abstinence from

the necessities in life were stored up in heaven; and, if all else failed, the courts, the police and the army which branded vagrants, sentenced pregnant women to dark work-houses, hung children for stealing six-pences, and fired workers who raised their hands for a clutch of potatoes.

Adjustments to Capitalism: Monopoly Capital

The most important change that has occurred in the capitalist system since the time of Marx, however, is the transition from competitive to monopoly capital, foreseen in Marx in his analyses of the concentration and centralization of capital. Under the impact of the industrial revolution the ratio of constant to variable capital tended to increase. In order to build vast projects such as railways, control of capital was becoming more. In Marx time, however, individual capitalists still competed with each other to introduce innovations in technology which revolutionized the forces of production and threw more and more goods on the market. Because the law of supply and demand still worked to some extent, it was even possible for prices to fall. With capital developing along the lines of nation states there was also the possibility of competition between national capitals. But in the era of monopoly, capital competition has been virtually eliminated through the control of both supply (production) and demand (wages, credit, advertising, social welfare, military spending), by monopoly capital which moves freely through production institutions at every level, through financial institutions, and through governments which share the view of the chairman of General Motors that "what is good for General Motors is good for the United States."

Instead of introducing technical innovations monopoly capital suppresses them. The huge budgets devoted to research and development are mostly to discover and patent new techniques to prevent others from using them. Others are simply for cosmetic purposes, for changes in design or packaging. If new techniques can reduce costs, this is only to increase profits not to reduce prices. Under monopoly capitalism prices always go up. Compared to the revolutionary inventions introduced into capitalist production at its birth, the last century or so of monopoly capital has been virtually moribund. About the only area in which it introduces revolutionary techniques are in sales, especially in bribes to high officials in the purchasing countries; its only sphere of competition rests in deciding whether the recipient of its generosity should be emperors or field-marshal, businessmen or politicians; and the only freedom of its enterprise is the freedom to maximize its profits, whatever the human costs. Thus International Telephone and Telegraph Co.

(ITT) helps organize the overthrow of Allende, and the terrorism of Pinochet; supplies its most advanced electronic technology to South Africa's military industries to help the racist state extract the maximum rate of profit from the mutilated backs of suffering black men. But it does excellent business with "independent" Africa nonetheless.

Colonialism

Corresponding to the monopoly phase of capitalism in Europe and the United States, was the establishment of colonialism in Africa. Although Africa was exploited by Europe since the 15th century, colonialism proper, as an organized system of exploitation, dates from the Berlin conference of 1884-85 which divided up the continent into exclusive spheres of influence for European national capitals. If the slave trade and other forms of competition between national capitals had been adequate for a Europe struggling between feudalism and a primitive capitalism, mature capitalism embarking on its monopoly phase, needed the non-competitive, exclusive "spheres of influence" which just happened to be populated by the whole continent of African peoples. Monopoly brought the contradictions of capitalism to a head, increased dispossession, expropriation and alienation, intensified the organization of misery and widened the gap between an ever-diminishing band of bigger and bigger capitalists and an ever-increasing multitude of the destitute and the damned.

Colonialism was an attempt to solve the contradictions of capitalism, and this solution was made possible to some extent by a concentrated and centralized capital which enabled Europe to build the roads, railways and harbours necessary to bleed the sinews of an Africa devastated by four centuries of slave trade and other forms of unequal exchange. On the economic level monopoly capital's primary contradiction was expressed in the crises of overproduction caused by the increased efficiency of the system of exploitation, which resulted in decreasing effective demand, which blocked the cycle of circulation and hence accumulation and resulted in a falling rate of profit. This contradiction was temporarily and partially resolved by the exploitation of cheap colonial labour, the provision of cheap raw materials, and the creation of captive colonial markets, for high priced manufactured goods. In one of his notebooks on imperialism Lenin pointed out that 1/3 of Britain's exports went to her colonies and that this was "especially profitable." (Col. Works Vol. 39, p.99) Payment for African exports to Europe did not get to Africa but were kept in the form of "reserves." In 1955 Africa's contribution to Britain's reserves of gold and currency was one billion four hundred and

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forty six million pounds sterling, more than two thirds of the total reserves held by Britain and the Commonwealth (then the white states of South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the non-white state of India). (Rodney p. 188)

On the social level, stemming from the primary contradiction of an economic system gone berserk, capitalist society was faced by the threat of complete disintegration through the reduction of human beings, including increasing numbers of capitalists, into units of labour in hostile competition with each other in the elemental life and death struggle to sell their labour power, the sole commodity they possessed, in order to eat, to clothe their nakedness, to find shelter, and to breed. This contradiction was temporarily and partially resolved by the creation of a labour aristocracy with a minor stake in the system of exploitation; also by spreading a thin veneer of social welfare benefits to the remainder of the working class in order to lessen the intensity of their hostile opposition to the system which mutilated them.

On the political level there was the contradiction of the increasing impoverishment of the proletariat, the sole producer of wealth in the capitalist system, leading to increased political consciousness and hostility, and the increasing spectre of a bloody revolution organised by the proletariat. To resolve this contradiction monopoly capital created a relatively stable middle class with the limited bourgeois rights to own minor property, to assemble and to vote. But neither the creation of a petit bourgeoisie nor the embourgeoisment of the proletariat would have been possible without the vast surpluses extracted by the colonial exploitation of African labour, raw materials and markets through capital exported from crisis-ridden Europe.

The colonial option was suitable to a monopoly capital still segmented to some extent along national lines. To this extent monopoly capital was oligopoly, with the right to exclusive spheres of national influence, limiting but not eliminating competition, at least on a global scale. The colonial system was unstable because of the late but formidable development of capitalism in Germany which demanded expansion of its "sphere of influence" commensurate with the expansion of its industries and the social, economic and political contradictions this entailed. This instability found expression in the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 sparked off by German demands for increased Lebensraum (life-space) but also by the emergence of Japan, another capitalist country seeking an "exclusive sphere of influence" in the Anglo-American and French preserves of China, South East Asia, and the South and West Pacific.

Neo-Colonialism

A more important but less obvious

challenge to the doctrine of exclusive colonial "spheres of influence" was presented by America in which capitalism emerged in a purer form, without the shackles of feudalism or a nationalism divorced from the dollar. "Peaceful" attempts by America to penetrate exclusive colonial markets did as much as the warlike activities of Germany and Japan to undermine the colonial system. In Latin America, its own though not exclusive sphere of influence, the United States was applying the principles of neo-colonialism a century before Macmillan anointed them for Europe in Africa in his "wind of change" speech in Pretoria in 1960. Because of its greater sophistication and strength America could move its peripheral formations from slavery to neo-colonialism without any intervening period of direct colonialism (except Puerto Rico etc.) When Western Europe and Japan emerged prostrate from the imperialist war of 1939-45, the Americans were in a position to demand the abolition of a system which restricted the necessary movements of monopoly capital, which led to two world wars and the liberation of the captive markets of the Soviet Union and China. Henceforth the capitalist world, both at its center and its margins, would be exploited jointly by an American-dominated monopoly capital coordinated by international organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank, NATO and informally co-ordinated agencies of terror such as the CIA and other intelligence agencies. Roosevelt, Truman and Jimmy Carter would therefore support a neo-colonial solution because this was in the long-term interests of monopoly capital, dominated by the U.S.A.

Within Africa itself neo-colonialism was also an answer to contradictions exported from Europe which had recreated themselves, albeit in slightly modified form, on African soil. These contradictions arose primarily between imperialism and nationalist elements consisting of politically conscious segments of the petit-bourgeoisie, proletariat, peasantry, and lumpen-proletariat which resented the monopoly of power exercised over the colonial economy, political system and symbols and perquisites of social honour and prestige. On the economic level the imperial bourgeoisie solved the contradiction by co-opting elements of the petit-bourgeoisie, the most reactionary sector of the nationalist opposition, to be its commission agents, its transmission line to the exploited African masses, its overseer over a colonial territory which, for all practical purposes, remained a glorified European plantation, with the necessary complement of teenage girls for the ageing capitalists of Europe. On the political level this petit-bourgeoisie was given a monopoly of power over decisions which could not affect adversely the interests of international capitalism, which banned strikes, reduced wages and boosted profits



Johannesburg: one of Africa's modern cities...sprouted from Colonialist exploitation or Capitalist means?

in which they all had a share. On the social level the petit-bourgeoisie was granted the privilege to join its European partners in hitherto exclusive GRA's and European Clubs, to discriminate against its own people, to visit hitherto exclusive resorts, to own overseas villas and bank accounts, and to wear elaborately outlandish uniforms with braids, ribbons and counterfeited medals of honour.

As with the slave trade at the birth of competitive capitalism, the trade in cash crops at its infancy and colonialism at the birth of monopoly capitalism, neo-colonialism at the ripe old age, even the senescence of capitalism, is a mechanism for solving the contradictions of Europe at the expense of Africa. Just as early capitalism generated poles of wealth and poverty within its European homeland, monopoly capitalism today generates unprecedented riches (at least in a material sense) in the United States, Western Europe and Japan, while generating unprecedented poverty and degradation in the economic wastelands of Africa, Asia and Latin America. While an unemployment rate of 24.9% represented the depth of the 1930s depression, the most serious crisis to strike these centres of monopoly capital, Africa magazine of October 1977 reported that during current periods of economic normalcy, even "boom", sixty of the one hundred and forty million employable Africans are unemployed, an astonishing 42.9%. So perverted are the values of the dominant capitalist system that it regards an unemployment rate of 6% as a near catastrophe in New York or London but shrugs off or ignores an African rate of over 40%, almost double what it defines as "depression" and untold misery for itself.

What of the "wealthy" states of the margins of the capitalist system? In Saudi Arabia, the Arab Eldorado of oil, which has untold millions to finance the colonization

of Western Sahara, the dismemberment of Ethiopia and continued neo-colonial domination of Zaire, the population has an average life expectancy of 42.3 years, an average daily protein intake of 33.4 gms and calory consumption of 2,050. Other "wealthy" states of OPEC such as Iran, Indonesia and Nigeria have life expectancies of 50.0, 47.5 and 37.0 respectively.

Yet resource-poor countries such as Japan, Holland, Denmark, and France have life expectancies of well over seventy years, infant mortality rates of 11.7, 11.4, 13.5 and 16.0 respectively, have average calory intakes of well over 3000, and consume on average over 50.0 grams of protein daily. The wealth of Africa extracted through slave trade, unequal exchange colonialism and neo-colonialism now faces the suffering masses of Africa in arrogant displays of consumption and waste at the centers of capitalism. This is not to say that all the wealth produced in Europe is evenly distributed, that there is no poverty in Europe, that Europeans do not sleep under bridges or fish scraps of meat from the gutters. Nor is it to deny that members of the African elite have jet planes, houses on Hampstead Heath, several Rolls Royces, or accounts at Harrod's and Tiffany's. But Europe produces most of what it consumes and this production provides jobs and a relatively high standard of living for the majority of its population. Meanwhile in the slums of Lagos, Abidjan and Bangui the disinherited masses wallow in an inescapable mire of misery and disillusion, seeking relief in apathy, drugs, alcohol, religion or paroxysms of rage and destruction.

Apartheid

In apartheid South Africa the racism implicit in capitalism is glaringly revealed in the savage divide between white wealth and stark, unrelieved black poverty. While the

white man has a standard of living which compares favourably with Europe's the black man suffers depression-level unemployment rates of over 25%, infant mortality rates of up to 500 (out of 100), annual death rates of over 55,000 from tuberculosis, an accurate reflection of a system which allocates him only 17% of its income although he constitutes over 70% of its population.

Although apartheid is considered an aberration of capitalism and the western civilization based on this system of exploitation, it is in fact the highest expression of neo-colonialism, the contemporary form of capitalism on the African continent, South Africa's credentials as a capitalist state are impeccable. Most production in the apartheid enclave is organized along capitalist lines. In 1972 capitalist agriculture contributed 9.9% to GDP, mining 11.0%, and manufacturing 22.4%. Other contributors were the typically capitalist banking, insurance, transport, commerce and other service sectors. Profit on investments in Apartheid are among the highest in the world meaning that surplus value is extracted from labour power more efficiently here than elsewhere in the world. This is easily understandable, considering the fact that a black miner earned just 5% of the wage of his white counterpart in 1970, and that, depending on location, between 50 and 75% of the relatively privileged urban black population was living at or below the officially defined poverty datum line. That the apartheid state is a capitalist state par excellence is obvious from the fact that most of its laws and administrative bureaucracy have to do with the regulation of black labour, and that many of these laws are taken, almost verbatim, from the labour codes of 19th century British capitalism.

Neo-colonialism was established in South Africa by the 1910 Treaty of Union which accommodated the political interests of the defeated Boers and the economic interest of the victorious British, at that time still the dominant European capitalist power. These interests were easily accommodated because both rested on the same foundation, the ruthless exploitation and suppression of the black man. By guaranteeing British capital its right to exploit black labour the white, principally Afrikaner, elite was granted independence i.e. the freedom to suppress the black man politically, in his own country. Apartheid legislation which was rationalised by the Nationalist Party from 1948 onwards had been put on the books by British capitalists, principally Cecil Rhodes, the capitalist colossus who helped organize imperialism as a solution to the crises of British capital in the second half of the nineteenth century. It should be kept in mind also that South African production of gold has always been central to western financial capital while other strategic raw materials (uranium, chrome, vanadium, in-

dustrial diamonds etc.) have been essential to western industrial capital. Thus apartheid is the most developed form of neo-colonialism, the highest stage of monopoly capital in Africa. As J.A. Hobson noted several decades ago:

Nowhere in the world has there ever existed so concentrated a form of capitalism as that represented by the financial power of the mining houses in South Africa.

The Choice For Africa

Given this background it is surprising to find Africa leaders seeking to adopt capitalism as a solution to the problems of neo-colonialism when capitalism is the root of the problems. Even if we ignore the fact of whether capitalism independent of Europe, is desirable in Africa, we must nevertheless ask whether such a capitalism is possible. As was shown above, capitalism requires a source of primitive accumulation of capital together with dispossessed labourers before it can launch its cycle of exploitation and further accumulation. In Africa dispossessed labourers are coming onto the market in abundance, due to neglect of agriculture or to outright expropriation. But a source of primitive accumulation is still problematic.

While the Europeans had the benefit of the slave trade, piracy and other forms of unequal exchange it is not yet clear, except for the rantings of Amin, that Africa contemplates the enslavement or colonization of Europe. And piracy is still practiced in a minor scale and against the very states in need of capital accumulation. Except for ground rent the only sources of primitive accumulation available to budding African capitalists appear to be corruption and extortionate practices in the sale of scarce, European-manufactured commodities. But for every dollar received by a public official or businessman as a bribe on a contract, foreign officials and governments get at least ten in the form of profits, and provision of jobs for those executing the contract, as well as those making the equipment and raw materials used. The same is true of manufactured consumer goods exported from the centers of capitalism and distributed through profiteering middlemen at the margins. And ground rent, while it appears exorbitant, is a pittance from the vast profits made by Western multinational corporations and governments from exploitation of African labour and raw materials. Thus, even in its method of primitive accumulation, would-be African capitalists reflect the structure of neo-colonialism in which they are subordinate. And their vicious and unconscionable attempt to accumulate simply strengthens the power of the foreign capital from which they are supposed to be freeing themselves.

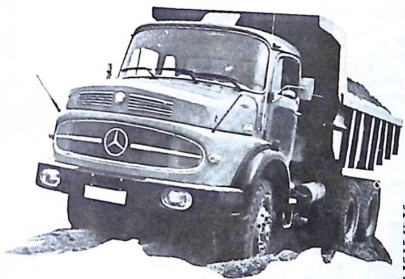
Even if these "capitalists" free themselves from neo-colonial subordination, however, and launch an autonomous "free-enterprise"

system, there is no indication that capitalism has altered its fundamental nature to the extent that its development and growth would be free of the crises and contradictions which beset capitalism at similar stages of its development in Europe. How would African capitalism solve the problems of crises of over-production, increased proletarianization and impoverishment, an ever-widening gap between rich and poor, increased social disintegration, the contradictions between the forces and relations of production? How would it stabilize an unstable situation by creating a middle class and labour aristocracy with states in the capitalist system, and create the wealth necessary to spread even the gloss of social welfare to the disinherited masses? Historically, as we have shown above, Europe solved these problems at the expense of Africa, by imposing a ruthless regime of colonialism and now, a no less ruthless, if disguised, system of neo-colonialism. Is Africa prepared to pay back Europe in its own coin? Or, will our "capitalists" colonize the inhabitants of outer-space? But the Europeans have all the satellites and space stations. So, finding these historical possibilities closed off, domestic "capitalists" resort to the baton, the bayonet and machine gun, only to find, as did Europe on its own soil as well as in Vietnam, Algeria and Kenya, that it doesn't profit a man to kill off the workers who lay the golden eggs.

Bewildered by these seemingly insoluble problems and contradictions of how to accumulate capital and run a capitalist system intelligent and well-meaning elements of the indigenous comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie resort to the *deus ex machine* of a "mixed economy" in which government enters into a marriage of convenience even at illicit union, with the private sector. Thus public and private, capitalism and socialism, are mixed into a fearsome economic brew, stirred more or less vigorously by a government controlling the "commanding heights" of the economy. This idea is based, however, on the naive conception of the state as above society, as independent of class interests, as a neutral, abstract, eternal entity, performing the role of impartial referee. The role of the state in economic development, however, belies this naive, mystical, even fascist concept of the state. In Africa, and the rest of the third world, the state builds the infrastructure of roads, railways and harbours which are necessary to intensify exploitation, expand markets and thus increase profits, but which are too costly to be built by the limited private capital available. The state thus performs the task performed by private capital in Europe and the U.S.A. Since foreign capital dominates these economies, however, the state, by creating infrastructures, is simply improving the "climate" for such capital, thus tightening the neo-colonial

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stranglehold on itself.

More important, however, the state controls the supply of labour, the heart of any system of capital accumulation. Through the poll tax, the hut tax, the tax on animals and crops; through expropriation and displacement of people for "economic development" projects; and through the total neglect of peasant agriculture and crafts, the state guarantees a constantly increasing supply of cheap labour. The banning of strikes, the freezing of wages and the deliberate stimulation of inflation, guarantee that this labour stays cheap. In South Africa the most mature neo-colony on the continent, the state performs the roles of creating infrastructure and controlling labour in an exemplary manner. The state controls the "commanding heights" of the apartheid economy to the extent that over 50% of investments in the 1975-79 development plan is coming from the public sector, to finance vast infrastructural projects essential for the growth of local and foreign private capital. And the National Party, which took control of the state in 1948, made control of black labour the center-piece of its strategy of industrial development which has resulted in unprecedented profits for white-owned multi-national corporations and their local allies among the white bourgeoisie. Decades ago a South African capitalist came to the heart of the role of government in the mixed economy when he said that "with good government there should be an abundance of labour, and with an abundance of labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages."

The constraints against the establishment of an autonomous indigenous capitalism are, however not simply economic but military and political also. Since such a capitalism would be in conflict with the neo-colonial solution to the problems of western monopoly capital, its establishment would be against western interest. And Africa and the rest of the third world are replete with examples of coups, assassinations, invasions and destabilizations organized by the west to protect its interests. If the Americans organized the murder of Lumumba and have gone to untold lengths to preserve the treacherous and inept Mobutu regime, it is because Zaire is the world's largest producer of industrial diamonds and cobalt (60%), produces 8% of its copper, 4% of its zinc, plus significant percentages of its uranium, manganese, cadmium, germanium, lead, iron ore and zinc. The affluent West is also dependent on poor Third World countries for an astonishing array of its most strategic industrial raw materials. Japan, for example, depends on Third World OPEC countries for nearly 100% of its petroleum needs, Western Europe for between 95 and 100%, and the U.S.A. for over 50%. Among the Third World Africa alone produces over 90% of

the West's industrial diamonds and gold, 80% of its uranium, 70% of its copper, cobalt and chrome, vast quantities of its iron ore and phosphates, plus almost all its supply of rare metals. Autonomous capitalism in Africa would be a highly industrialized capitalism with heavy and light industry and mechanized agriculture. As such it would make use of its own labour and raw materials, denying them to a resource-poor West. In addition, because of the internal contradictions generated by the indigenous capitalist system, it would be forced to compete with the West for labour, raw materials and markets elsewhere. Autonomous indigenous capitalism would therefore be a declaration of war against Western neo-colonialist interests. Are our capitalists prepared to fight such a war—with their weapons manufactured in the West and their strategies learned in the military academies of the West?

The sole means of successfully resisting imperialism after declaring economic independence from neo-colonial domination is to create economic, social and political structures which ensure rapid popular mobilization in defence of the state, which ensure firm cohesion in the face of imperialist aggression, and which guarantee total identification between the government and the people. Imperialism can be deterred only if it recognizes that as in Vietnam, an attack against the government is an attack against the people, that coups, invasions and assassinations leave the popular structures of resistance intact, even strengthened, and that the loss of economic interests it had in fact purloined, is a less painful option than outright confrontation with an armed people.

An African state organized along capitalist lines cannot therefore, disengage from the system of international capitalism because instead of mobilizing, capitalism demobilizes the population, renders them helpless and apathetic to facilitate exploitation; instead of cohesion, capitalism disunites populations, reducing them to units in search of purchasers for their labour power; and instead of identification with state and government, capitalism produces alienation and hostile opposition on a massive scale. The states which have disengaged from the capitalist system have all been socialist states—the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, Algeria, Guinea, Mozambique and Angola. All have suffered imperialist aggression and all have survived only because they have created popular organs of mobilization and resistance.

The choice, therefore, is between neo-colonialism and socialism, not between neo-colonialism and capitalism. But African "capitalists" who chose to remain in the smothering neo-colonial embrace should realize that, unlike the capitalists with whom they lunch in New York and Geneva, they operate at the margins not the center of the

capitalist system. As such they have far less room for manoeuvre. With national per capita GDP of over \$4,000.00 the capitalist in New York is in a much better position to convince his workers that capitalism is good for them than the capitalist in Lagos with a national GDP of less than \$200.00. While the American capitalist can point out that no socialist society has workers with two cars, two phones, three television sets and a boat, the African capitalist will be hard-pressed to explain why his workers are much worse off than those in China where the annual per capita GDP is less than \$750.00.

Thus with increasingly intensifying social contradictions, and with no room for economic or political manoeuvre, the neo-colonial option must rely increasingly on violent suppression. When the worker asks for bread he is given not just the bitter stone but a filling dose of automatic weapons fire. Instead of investing in housing or agriculture, the neo-colonial state invests in armaments. And instead of education and culture it transmits to its elites the latest in counter-revolutionary and counter-insurgency techniques. South Africa, the oldest neo-colony on the continent, with its "mixed economy" and police state, is the image of what lesser neo-colonies hope to be if they continue for the next fifty years or more on their present course of economic and social "development." In fact, by stock-piling sophisticated arms, including nuclear arms, in the apartheid enclave, the Western powers want to ensure that the rest of Africa does not deviate from this course. President Carter has already spoken of the "stabilizing" role played by the racists in Africa, political "stability" being equated with a climate favourable for Western monopoly capital. The accident of race makes it difficult for the black "capitalist" to see that the same system operates in Pretoria which he is trying to operate in Abidjan. Paradoxically, however, this racial accident which exposes the horrors of exploitation of black by white may so discredit the capitalist system that its practitioners would be deterred from attempting to foist it on an innocent and unsuspecting population.

Meanwhile, however, in the grip of vicious neo-colonial forces over which neither leaders nor led seem to have any control, exploitation intensifies, wages remain constant or fall while prices continue to spiral endlessly upward. As hunger, malnutrition and premature death increase, so do the profits of the monopolies and the budgets of the coercive forces. In South Africa they murder hundreds of school children, in Zimbabwe they attempt a stabler form of neo-colonialism, while in Uganda a whole society slowly bleeds to death. Under capitalism nothing has a higher value than profit and human beings are everyday sacrificed to the gods of wage-slavery and high finance. And there is yet no end in sight.

Discussion

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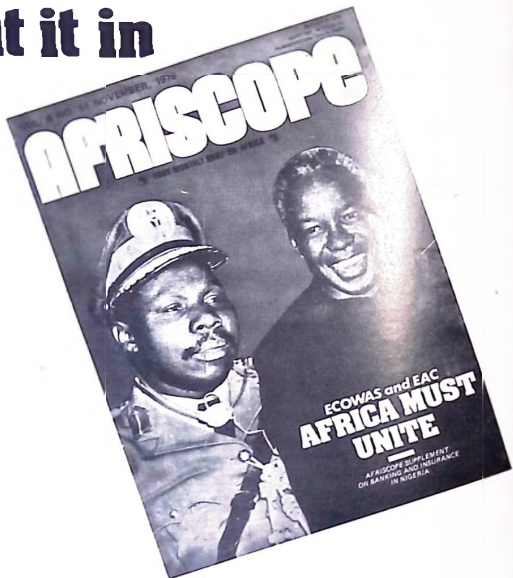


A photograph of a large industrial facility, possibly a power plant or refinery. The central feature is a tall, dark, lattice-structured tower or smokestack. To its right, a long, dark, inclined conveyor belt or chute extends downwards. The base of the structure is surrounded by various pipes, smaller buildings, and some greenery. The sky is bright and clear.

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Theatre In Malawi

AFRICAN—Particularly Malawian—Theatre has not been well served by its students. In his book *The seven Ages of Theatre*, Richard Southern who would never mix up two pieces of moveable scenery, confuses Guinea with New Guinea. Anthony Graham-White in *Black African Theatre*, the inadequate stretching of a thesis on West African theatre to cover the continent, refers to David Rubadiri as a Tanzanian! As far as his text is concerned, Malawi, thus robbed of Rubadiri is a theatrical void.

There are no excuses for Southern's kind of ignorance. There are for Graham-White's for he has shown himself to be a diligent student of African theatre in his work on other countries, and there is indeed a dearth of internationally—and even locally—available material on Malawian theatre. This is partly because of the ephemeral nature of drama. Partly because those who are most concerned with theatre sometimes feel compelled to make it rather than to write about it. Partly because the most vital critical debate about specific performances is among those who have witnessed them. Plays performed at the University of Malawi are sometimes reviewed in student journals, in short-lived literary magazines and in critical broadsheets. Unless the Librarians are alert these evaporate, and in any case they never leave the country systematically.

Because of the lack of 'available' information it is possible to think that there is no drama in Malawi and that there has never been any. This would be wrong. It is my intention here to suggest the course of the development of drama in Malawi. The account will be partly impressionistic, partly a listing of productions, theatrical events and sources. It will begin with a survey of Nyau, and then consider the contribution of the University—particularly since 1972. In the Nyau cult, a tradition shared with Eastern Zambia, Malawi has a highly developed indigenous form of theatre which has its roots deep in basic myths and its branches heavy with contemporary phenomena. In its Schools' Drama Festival Malawi has a nation-wide celebration in which the organizers have taken the opportunity to encour-

age dance drama and vernacular performances. At the University there are more productions each year than there were at the University of Ghana in the late 60's. And the standards, I am assured by a colleague who used to be literary advisor to the Kenyan National Theatre, are higher than those of University productions in Nairobi.

The theatrical qualities of Nyau were recognized by Edward Foa at the end of the last century. Fortunately he not only saw and described some of the masks and animal structures, but he was also told of the creation myth which may well have given the series of encounters, performed their fundamental purpose and form. During the colonial period the diversity of the masks and the creativity which produced them were described by a Provincial Commissioner, W.H.J. Rangely, but he did not appreciate the unity of the five day performance. Partly, perhaps, because in Nkhosakhotla district, where he did his research, the importance of the creation myth was not clearly appreciated by the cult members—or not of great significance. Rangely, however, recognized the theatricality of some of the episodes and described them as 'small plays.' It was not until Mathew Schoffeleers, a Dutch Missionary, later a Senior Lecturer at the University of Malawi, presented his Ph.D. thesis to the University of Oxford that the full complexity of the Nyau drama—among the Mang'anya at least—was described. The cult, he argued, is of great antiquity, and the performances embody the most fundamental concepts of the community in language and symbolism of the greatest expressiveness. The cult is developing organically, both through the basically serious masks and structures which may represent elephants or lake steamers and through the Akapoli, which provide an opportunity for humorous embellishment.

Following a conference on 'Drama in Malawi' in 1974, there was a move to establish a 'Nyau Working Group' at the University to study the contribution the cult could make to the theatre, but nothing has come out of it. Indeed the relationship of the Nyau to the stage remains a sensitive issue, as the account of a production of Steve

Chimombo's *The Rainmaker* in my conclusion makes clear.

Post secondary drama has, almost inevitably, been centred on the University, and before indicating what has happened it is convenient to give a brief account of the structure of the University of Malawi. At its inception, in 1964, there were five constituent colleges in the University: Bunda College of Agriculture; Chancellor College, which awarded general degrees in arts, sciences and social sciences; the Institute of Public Administration at Mpemba; the Polytechnic, and Soche Hill (Teachers') College. In 1973 the new campus at Zomba was deemed ready and Chancellor, Mpemba and Soche became 'new' Chancellor College, Zomba.

Bunda, an isolated campus 17 miles from the new Capital City, Lilongwe, and 150 from Zomba, lived, until recently, in the shadow of the other Colleges. It produced plays more suitable for schools or plays already performed by other Colleges. During the last two years, however, under the guidance of Richard Mkwandawire and James Ng'ombe, young members of staff who have also written plays, a more enterprising policy of play selection has been followed and the tradition of student involvement at all levels maintained. During 1975-76 Bunda produced three plays, two by James Ng'ombe and Yon Kon by Pat Maddy. Chancellor was initially dominated by staff producers and their selection was of work by Soyinka, Brecht and Ijimer. Up to the time of the merger at 'new' Chancellor, 'Mpemba' had concentrated on presenting Soyinka. At the Polytechnic in Blantyre there was one production before 1973, a West Africanized version of *The Government Inspector*. But during the last two years, partly because of the recruitment of the enthusiastic producers and talented writers Chris Kamlongera and Innocent Banda, the Polytechnic has done some modest but enterprising productions. Soche, particularly in 1971-72, developed a tradition of presenting plays by students.

I joined the staff of 'old Chancellor' in 1972, a month after term had begun because of delays in getting clearance. My initial plans for productions were

scuttled by the Censorship Board, an institution for which I was in no way prepared. The Censorship Board had been set up in 1968 with far reaching powers in respect of plays—the definition is comprehensive—and all 'plays' have to be approved before they can be performed. In addition to having a play approved a license has to be obtained for every 'theatre' and a permit has to be obtained for each separate performance! In the case of 'theatres' in Community Centres and on other public premises there is a substantial charge for each permit.

Generally my policy has been to encourage student playwrights, actors and producers. I have tried to show that there is an abundance of local material (dramatizations of Swahili and Chewa stories, productions of work by graduates). I have also exposed student authors to relevant foreign playwrights in performance (Sophocles, Shakespeare, Brecht, Ogunyemi, Soyinka). I have endeavoured to bring to the campus as many productions by school and amateur groups as possible (Police Camp Primary School, Masongola Secondary School, the Malimodzi Drama Group, the Bunda Staff Group, etc.) I have toured almost every single campus production at least in the Southern Region, once to the Southern and Central Regions, and once, with a group of over thirty and with seven plays and playlets, to all three regions of the country. By inviting reviews and circulating them as 'travelling theatre critical broadsheets,' by holding post mortems on productions and conferences on drama, I have tried to foster a tradition of organized criticism. By running playwriting competitions, discussing manuscripts, providing typewriting and duplicating facilities I have attempted to encourage playwrights. By making money, costumes, lighting equipment and transport available to student producers, I have helped them to get their own productions into shape and onto the road. I produced *The Forum Scene* from Julius Caesar on an impressive flight of steps near the College Car Park, and after one year on the new campus I was able to peg out, and, under the supervision of Mupa Shumba and with money from the Schimmelpenninck-Campbell Fund, to have constructed the modest, functional Chirunga Open-Air Theatre.

A result of this policy and of enterprising work by colleagues and students was that at the beginning of March 1976 the Second University Drama Festival was held at Chancellor. Bunda was represented by two plays written

by James Ng'ombe, produced and acted by students. The Polytechnic presented a play about producing a play by Innocent Banda, and Chancellor a musical spectacular, written by the Dean of Education, Peter Chiwona. The Major burdens of preparation for the musical were born by a student, Father J. Chaphadzika Chakanza, who wrote the music, was musical director, choir leader and choreographer! Another result of the policy is that a collection of Nine Malawian Plays is now in print. And a third that drama, with football and religion, is a major extramural activity of campus.

It is exciting and frightening to be in Malawi at what seems to be an important period of theatrical development. Exciting because a tradition in the making. Frightening because so few people seem to be aware of the possibilities for development, and because the Censorship Board and other Government agencies may distort the whole national theatre movement.

The limitation of the role of the expatriate, the outsider, was brought home to me in a striking way during the production of *The Rainmaker* by Steve Chimombo. Chimombo has established a local reputation as a short story writer and, with the publication of 'Napolo' in the *Mahlati Review*, is becoming known internationally as a poet. *The Rainmaker* is his first substantial effort for the theatre, an ambitious attempt to dramatize the origin of a rain-making cult and through it to explore some fundamentals of Chewa religion. Not surprisingly, in view of what I said at the beginning about traditional drama, the play requires a performance by Nyau figures, the hunter and the elephant. During rehearsals I was able to work with the hunter and one pair of the elephant's legs to establish the points of entry, the position of drummers and the main outline of the action—the stage-directions demanded that the hunter and the elephant express their harmony by drinking from a single calabash. As the first night approached I gave up hope of having a serious rehearsal of the episode but I was anxious to see how the elephant structure was progressing, and after prolonged negotiations I was taken into the long grass on the edge of the campus to see it. On the day of the performance Chimombo and I were approached by student members of the Nyau cult—not members of our cast but initiates who had been called in to advise on the construction of the elephant—and a performance fee of £5.00 was demanded. It was clear that the whole Nyau

episode was increasingly in the hands of cult members rather costume or property mistress, producer, playwright or cast. In the event negotiations over the sum were still in progress when the performance began and the queue for the entry of the Nyau figures was followed by a pause which could have been dramatic, but which, for me at any rate, seemed to spell disaster. I had just decided that the dancers were not coming when jagged sounds began to cut through the evening air. The lights dimmed—an arrangement between the performers and the lighting operator—and the hunter and the elephant entered to an amazed awestruck delighted audience. The elephant was accompanied by attendants, some appropriately dressed, some not, some known to me, some not. The hunter danced and in his excitement cut an actor across the nose with his hunting axe! The elephant circles, shuffled, dominated and exited—without drinking the symbolic draught! The hunter—he at least had attended rehearsals and knew the episode was part of a larger work—a play—swept up the calabash and gave chase. He re-entered a moment later and returned the calabash indicating as best he could despite his mask that he and the elephant had drunk together. There are a number of postscripts to this episode. One is that the wounded actor was unable to appear in a subsequent scene which consequently stumbled from hiatus to hiatus. Another is that the post-production party was crowded with unfamiliar faces which claimed that they belonged to the elephant's attendants. Here was a statement for the Malawian playwright and the English producer to take to heart.

But though there are areas where the outsider has to come to terms with the power of an indigenous tradition, there are also areas where he can help dismantle the irrelevancies of an imported one. And in this area the fact that he is himself imported may be an asset rather than a disadvantage. Many of the students leave secondary school with only the vaguest notion of traditional theatrical forms and the idea that theatre is an anaemic version of realistic prose drama, in English, on a stage, behind a proscenium arch, before a row of armchairs 'VIPS'. The use of vernaculars, of steps is stages, of the Open Air Theatre, of new symbols and dramatic conventions have all met with opposition. For example, in my production of *The Beginning*, a dramatization of Swahili creation myths, I used applique banners to represent the Sun, the Moon and

the Tree of Knowledge of Procreation of Life. On the first night, however, the banner with the stylized tree, leaves and fruit was discarded and I watched with amazement from the back of the auditorium as the tree bearer entered with a branch torn from a tree just outside the stage door. When I challenged him, he said it was more realistic.

While exploring the indigenous traditions, the foreign producer can profitably expose his audiences, local playwrights, and actors, to a range of relevant traditions from abroad. There will in any case, by many points at which stylization of the Nyau masquerade finds an echo in an alien tradition. This, I think, is accepted by the promising crop of Malawian writer-

producers who are already established: James Ng'ombe, Innocent Banda, Chris Kamlongera, Chaphakidza Chakanza and Steve Chimombo. Chimombo recently wrote: "Living through a hybrid civilization as we are, a fusion of the traditional dramatic forms with modern techniques of stage-craft seems to be the only way of creating a truly Malawian theatre."

POEMS

STORY OF LOVE Part 1 & 2 by Funso Aiyejina

AFTER THE LAST SHOT

(For Ososo, Dupe, and the Future)

Does the fire that consume the king
and his palace
Ever remain the exclusive sorrow of
his household?
Where does the town turn when the
king-makers
Demand the beaded crown and the
staff of office
When a new king is found?
And what will the new kind eat if not
the old?
What will he eat ?

The child who over-turns his lunch
in anger
Because it is not big enough
Will surely know hunger
Before the chickens go to roost.

Give us weight, the burden of the
elephant, to stay firm on earth.

The men that walk with their manhood
Between their emancipated thighs,
The dogs that stand with punchless
howls
And frail tails between their hinder
limbs,
The limp he-goats that tease the
heated she-goats—
Whose masquerades are these
Whose head gears have descended to
their feet ?

The masquerade that stays out for
too long
Always comes home with exposed
toes
And the crab that sleeps carelessly
Becomes the doomed companion of
the reckless flood.

Give us lightness, the pride of the
eagle, to escape adversaries.

A water fall
Can it be a fall if it does not fall?
Can the music make without the falling
water?
Unless the torrents tear through the
checking craters
Can they ever descend to the foot of

Oruku

To water the baked farmlands
And open the gates for the promise of
tomorrow ?

Put past flames past your tender
mind,
The rods that catch Sango's stray
flames
Can they ever catch the god himself?
Become, therefore, the god's own
goddess and strike
With your pent-up love and emotion
If this be the day and the hour
For how many past heart breaks
Shall we continue to recall
And how much of the water of river
Niger
Can we drink before we die?

Give us weight for stability and wings
for flight,
Give us voices for words that will not
sound vacuously
Like a ringing phone in an empty room,
Let ours not be like the decorative
front piece
That opens unto a filthy backyard.

But let us float
Above the smouldering flames of
our time,
Let us float
Above the guilt ridden gales of our
age,
This age of silent adults
And talking infants,
This time of public promises
And private retrievals,
Let us float
Like two copulating butterflies
Atop a mid-day heap of cow dung.

For except by refilling
How else can we make full
An empty bottle ?

FOR THIS OCCASION (For Dupe)

If the star says no
Does it forget that the moon exists?
If the moon hides under frail clouds
Will the sun not rise with a new dawn?...

For this occasion
Give us voices

The song we already have
The egrets are on the horizon,
The herd boys are home
Tried but cheerful,
The cows have come home

For this occasion
Give us voices
The song we already have

The party is over
The fun seekers have departed,
The river has wandered
And found its way to the ocean . . .

For this occasion
Give us voices
The song we already have
The crawling snail and its shell
Same direction ever they will tread,
The living tortoise and its shell
Who can separate them?

For this occasion
Give us voices
The song we already have

On the ascent of a hill
Do we not stand high above it?
At the end of the rainbow
There lies the golden egg

For this occasion
Give us voices
The song we already have

Tell the hunters to go home
Now the squirrel is up the tree,
Tell the drummers to strike a tune
For the union of two hearts

For this occasion
Give us voices
The song we already have

Sail on mast
Give us motion

For this occasion

Sail blown full
Blast us alive

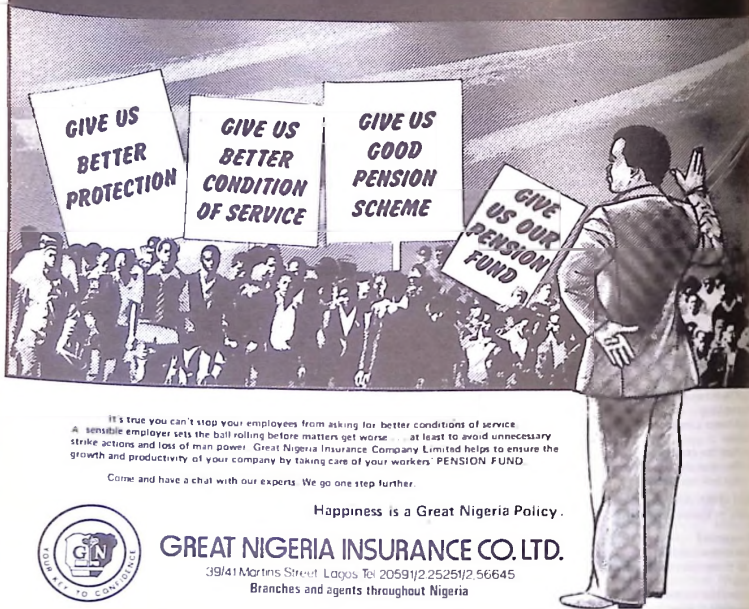
Give us voices

Mastsail on ship
Propel us forward

The song we already have.

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POEMS

STREETS OF THE DARK CITY

On the streets of the city
When the night covers her with sweat
Spraying her with deep sorrow
You see her in bowed domesticity
Staring at crevices
You think she is at rest
But she is on fire!

On the streets of the city
When darkness atracts
Her marble statue
The spiral offspring
Wracks it in disobedience
And all nature falls
From a past far away, far away
And drowns in memories
Its shores of amber

Awake or sleeping still
The past rises on every wall
Of clay, of diamond and of greed
The night dozes and the day is serene
Arranging candles against the dark.

There the blood of calm is dry
The aridity of the sepulcher.
The centre of the city becomes
Despicable
Like an oven in noonday heat
Like a lamp in the way of the blind
Like Africa in the darkness of the ages

Like an old woman covered with incense
And the pit of a great fire
The beak of an owl
Horns of animals
Spells from the prayer of the past
A dark night full of mirrors
The naked dance of blacks
Singing of black joys
Innocent of wrong
Insomniating the greed of the master

Ships loaded with beautiful slaves
With musk, with ivory and with saffron
Gifts out of the season of celebrations
The winds bear them at all times
To the whites of these times
The masters of all time

Fields spread in the imagination of
existence
To clothe the naked, strip the naked
Sadness runs in the veins of life
Tinged in the colour of water
Daubed in the face of the Gods
She grows into the tyrant
Into the slave
Into iron
Into chains
And grows each day.

But when darkness builds
On the streets of the city
Barriers of black rock
They spread their hands calmly
To the battlements of tomorrow

They are the groans of prisons
In the land of prisons
Their days are memories of vilification
In the land of vilification
Their faces like their palms, sad.

You see her head bowed in calmness
Staring at crevices
You think her at rest
But she is on fire.

by Muhammad al-Fayturi
(translated from the Arabic
by Kole Omotoso).

KIDNAPPED

I was six when
Mama was careless
She sent me to school
alone
five days a week
One day I was kidnapped by a band
of Western philosophers
armed with glossy-pictured
textbooks and
registered reputations
'Holder of B.A.
and M.A. degrees'
I was held
in a classroom
guarded by Churchill and Garibaldi
pinned up on one wall
and
Hitler and Mao dictating
from the other.

Guevara pointed a revolution
at my brains
from his 'Guerrilla Warfare'
Each three-month term
they sent threats to
my Mama and Papa

Mama and Papa loved
their son and
paid ransom fees
each time

Each time
Mama and Papa grew
poorer and poorer
and my kidnappers grew
richer and richer
I grew whiter and whiter

On my release
fifteen years after
I was handed
(among loud applause
from fellow victims)
a piece of paper
to decorate my walls
certifying my release

by Ruperaka Pataia
Western Samoa.

HONOURING THE HUNTERS
OF OLD

Extracts from a Yoruba folkpoetry:

The Hunters are gone, we don't see the
hunters again. . . .
They heard meat sells in Heaven, they
went a-hunting away
All the hunters with whose honour we
walked
They are all gone
It's death who killed them—they went
nowhere!

They have all gone, OI
They have all gone
All the hunters with whose honour we
walked
They have all gone!

Four Choruses I

Ogun is god, do not betray
Ogun is god, do not betray
Who know Ogun, so not betray
Ogun is god, do not betray.

II

Ogun, go with me there to the distant
forest
Ogun, bless me with a bounteous kill
So my wife may feed
Ogun, go with me to the distant forests.

III

He is only looking for shame
He is only looking for shame
The stick-gatherer bearing Ode
He is looking for shame

IV

Ogun, send a snake to him at home
Ogun, send a snake to him at home
The back-slider who back-slides in my
absence
Ogun send a snake to him at home.

(Translated by B. Bayo, Mayflower,
Ikenne)

Silence Will Speak

SILENCE WILL SPEAK: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and His Relationship with Karen Blixen; —By Errol Trzebinski, Heinemann, 1977, p. 348

Reviewed by William R. Ochieng, Kenyatta University, Nairobi.

One of the few movies that have continued to pull huge Nairobi crowds in recent years is Rayan's Daughter. It is based on an infectious love between a bored Irish housewife and an English soldier. As I read Errol Trzebinski's book, *Silence Will Speak*, I could not help contrasting the love between Karen Blixen and Denys Finch Hatton with those rapturous love scenes in this movie.

Errol Trzebinski has truly given us a key with which to unlock the secret corridor to Karen Blixen's Inner world. Married to Baron Bror Blixen, Karen did not know love and happiness until she had met Denys. As she puts it: "To Denys Finch Hatton I owe what was, I think, the most transporting pleasure of my life

At first one feels let down by this turn-of-coat housewife, but the irregular ways of her husband, and the fact that he had even given her a venereal disease makes one sympathise with this great lady of letters. Transplanted from her homeland to a farm at the foot of the Ngong Hills she often felt the excruciating pangs of loneliness. She later wrote: "At times, life on the farm was very lonely, and in the stillness of the evenings when the minutes dripped from the clock, life seemed to be dripping out of you with them, just for the want of white people to talk to. But all the same I felt the silent, over-shadowed existence of the Natives running parallel with my own, on a different plane. Echoes went from one to the other."

She needed to escape from her loneliness—her trampled aspirations of happiness. If possible she needed the attention of a man who was superior to her, not only socially but publicly, intellectually, spiritually, and physically. She needed someone reliable and responsible: "a sensitive man who was capable also of taking her hand and flying with her to her enchanted realms of fantasy through the imagination."

Denys Finch Hatton, whose biography is the cornerstone of this book, fulfilled all these sub-conscious yearnings of this legendary woman at the precise moment in time when she was most vulnerable as a woman. She gave him all her love.

The world loves and forgives true

lovers, whether these are Romeo and Juliet, Antony and Cleopatra, or Samson and Delilah. In this world of intrigues, infidelity, uncertainty, boredom and alienation, it is always difficult to find a safe place to lay one's head, a wife or husband to love, a person to whom one can cry: "Give me enough and more than enough. My heart is bored to thee now, and I will not let thee go except you bless me..."

The above quote comes from Karen Blixen's book, *Out of Africa*. I can still remember that I had first read it when I was in the first form at the Alliance High School, Kikuyu. The book struck me as very well written. I learnt from Carey Francis that the stories that were contained in the book were true account of what had happened only a few miles to the South of the School. Kenya then was just emerging from the traumatic experience of the Emergency. I could not believe that a white person could write so affectionately about the African people. The way she described the Kenyan landscape, the way she wrote about her labourers and those Africans who visited her farm softened something in my soul towards her.

I particularly remember her graphic reminiscences about the old Paramount Chief Kinyanjui of the Kikuyu, whom she described as her good friend. When Kinyanjui bought his first car he drove it to Karen Blixen's Ngong Farm to show off. She later wrote: "I found Kinyanjui sitting up straight in the car, immovable as an idol. He had a large cloak of blue monkey skins, and on his head a skull-cap. He was always an impressive figure, tall and broad, with no fat on him anywhere, his face too was proud, long and bony, with a slanting forehead like that of a Red Indian. He had a broad nose, so expressive that it looked like the central point of the man, as if the whole stately figure was there only to carry the broad nose about. Like the trunk of an elephant it was both boldly inquisitive and extremely sensitive and prudent, intensively on the offensive, and on the defensive as well. And an elephant, finally, like Kinyanjui, would have a head of the very greatest nobility if he did not look so clever."

One day Kinyanjui got stone drunk, during one of his many visits to the farm. Karen Blixen was immediately called: "Kinyanjui is dead." She rushed out to see him. Kinyanjui was lying on the ground in the shade of the kitchen, with no expression whatever in his face, with blue lips and fingers, dead-cold. Karen later wrote: "It was like having shot an elephant; by act of yours a mighty and majestic creature, which has walked the earth, and held his own opinions of everything, is walking it no more. He looked degraded as well, for the Kikuyu had poured water over him, and had taken off him his big cloak of monkey-skin. Naked he was, like an animal when you have cut from it the trophy, for the sake of which you have killed it."

An hour later, when Karen was still figuring out the possible consequences of Kinyanjui's "death" on her farm, her servants rushed in to announce that Kinyanjui had gone home. She wrote: "It seemed that he had suddenly got up, draped his cloak about him, and his retainers round him, and had walked off, the nine miles to his village, without a word."

Even as a first-former at high school I did not fail to appreciate the magic of her prose and her supreme gift as a story-teller. It is not surprising that every time Denys Finch Hatton came to the farm he would immediately ask: "Have you got a story?" In the evenings he would make himself comfortable, spreading cushions like a couch in front of the fire, and with Karen sitting on the floor, cross-legged like Scherazade herself, he would listen, clear-eyed, to a long tale, from when it began until it ended.

A No-Hero

I must confess that Errol Trzebinski writes well, in fact very well. Yet, although I enjoyed reading *Silence Will Speak*, living with the author through Karen Blixen's romantic days at her Ngong Hills Farm, I kept asking myself: What is the intrinsic value of this biography? No doubt the former white settlers and their children will find this book extremely interesting. In it they will re-live their former glories at the Norfolk and the Muthaiga Club, their former dominant, aristocratic and lordly life—a life in which "the house Niggers" like Kamante, Farah, Lulu and Kinuthia served on bended knees.

No, the African reader will not find this book amusing. It can only remind him of the dark days when he was a dog in his own country, the days when Galbraith Cole would wantonly kill a

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Maasai for skinning one of his sheep and yet refuse to apologize before the Colonial Court.

Denys Finch Hatton himself is only important to us because he was the boyfriend of Karen Blixen—the maternalistic and benevolent owner of the Karen Farm. The author of this book is labouring under the illusion that Hatton was a great man. It is difficult to discern in him any qualities of greatness. One is not great simply because one is "of noble lineage." This is a terribly reactionary way of looking at life. One is not great simply because the biographer says so. Nor is one great simply because "he is a jolly good fellow." No. The greatness of man arises from one's spiritual leadership, compassionate intuition and the breadth and justness of one's vision.

Denys Finch Hatton may have been the Prince Charming of the white settler blondes, the guy who "one would have gone to the ends of the earth for. . ." But to us, Africans, he will always remain another "White settler," the friend of Berkeley and Galbraith Cole, Hugh Martin, Lord Delamere, Uncle Charles Bulpitt, Frank Greswolde-Williams, Rose Buxton and her brother Geoffrey—those great settler giants who bestrode our land like colossi.

Denys Finch Hatton hardly participated fundamentally in the political life of Kenya. Perhaps he falls among those who came to Kenya "with the explicit intention of taking away as

much as possible and in the shortest possible time." He was always on the run, purchasing land, forming partnerships or buying cattle from the Somali and selling them at huge profits. "The businesses in which he had vested interests were geographically widespread so that he was away a good deal attending to them although he turned this necessity to advantage, treating the great distances between his farms, and trading stores as minor safaris. His string of dukas were scattered across the Maasai Reserve. He was also Managing Director of Kipligiet Ltd., formed originally to buy land for development with Tich Mites and four others."

When he was not making quick money he was either busy boozing at the Muthaiga Club, or listening attentively to ditties at Karen Blixen's Ngong Hills Farm, or out on Safari, mowing down African wild game. Fellow settlers always hoped to get him into politics but he would not even consider it, "disappearing into the bush to get away from it all." This is not my idea of a great man. At best this is an outstanding biography of a profiteer, a person whose only claim to greatness is based on his former love connection with a benevolent settler woman who later became famous through her supreme gift as a story-teller into a vibrant re-creation of the beauties of the African landscape and the ways of the land and its people.

attempt to stem the tide of emigration that was bound to come to his part as a result of the disclosures at Lohrho made his famous statement to the effect that Lohrho had portrayed to the public the 'unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism.' Lohrho Ltd., a company with octopuslike tentacles all over Africa, both 'free' and 'occupied' areas, first came into African limelight in 1974 when it sought to become the oil consultant to the Organisation of African Unity. And as we all remember, this bid led to the resignation of the then Secretary-General of the O.A.U. Mr. Nzo Bongo and the deserved loss of the consultancy by Lohrho Ltd. The reason for the loss was of course the proven connections of Lohrho Ltd. to the economic domination of the West and the white enclaves of Southern Africa, of which more later.

What are Lohrho's Nigerian connections? 'In 1968, the year of Lohrho's expansion into Ghana and Zambia, acquired David Whitehead and Sons (Holdings) Ltd., a British textile firm with mills in Malawi, Rhodesia, South Africa and Nigeria. The Nigerian factory, Kaduna Textiles, was then the biggest in West Africa.' (p.4) That, of course, is not all. In May 1969, Lohrho acquired John Holt for about eight million pounds sterling. "An interesting aspect of the takeover was that it stated Lohrho's intention: 'that John Holt will be continued under its existing identity.'" (see *West Africa* 22 March 1969, p.333.). To continue the quote:

'So strictly was this intention adhered to that most Nigerians were completely unaware that the company had changed hands, and there was no reason for reassuring statements that Lohrho was practically divorced from its southern African background, such as to be issued in Ghana and elsewhere' (p.47). To refresh your memory John Holt owns controlling shares in J. Allen (motor distributors) and Phoenix Motors (Nig.) Ltd. Other public enterprises of John Holt include West African Drug Company, Holt Maritime Enterprises and Holt's Transport. John Holt also has shares in Costain, a construction company. Finally, this should ring a very recent bell indeed. . . . In May 1973 Rowland Chief Executive of Lohrho Ltd. expressed hopes of exporting Nigerian natural gas to the United States in partnership with an American firm (p.47).

Which brings us to the recently held anti-apartheid conference in Lagos. We all remember that there was lit-

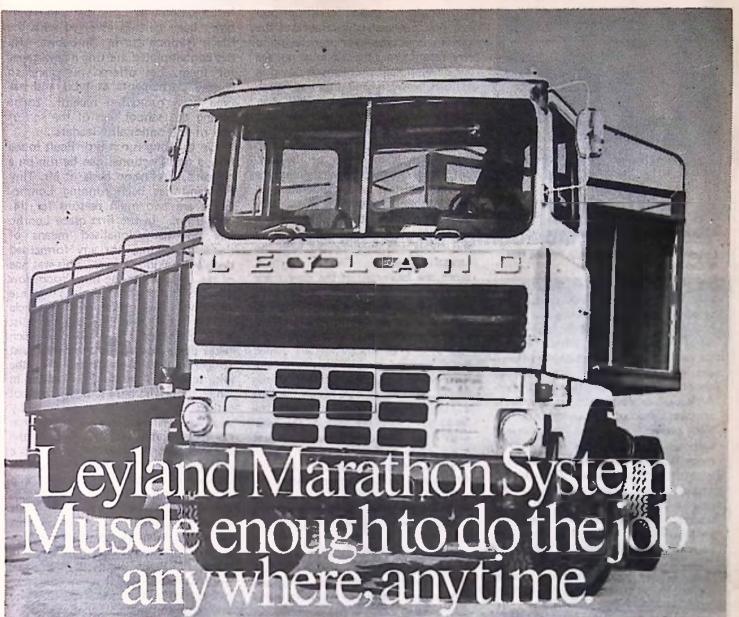
The Unacceptable Face Of Capitalism

Title of Book: LONRHO: Portrait of a multinational (316 pp)
Authors: Cronje, Ling and Cronje
Publishers: (Julian Friedmann Books in association with Penguin Books)
Price: (In Nigeria) about ₦10.20
Reviewer: Kole Omosoto, University of Ife, Ife-Ife.

Before the editor takes his pencil to cancel my present title for this review essay, let me say that 'the unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism' was how the then British Conservative Prime Minister Mr. Edward Heath described the disclosures from the Lohrho boardroom crisis of 1973.

The Conservative Government under Edward Heath in 1973 made much of the selfishness of trade unions in de-

manding wage increases instead of working selflessly, sacrificing for the economy of Britain whose health was not in a particularly enviable position. While they were using this against the workers, the Lohrho boardroom row exposed the fact that big shots in the Conservative party were being paid large amounts for doing nothing as board members of multinational corporations. Not only this: It was shown by the contending parties within Lohrho that much of this money paid out to important public figures including Duncan Sandys were paid into tax havens, thus escaping being taxed in Britain. Such contradictions between the pronouncements of the leadership and their public as well as their verifiable private lives does not go unnoticed by the masses of the people. It was this time that Edward Heath, in an



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Lonrho's boss Mr. Rowland... smiling face of Capitalism?

attempt on the part of the hosts of that conference to give details and place of importance to the economic exploitation which is at the base of the racial policies of South Africa. Rather we had a situation in which we offered the West the terrible alternative to choose between exploiting us in black Africa or exploiting us in the white enclaves of occupied black Africa. We also pointed out, and they agreed with us, that the West now has far more business with black Africa than with the white enclaves. This offer of exploitation is either hopefully, on our side, a ploy to gain time and secure weapons while we lull the enemy into a sense of security or else a West promoted point of view reminiscent of the end of the Atlantic slave trade when the call was for exploitation in situ, slavery in our own lands rather than exploitation in the Americas. To which our men jumped, for, was it not a step forward? The question they did not ask collectively then (for it would be a mistake to say that some of our leaders of opinion of that time did not ask the question) the question which we must not forget to ask ourselves now is 'If this offer of self-exploitation is a step forward, forward towards what, in what direction? To think of the ensuing situation as settled would be creating another hurdle which we shall not be able to consider for another century.

It is in the light of the foregoing information and comments that the book under review deserves the widest possible dissemination especially in Nigeria in the present times of constitution making and calls for the return of our traditional value systems, calls which ignore the concretisation of the aims by insisting against all traditional practice, to hold land individually, capitalist world without end! It is also relevant to make this book available

as compulsory reading for all our present political leadership as well as the aspiring ones who have been saying in very recent times that we must not see our development problems as posed in a choice between capitalism and socialism. Rather, we should, rather than make a choice, return to our traditional values, values which they see only in non-material terms in a time when materialism is the order of the day. But worse than this oversight is the grievous mistake and deliberate misrepresentation which they commit by this simplistic reductionism which seems to say that we have been away and above and unconnected with the capitalist system. This is not true. Since the beginning of the slave trade we have been part and parcel, peripheral but basic to the growth, development and consolidation of capitalism. For recent evidence look at the portrait of one of many western owned multi-national companies in the world. The details are there as well as the names. This is a book which the Left in this country must translate into the languages of the majority of the inhabitants of this country who do not speak or write English and who have been summarily dismissed by the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly as not being capable of understanding a document which is to regulate the material relationships in their own country.

What kind of a company is Lonrho? Lonrho believes in operating through the highest political personalities and the bourgeoisie elite of the third world countries in which it has business. At the same time, Lonrho has booming business in both Zimbabwe and South Africa. Lonrho's philosophy of business is that while political orders can be permitted to change, economic status quo must be maintained. This

is the reason why Lonrho has in recent times been getting involved with the Black Nationalists in Zimbabwe. He has contemplated starting a newspaper for them, has offered his plane to convey participants at talks and has even been rumoured recently to be paying the school fees of the son of one of the nationalist leaders.

On the long run it is difficult to see how a multi-national can be run on a personal, first-name basis as Mr. Tiny Rowland has been running Lonrho. There are two main reasons for this conclusion. In the first place Lonrho has no institutionalised means of decision making, nor any formalised decision making process. This was one of the reasons for the boardroom crisis of 1973. In the second place it is true that any sincere anti-imperialist struggle MUST turn into an anti-capitalist struggle. The radicalisation which takes place during the anti-imperialist struggle unless it is stemmed by the elite invariably leads to a situation in which those who have struggled are not satisfied by replacing one exploiter by another. While the first reason has been adequately borne out in the experience of Lonrho, the second is a long term issue. Depending as it does on personal contact with the leadership of the countries which interest Lonrho, Mr. Rowland has found many doors closed to him as soon as his personal friend has been deprived of his high political position. Justin Bomboko in Zaire, Ali Wally in Egypt, (both men were Ministers) and Gowon of Nigeria who had entertained Mr. Tiny Rowland at Dodan Barracks.

The socialist direction of the political economic policies of the governments of Mocambique and Angola prove that any sincere anti-imperialist struggle must become an anti-capitalist one. A luta continual!



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**FEDERAL MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
FEDERAL ADVANCED TEACHERS' COLLEGES AT
OKENE, PANKSHIN, YOLA, ABEOKUTA AND
KATSINA**

ADMISSIONS: SEPTEMBER 1978

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for admission to the Federal Advanced Teachers' Colleges—Okene, Pankshin, Yola, Abeokuta and Katsina for a three-year course leading to the Nigerian Certificate of Education (N.C.E.). Applicants must have the following minimum qualifications:

- Either (a) A West African School Certificate with a Pass in English Language and a credit in at least three subjects including each of the special subjects to be offered for the N.C.E.
- Or (b) A General Certificate of Education in at least five subjects including a Pass in English Language obtained at not more than two sittings, provided that two of the subjects are to be offered for the N.C.E.
- Or (c) A Grade II Teachers' Certificate with a merit in each of the special subjects to be offered for the N.C.E. obtained at a single sitting.

The following are the combinations of special subjects which the colleges will consider for entry, noting that the first subject could be combined with any other where there are more than two.

1. Agricultural Science Double Major
2. Business Studies Double Major
3. Technical Studies Double Major
4. Home Economics Double Major
5. Fine Art Double Major
6. English/History/Geography
7. English/French
8. English/Music
9. History/French
10. History/Geography
11. Maths/Geography
12. P.E./Biology
13. Maths/Chemistry
14. Maths/Physics
15. Biology/Chemistry
16. Physics/Chemistry
17. Islamic Studies/Arabic
18. Christian Religious Studies/Yoruba/Ibo/English
19. English/Yoruba/Hausa/Ibo
20. Islamic Studies/Hausa/Yoruba/Ibo/English.

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF HEALTH

FOOD AND DRUGS ADMINISTRATION AND LABORATORY SERVICES

drugs and cosmetics or any articles capable of being used for the preparation, manufacture, storage, preservation or packaging of drugs and cosmetics, for compliance with the provisions of the Food and Drugs Decree and the regulations; inspection of any premises where drugs and cosmetics are prepared, manufactured, preserved, stored or sold and examination of books, records or documents pertaining to these products; taking of samples for laboratory examination, evaluating results of analysis and undertaking any actions as may be appropriate.

(xiv) DRUG REGISTRAR GRADE II

Assists the Senior members of the cadre in the performance of their duties. Some of the duties which may be assigned to him include acting as Secretary of committees and sub-committees on Drugs and Cosmetics of the Food and Drugs Advisory Council; literature studies and collation of information pertaining to drug actions; advisory services to consumers on matters of compliance with the Food and Drugs Decree and the regulations as they affect drugs and cosmetics etc.

QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE

(i) ASSISTANT DIRECTOR (LABORATORY SERVICES)

A good honours degree or equivalent professional qualification in any branch of the chemical sciences followed by post-graduate training and experience in the analysis and evaluation of food, drugs, water, poison or general industrial products, extending over a period of not less than 10 years. Candidates who have been designated Food and Drugs Analysts under the Food and Drugs Decree 1974, will be given preference.

(ii) ASSISTANT DIRECTOR (DRUG CONTROL SERVICES)

A good honours degree or equivalent professional qualifications in any branch of the chemical (including pharmaceutical) or biological sciences together with post-graduate training and experience in research, production or quality control of drugs extending over a period of not less than 10 years. A degree in Pharmacy or designation as Drug Analyst under the Food and Drugs Decree will have an added advantage.

(iii) CHIEF FOOD INSPECTING OFFICER

A degree or an equivalent professional qualifications in the chemical or biological sciences followed by not less than ten years practical experience of food processing or quality control. A degree in Food Science/Technology will have an added advantage.

(iv) PRINCIPAL FOOD INSPECTING OFFICER

A degree or an equivalent professional qualification in any of the Chemical or Biological sciences together with not less than 7 years relevant experience in food processing or quality control. A degree in Food Sciences/Technology will have an added advantage.

(v) PRINCIPAL DRUG INSPECTING OFFICER

A degree or an equivalent professional qualification in any of the Chemical or Biological sciences together with not less than 7 years relevant experience in drug manufacture or quality control. A degree in Pharmacy will have an added advantage.

(vi) PRINCIPAL DRUG REGISTRAR

A degree of equivalent qualification in any of the Chemical or Biological sciences together with not less than 7 years appropriate experience in research, produc-

continued

tion or quality control of drugs. A degree in Pharmacy or Pharmacology will be an added advantage.

(vii) **SENIOR FOOD INSPECTING OFFICER**

As for principal Drug Inspecting Officer but with not less than 5 years post graduate experience.

(viii) **SENIOR DRUG INSPECTION OFFICER**

As for Principal Drug Registrar but with not less than 5 years post graduate experience.

(ix) **SENIOR DRUG REGISTRAR**

As for Principal Drug Registrar but with not less than 5 years post graduate experience.

(x) **SENIOR DRUG REGISTRAR**

A good honours degree in Microbiology followed by not less than five years post graduate experience in microbiological research or control of food or drugs.

(xi) **DRUG INSPECTING OFFICER, GRADE 1**

As for Principal Drug Inspecting Officer but with not less than 3 years post graduate experience.

(xii) **DRUG REGISTRAR GRADE 1**

As for Principal Drugs Registrar but with not less than 3 years post graduate experience.

(xiii) **DRUG INSPECTING OFFICER II**

A degree from a recognised university or an equivalent professional qualification in any of the Chemical or Biological Sciences.

(xiv) **DRUG REGISTRARS, GRADE II**

As for Drug Inspecting Officer Grade II under item xiii above.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

The posts are pensionable and in the case of new entrants into the service, appointment will normally be on probation for two years. Other conditions of service will be as prescribed for the time being for officers of equivalent grades in the Federal Public Service.

METHOD OF APPLICATION

Application from candidates not in Government Service should be completed in duplicate on Form FPSCI obtainable from the Secretary to the Federal or any of the states Public Service Commissions. Applications from candidates in Government Service should be submitted in letter form through their respective Heads of Departments and the appropriate Service Commission and be accompanied by copies of Confidential Reports for the last three years.

CLOSING DATE:

All applications should be submitted to reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Independence Building, Lagos, Nigeria not later than 13th February, 1978.

Notes:

- (i) Applicants offering two Science subjects are required to have a W.A.S.C. pass or its equivalent in Mathematics.
- (ii) Applicants offering English as one of the two special subject options must have, in addition to the English Language qualification, A W.A.S.C. credit or its equivalent in English Literature.
- (iii) Applicants offering Agricultural Science must have at least a Pass in English Language and W.A.S.C. Credits, or their equivalent, in Biology/Chemistry:
- (iv) Applicants offering English/Music or P.E./Biology must, apart from possessing the qualification for the course in English or Biology, have at least two other WASC Credits or their equivalents. In addition, they are expected to show an aptitude in their other subject.
- (v) Applicants offering Home Economics are required to have WASC pass or equivalent in English Language and in addition:
Either
a) WASC Credit or equivalent in any two of the following subjects: Biology, Chemistry, General Science, Physics;
Or
b) WASC Credit or equivalent in one of the following subjects: Biology, Chemistry, General Science, Health Science, Physics plus WASC Credit or equivalent in one of the following subjects: Art, Cookery, Economics, Geography, Home Management, Mathematics, Needlework;
- (c) Grade II Teachers' Certificate with a merit in any one of the following subjects: Applied Biology, Cookery, General Science, Home Management, Needlework plus Merit in one other non-Home Economics subject and obtained at a single sitting.
- (vi) Applicants offering Commercial Studies are required to have WASC including credits in at least two Commercial subjects and a pass in English Language
- (vii) Applicants offering Technical Studies are required to have EITHER (a) a WASC including credits in Physics, Mathematics and preferably one Technical subject and a pass in English Language OR (b) City and Guilds Intermediate Certificate in Engineering/Building Trades.
- (viii) Applicants offering Islamic Studies/Arabic are required to have a WASC including credits in I.R.K. and Arabic and a pass in English Language OR a Grade II Certificate with merits in I.R.K. and Arabic obtained at a single sitting.

CONDITIONS OF TRAINING

Each successful candidate will receive Federal

Bursary Award covering:

- (a) Tuition fee
- (b) Boarding fee
- (c) Teaching Practice allowance
- (d) Transport during college holidays
- (e) Book allowance
- (f) Up-keep allowance of ₦10 monthly during term.

SELECTION OF CANDIDATES

This will be by interview and tests. Only candidates sponsored by a State Government will be considered for admission.

SPONSORSHIP:

Candidates seeking Sponsorship should forward their completed application forms to the Ministry of Education of their State of origin for onward transmission to the Principal of the F.A.T.C. of their first choice.

METHOD OF APPLICATION

Application forms are obtainable from State Ministries of Education at Ibadan, Benin City, Maiduguri, Enugu, Kaduna, Port Harcourt, Calabar, Ilorin, Kano, Sokoto, Jos, Owerri, Yola, Abeokuta, Bauchi, Minna, Makurdi and from Lagos State Ministry of Education (216 Broad Street), Lagos and also from the Principal:

1. Federal Advanced Teachers' College, P. M. B. 27, Pankshin, Plateau State.
2. Federal Advanced Teachers' College, P. M. B. 1026, Okene, Kwara State.
3. Federal Advanced Teachers' College, P. M. B. 2042, Yola, Gongola State.
4. Federal Advanced Teachers' College, P. M. B. 2096, Abeokuta, Ondo State.
5. Federal Advanced Teachers' College, P. M. B. 2041, Katsina, Kaduna State.

The forms will be sent only on receipt of a self-addressed envelope (9" x 4") bearing a 5k stamp. Application forms should be accompanied by a non-refundable crossed postal order for ₦3.00 addressed to the Principal of the F.A.T.C. of applicant's first choice. All sponsored applications are to be forwarded with photostat copies of Certificate(s) to reach the Principal of College of first choice not later than 15th February, 1978.

Permanent Secretary,
Federal Ministry of Education.

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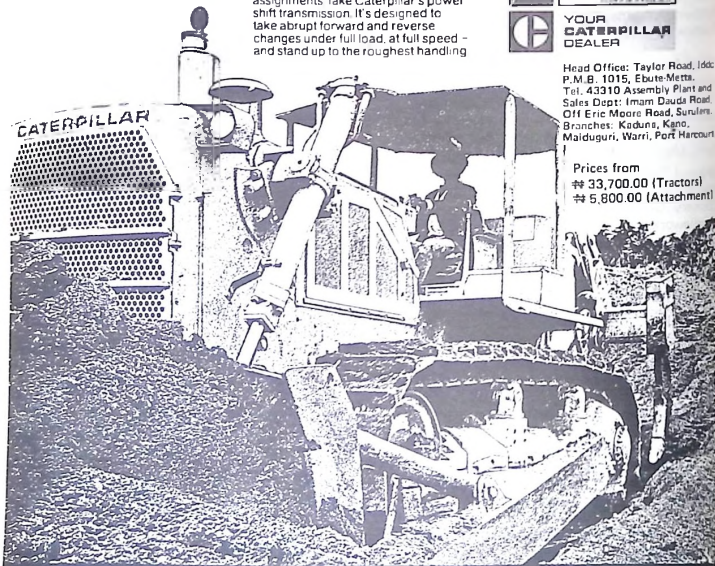
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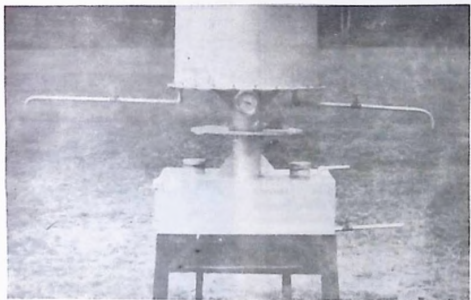
₦ 5,800.00 (Attachment)





GERM FREE WATER

At the ACROW Stand outside Hall 4 at the fair, NOMAD, the water purifier was displayed. Compact and versatile, it contains a filter unit that can handle up to 200 gallons of water per hour. Tests, claims the manufacturers, have proved that water from the NOMAD is 100% germ free.



ALCOHOL DISTILLATION

At the Federal Institute of Industrial Research (FIIR) stand, an apparatus for distillation of Alcohol From Palm wine was featured. Designed by the institute, the apparatus consists of a metal Pot where the fermented Palm wine is heated and a Cooling Chamber where the vapour is cooled after passing through a packed column which prevent heat loss. It was developed mainly

as an improvement on the traditional village distillation process.

PIPE INSTALLATION

A new pipe-installation system was featured by Britain's P.E.K. Rubbe and Plastics Limited. Named ROTOSTOCK, this new equipment is versatile and eliminates wasteful measuring.

Claims the manufacturers "there is no

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COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

other machine of any make or size or price which is as versatile in use, as complete in its capabilities and as devoid of time-wasting activity as the ROTOSTOCK." I doubt anyway if its price claim will stay okay in Africa after profit accruing to distribution networks.



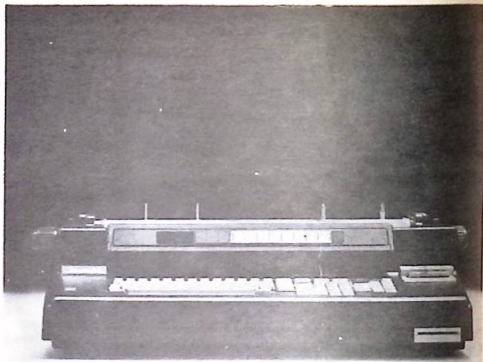
ELECTRONIC ACCOUNTING MACHINE

Olivetti, as usual, through its Nigerian Agent—Leventis Technical featured its A5 electronic accounting machine. Main attraction is its ability to grow along with a business. Says Olivetti—"the modular system of A5 means that its power can be expanded at any time and in the field. Memory capacity can be increased by adding internal modules ... etc." This machine is designed for Invoicing, Payroll preparation, stock records and on/off line data collection.

EFFORTLESS SANDING

Manual Sanding is by no means an easy job. Ask any small time carpenter and he will tell how difficult. FUSI Industrial Supplies Apapa is presently marketing a device to save the pains.

All it needs is a few passes over old or marred woods and the sanding is over in a matter of minutes. The end result is normally a smooth and fine finish. Called Orbital Sander, it is useful to mass production joinery Companies because, apart from being easy to handle, its fastness alone pitches it's tent in this group.

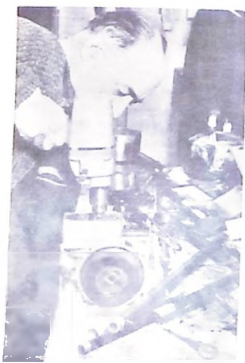


INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY

CRAWLER LOADER

At the Massey Ferguson stand, well known Crawler loader was featured. For years this has been in the African Construction Scene.

Modelled MF 500B, it has operating weight of 15,900 Kg and is mostly used in



clearing stores from construction sites and for subsequent loading into a nearby conveying lorry. It is powered by a 185 hp diesel engine at forguw speed of 2800 rpm maximum and equipped with air clearer, muffler, water oil and fuel infection pumps.

The air cleaner is of the dry-type with four-stage filtration-pre-cleaning in two stages; washable main filter and additional inner safety element. MF 500B has two speeds each forward and reverse with tracks, that can be contra-rotated for Spris turns. Steering comes in two different forms. Either by contra-rotation tracks using hand controls, or by Hydraulic Clutch and disc brake operation using foot controls. Each track has an independent output shaft for full power transmission.

The optional equipment are understandably, very many. These include multipurpose four-in-one bucket (normally at the front for lifting the stones) capacity 1.53 Cu. metre, and different width sizes of track shoes—those chain-like rollers.

GARI PLANT

This gari plant was developed by Newel Duford based on a process established by Nigeria's Federal Institute of Industrial Research Oshodi (FIRO).

The first stage of the process involves the peeling of fresh Cassava roots cut from the bush. This is done by the mechanical peeler. Next a Conveyor conveys these to a grater and after grating, the mash is conveyed to the Mixer.

From here, it goes to Fermentation tanks (these are made of plastic, fibre glass etc and can be locally manufactured). Here the mash is allowed to ferment for three days during which hydrocyanic acid (a toxic gas) is given off reducing the acidity level.

Later the fermented mash is transferred



A model of the plant.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SALE OF SUPREME HEADQUARTERS AND NIGERIAN ARMY VEHICLES

Tenders are invited for the purchase of the under-mentioned serviceable Mercedes Benz Saloon cars.

S/NO	VEHICLE NO AND TYPE	ENGINE NO	CHASSIS NO.
1.	SHQ 27 M/Benz 280S	11092210019792	71602010054155
2.	SHQ 3 M/Benz 230.4	11595110039012	11501710061047
3.	SHQ 4 M/Benz 230.4	11595110039305	1101710061328
4.	SHQ 113M/Benz 230.4	11595110054446	11501710084285
5.	FESTAC 27 VOLVO GL244	195014	H1-196849
6.	FESTAC 81 VOLVO GL244	196387	H1-196199
7.	NA 205B M/Benz 200	11592610007669	11501510172502
8.	NA 53C M/Benz 230.6	127278	247978
9.	NA 55C M/Benz 230.6	127472	248028
10.	NA 48C M/Benz 280S	016601	044010
11.	NA 52C M/Benz 230.6	127166	2480569
12.	NA 49C M/Benz 230.6	127279	248076
13.	NA 89C M/Benz 230	012030	018053
14.	NA 56C M/Benz 200	053354	064424
15.	NA 59C M/Benz 200	053412	063130

2. The Supreme Headquarters's cars are available for inspection at the Ministry of Defence Car Park, Marina, Lagos. The Nigerian Army's cars are available at Nigerian Army Headquarters, (medical) Bonny Camp, Lagos. The hours of inspection are between 9.00 a.m. and 2.00 p.m. each working day. Interested members of the public should forward their tenders in a sealed envelope marked "TENDER FOR THE PURCHASE OF SUPREME HEADQUARTERS SALOON CARS" AND "TENDER FOR THE PURCHASE OF NIGERIAN ARMY SALOON CARS." Such tenders should be addressed to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Republic House Marina, Lagos, to reach him not later than Monday the 26th of December, 1977.

3. Successful tenderers will be required to make full settlement of the accepted tenders before the cars are removed and such settlement and removal must be completed within seven days of the notification of acceptance.

FEDERAL ADVANCED TEACHERS' COLLEGE
SPECIAL EDUCATION
IBADAN

VACANCIES

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the following posts in the Federal Advanced Teacher's College for Special Education, Ibadan.

1. Posts:

- (a) 4 Principal Education Officers/Principal Lecturers.
- (b) 6 Senior Education Officers/Senior Lecturers.
- (c) 12 Education Officers Grade I/Lecturers Grade I
- (d) 1 Library Officer
- (e) Braille Instructor,
- (f) 1 Audiologist
- (g) 1 Educational Technologist

2. FIELDS OF STUDY IN WHICH POSTS EXIST:-

A Special Education:

- i. Curriculum Development and adaptation of methods.
- ii. Psychology with reference to the Education of the Handicapped.
- iii. Sociology of Education of the Handicapped.
- iv. Counselling.

B Education of Deaf and Partially Hearing

- i. Co-ordination of Deaf Education Programme
- ii. Methods and Materials
- iii. Communication Methods
- iv. Audiology.

C Education of the Blind and Partially Sighted

- i. Co-ordination of Education of the Blind Programme
- ii. Methods and materials
- iii. Braille
- iv. Mobility

D Special Areas in Education of the Handicapped

- i. Art
- ii. Crafts (Nigerian Crafts)
- iii. Physical Education
- iv. Music, Dance and Drama
- v. Home Economics
- vi. Language.
- vii. Mathematics.

Library and Educational Resource

- i. Library
- ii. Audio-Visual Aids in Education
- iii. Educational Technology

3. Qualifications:

- i. All applicants for post (a)–(d) must possess a degree from a recognised University in the field of study for which employment is being sought, plus

a professional qualification in Special Education where the degree is not in Special Education. Diploma and professional Certificates in Special fields plus a considerable teaching and/or administrative experience may be considered in special cases.

- ii. For posts (e)–(g), relevant professional qualifications, diplomas or certificates, plus a considerable on-the-job experience will be considered.
- iii. Qualifications in more than one area or field of study will be advantage.

4. Qualification and Experience

(a.) **Principal Education Officers and Principal Lecturers:** A post-graduate teaching/administrative experience of not less than 8 years in Ordinary and Special Education. Experience in for-ordination of handicapped education programme at teacher training levels will be considered an advantage.

(b) **Senior Education Officers and Senior Lecturers:** A post-graduate teaching/administrative experience of not less than 6 years in Ordinary and Special Education. Experience at teacher training levels will be considered an advantage.

(c) **Education Officers Grade I/Lecturers Grade I:** As for (b) except that the relevant years of experience should be 4 years instead of 6

(d) **Library Officer:**
A Diploma in Librarianship or professional qualification in Librarianship with relevant experience in educational institutions. He will be expected to set up from scratch a reference, lending and departmental (including Braille) Libraries for the college.

(e) **Brailist**
A qualified teacher with a post-qualification training in braille. He must have had at least 4 years experience as instructor in braille.

(f) **Audiologist:**
He will be required to set up and maintain an audiology laboratory. He should have knowledge of room acoustics and be conversant with design performance and use of various hearing aids, audiometers and sound level meters.

(g) **Educational Technologist:**
A technology engineer with experience in closed circuit television Visual Aid and programmed hearing. He will be required to set up a micro-teaching unit, produce, edit films and video tapes, and maintain the equipment in serviceable condition.

5. **Salary:** Salaries attached to posts outlined in paragraph 1 (a) to (g) above are as follows:-

Posts (a)	Level 12	₦7,104 – ₦7,752	x 216
Posts (b)	Level 10	₦5,460 – ₦6,432	x 162
Posts (c)	Level 09	₦4,368 – ₦5,340	x 162
Posts (d)	Level 07	₦2,496 – ₦3,216	x 120
Posts (e)	Level 07	₦2,496 – ₦3,216	x 120
Posts (f)	Level 07	₦2,496 – ₦3,216	x 120
Posts (g)	Level 08	₦3,264 – ₦4,164	x 150

Note: Point of entry will depend on qualification and experience. For the brailist the grade level at which to be appointed will depend on the basic qualification before certification in Braille.

6. CONDITIONS:

Appointment is on either permanent or on contract basis or a secondment for an agreed period. Only indigenous officers will be appointed on permanent basis or on secondment; appointment on contract will be for two tours of between 18 and 24 months depending on age. A contract officer will be paid 10% contract addition.

There is also an expatriate allowance of ₦360 – ₦600 payable by the Nigerian Government. In addition a ₦360 – ₦600 tax-free supplement (payable in Britain) ranging from £9700 (Single) may be payable to citizens of the U.K. or Eire. The award of this supplement will be decided by the Overseas Development Administration. Additional benefits for such people include educational allowance, holiday visit passages for children, and an appointment grant of £3200 for a married man accompanied by his family or £3150 for a single or an unaccompanied married man. Special Teachers allowance is payable to deserving personnel.

7. HOUSING:

Quarters with hard furnishing, where available, will be provided at a rental not exceeding ₦300 per annum.

8. METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Applications should be completed on prescribed Forms obtainable either from the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission or from the Recruitment Attache, Nigeria High Commission, 9 Northumberland Avenue, London W. C. 2 and Recruitment Attache, Embassy of Nigeria, 133-18th Street, N2. Washington D.C. 20036, U.S.A. and Embassy of Nigeria 173 Avenue Victor-Hugo, Paris 15e, France and all applications should reach the same address not later than 20th January, 1978.

COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

to a hydraulic press for dehydration. Here because of the pressure applied lumps form and these are broken down later upon transfer to an elevator.

Lastly, the pulp moves on to the most critical stage of the process—the Garification stage. Here under normal operational conditions the dehydrated Cassava pulp is gelatinised (i.e. made into an odourless, tasteless mash). This stage requires accurately controlled conditions to obtain the required quality. Next the odourless mash is fed into the dryer where the moisture content is reduced to a low level and ready for packaging.

FOCUS:

FMC CORPORATION

At the recent Lagos International Trade Fair, one of the many companies in search of African representation, was FMC Corporation of the United States of America. Like Carrier of airconditioning fame, FMC bags a focus this month because of its wide range of activities in varied nations.

From food and agricultural machinery, packaging, construction, transportation equipment to industrial and agricultural chemicals, FMC has succeeded over the years in transcending nations at times leading the fore in research programmes. In 1976 alone, it introduced seven major new food and agricultural machinery products among which are a new pea harvester; tomato harvester; a more efficient citrus juice extractor and a new bean harvester which reduces harvesting losses.

Of particular interest to booming oil industry, is its 18 3/4 inch 10,000 PSI hydraulic Subsea Wellhead System developed mainly to provide answers for problems inherent in deep sea wellhead casing and setting. This system is unique to FMC in that when faced with the same problem other wellhead manufacturers chose the use of 'ship-type' mechanism thereby sacrificing the use of compression seal as in earlier products.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the arrival of FMC in the African scene proper, especially in Nigeria, is most welcome but then, like many other American companies there remains that ugly and nagging question—What happens to business in Apartheid South Africa? FMC will have to weigh this and provide answer especially now that a strong wind of change is overtaking African countries and their policies.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE:

MOBIL NIGERIA:

HEBBERD TAKES OVER

Mr. R.S. Hebbard, a petroleum Technologist, has taken over from Mr. R.C. Mills as Chairman/Managing Director of Mobil group in Nigeria. The Ex-Chief Executive has been posted back to the United States after more than two years in Nigeria.

Mr. Hebbard, his Successor, brings to



Mr. Hebbard, Mobil's new chairman.

Nigeria many years of experience. After obtaining his first degree in Petroleum Technology in 1945 with a Student prize for thesis; he, from then till 1953, served in various capacities with four different Petroleum Companies including Anglo-Saxon and the British Malayan Petroleum Company.

His service with Mobil started in 1953 with Mobil Canada as production Engineer. Rising through the ranks, he earned his transfer to the International Headquarters in 1963 only to be loaned to Iran's Oil Exploration and producing Company for approximately one year.

In November 1967 he started his more than seven years sojourn with the International Division Evaluation and Planning. He started here as Production and Engineering Manager and later became the Vice-President for the International Division Planning.

From June 1974 till his new appointment, he was a manager Exploration and Producing Division New York.

BRITISH COMPANIES UNDER FIRE

Mr. Jack Jones leader of Britain's heavy-weight Transport and General Workers Union, has come out with a warning to British Companies Operating in Apartheid South Africa. Calling for encouragement of Black Trade Unions; he warned "either Companies (British) make the necessary Concessions now and learn to live and operate in a new Climate, or they follow a path which must inevitably lead to the destruction of the private sector in South Africa." Mr. Jones was writing a foreword in an anti-apartheid

report—Black Trade Unions in South Africa. The responsibilities of British Companies—released only this month.

In the report proper, British Leyland, Pilkington Glass, Metal Box and Unilever, were specifically highlighted as Companies that have actively discouraged formation of Black Trade Unions in South African Subsidiaries. Amidst Leyland denial the report, quoting a union member, charged that Leyland called in the South Africa Special Branch in 1974 "to block the organisation of [Black] Workers."

MEAT PROCESSING CONCERN FOR SUDAN

A gigantic Meat processing industry is to be built in Sudan at a total cost of \$42.2m. Expected to cover 11,000 acres, it is to be managed by the Guinness Peat Group of United Kingdom.

When it materialises fully, about 8,300 tons of Chilled and frozen beef and Mutton will be produced a year from 39,000 head cattle and 139,000 of sheep. According to present plans, its raw materials (the animals) will be got from Ranches and raising units in parts of the country.

Meanwhile, out of the \$42.2m, \$10m. is to be expected from Supplier credits while the International Finance Corporation (IFC) based in Paris will loan approximately \$14.8 million after purchasing its \$1.3m. share in the project. Apart from the IFC and Guinness Peat Group (stake is \$2m) no other foreign Shareholder is provided for in present estimates.



WAS THIS AN OVERSIGHT?

*Henry Atenaga

Between November 27th and December 11th this year, the 1st Lagos International Trade Fair took place. From all indications Equipment from varied industries in the World were exhibited. Many African Countries including the host Country, seized the opportunity to exhibit the little they have. So, no doubt, it was to the benefit of everyone.

However, between the 1st and 7th of the same December another exhibition, this time, specially for Agricultural Equipment and Irrigation, was taking place in Dakar; Senegal. Yet it needs no overstretched imagination for us to realise that not all affected Companies were able to be present in Dakar and Lagos at the same time.

Hence the unfortunate question: Was this an oversight? Well, if it was, then ask me for the yardstick to tell the minds of the Africans!