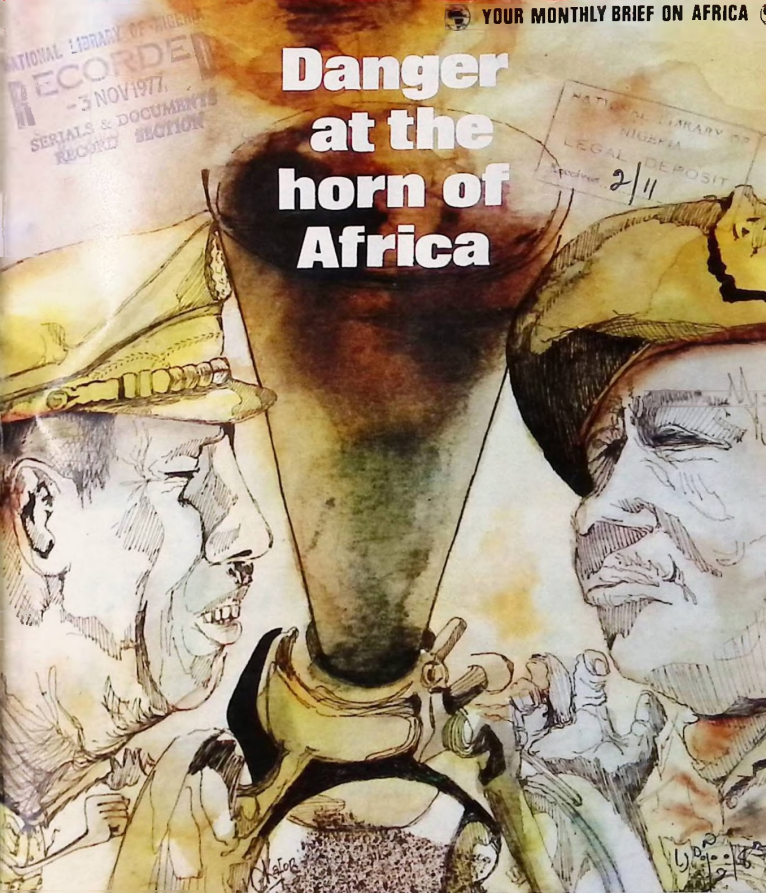


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Publishers: Pan Afriscope (Nigeria) Ltd.
45, Salami Babu Street, Pedro-Shomolu
Lagos. All correspondence to P.M.B.1119
Yaba, Lagos. Tel: 42289.

Editor-In-Chief: Uche Chukwumerije
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Copy Sales: Martin Obi-Amagbo

Printers: Smurfit Print (Nig) Ltd. Apege
Motor Road, Lagos

EDITORIAL

The Horn Of Africa

What is happening in the Horn of Africa has long been expected but the attitude of the OAU to an impending disaster remains a puzzle.

It was clear long ago that the number of local contestants who had been straining for a fight over their valued prizes in the Horn, the single-minded intensity with which they prepared for this contest, and the highest premium which the super powers place on the strategic virtues of the Indian Ocean, would one day carry all interested men and matters to the cock-pit for a final and violent settlement. That day has arrived. But this scenario with its changing setting is highly predictable. In a twinkling of an eye, the Soviet Union has become the best friend of Ethiopia, the United States has suddenly realised that the untouchable marxist regime of General Barre could be safely touched, and the petrodollar-fuelled diplomacy of Saudi Arabia is busily financing anti-Ethiopian alliances and confusing Djibouti.

This scenario re-emphasizes to us all what we already know: every super-power, indeed every foreign power, in Africa is in the continent, not because she loves Africa but because she has her national interests to protect and project. Even the Arab role has for long been dimly discernible: all the fuss over the terms of Arab loan to OAU countries and the Jihad-oriented perception of all local conflicts in Black Africa help us to see the present gang-up against Ethiopia as another evidence of the difficulties which cultural dichotomy and dual identification create for our common goal of a united and unified Africa.

But the puzzle remains the OAU. So far, there is no evidence that the OAU has seen large-scale return of cold war politics to Africa via the Horn and the real danger of a foreign-inspired blaze as a crisis that demands urgent attention. Lesser issues had in the past summoned Heads of States to emergency sessions.

If the OAU cannot see any causal link between the quality of its collective strength against Southern Africa - its present pre-occupation - and the internal strength of Black Africa, then it should re-read the parable of the over-wise engineer trying to erect steel structures on mere sand.

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Letters

Dear Editor,

ZIMBABWE

President Julius Nyerere's recent tour of the U.S. and his historic meeting with President Carter in the White House is significant in as much as the liberation struggle is concerned in Southern Africa.

First, President Nyerere who is respected for his consistent views on African issues is also the current Chairman of the Frontline Presidents. He is therefore in a better position to convey



the views and aspirations of his colleagues and those of the Zimbabwe nationalists to the people of the U.S. and the West at large. He should also be able to assess the Carter Administration's sincerity in the on-going peace moves. However, Africa should not be deceived by the diplomatic niceties of the West to tone down the pressure of the struggle. Ian Smith has said a free Zimbabwe has to be over his dead body; not through negotiation and so be it. Zimbabwe has to be free.

Boya Alix
Ibadan, Nigeria

The new Anglo-American moves to resolve the Zimbabwe issue seem to be engaging all the time of the nationa-

lists. This amounts to playing into the hands of Smith and his collaborators who have been arming themselves and will continue to do so for a major confrontation with Black Africa? The question of arms, however, should no longer be a hindrance to the progress of the liberation war. If the West would not sell arms to freedom fighters, socialist countries are ever willing not only to give the arms but also to fight, just for the asking.

Fred Aryee
Lome, Togo

CAUTION AT THE HORN

The reversing position of alliances at the Horn of Africa is rather amusing. The U.S. which formerly viewed Somalia with so much suspicion is now wooing that country after being kicked out of Ethiopia. On the other hand, Ethiopia which used to be the haven of the U.S. intelligence in Africa has now garbed a soviet outlook.

The situation at the horn is now one big dynamite that could explode at the slightest ignition because of big power involvement. Both Ethiopia and Somalia also have a huge stockpile of deadly weapons. The greatest caution is therefore required from these countries in the handling of their border issue as any flare-up which may develop into an East-West confrontation will definitely distract world attention from Southern Africa which is where the guns of liberation should be booming.

Kojo Armah
Accra, Ghana

GUINEAN EXILES

The reported general amnesty granted to Guinean Exiles now scattered in neighbouring African countries is a welcome policy of Sekou Toure's government. These nationals have yearned for years to return to their fatherland but could not for fear of reprisals back home. It is therefore not unusual that some of these exiles should

want the overthrow of the present government so that they could go home. Now that all previous offences have been pardoned it is hoped that they would cease the opportunity to join again with their kin and kin-to-work towards the success of the Guinean Revolution.

Sam George
Freetown, Sierra Leone

BRITAIN AND AMIN

A few weeks to the Commonwealth Conference in London, Britain lobbied round some prominent African member-countries soliciting support for their (Britain's) illegal action against President Idi Amin of Uganda. And surprisingly, the Africans connived to stand against their brother in favour of Britain. One would have expected an African boycott of the Commonwealth conference instead of acquiescing the British ban on the Ugandan leader. Not that Amin's shortcomings in Uganda are approved by Africans but that Britain had no right to dictate who should attend or who should not attend the conference.

By her recent attitude Britain has again confirmed the fact that the Commonwealth is her tool through which she can divide and continue to exploit the African continent. What has Africa gained from the Commonwealth anyway since its inception? It's high time the African members quit this organisation that smacks of

colonialism. Wake up Africa to self-reliance.

Chuks Onyeka
Lagos, Nigeria


WHO ARE THE PROGRESSIVES?

I refer to your issue vol. 7, No. 4 April 1977, and above article written by Mdogo Wako. It's the kind of article I've been looking for quite too long.

The word "progressive and its forces" and so on has been a confusion to me. I once asked a learned and a committed Marxist/Leninist to give me a conceptual definition of "progressive forces". His terse answer was that "any country which practices Marxist/Leninist principles. On the continent the so-called progressive countries and their leaders are nothing more than Hitler type of extermination of innocent citizens. If in order to be progressive requires Soviet recognition and arms, then, one day South Africa may be considered progressive. What's the difference?"

I think the problem with many leaders is insincerity rather than linguistic bankruptcy. Many African leaders exterminate and detain their nationals including students without announcing to the outside world. Yet they order their press to drum into our ears Vorster's inhumanity to the blackman. Maybe there's nothing wrong for a black leader to kill a blackman.

Hassan Oppong,
Legon, Ghana.

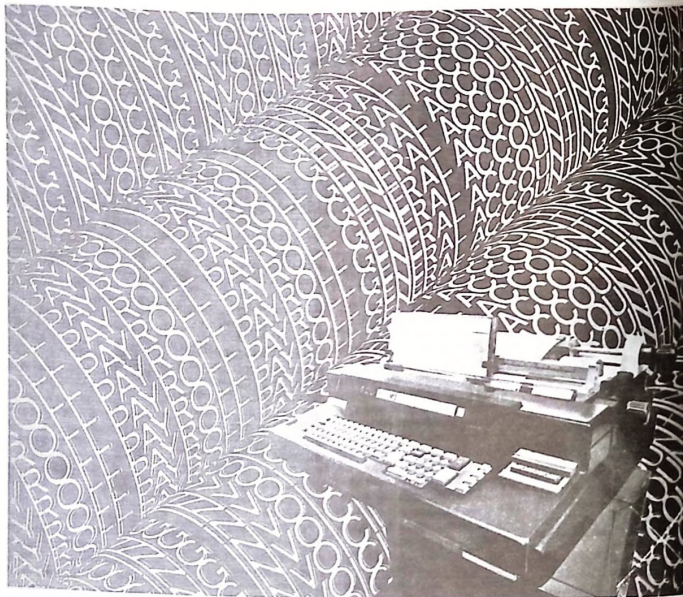


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AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND

Super Power Rivalry

By Dr. P. F. Wilmot

African nationalism is the recognition of the primacy and inalienability of Africa's interests. In the economic sphere African nationalism is the recognition of the fundamental rights of African nations to control their economic systems in the interests of their own peoples; in the political sphere the recognition of the sovereign rights of African states insofar as such states do not compromise the independence, unity and integrity of Africa. Culturally African nationalism recognizes the primacy of African cultural formations without, at the same time, denying itself the right to draw on and utilize creatively, the cultural achievements of non-Africans. In other words African nationalism implies the existence of well defined African interests, as well as of a level of consciousness sufficiently developed to recognize these interests, their primacy and inalienability.

The Triangular Super-Power Global Relationship

What can be the meaning of African nationalism in a world in which the primary loci for the definition of interests reside in the three so-called super-powers? Is African nationalism not meaningless without the power to define interests, in a world where the axes of power run between Washington, Moscow and Peking? The United States, the Soviet Union and China represent, to a greater or lesser extent, constellations of vast productive forces, awesome destructive military power, efficient political systems, and relatively self-contained and autonomous cultural formations. The three super-powers, especially the United States, use economic power to reward friends and destabilize enemies. In the most remote corner of the globe, American, Soviet and Chinese arms are to be found, resolving conflicts or making conflicts insoluble. And the interpretations of these conflicts are provided most powerfully, most clearly, and most overwhelmingly from the dominant propaganda organs of Washington, Moscow and Peking

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this state of tripolar global dominance is seen in the United Nations where a veto by any one of the three super-powers for the two allies of the United States, France and the United Kingdom) is worth more than the unanimous decision by the other 144 members of this organization of supposedly equal and sovereign states. In international politics all nations are recognized as sovereign but some nations are manifestly more sovereign than others.

African Nationalism and Power

In attempting to resolve the contradiction between the requirements of African nationalism and the contemporary triangular super-power global relationship, African states should recognize from the outset that the issue is one of power: how to get it, how to hold it, how to increase it, how to use it. Whether in conciliation or in conflict, in alliance or opposition, in peace or in war, the banner that should be waved highest, to assure one's friends and overawe one's enemies, is the absolute commitment to power and its creative exercise. Without this absolute commitment to power, African nationalism is doomed to remain an illusory consciousness, based on derivative economic, political and cultural systems, subject to the dictates, military or otherwise, of foreigners. As MacMillan,

an architect of the system of neo-colonialism which now dominates most of Africa, put it:

"the great issue in the second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Africa will swing to the East or the West"

As Africa moves into the final quarter of the century, it must decide whether it is compatible with its dignity to swing like a political roustabout from the Western pillar to the Eastern post.

The African Response

Even when they recognize the reality of the vast powers they confront in the so-called super-powers, African leaders still tend to make a series of inappropriate responses. First is the tendency to hang on to the coat-tails of one of the super-powers, much as a tick hangs from the under of a cow. But while the tick makes up in blood what it loses in dignity, such states find themselves losing both blood and dignity. Beginning with a little "aid" with a lot of strings attached, they end up entangled in a lot of strings without any aid attached. And even from this ungainly position, they are expected to mouth the crude slogans of their super-benefactors, denouncing the communist menace when they are on the Western pillar, and American imperialism when they have been batted to the Eastern post. But while the vacuousness of such slogans may be excused by the complexity of the super-powers' global interests, they sound grotesque in the mouths of leaders incapable of defining interests wider than the pockets of their French-cut suits. When the Chin-

Left: Egypt's Anwar El Sadat
Below: Agostinho Neto of Angola





Zaire's General Mobutu Sese Seko and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing at the Elysee Palace.

ese denounce Soviet social-imperialism, for example, one sees this within the context of thousands of years of Chinese and Russian history, of millions of troops on their tense 4,000 mile border, and of conflicting interests so vast that they threaten the future of all mankind. When Bongo, Mobutu and Nimeiry shout of "social-imperialism," however, all one can hear in the background is the rattle of the begging bowls with a little chop suey and a lot of bird-mess soup.

Another tendency, which is perhaps even more dangerous, is the retreat into a kind of abstract neutralism, without any consideration of one's own power, and it's location within the global constellation of power-relations. But a declaration of neutrality by the rabbit doesn't prevent the wolf from eating it. A country which is neutral and powerless is simply waiting for the knife, in fact is already under the knife. Power that is neutral is impotent, i.e. not power.

The most dangerous tendency of all, however, is the great-power consciousness which develops in countries which cannot feed, house or clothe their populations. Through accidents of history such as large population, great size, or rich mineral resources, such countries may be led by expert flatterers to

believe that they count for something on the international power scene. When they are given a Soviet tank or an American fighter-bomber this consciousness may rise to dangerous, even hallucinatory levels. And it takes the iced-water treatment of the Entebbe raid or the Shaba insurrection to shock such countries into conditions of temporary sanity. Perhaps a simple test could save such countries from such needlessly rude awakenings: before their hallucinations of power reach dangerous proportions, let them compare their country's manufacturing capacity with that of a minor European state such as Denmark, or compare their electricity consumption with that of the borough of Manhattan, in the city of New York.

A Strategy for acquiring Power

Once Africa has rid itself of needless illusions of power, once it has reaffirmed its consciousness that a continent of 420 million should exercise power commensurate with its population, its size and its resources, and once it has taken a realistic assessment of the global power configuration, then it can embark on a coherent strategy for acquiring and exercising power. The recognition of impotence is the beginning of power.

A realistic assessment of global power co-ordinates will reveal the necessary conditions for the possession and exercise of such power. The United States, the Soviet Union and China are continental powers, with vast populations and incredible material resources. In this respect Africa has the potential for greatness, but only as a continent power, not as a series of balkanized, ineffective mini-states, in perpetual conflict with each other. Pan African unity is an essential condition of African power.

The three super-powers also feed, clothe and house the majority of their populations relatively well. From this Africa could usefully take a lesson and concentrate on increasing the material welfare of its population rather than mouthing the inelegant platitudes of Mobutu and the Emperor Bokassa I. People cannot be mobilized on empty stomachs.

Another area in which Africa could usefully learn from the existing super-powers is that of identification, commitment, and patriotism. Despite the frequent demonstrations in the United States, the dissidents in the Soviet Union, and the Chinese indulgence in criticism of their own tremendous achievements, the citizens of these countries are for the most part loyal.

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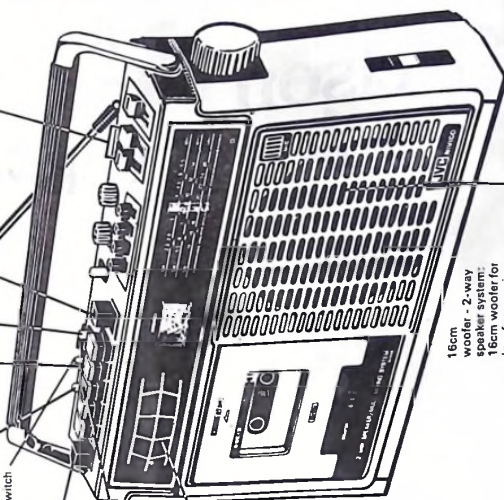
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patriotic, even crudely chauvinist. Despite the inevitable problems of alienation in such enormous states, the typical American, Russian or Chinese feels pride in the achievements of his country, feels secure in the midst of such power, and feels content in the constant ideological reassurance that he is part of unassailable historical forces and processes. The lesson Africa must learn from this aspect of great power is that the continent must acquire the wherewithal for patriotic Africans to identify with her, and the means to punish those who sacrifice her higher interests to their own provincial, even personal interests. She must acquire the power to reward her friends and punish her enemies.

The lessons to be learned from the super-powers are not, however, entirely uniform. This is especially so because Africa is not articulated in precisely the same way to each of the three foci of contemporary global power. An analysis of the different modes of articulation is therefore necessary to provide a rational basis for the strategems to maximize Africa's potential powers to create the framework necessary to regulate the alliances and oppositions which are inevitable when established systems of power are being challenged.

The United States and Africa

The United States is the centre of the Western alliance, linked formally by institutions such as NATO, the IMF and the World Bank and informally through a multiplicity of trade, diplomatic and other relations. Analysts such as Pierre Jalloo, Samir Amin, Andre Gunder Frank and Walter Rodney have demonstrated that the West is articulated to the Third World in such a way that the maximization of the Third World's power potential is blocked. By retaining economic control in formally independent countries of the Third World, the West ensures that they remain primarily exporters of inexpensive raw materials and importers of expensive, Western, manufactured goods. With constant deterioration in the terms of trade, accumulation, either in the capitalist or socialist mode, is effectively prevented. Thus industrialization and economic development are made impossible so that the strategic raw materials of the Third World remain available for the industries of the West. And the third world remains in a condition of perpetual economic crisis, punctuated by brief periods of euphoria brought on by the irrationality of the "world" commodity market which occasionally allows the price of copper or coffee to approach its real level.



President Jimmy Carter: What hope for future US relations in Africa?

This is especially true of Africa where many of the most strategic raw materials are concentrated. In *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Rodney traces the historical process in which Europe subordinated the fundamental interests of Africa to its own imperial interests. Incipient African nationalism challenged this subordination and was aided by intra-European competition which led to the 1st and 2nd European Civil Wars, the so-called World Wars. The Americans who emerged triumphant from the 2nd war gave tactical support to decolonization because they could not accept the idea of "exclusive spheres of interests" by devastated European powers whose economies they had resurrected through their Marshall plan. Most important of all for the initial upthrust of decolonization, however, was the challenge posed

by the Soviet Union and China to America's global dominance. To protect the overall strategic interests of the West, in a changed international environment, the Americans pressed for tactical concessions to African nationalism, for the creation of a more rational framework to exploit Africa's raw materials and markets. The Neocolonial structure created under the aegis of America was one dominated by this country, in which European countries maintained important but not exclusive spheres of interests in Africa, and in which the joint exploitation of these economies by the West was co-ordinated by American-dominated institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and the IDA. The United States was therefore the key nation to divert incipient African nationalism from the path of its historical develop-



Leonid Brezhnev of the USSR. Are the Soviets capable of neo-colonialism in Africa?

ment, into the sterile cul-de-sac of neo-colonialism, in which debased conceptions of "Africanity" are used to legitimize the continued domination and exploitation of African economies, African political systems, African culture and African military pretensions. It is the historic task of African nationalism to disengage from this debilitating structure, to free itself from this unwelcome and smothering embrace, to fulfill its destiny on the path of economic, military and political power, crowned by authentic, firmly based, life-enhancing culture.

The Soviet Union and Africa

While the United States had a tactical interest in opposing classical colonialism, the Soviet Union had a strategic interest. While American interests were served by the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism, the Soviets have a continuing interest in

the complete decolonization of the continent. Insofar as Africa provides many of the strategic raw materials which make the economic system of the West powerful vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, the Soviets have an obvious interest in denying, or at least limiting, the availability of such raw materials. If it is in the interest of the West to prevent the industrialization of Africa it is, conversely, in the interest of the Soviet Union to support such industrialization. A politically and economically liberated Africa would use its own raw materials to feed its own industries, leading to genuine political stability by creating the basis for guaranteeing the economic welfare and political participation of the African peoples. There is therefore a coincidence, though not an identity, of interests between African Nationalism and the Soviet Union. While African nationalism seeks deco-

lonization in the interests of economic, political and cultural liberation of the continent, the Soviet Union, seeks to limit the power resources of its principal opponent in the tripolar global relationship. On the basis of this coincidence of interests, Africa could therefore form a tactical, historically conditioned alliance with the Soviet Union, with the specific objective of achieving complete decolonization.

But what of the Chinese charge that an alliance with the Soviet Union against the West would be "driving the fox out of the front door to let the wolf through the back door?" Looked at in purely abstract terms the Soviets can pursue minimum or maximum objectives in Africa. Minimally they can help Africa destructure the neo-colonial system, help lay the basis of sound industry and agriculture, and provide the military resources necessary to protect the continent's independence until it is politically strong enough to withstand Western pressures. The Soviets can rest contented with thus diminishing Western power resources, giving themselves a competitive edge over their opponents. Or, they can seek the maximum objective of replacing the West in the neo-colonial structure, thus adding to their own power resources what they have successfully denied to the West. But is this maximum objective in the Soviet interest? Is it even within their capacity?

A brief analysis of the mechanics of neo-colonialism suggests that the Soviets could not be neo-colonialists even if they desired to. Economically neo-colonialism is maintained by multinational corporations which are products of the specific contradictions of Western economic development. As a centrally planned economy, in a democratic centralist state structure which keeps the needs of its population within rational limits, the Soviet Union cannot operate successful multinational corporations without substantially restructuring or destabilizing their economy. Socially they do not have the five centuries used by the West to create the neo-colonial elites who have perfected the art of treachery, and now run their countries in the interests of the dollar and the pound sterling. And even if they did, since the rouble is not a convertible currency, they would still need to pay for such treachery with dollars and pounds sterling.

Culturally the Soviet Union cannot compete with the West for the "mind" of the neo-colonial elites since western culture is the perfect narcotic for such denationalized, egocentric, unpatriotic and nihilist elites. In any event the

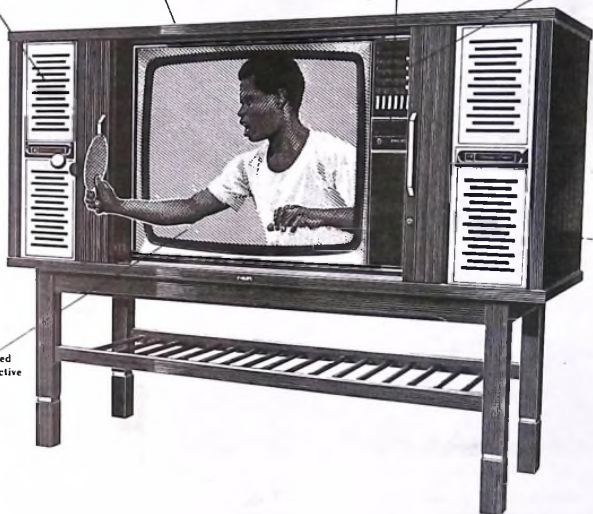
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Chinese leader Hua Kua Feng: *whither Chinese police in Africa?*

Soviets now seem incapable of protecting significant elements of their non population from the debilitating effects of Western culture, the hall-marks of which are unthinking mass-consumption, despiritualization, and the trivialization of life.

Most important of all, however, are the political obstacles. African nationalism, African desire for political independence, is incompatible with any form of neo-colonialism. The African struggle for independence, but now with vastly more experience, skill and material resources, would intensify at the slightest indication of any Soviet neo-colonial design. And the Western powers and the contemporary Chinese who now collaborate to suppress the struggle for African liberation, would spring forth, weapons in hand, to help the oppressed Africans protect their freedom against "Soviet expansion" and "social imperialism." Thus it is clearly not in the interest of the Soviet Union to pursue this maximum objective since it would constitute a conflict,

rather than a coincidence, with the higher interests of African nationalism.

China and Africa

China, until 1949 a semi-colony of various Western countries, was liberated with the aid of the Soviet Union, and maintained relatively close relations with that country for about a decade. On the break with the Soviet Union, and with constantly deteriorating relations, China was, for the decade of the 60's, opposed to both Moscow and Washington which had sought to isolate and encircle it. In the period of close relations with Moscow Peking assisted the Soviets in opposing Western colonialism in Africa: in the period of hostile relations with Moscow and Washington, Peking competed with Moscow in supporting liberation movements opposed to Washington. But in 1971 when Lin Piao was eliminated and the historic conclusion was drawn that, of the two enemies, Moscow was the most dangerous, Peking reduced or curtailed support for African liberation

movements, and supported instead Western, counter-revolutionary movements and movements.

The highest expression of Chinese support, not just for African, but for Third World Liberation as a whole, was put forth in Lin Piao's Long Live the Victory of the People's War. Using Chinese and Vietnamese experiences which rural based guerrillas surrounded isolated and captured urban based movements of counter-revolution, Lin Piao argued that the Third World was the analogue of the rural areas of the time while the Western countries that dominated and exploited them were the analogues of the cities of the world. Lin's strategy was to organize guerrilla warfare in the world's "countryside" in order to surround, isolate and capture the world's "urban areas."

This strategy, however, promised a close relationship between Moscow and Peking. As the liberation of China itself showed, Soviet weaponry was decisive for disengaging a colony from Western imperialism. This was confirmed in Vietnam and Africa. For a strategy as wide-reaching and ambitious as Lin's, China lacked the material resources. But even more ominous for this country, a strategy which seriously weakened the USSR would leave China confronting a less powerful Soviet Union, made suddenly more powerful by reduction in the pressure on its Western flank. Since the Chinese were not prepared to reconcile with the Soviet Union, they were forced to abandon Lin Piao along with his strategy, and to enter into a furtive alliance with the West, which was given public recognition with the historic treaties between Chairman Mao and Nixon.

Since 1971 the list of African leaders who have visited Peking reads like a Who's Who of the most retrograde elements of neo-colonialism on the continent, including such stalwarts of Marxism, Leninism-Mao Tse Tung as Kuo-Feng thought as Mobutu Sese Sekou and Yakubu Gowon. On 71 1974, Chairman Mao met Sedar Suro; on 5th October, Omar Bongo; on 8th April, 1977 Hua Kuo-Feng met Ould Dadda, who advances socialism by exterminating the peoples of the Western Sahara; on 4th May Hua met Bongo, on his second visit to China less than three years; and in June, Nemeiry the stalwart supporter of Feudalism in the EDU of Ethiopia.

Besides retrograde elements of Africa itself, the Chinese show a preference for European leaders with the most reactionary views on African Liberation. On 3rd April, 1977, Hua met with Hans Filbinger,



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Vice Chairman of West Germany's Christian Democratic Union and Minister-President of the State of Baden-Württemberg; on 9th April, Margaret Thatcher, leader of the British Conservative Party; and on 13th April, Roy Jack, Speaker of New Zealand's Parliament. The views of these leaders on South Africa and Zimbabwe are well known.

China's role in Africa can be seen in the United Nations where every debate on South Africa, Zimbabwe or Namibia is interrupted by shrill denunciations of Soviet "hegemonism" and "social imperialism." On 24th March 1977, at a security council meeting to discuss South African aggression, the Chinese launched into a violent denunciation of "Soviet social imperialists for mustering mercenaries for an armed invasion of Zaire." This was reported in Peking Review of 1st April, without comment. During the South African war of aggression against Angola, China gave weapons and training to the FLNA puppet troops, the ally of the racist republic. Today Chinese propaganda against Angola is far more vicious than South Africa's. During the Shaba uprising in Zaire, China supplied arms to Mobutu's counter-revolution, placing itself on the side of much of the feudal elements as Kings Khaled and Hassan, and his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Bokassa I. It is clear, therefore, that China's current perception of its interest makes it an unsuitable ally of African nationalism.

African Nationalism and Super-power rivalry

The Western alliance enhances its power by subordinating African interests within the framework of neo-colonialism. Because of its opposition to the Soviet Union, China perceives it as in its interest to strengthen the Western alliance, hence neo-colonialism in Africa. As the principal opponent of the United States, it is in the interest of the Soviet Union to weaken the Western alliance by opposing neo-colonialism.

There is therefore a rational basis for an alliance between the Soviet Union and anti-neo-colonial force in Africa. Historical precedents for such an alliance are the support of France for the liberation struggle of the United States against imperialism; Soviet support for Chinese, Vietnamese Laotian and Cambodian Liberation from Western imperialism. In Africa, Soviet support has been consistent in the liberation struggles of those countries in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism in Africa: Algeria, Nasser's Egypt, Nkrumah's Ghana,

Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Gaddafi's Libya, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the liberation movement in South Africa.

The alliance is tactical insofar as the ultimate objectives of Africa and the Soviet Union are different; temporary insofar as it is historically conditioned; and based on interests insofar as interests are sounder bases for alliance than good intentions or good rhetoric. In a changed historical situation where, for example, the Soviet Union allied itself with the West against a powerful, industrialized China in alliance with a technologically ascendant Japan, the basis of the Afro-Soviet alliance may disappear. Even then, however, the strategic, constant, unchanging necessities of African nationalism would re-

main: to create modern agriculture and industry, to ensure the material well-being of the people, to mobilize the masses politically through ideology and organization to ensure their genuine participation; to develop African culture as a means of heightening self-consciousness as Africans; and to create military institutions capable of protecting the African masses against internal and external enemies. As long as these unchanging elements are kept constantly in mind, Africa can form temporary alliances with any power, where it is in Africa's interests to do so. But given the power configuration in the world today, the Soviet Union, provided it perceives its interests correctly, provides the most rational basis for such alliance.



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Sahara women training for the Polisario army.

POLISARIO on top

**Tami Hultman, near Smara, Western Sahara*

The rumble of guns reverberated like summer thunder as columns of black smoke licked at the clear desert sky. From their vantage point on a rocky plain several kilometres from the town of Smara, the Saharan guerrillas could tell that their bombardiers had hit a Moroccan position. One of them leaped onto the hood of a Land Rover and swung his rifle in a triumphant arc; another hugged his companion as the sound of more explosions rolled in waves across the desert. "Bella musica!" he exulted. Beautiful music.

Then, with no apparent concern that an airplane or helicopter might be sent from the town to search for the attack party, the guerrillas built a fire in the sand, and sat down to have tea.

That casual confidence is typical of the way the POLISARIO Front inde-

pendence movement is fighting this war against Morocco and Mauritania control of the former Spanish colony of Western Sahara. Spain which relinquished the territory almost two years ago in a controversial agreement gave the northern two-thirds of the country to Morocco and the rest to Mauritania to the south. The still-secret pact gives Spain a 35 per cent share of the rich phosphate mines at Bu Craa in the Moroccan zone.

So far that share has not been very profitable. Although Bu Craa's reserves are an estimated 1.7 billion tons of some of the world's purest phosphates—a mineral used in the manufacture of fertilizers—the POLISARIO guerrillas have managed to bring exports almost to a standstill. Their regular attacks have destroyed large sections of the

60-mile long conveyor belt that once carried phosphates to port, and Morocco's attempts to move phosphates by armoured truck convoys are also repeatedly frustrated by ambushes.

To combat the guerrillas, Mauritania has been forced to dramatically increase the size of its armed forces from 1,200 to 12,000 and Morocco has sent more than a third of its 90,000-man army to the Sahara. The two nations have also appealed for Western aid—and have gotten it, most notably in the form of military equipment from France and the United States.

U.S. Approval of military sales to Morocco increased from \$8.6 million in 1974 to \$294.9 million the following year. Among the 1976 sales was a squadron of F-5E jet bombers. The Carter administration has requested

\$45 million in military aid to Morocco for Fiscal Year 1978, a 200% increase over the 1975 appropriation of nearly \$15 million.

Guerrillas in control

But despite the firepower against them, an estimated 10,000 POLISARIO guerrillas have managed to pin down their opponents to fifteen fortified towns which are subject to constant bombardment. The Saharans are also attacking deep into Morocco and Mauritania—an aspect of the war that is causing increasing international concern.

Just how freely the independence forces roam the desert was demonstrated to me during a four-day, 700-mile trip with POLISARIO, which took us to within 75 miles of the Moroccan strong-hold at El Aaiun on the Atlantic coast. We travelled mostly by day on well-marked roads, though occasionally we cut across sandy pits or rocky cliffs to reach a guerrilla base camp. When we moved from place to place by night, the guerrillas drove with headlights blazing, and when we stopped to sleep they built huge bonfires from desert shrubs, to ward off the nighttime temperatures that can drop as much as 100 degrees

Above: Guld Dada of Mauritania
Left: King Hassan of Morocco
Right: Algeria's Boumedienne



from the mid-day heat.

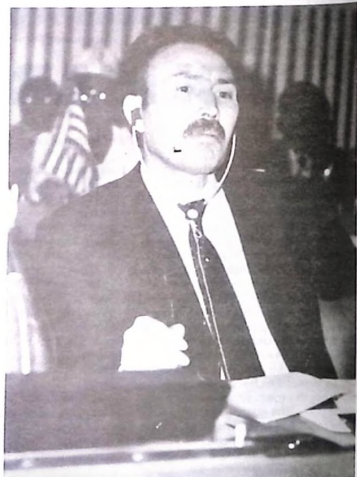
Everywhere along our route we encountered well-established base camps housing hundreds of guerrillas, who seldom leave Saharan soil except to attack targets in Morocco or Mauritania.

After months of denying the war's existence—"Nothing is happening," King Hassan II said last fall during a visit to France—Moroccan officials now admit to an occasional skirmish.

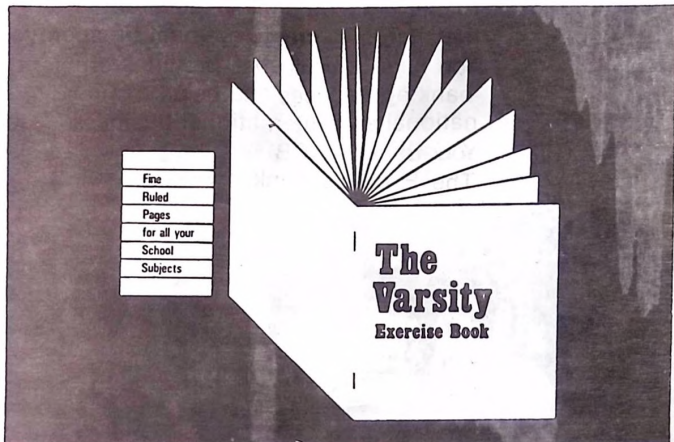
"It is true," said Moroccan Prime Minister Ahmed Laraki in an interview with Afriscope that the Algerian aggressors occasionally penetrate our borders. After all, the desert is vast, and there are no recognizable frontiers. But, essentially, the Saharan provinces are at peace."

American officials tend to share the Moroccan view that the trouble in Western Sahara is a result of Algeria's long-standing feud with Morocco. In the words of one U.S. diplomat, "If I were in the shoes of (Algerian President Houari) Boumedienne, I would probably do the same thing. He looks over here and sees Morocco doing very well under the monarchy, while his own socialist economy is in trouble. So of course he is not happy with Hassan's success in the Sahara."

Nor do American officials appear to



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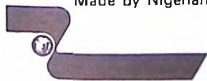
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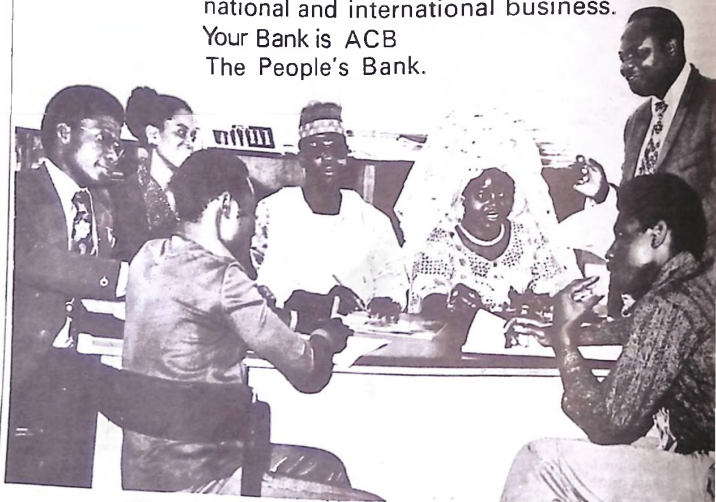
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One of many fishermen of African descent in the Polisario army.
Pix by T. Hultman.



Laiti Smael Bardi, an example of Sahara women in the Polisario army.
Pix by T. Hultman.

fear that the war will escalate. When queried about whether the Sahara would be a major topic of talks between President Jimmy Carter and King Hassan when the latter visits Washington later this year, one State Department officer replied, "Well, I can't imagine why it would be. The moroccans have pretty much cleaned that one up. You know they've trained new highly mobile attack units to go after the guerrillas, and the tactic seems to have worked. The Moroccans are pretty well in control now."

But a trip with the guerrillas quickly explodes the Moroccan charge that POLISARIO is an Algerian-based mercenary group, whose attacks are spearheaded by the Algerian army. And makes

it clear that if anyone can be said to control the Sahara's mostly uninhabited 100,000 square miles, it is the Saharans.

I went with a POLISARIO unit of four Land Rover—about 25 soldiers—to the village of Tifariti, a few miles from the Mauritanian border, Morocco claims to control the town and its several thousand inhabitants, and last month published its election results of local council balloting.

In fact, Tifariti is deserted and has been since February 1976, when Moroccan planes bombed the desert villages to which most of the Saharan population fled during the transition from Spanish rule.

"We walked for days across the desert to get to Tifariti," said Fatatah

Men E'Houd who left El Aaiun with other POLISARIO women when the Moroccans moved in. "The Moroccan invasion was genocidal, because its principle victims were women and children." Only eighteen years old at the time, Fatatah joined the military, and helped defend the towns against attack. She often travelled long distances on foot to intercept the refugees who straggled by the thousands toward POLISARIO controlled areas, and helped organize medical care for the weary, often sick, travellers.

When Tifariti was bombed she fled with the survivors to Algeria, which has allowed some 100,000 Saharan refugees to form 22 encampments along its south-west border. "Algeria has been very correct in its relations with us," said a POLISARIO representative. "Its position has been to support the United Nations' call for self-determination, and it only began to give us arms after a U.N. mission to the Sahara in May, 1975, identified POLISARIO as the people's choice."

POLISARIO says it also gets some military aid from other sources than Algeria—Libya has been suggested by some observers—but it maintains that the bulk of its equipment is captured from the Moroccans and Mauritians. And, indeed, a common sight in Western Sahara is guerrillas riding in jeeps with heavy artillery mounted on the back and the Moroccan army insignia



Classes are held for Polisario women in Refugee camps.
Pix by T. Hultman.

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Disarray in Morocco

POLISARIO's May Day raid on the Mauritanian iron mining centre of Zouerate, that left two French citizens dead and six apparently captured, is an indication that the Saharan war may soon claim a larger share of international news headlines. The possibility of great power intervention is real, given Western concern about the stability of Morocco, where the United States has three military installations—at Kenitra, Sidi Yahya, and Sidi Bouknadel—including strategic CIA communications facilities. In the event of such an escalation, POLISARIO might very well be on its own. Relations between the Saharans and the Soviet Union have never been particularly close, and growing Soviet economic links with Morocco would tend to decrease the chances of substantial support for the independence fighters.

In the guerrillas' favour is the internal dissent the war is causing in both Morocco and Mauritania. Officials in Nouakchott said privately that the Zouerate raid could not have been carried out so successfully without cooperation from northern Mauritians, who are ethnically and culturally related to the Saharan nomads. And Moroccans are chafing under the casualties of the undeclared war, whose casualties a Moroccan dissident group estimates are at least 50 a month, and sometimes as high as 50 a week.

A Moroccan bomber pilot told me that he and many of his fellows believe a major motivation for King Hassan's decision to send troops to Zaire was a need to boost military morale by what he believed would be a successful intervention. "Even the extra combat pay we get for being here in the Sahara doesn't cheer us up much," said the soldier. "Not when we're dying in a sandbox."

Also, to POLISARIO's advantage is the morale of the Saharans, which appears to be high, both among the guerrillas and in the refugee camps, where popular congresses in April debated problems and elected officials.

Lalti Smael Bardi is an example of the Saharan women who are being integrated into the guerrilla army in increasing numbers, since the women's organization's insistence last summer that military training be compulsory and equal for both sexes. She is 38 years old, and she says proudly that she has a son who is also a soldier. "We were forced to fight because our country was invaded," she says. "We will keep fighting as long as we must."



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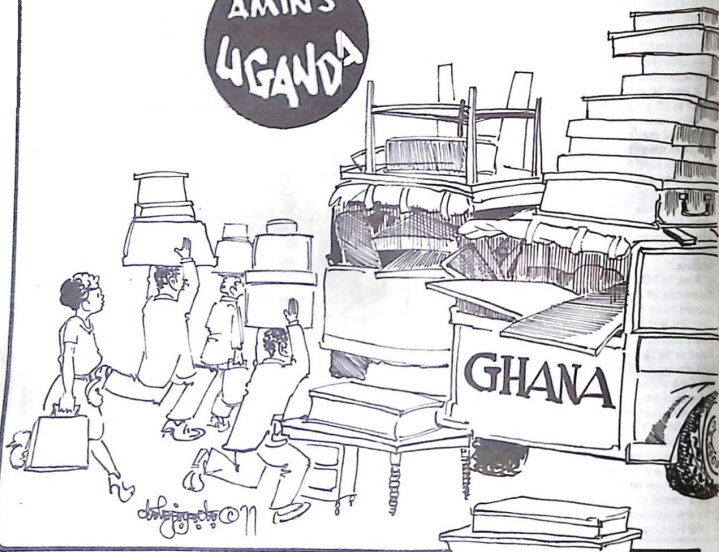
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AFRICA STILL-BORN IN USA

By Mark Pinsky, Durham

The scenario is certainly not unprecedented. A youthful group of idealists, searching for their historic identity and a way out of an oppressive living situation, leave behind their homes and, with them, all vestiges of Western civilization. They change their names, their dress and attempt to revive what they believe is their Promised Land and, finding it largely in disrepair and in the possession of others, begin buying back the worst of the land in the smallest of parcels. They clear it and drain it and plant crops. Friends fall out, people die, babies are born. Neighbours, at first dubious of these intense, young outsiders, become even more suspicious as the settlement survives, takes hold and, with painful slowness and frequent setbacks, begins to grow.

Two dozen plywood huts, without electricity or running water, in the eerie, muggy "low country" of coastal South Carolina may not be many people's idea of a New Jerusalem, but for the settlers of the Yoruba village of Oyo Tunji, it is home.

The decent white folks around Beaufort County, South Carolina—down at the chamber of commerce, the sheriff's office, the department of social services the newspaper—don't actually use the term "shiftless niggers" when they talk about Oyo Tunji, over in Sheldon, S.C., but that is clearly what is on their minds. Their initial comments, although ostensibly non-judgemental, are salted with references to "some people from Brooklyn," with their "welfare checks" and "big Cadillacs."

As they warm to the topic, which they inevitably do, they confide that the main crop of the seven year old settlement is inflated media accounts of what they are doing. That it is a hype and a hustle; that it is a mixture composed of equal parts sham, shuck and jive.

Modest experiment

Frankly, Oyo Tunji does look a "little down at the mouth." Stories in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, National Observer, *Oui Magazine*, NBC and Numerous Carolina newspapers notwithstanding, it is a very modest experiment. But, although

tourists are charged to visit the village and dances are performed for their benefit, Oyo Tunji does not appear to be a black equivalent of a plastic Indian reservation or a "Roots"—like version of Disneyland.

The leader of the village of Oyo Tunji is, well, the king. He is known as King Efunfola, Osejenan Adefunmi, familiarly called Kabiyesi, once referred to as King Baba and born Walter Serge King in Detroit, Mich., in 1928. King Efunfola's parents were both active in Marcus Garvey's back to Africa movement and throughout his early life, first as a commercial artist and then as artist's model, his interest in Africa grew. In 1959, he visited the Lucerne people of Cuba, at a village near Matanzas, a people who, he says maintained a "continuous descent from Yoruba priests. They had the language, the religion, the cuisine, all of the rituals and the ceremonies and the festivals which the Yorubas celebrated."

Culture movement

What Efunfola learned, he took back with him to New York, where he began establishing various Yoruba temples. "Having been initiated into that aspect of this culture, and with an actual nationality, that enabled us to have a far greater impact, to reach more deeply into the subconscious of our people," he now recalls. Throughout the 1960s, Efunfola and his growing number of adherents involved themselves in the ferment of their time and neighbourhood, emphasizing throughout that theirs was "a purely African culture movement." They helped organize rallies, they opened African boutiques and introduced the dashiki to black Americans.

In 1970, Efunfola left his Shango Temple on 125th Street in Harlem and, with his family, moved to Sheldon, S.C. Why South Carolina?

"We chose South Carolina because there were more blacks brought here than any other state. And, as a result, there are more Africanisms surviving today. So there was a background for us."

"This particular place was found because we knew some people who had lived around here and they got us a farm house where we stayed for a time. However, when people discovered we

were building a village, they asked us to leave. So we asked neighbours for help and one of the store owners had this 10 acre piece. Since it was covered with trees he sold it to us very reasonably, if we would cut down the trees and clear the swamp, and that's what we did."

The structures of Oyo Tunji gradually went up: first a well and the king's residence and market places; then temples for various gods and compounds for other families. Instead of the traditional mud, plywood was used for the huts, and Palmetto thatching was used in addition to, rather than instead of solid roofs. Beautiful, painted carvings were worked out of support pillars. Efunfola wrote letters around the country to members of his movement, asking them to come. By 1976, the population of the village had reached 50.

Within the village, the adults wear light, loose-fitting trousers or skirts, with both the men and women frequently wearing nothing above the waist in the summer heat. Some women wear turbans and many of the smaller children wear nothing at all. Most of the villagers have traditional facial scars of three parallel lines on each cheek, created by rubbing ashes into the cuts.

Over the years, however, Oyo Tunji has had its problems.

"There has been a lot of hostility, but it has been very subtle and not overt to any great degree," says Efunfola. "It's been in the form of responses to articles in the newspaper, of remarks made by the sheriff, of health department attempts to close down the village. But happily enough, the gods have been able to defend us against these incursions."

Much of what white people around the town of Beaufort think of Oyo Tunji is inaccurate. There are few old station wagons and a van, but no Cadillacs. Some residents receive food stamps (which Efunfola calls "reparations"), but none receive any other form of welfare benefits.

Schooling provides no source of difficulty, since South Carolina law is set up to charter almost any kind of "Christian," neo-segregationist school (one of which is located right up the road from the village). Thus was born

the Yoruba Royal Academy.

According to Lt. R.C. Jenkins, of the Beaufort County Sheriff's Department, the people of the village "haven't presented any major problems" to their neighbours. Jenkins, a huge, taciturn black man, noted that "we very rarely have calls out there."

(At least a part of Beaufort's hostility toward Oyo Tunji must be attributed to racism, inasmuch as no untoward remarks were ever directed to either of the other distinctive groups of outsiders who have recently set up colonies nearby: the Kuwaiti Arabs who purchased Kiawah Island, and the rich, white Northerners who have settled on Hilton Head Island. Both groups do, in fact, make a habit of driving around in large cars.)

"The most serious problems we have had," the king admitted, "have always come internally. Turnover we rather expected because, after all, this is a very difficult life and the African-American male is not very much adapted or trained for pioneering—especially coming from the city. The country black, of course, is capable of surviving here, but mainly we were attracting city blacks who had been in the nationalist movement or in the civil rights movement and were disillusioned with that. Most of them were just not able to survive. It required too much manhood and they just didn't have it."

"There were those who came and were impatient to advance, impatient for power and influence here, and they created problems."

In one incident, a dissident member tried to run the king over in a car, in an ensuing struggle, was shot to death.

One of the most important decisions was that of Olajide Afolabi, a village chief, priest and herbologist. The 36-year-old former Harlem realtor was, until his departure, thought to be second only to the king within the village. After a stormy dispute, Afolabi took one of his two wives and two years ago bought a place of his own in Sheldon. One of the original Oyo Tunji settlers, Afolabi would say only that he has cut all ties to the village and that "I'm in opposition to certain practices of the village."

Some of the practices are clearly more popular with black citizens of

Beaufort County and the surrounding "low country" than others. The religion of Oyo Tunji is the traditional Yoruba Orisha-Voodoo of Nigeria and the Republic of Benin. It involves the sacrifice of goats and chickens, throwing the bones, using beads, chewing powers and the use of hexes and spells.

"Individuals call on their spirits with drum and music in order to be possessed by them," says Efuntola. "The major gods and goddesses in the Yoruba culture correspond to the planets in astronomy and their influence on earth is the same as astrology."

Belief in such practices is still very strong among many black people and a surprising number of whites in the low country. The retired sheriff of Beaufort County was, for many years, known as a "white witch doctor." This reservoir of belief has provided the major source of income for Oyo Tunji.

"Many priests here are engaged in the kind of work that Christians and Mohamedans—everybody needs," according to Efuntola. "That is, counselling marriage, as well as sacrifice to solve problems or medical information about herbs. So they make a comfortable little living out of that. It's our major source of income."

Dancing is also an important element of the ritual of Oyo Tunji. Sacrifices usually mean dancing, accompanied often on an oil can drum. In his youth, King Efuntola toured Europe with the Katherine Dunham dancers, and the dancers of Oyo Tunji have become so well known, that they were used in the African episode of "Roots." One member of the village portrayed the priest who was to perform the circumcision and others served as extras. Efuntola was a technical adviser.

The series itself has provided an additional windfall for the village.

"There's been an increase in our tourism, especially from the schools," says Efuntola. "Most of those people come in because earlier in the year they have been affected by 'Roots' and therefore are interested in African origins and African culture."

Perhaps the least popular and most publicized practice of Oyo Tunji is polygamy. Yes, says the king (who now has six wives) they practice the "traditional polygamous system of marriage. . . . The same concepts

that our ancestors had. That is, that women are the equals of men, intellectually if not physically. . . . Yoruba culture never proscribed the levels, the extent to which a woman could rise."

This separate (or different) but equal rationale is not unfamiliar to those trying to dress up the status of women under Biblical law. It's less disgenuous when explained by one of the king's wives, Iya Orite, born Sheila Brown. Orite, 33, admitted that being wife number three took some getting used to. Raised in Pleasantville, N.J., the daughter of a musician and a dancer, Orite attended the predominately black St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, N.C. in the early 1960s, where she was active in the civil rights movement. After that came marriage, children, some time acting and running a small crafts store on the Lower East Side of New York. Her interest in the occult and her living situation eventually brought her to Oyo Tunji.

"I know a lot of this may seem funny to you," she says, leading a tour of the village. "But a jungle was what I lived in in New York. And savages were people who lived on my street. Here at least, I can raise my children in peace."

What next for Oyo Tunji?

"For the immediate future our plans are simply to perfect our knowledge of our ancient traditions. To restore those institutions which are vital and which are most imperative for reflecting and projecting into our children the Yoruba culture."

"Like the French Canadians who want to partition and separate from Canada—that's our ultimate goal here. Some form of partition of territory in the United States in the same way the American Indians are now asking for partitions of land for the redevelopment and reorganization of the American Indian culture and civilization. The Yorubas want to do the same thing. That is our ultimate aspiration."

A wiry, light-skinned man with a goatee and, frequently, a pipe, Efuntola admits that "it was difficult for me to even accept the idea of being king, because of the indoctrination of democracy and its equality idea." Difficult, but not impossible, for even in conversation the king is compelling and even charismatic.



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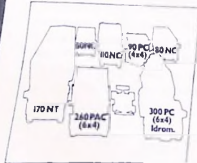


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DANGER IN THE HORN



Somalia's Said Barre: gang-up against Ethiopia?



Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia: a struggle for survival.

**Dr. T.A. Imobighe
University of Lagos, Nigeria*

Ever since the process of decolonisation started in the Horn of Africa, the area has known little or no peace due to the unsettled boundary disputes existing between the States of the area. Somalia, for instance, had laid claims to some parts of Ethiopia (the Ogaden area) as well as the North Eastern Province of Kenya, both inhabited by people of Somali stock. Ethiopia, on the other hand, had at one time wanted the incorporation of the entire Horn into Ethiopia. And Ethiopia and Somalia had both laid claims to the French Territory of Afars and Issas which has now attained independence under the name of Republic of Djibouti. In spite of several OAU interventions, the antagonism created by these conflicting territorial claims has

not been completely removed.

The problem of conflicting territorial claims is not peculiar to the Horn of Africa. It is one that touches virtually every African community. It is a legacy of Africa's colonial experience which led to the arbitrary partition of the Continent. The colonial frontiers which emerged were drawn without respect for traditional, political, cultural, or ethnic divisions. Thus at the time the process of decolonisation started in Africa, there was hardly any region that could be credited with natural frontiers geographically separating one nation from another. The situation in almost all over the Continent was such that coherent nationalities were divided between distinct national governments. This explains the presence, for instance, of the Yoruba in both Nigeria and the Republic of Benin, the Ewe in Benin, Togo

and Ghana and the Somalis in certain parts of Ethiopia and the North Eastern Province of Kenya; not as visitors but as citizens of the respective countries.

The situation is so widely spread that any attempt to alter these artificial boundaries to follow traditional national lines could lead to the complete disintegration of a number of independent African States. It was in appreciation of this problem that the OAU recommended at its Cairo Summit in 1964 that member-States should respect the colonial boundaries. As it was put in the Resolution:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government, considering that border problems constitute a grave and permanent factor of dissension, conscious of the existence of extra-African manoeuvres aimed at dividing African States, considering further that the borders of African States, on the day

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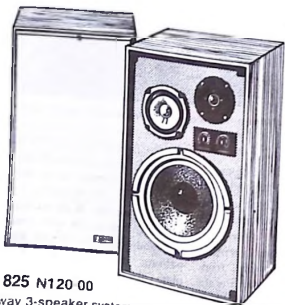
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of independence constitute a tangible reality. . . . solemnly declares that all Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence."

Foreign Fire-Stokers

Though the problem of boundary dispute in Africa is continent-wide, it has assumed explosive dimension in the Horn of Africa partly because the countries in the area are not quite prepared to accept the enlightened OAU view about the problem which is based on respect for territorial status quo. It is also partly due to the vulnerability of the area to external machinations. The situation has developed into a two dimensional confrontation in which the two super-powers stay in the background. There is first the perennial confrontation between Ethiopia and Somalia. Second, there is the confrontation between the Arab triumvirate of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan on the one hand, and Ethiopia on the other. In this conflict situation, the super-powers operate behind-the-scene strategy to enhance their position in their



*Above: Sultan Ali H Mirah: His Afar followers harass communications.
Below: Eritrian women soldiers.*





Members of the Ethiopian Peoples Militia training to defend their homes.

silent battle to control the strategic passage through the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean.

The situation is, however, complicated because two parties in the struggle (Somalia and the Arab Powers) have now ganged up against the third (Ethiopia). They are actively supporting and sustaining the Eritrean secessionist struggle in the northern region of Ethiopia, as well as the Somalia-based movement fighting against Ethiopia in the southern part of that country. The scramble for Djibouti has now taken a new shape with the Arab Powers seriously wooing her to join their fold. Saudi Arabia, for instance, has offered aid totalling 200 million dollars to Djibouti, and the latter has already applied to join the Arab League. Saudi Arabia has also played an important role in getting the French to shift allegiance from the pro-Ethiopian nationalist movement in Djibouti



President Hassan Gouled of Djibouti, left, and the speaker of the National Assembly on the first day of that country's independence.

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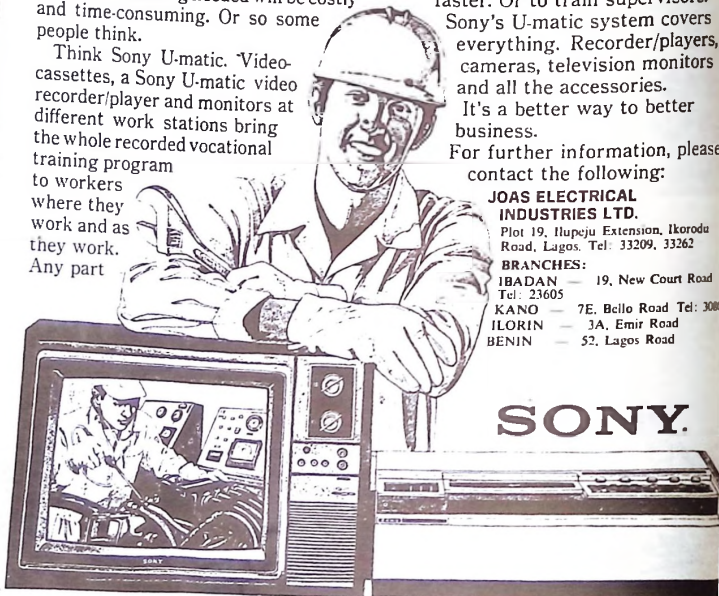
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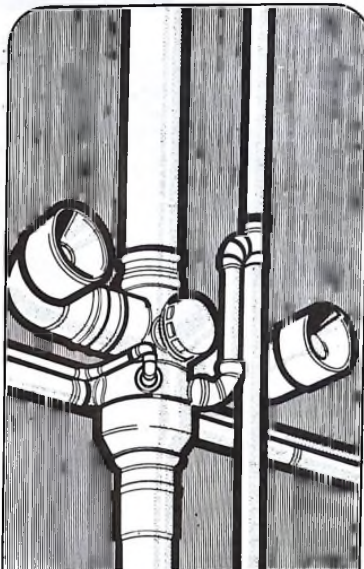
to the pro-Somalia faction who are now in control of the territory.

Somalia may or may not be interested in taking over the territory again now that the territory is under a pro-Somalia Government. In fact, she has already declared support for the new regime. Though the pro-Ethiopian nationalist movement had been ditched by the French, Ethiopia has not only spoken in support of the new regime but has also called for an international guarantee of the new country's independence. But the problem now is whether external pressures would allow Djibouti to play an independent and neutral policy, especially, in regard to the perennial conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia.

Gang-up against Ethiopia

At the moment, it seems as if there is a Western-backed Arab pressure on Djibouti to sever connection with Ethiopia. The President of the new Republic, Hassan Gouled, has already levied a number of accusations against Ethiopia: charging the latter of acts of aggression against the Somali-related Issas. He has also commented on the future of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway which accounts for 60% of Ethiopia's foreign trade. He made it clear that the existing agreement between France and Ethiopia will not be renewed, and that he would insist on a new treaty. He also expressed doubts about the feasibility of maintaining the railway in good repair due to what he calls "insecurity in Ethiopia's border provinces." (Interview published in Kuwaiti Daily Al Watan, 26 Jun 1977).

The last thing the West and the three Arab Powers (Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan) will want to see in the Horn of Africa is Djibouti's close connection with Ethiopia, which could enhance Soviet position in the area. These Powers are particularly worried by the increasing Soviet influence in the Indian Ocean entrance to the Red Sea. Already the Soviet Union enjoys naval facilities in the Somali port of Berbera



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Sudan's President Nimeiry

and in the South Yemeni port of Aden. The Soviet Union is definitely interested in extending her influence in the strategically important Red Sea area. If through her aid Ethiopia should succeed in pacifying Eritrea, then Massawa is likely to be added to the ports where Soviet vessels could call and enjoy berthing and refuelling facilities.

Under the background of Soviet naval build-up in the Indian Ocean and increased naval presence in the Mediterranean Sea, the West could not feel comfortable at the thought of increasing Soviet influence in the strategic passage connecting the two principal waters. Hence there is a conscious effort in the West to ensure that the newly independent State of Djibouti does not fall under Ethiopia, and hence Soviet influence. Djibouti has no special attraction other than its strategic location. It occupies the 17 mile-wide strait which links the Red Sea with the Indian Ocean. Not less than 17 ships including oil tankers pass through the strait everyday. This strategic importance is, however, a sufficient reason why no side will be prepared to tolerate a complete takeover of the territory by the other. **Danger Signals**

Under the present situation open military confrontation can only be avoided if the external intruders act with restraint and do not push Djibouti to the extent of trying to strangle Ethiopia economically. If this happens Ethiopia may act to protect her interest. Any Ethiopian intervention in Djibouti is likely to involve Somalia, possibly with the backing of the Arab Powers. And no need saying that the super-Powers will take their queue in such a general flare-up of hostility.

If this survey deals largely with Djibouti, it is because the Djibouti situation clearly illustrates the kind and extent of dynamite sticks which active Super-power rivalry litters over an otherwise containable local conflict. Overnight, a bush of mildly irritating thorns is turned into a mined field. Explosion points lurk at every turn. As one watches the Zebra crisscrosses of the Super-powers (Moscow moves from Mogadishu to Addis Ababa while Washington cautiously reverses from Addis Ababa towards Mogadishu), one is amazed at the inexplicable indifference of the OAU and its member-states.

Criticism as Homicide

A BRIEF REPLY

FEMI OSOFISAN

Let's re-examine the issues which have disturbed Odia:

- 1) I say that art, when it is worthwhile, must strive to transcend the banality of everyday experience. Odia says no, rubbish, for art is part of the social and historical crisis, and therefore must presumably be equally banal. Good for him.
- 2) I say that the artist must try and create the vision of the future, that is, the vision that will help rescue our society from its present incoherence. Odia says rubbish again ("jeremiad," "vulgar historicism" etc), that what I am calling for are mere "optimistic vignettes"—thereby reducing me to the status of an imbecile or charlatan. I thank him.
- 3) I say that the writers have been FEW whose vision of the human condition in Africa is profound or challenging. Odia goes into a long argument of refutation, and mentions, as a final point FIVE NAMES — Achebe, Armah, Soyinka, Munonye, Omotosol Let's concede that he has missed out some names and

graciously double the number and we still have TEN names. Ten!!! What, for Odia's sake would be the definition of FEW.

- 4) I say that if a writer fails to grapple with the reality of his society in any meaningful way, then his work is 'escapist' and as much so as the literature of whodunit, symbolized by Hardley Chase who is to be found in all our bookshops and homes. Odia's argument is confused here, for after first saying no, he then goes ahead to explain why it is so, repeating what he has earlier dismissed as 'platitudes,' namely that all over the world, people prefer 'unproblematising literature'. I don't see how merely rephrasing the words makes the point less of a platitude, if that is what Odia thinks it is. Nor do I see how explaining a bad habit becomes a justification for it. Or is it an 'eufemism' logic?

I must say that I find the arguments very strange, coming from the man who—although detesting 'public relations'—was willing to assert once, in an interview, that "good art is also PROPAGANDA!" Contradictions, and their dialectical manifestations, in social and esthetic collisions, lead to enlightenment, but certainly not confusion or naivete, which is what we have here, a flurry of effete punches. Better readers should bear this confusion in mind when next they read Odia's poetry; it will probably explain the disturbing, esthetic fallacy inherent in the poems that is, the yawning gap between the poetic intention and plastic form.

To conclude, I must confess that Odia is a friend of mine, whom I hold with considerable respect, but I don't count this sufficient reason for him to waste my time and that of serious readers with nanities, however eloquently expressed. Let him come up with essential arguments some time and we can



Femi Osofisan



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have a lively debate. Meanwhile the only reply I can make to him now has been translated by Kayper-Mensah from the Adinkra pattern called KRA-DO. It reads, in part:

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New love demands a knock.
Loving you is walking in
By a door closed....
May your meaning find it,
Find it, find it!

Thanks,

book review

Title: SURVIVE THE PEACE
Author: Cyprian Ekwensi
Publishers: Heinemann, London 1976
Reviewer: William R. Ochieng, Kenyatta University College, Nairobi.

Among the many stimulants of literature

criticism love is probably the only rival of war. War is the highest stage of human conflict. It takes over where politics ends. It is the continuation of politics, but at a higher, and often bloody and clamorous level.

Like in the case of the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya, the Nigerian Civil War has begun to provide Nigerian men of letters with varied and puzzling human experiences on which to base their literary creativity. One, here, has in mind Elechi Amadi's *Sunset in Biafra* and that explosive output by Wole Soyinka: *The Man Died*. In this novel, *Survive The Peace*, Cyprian Ekwensi takes us back to those tragic days of the Nigerian Civil War with the skill of the fine story teller that he is.

James Odugo, Radio-Journalist, quickly finds out that to survive the peace after the Biafran war takes more guts and resilience than to survive the war itself. Confusion reigns as he and Vic Ezenta, a woman announcer, flee the radio station at Umunevo, to try and reach his wife and children. But the war has smashed his marriage, as it had smashed many other marriages, and official peace, ending hostilities, provides no lasting relationship with Vic who deserts him and takes off with a Federal Army Officer, Abdul Gana. Unfortunately for Odugo he does not live long to enjoy the peace, as he falls victim to the guns of highway robbers.

The story told in this book is very touching. It is a story of sufferings, deprivations, illnesses and deaths. And its origins are so simple, the selfishness and hollow pride of leaders. Says James Odugo: "When two leaders disagree and they have the means to annoy each other, they send their agents to provoke the other leader.... and when the shooting starts, the leaders are safe, the people die...."

But Pa Ukoha, one of the wise and old characters in the book, looks at things differently. To him the causes of the Nigerian Civil War, like the causes of other civil wars in independent Africa, stemmed from the short-sightedness of the African leadership and their inborn greed. He says: "I listen to radio, and everywhere among black rulers we hear war.... When some black men begin to rule they become too greedy. They eat and fill their stomachs and the stomachs of their brothers. That is not enough for them.

They continue until their throats are filled. And that too is not enough. They have food in their stomachs and in their throats and they go on till their mouths are full and then proceed to fill their bags. But no one else outside their families or their tribe must partake of this food. Yet everybody should have a share in the food. That is what brings trouble in African. So I want to rule, so as to have my share. You want to rule, to have your share. Then we start killing ourselves. God forbid!"

Tribalism, thus, was at the base of the Nigerian nightmare, as was capitalism—whose other names are greed and selfishness. The combination of both caused untold misery to the ordinary Nigerian. It was a time of confusion in the streets and confusion in men's minds. Every where people broke the law, and violence, death, and people in the streets, in bed, on the highway. And most of the people who died had no hand in it. The majority did not even have a stake in the economy or politics of Nigeria. As one of the young men who returned from the war declared to his step-father: "We fought a useless war "those whose business it conspire will still conspire, those who plan evil will still plan evil, and those who seek power will still seek power."

Yet, as Pa Ukoha says, "the struggle is for the living, not for the dead and the living must learn why there was a struggle. It is at this juncture that we return to the writer, to Cyprian Ekwensi, "the Nigerian Defoe." He has chosen a very important period in the Nigerian Civil War as the core of his novel—the period of the declaration of peace, the period of reconstruction. After several traumatic coups and the bloody Civil War what kind of Nigeria did he want to see reconstructed? Nigeria in which wealth divided against itself, and thus open to foreign intrigues, foreign manipulation, and foreign exploitation? Nigeria ruled by a few men whose only criterion for leadership was their ownership of guns and bombs?

A Book Without A Message

These are simple but vital questions which every Nigerian should have asked. I believe it was in order to answer some of these questions that Wole Soyinka wrote *The Man Died*. In this novel we find Cyprian Ekwensi and

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his characters possessed with only two ideas: "survival" and "peace." He does not ask the simple questions like: peace for who? Survival for what? Survival to be exploited again? Survival to be used as fodder for the guns again, in the next confrontation by leaders?

Everywhere, in Lagos, Enugu, Obo-donta, Nsukka, name it, the new greeting is "happy survival." Everybody is talking of peace, of a new start. The rat-race is back. Those who are influential are talking of getting loans from the banks to start agains. Odugo is determined to go into business. "Everybody is going into business," he says. "They believe you get rich quickly through business" How about the silent majority who have no access to bank managers and information directors, like Odugo? Those wretched of the earth who do not even own land, how do they get rich quickly?

Odugo's girlfriend, Gladys, is also convinced that business is the thing. She plans to go the Lagos to start a general store which she plans to call GLAD ENTERPRISES. None of the survivors are concerned about the plight of the strugglers. None is concerned about the quality of the future society, leadership and government. All the Nigerians need, according to Ekwensi, is peace, "Peace to trade and train our children, peace just to sit and do nothing." How long can this kind of peace last? Especially if the causes of the war are not the concern of those who want peace? For how long can man-eat-man society last?

Odugo dies on the road, from a robber's gun. We are supposed to sympathise with Odugo and to condemn the robbers. The robbers must be caught. "Search for them everywhere." But the robbers, who represent the ordinary man with no access to bank managers, must also "survive the peace." This is what Ekwensi does not realize. To the robbers Odugo was just another capitalist dead, men who oppressed and exploited the country, men who broadcast lies to the people. Why should he be given a chance to survive the peace and to start exploitation all over again?

Much as I found this book absorbing reading I must admit I was very disappointed by the time I finished reading it. A book discussing a national tragedy like the Nigerian Civil War should carry

some serious message to those who suffered. It should also give them insights into alternative ways of governance. I am afraid Cyprian Ekwensi's **Survive The Peace** will simply remind the Nigerians of the tragedy they went through. It will only rub old wounds. It offers no cure. For this reason I regard it as a failure.

book review

Title: **A DANCER OF FORTUNE**

Author: **John Munonye**

Publishers: **Heinemann**

Reviewer: **Senda Wa Kwayera, Nairobi.**

A committed writer must reflectively reveal the real predicament of the oppressed and show them as being able to change the fetid world by specific means; this ensues only if the writer embraces the art of praxis and hence allying with the starving millions of the world. This valid point has been betrayed by many contemporary artist such that they never will find sympathy from eminent praxis writers as Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and Sembene Ousemane. Hence it is with such a standpoint that one must take in reading John Munonye's latest novel 'A Dancer of Fortune.

It is a hilarious story of Ayasko, a one time good man turned blatant thug and comedian due to the very highly acquisitive society in which he lives and must, of necessity, come to terms with. This intricate society forces him to be a comic dancer, rhetorician and even a brazen liar. While concentrating on the mighty exploits of Ayasko John Munonye detailedly depicts the Nigerian society in frantic transition amassing problems for the man on the lower social rung and he dimly point to what is to be done.

One can easily call "A Dancer of Fortune" a work of critical realism due to the multitude of problems prodded upon unsolved. There are the Patent Medicine Stores under such avaricious proprietors as Sabanco, Marabu and Avarido who are interested in selling medicine exorbitantly and least caring whether the patient is healed or not. In order to effectively gain the money, they use the blaring radios, vans, big posters all proclaiming the urgency, effectiveness of patent medicines, which in actual fact are non-

existent. The poor people are pushed to their graves earlier than in the case just for a few money crazed business tycoons to get rich. No wonder that Ayasko, employed for his coaxing and cozening antics, bursts out that he is interested in getting medicine sold not caring whether the patient heals or not.

With this detached end in view, one then realises that there are deep scathing levels of exploitation in the novel. The major victims being the masses that are impoverished via false unedifying medicines of the businessmen. They only act as tools in enriching the enterprise not partaking the fruits thereof. There is Ayasko who is doubly exploited first his pay is irregular and that he dances, shuts and howls himself old for a mere pittance that doesn't better his material condition. The drivers for the medicine enterprise are overworked and yet the owners are more eager to inquire on vehicle's condition than theirs! Perhaps Chindi alias "Election Machine" is the most exploited in the whole novel. He tirelessly campaigns successfully for politicians who go to parliament only to forget him—now ageing fast in poverty.

The Characters

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Choose from the wide range of John Deere tractors the models that fit your needs. Talk to R.T. Briscoe about it. Operate one for yourself. R.T. Briscoe provides spare parts and after sales service.

Available ex-stock in 7 models from 48 H.P. to 145 H.P. Prices range from N5,996-00 to N19,136-00



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ABA
P.O. Box 819
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in London, they identify with a Brazzaville bandstar's name, they respect and adorn foreign beers and foods not realizing that they are being exploited at home and abroad by huge octopolar money-making organizations that care least for local peoples' welfare save seeing them as mere cogs in a wheel of progress. In this system of money making cut-throat competition ensues between the men of business till they nearly and in assuaging each other. A character says "Greatness does not necessarily breed contentment... there is urge for domination... ascendancy... and the quest for supremacy..." And this is what painful scars the humane relationship among the traders: money becomes their spectacle of life's vision and this early ends in pistol tragedy between Ayasko and Eddy the new big man on the scene.

Otherwise the novelist gives each character a good detailed background and this explains their actions at various stages in the novel. This is coupled with the articulate plot by which he weaves his novel gaining force in every chapter that follows. The dialogues are natural and fit their various characters artistically. When rival-hating women talk and grade 'man' 'husband' 'boy-friend,' the drivers use such titles as 'long life,' 'Artful doger' and the businessman talk nothing but profiteering, one never feels illusioned by the author.

But does this infer that Munonye as an artist is allying his creative talents with the people or is he being a naturalistic documentarist of men's fate in a society? This can be scrutinized fully. There is Ayasko who is "employer-free" and unbonded, there is a dim suggestion of his stealing in order to satisfy his wife's craze for a better life. A prophetess gives a solution of leaving all to God's condemnation. These are bane suggestions which become even more bizarre when one considers the extent of suffering. Perhaps the hint at a strike that Ayasko reports from radio may be fairer but as an eminent artist, one feels that Munonye shouldn't have sat on the fence in such a situation. The masses win by violence Munonye should have shown this than cower on the fence. This gives "A Dancer of Fortune" a bland of "Chase" series of books than a real work of art attempting to liberate humanity from the state predicament. However, it gives African writing a different turn, though uncraved for currently for how can a whole novel off suffering never depict a collective sense of the desire for change?



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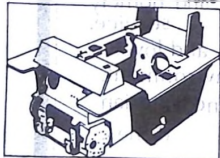
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Steer axle beam is thick for strength and weight. Provides a low centre of gravity for stability.

Caterpillar lift trucks offer better stability and strength under stress, plus better load maneuverability than most other lift trucks. These trucks are built to operate

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COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

PRODUCT NEWS:

CHEAPER SCRUTINY

According to a British Bulletin of information, the major reason why 'Maylite Ophthalmoscope' made by Gowlands Limited won in last year's Medical Equipment design award was the fact that modern plastic processing techniques were utilised. For example, a special feature was the production of 20 negative and positive lenses of different focal length from a simple-piece acrylic moulding (plastic pattern derived from polymerisation of derivations from acrylic acid). This moulding alone reduced the cost of Such Conventional lenses by one-third, thereby making this model of eye examination equipment far cheaper than others manufactured in Germany, Japan, Brazil and Pakistan.

DAMAGE-FREE BENDING

From Sweden, a new automatic machine which can bend aluminum sheet to a predetermined form without damage has been constructed by Mr. Gustav Naslund. Because it bends by first making a series of indentations in the furrows where the bend is to be made, damages to sheet surface and alterations to dimensions are no more because folds are made at the edges of the sheet.

Mr. Naslund's original copy of this invention has a capacity of 60 bends per hour although it is believed that output will double if a larger hydraulic pump is installed. What's more, it is stated, with the machine, savings in erection costs to the tune of \$23 per metre is possible.

SAVING ENERGY

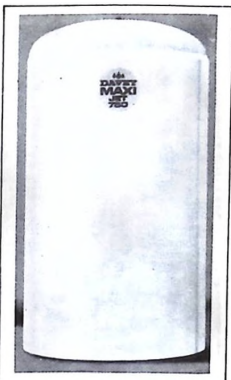
Since the oil crisis, energy conservation

systems have been springing up here and there. The latest in the series is FLAKTS new system for temperature control of large air-conditioned buildings.

It combines the old fluid-coupled heat recovery system with a refrigerator heat pump unit to form a unique arrangement whereby the heat pump unit comes on stream when exterior temperature drops to a point where the heat recovery system cannot maintain adequate heat. As a result of this old Flakt's recovery system—ECOTERM—with an efficiency of 50-60 per cent has become much more efficient (within the range of 75-80 per cent) while, says Flakt, savings of up to 100 per cent can be made in energy consumption.

WATER PRESSURE SYSTEM

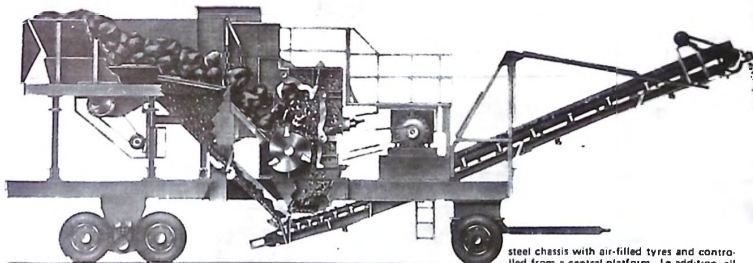
In a changing World, pressure pumps are yet another means towards the end that is modernised world of comfort and class.



but because of running costs, Davey's pressure Jets represent the minority that can actually be used in poverty-stricken Africa.

Both the Mini and Maxi jets draw current only when the motor is running so that until the pump is turned on, no current is consumed. In most cases, Davey's water systems are able to provide up to 8 gallons of stored water under pressure without the systems pump operating. This is because a pressure storage tank is incorporated in the system.

Models Mini Jet 450 and 600 can only be used for household purposes while the bigger Maxi Jet 750 surfs for both household and garden supply. All models, however, contain in-built thermostats which automatically cut out in overheating conditions.



INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY:

PARKER'S 'ROCK-RANGER'

Put simply, this is a fully mobile primary Rock Crushing plant with vibrating feeder and a fixed bar screen. The screen separates undersized stones and wastes from the bigger rocks.

The Crushing Unit proper is made up of a conveyor belt and the all important single

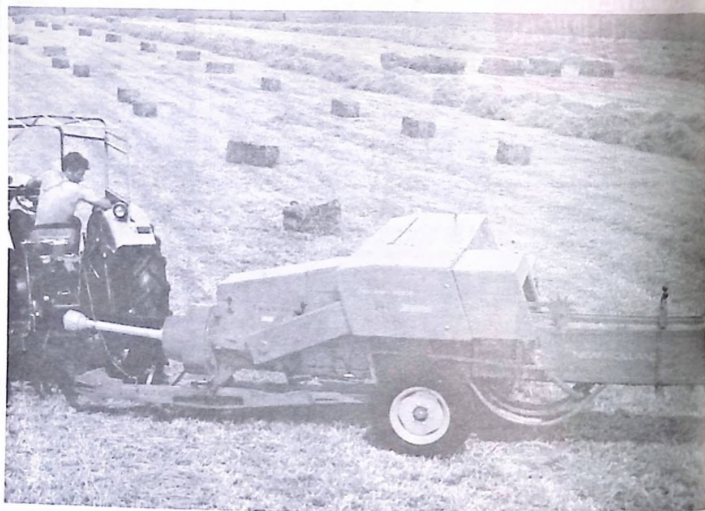
toggle Jaw Crusher. In most cases these Crushers are 'V' shaped with roller bearings and body fabricated from steel and reinforced with heavy ribs. As the rocks are rolled past the 'V' opening, enough force is applied by weighty single down-thrust appliances to crush them to fine pieces. These are later conveyed by another belt conveyor onto a standby truck or onto a secondary plant for further processing.

The entire plant is mounted on a welded

steel chassis with air-filled tyres and controlled from a central platform. In addition, all parts of the plant are easily accessible for maintenance especially in the case of the Jaw Crusher where change of settings and parts are easily carried out.

Unlike other models, model 5261 in the series, has a separate vibrating screen. Heavy duty and fitted with manganese steel, this separate screen is supported by coil springs which absorb the vibration and impact of the rolling rocks.

Before the multi-sized rocks get to the Screen, they pass through a vibrating feeder



HAYLINERS

Now that nomadic way of cattle rearing is being discouraged in most parts of Africa, Hayliners have become machines of utmost importance. With these, the nomadic need to go grazing is checked and replaced with stationary Cattle ranches supplied foddies with the aid of Hayliners. Generally, these machines consist of ap-

proximately four different units. For example, the Super Hayliner, manufactured by New Holland, had the pick-up unit, feeder system; storage chamber, the roller system and the bale binder.

The Pick-up unit is 67½ inches wide and made up of 132 closely-spaced tines (fork-like spikes). On the other hand, the feeder system consists of 12 tines and huge feed area which lead to the Bale Chamber.

At the start of operation, cut weeds are picked up by the 132 Pick-up tines, swept

into the Flow-Action feed system and thence to the Bale Chamber. Here, the bale binder, at times called Plunger, compresses them into square bales which are in turn firmly tied by knotters with twines from the twine box just to the left of the Chamber. These are then rolled off through the rare.

In most cases the hayliners have built for attachment to tractors and come mounted on inflated tyres. There are other additions depending on both the make and model.

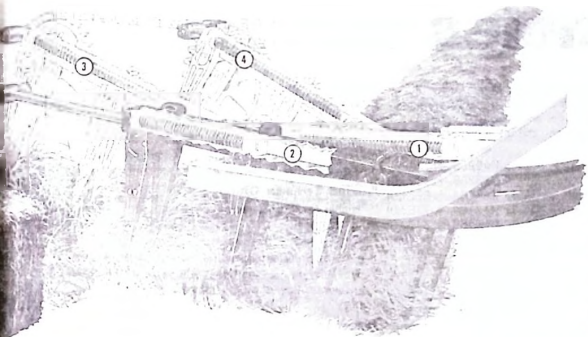
COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

unit which more or less is the start of the whole crushing process. It comprises a spring-supported steel tray and a vibrating unit beneath which imparts a powerful reciprocating movement aided by an electric motor.

All models can be supplied with optional appliances like lump stone chutes for transferring stones on to the vibrating feeder unit and product screening devices which can be fitted to separate the crushed products into different sizes.

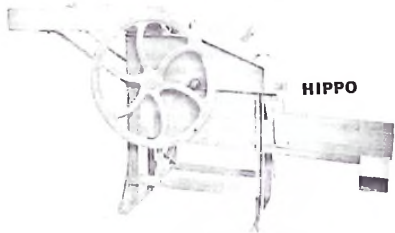


FLOW-ACTION FEEDING...



Meters the crop into the bale chamber to produce uniform, square bales. Telescoping feeder bar measures each charge, then gage sweeps the crop into every corner of the bale chamber. The uniform rate of feeding is precisely timed throughout each stroke:

1. Eight feeder fingers gently gage the crop at the beginning of each stroke
2. The correct amount of crop is measured off and moved toward the bale chamber. The telescoping bar prevents clogging and uneconomical feeding
3. Fingers lift, distributing the crop evenly throughout the bale chamber
4. The fingers lift clear and return to their starting position as the plunger makes the slice.



HIPPO

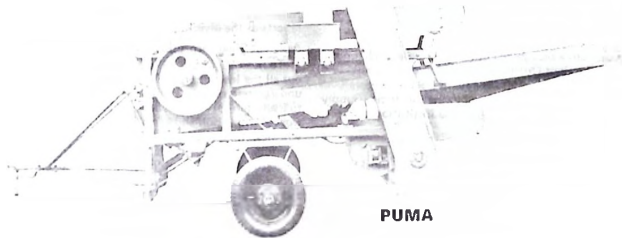
FOCUS

RANSOME'S MAIZE SHELLERS

Maize needs no introduction in Africa so that when one comes across a range of efficient implements for its shelling, nothing but a focus suffices.

The maize shellers made by Ransome Sims & Jefferies Limited of England come in different models among which we have the ones trade-marked 'Puma', 'Demon', 'Moon' and 'Hippo'.

The Demon is hand operated with totally



PUMA

Vacancies

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF MINES AND POWER
ELECTRICAL INSPECTORATE DIVISION

Applications are invited from suitable candidates to fill the following vacant posts in the Electrical Inspectorate Division, Federal Ministry of Mines and Power. The positions would be offered in Lagos and the State Inspectorates throughout the Federation

Assistant Director	-	GL.15 (N9996-N11028)
Chief Inspecting Engineer	-	GL.14 (N8868-N9828.0)
Asst. Chief Inspecting Engineers	-	GL.13 (N7764-N8724.0)
Principal Inspecting Engineers	-	GL.12 (N7104-N7752.0)
Senior Inspecting Engineer	-	GL.10 (N5460-N6432.0)
Inspecting Engineer Grade I	-	GL.09 (N4368-N5340.0)
Inspecting Engineer Grade II	-	GL.08 (N3264-N4164.0)
Principal Technical Officer	-	GL.10 (N5460-N6432.0)
Senior Technical Officers	-	GL.09 (N4368-N5340.0)
Higher Technical Officers	-	GL.08 (N3264-N4164.0)
Technical Officers	-	GL.07 (N2496-N3216.0)

QUALIFICATION AND EXPERIENCE:

Assistant Director:

A degree from a recognized university in Electrical Engineering or Equivalent Qualification with two years post-qualification experience, followed by at least twelve years experience in a responsible position in the Electricity Supply Industry. Corporate Membership of the Institution of Electrical Engineers is desirable

Chief Inspecting Engineer:

A degree from a recognized university in Electrical Engineering or Equivalent Qualification with two years post-qualification experience, followed by at least ten years experience in a responsible position in the Electricity Supply Industry. Corporate Membership of the Institution of Electrical Engineers is desirable.

Asst. Chief Inspecting Engineers:

A degree from a recognized university in Electrical Engineering or Equivalent qualification with two years post-qualification experience, followed by at least eight years experience in a responsible position in the Electricity Supply Industry. Corporate Membership of the Institution of Electrical Engineers is desirable.

Principal Inspecting Engineers:

A degree from a recognized University in Electrical Engineering or equivalent qualification with two years post-qualification experience; followed by at least six years experience in a responsible position in the Electricity Supply Industry. Corporate Membership of the Institution of Electrical Engineers is desirable

Senior Inspecting Engineers:

A degree from a recognized university in Electrical Engineering or Equivalent Qualification with two years post-qualification experience; followed by at least four years experience in a responsible position in the Electricity Supply Industry. Corporate Membership of the Institution of Electrical Engineers is desirable.

Inspecting Engineers (Grade I):

A degree from a recognized university in Electrical Engineering or equivalent qualification with two years post-qualification experience, followed by at least two years experience in a responsible position in the Electricity Supply

Industry. Corporate Membership of the Institution of Electrical Engineers is desirable.

Inspecting Engineers (Grade II):

A degree from a recognized university in Electrical Engineering or equivalent qualification with at least two years post-qualification experience.

Principal Technical Officer:

Higher National Certificate in Electrical Engineering or Equivalent followed by at least six years experience in Electrical Supply Industry.

Senior Technical Officers:

Higher National Certificate in Electrical Engineering or Equivalent followed by at least four years industrial experience.

Higher Technical Officers:

Higher National Certificate in Electrical Engineering or Equivalent.

Technical Officers:

Ordinary National Certificate in Electrical Engineering followed by at least two years industrial experience.

DUTIES:

Assistant Director:

Statutory approval, licensing, inspection and certification of Hydro-generation, Major Thermal sets and small Thermal Plants. Route/Profile approval, inspection and certification of the entire Extra High Tension and High Tension network from 66kv to 330KV. Technical appraisal of Distribution projects ensuring standardization and compliance with appropriate Electricity Regulations. Review of Electricity Regulations under the Electricity Act, Chapter 57. Supervision of Testing Laboratories. Licensing and issuance of competency Certificates to Electrical contractors, Editing of Technical publications. Liaison with international agencies viz CIGRE (Paris), World Energy conference and I.E.E. (London) etc.

Chief Inspecting Engineers:

Inspection and certification of 132/330KV grid transmission networks, and major Hydro and Thermal Power Houses all over the country. Technical scrutiny of Power development proposals and statutory notices for extensions by the licenses like NEPA and NESCO etc. Modification to and drafting of Electricity Regulations, and to represent on National Standards Organisation. Investigation of accident. Running of main test laboratories and preparation of Annual reports of the division.

Assistant Chief Inspecting Engineers:

To head Major State Electrical Inspectorates and to carry out all the inspection and certification of overhead and underground networks operating at 66KV and 330KV and to issue statutory approval for extension of distribution networks. Inspection and certification of Rural Electrification schemes. Investigation of accidents and formulation of preventive reports. Inspection and certification of private generating sets, petrol pumps, cinemas, large mills and Factories subject to Factories act cap 66, Minerals act 12 and Mineral oils Act 121. Maintenance of Test Laboratories (The incumbent may also be posted in Headquarters Lagos

to assist the Chief Inspecting Engineers and the directorate).

Principal Inspecting Engineers:

To head the state Electrical Inspectorates in the Country. Inspection, Testing and certification of Rural Electrification projects. Maintenance of Test Laboratories. Inspection and certification of overhead and underground networks up to 11KV, and the Transformer substations. Statutory approval of distribution network extensions, and maintenance of as erected drawings. Inspection and certification of Private generating sets, issuing renewal notices. Maintenance of Annual generator Returns. Investigation of accidents and prosecuting contraventions of Regulations. The functions would involve extensive touring and close liaison with licensees.

Senior Inspecting Engineers:

Inspection and certification of private generating plants, Scouting for Unauthorised installations, extensive touring and on the spot investigations and inspection of the distribution networks, Investigation of accidents.

Inspecting Engineers Grade I:

To maintain test laboratories, drawing offices, compilation of As erected drawings and accident reports. To carry out inspection and certification of small generating installations, 400 volts consumer installations. To attend to Emergency night inspection and accident duties whenever required

Inspecting Engineers Grade II:

Maintenance of Annual Generator Returns, technical specifications, Maintenance of annual consumer returns and to inspecting 400 volts consumer installations.

Principal Technical Officer:

To supervise and maintain all Technical drawings and data pertaining to Transmission lines, Substations, Power Houses and Distribution Networks, Indenting, repairing and maintaining the Testing instruments, compilation of Annual Reports, Revenue collection and revision of licensing and Inspection fees. To organise and assist the Inspecting Engineers in the field duties.

Senior Technical Officers:

Processing of application forms for issuance of Electricity (Private) Licences for electrical generators and bulk supply transformers. Test and inspection of generator installations and associated switchgear wirings and small consumer installations to ensure compliance with Electricity (Wiring) Regulations. Investigation of Electrical accidents and to make recommendations to forestall occurrences in future. Assist in the periodical revisions and amendments of Electricity Act and other Regulations as appropriate.

Higher Technical Officers:

Issuance of NEPA no objection form for the processing of applications for Electricity (Private Licences). Checking of electric generator installation plans including controls and protection devices and technical specifications. Compiling registers of designed drawings for NEPA installation projects and Rural Electrification Schemes. Liaison with NEPA on petitions and public complaints. Test and inspection of small generator installations including Mobile sets

and associated switchgear wiring to ensure compliance with Electricity (Wiring) Regulations.

Technical Officers:

Assist in the processing of applications for the issuance of Electricity (Private) Licences for Electric Generators and bulk supply transformers. Checking of generator Sales Returns and despatch of Electricity Licence forms. Assist in the inspection of generator installations, public supply systems, Cinema Theatres and Petrol Stations to ensure compliance with Regulations.

SALARY AND CONDITION OF SERVICE:

Points of entry on the various grade levels would depend upon qualifications and experience. All posts are pensionable. Other condition of service are the same as obtained in the Federal Service of Nigeria. The Inspectorate Division has recently been reorganised and the incumbents would have liberal opportunities of overseas training and Senior Management Courses for career advancement.

METHOD OF APPLICATIONS:

Applications from candidates not in Government Service should be completed on official forms obtainable from the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Independence Building, Lagos. Applications from candidates in Government Service should be submitted by letter through the Head of applicant's Department and where the applicant is in the Public Service, through the Public Service Commission concerned and be accompanied by copies of Confidential Reports for the last three years.

CLOSING DATE:

All applications with the photocopies of the applicant's certificates should reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, P.M.B. 12586, Lagos not later than 15th September, 1977.

Staff Vacancies

NATIONAL BOARD FOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for appointment to the following posts in the Secretariat of the National Board for Technical Education. The Board was established by the Federal Military Government Decree No. 9 of 1977, to advise the Government on, and to coordinate all aspects of technical and vocational education falling outside the universities.

PLANNING DIVISION

Chief Planning Officer
Principal Planning Officer
Senior Planning Officer
Planning Officer Grade 1

Duties

The Chief Planning Officer will be responsible to the head of the Planning Division and will

- deal with matters affecting the physical development of technical institutions;
- prepare master plan for the development of Polytechnics/Colleges of Technology;
- assess the financial requirement for implementing (i) above;
- maintain statistics on technical institutions and enrolments;
- determine technical manpower requirements of development projects.

The Principal Planning Officer and others below him will assist the Chief Planning Officer.

Qualifications

A good degree in Technology, Science or any other similar subjects with experience of planning educational facilities. Possession of a post graduate degree in Planning would be an advantage. The minimum post graduate experience required for each of the posts is as follows:

Chief Planning Officer — 7 years
Principal Planning Officer — 5 years
Senior Planning Officer — 3 years
Planning Officer Grade 1 — 2 years

PROGRAMME DIVISION

Chief Programmes Officer
Principal Programmes Officer
Senior Programmes Officer
Programme Officer Grade 1

Duties

The Chief Programmes Officer will be responsible to the Head of the Programmes Division and will

- stimulate and coordinate curricula development, monitor and evaluate courses in technical institutions;
- coordinate courses and programmes;
- deal with accreditation and assessment of courses;
- design and operate a system for national certification for technical courses;
- develop programmes for identified technical manpower requirements.

The Principal Programmes Officer and others below him will assist the Chief Programmes Officer.

Qualifications

A good degree in Technology, Science or Commerce with experience of teaching in technical education institutions and/or technical education administration. The minimum post graduate experience required is:

Chief Programmes Officer — 7 years
Principal Programmes Officer — 5 years
Senior Programmes Officer — 3 years
Programme Officer Grade 1 — 2 years

ACCOUNTS DIVISION

Chief Accountant
Principal Accountant
Senior Accountant
Higher Executive Officer (Accounts)
Executive Officer (Accounts)

Duties

The Chief Accountant will be responsible to the Executive Secretary for:

- establishing and operating a good accounting system including stores;
- assisting in the preparation of estimates;
- payments.

The Principal Accountant, Senior Accountant and the others will assist the Chief Accountant.

Qualifications

A recognised accounting qualification or membership of a recognised accounting body together with experience as follows:

Chief Accountant — 7 years
Principal Accountant — 5 years
Senior Accountant — 3 years

In the case of Executive Officer (Accounts) and Higher Executive Officer (Accounts), appropriate qualification such as ACIS, AIA, with relevant experience.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

Administrative Secretary
Principal Assistant Secretary
Senior Assistant Secretary
Assistant Secretary
Principal Executive Officer
Senior Executive Officer
Higher Executive Officer
Executive Officer

Duties

The Administrative Secretary will be responsible to the Executive Secretary for the day to day administration of the office of the Board including personnel and establishment matters. He will be assisted by the Principal Assistant Secretary and the other officers in the Division.

Qualifications

For the Administrative Secretary and Principal Assistant Secretary, etc. (Posts 1-4) a good degree with appropriate minimum postgraduate experience as follows:

- Administrative Secretary — 7 years
- Principal Assistant Secretary — 5 years
- Senior Assistant Secretary — 3 years
- Assistant Secretary Grade 1 — 2 years

For the Principal Executive Officer/Senior Executive Officer, etc., HND or equivalent in Business Studies or ACIS with appropriate experience, or experienced general duty officers in the public service or large private concerns.

Personal Secretary

Duties

The Personal Secretary will be attached to the Executive Secretary (Chief Executive) of the Board and will perform the usual secretarial duties.

Qualifications

Candidates should have a good general education and suitable training and possess recognised secretarial qualifications with Typewriting and Shorthand at 50/120 words per minute respectively, satisfactory experience as a Confidential Secretary is desirable.

- Confidential Secretary Grade II
- Confidential Secretary Grade III
- Stenographer

Duties and Qualifications — Confidential Secretaries and Stenographers will be attached to appropriate officers to perform the usual secretariat duties. Candidates should have a good general education and secretarial training with the following qualifications in Typewriting and Shorthand:

- 50/120 words per minute — Conf. Sec. Grade II
- 50/100 words per minute — Conf. Sec. Grade III
- 35/80 words per minute — Stenographer

Typist

Candidates should possess recognised certificate with Typewriting speeds of 25 or 35 words a minute.

Clerical Officers

Candidates should possess West African School Certificate or equivalent.

Drivers/Driver Mechanics

First School Leaving Certificate with professional driving licence and a minimum of 3 years experience. The grade to which a candidate is appointed will depend on experience.

Messengers

First School Leaving Certificate.

Salaries

- Chief Planning Officer)
- Chief Programmes Officer) G.L. 14 ₦8,868 —
- Chief Accountant) ₦9,828
- Administrative Secretary)

- Principal Executive Officer)
- Principal Assistant Secretary) G.L. 12 ₦5,340 —
- Principal Executive Officer)
- Principal Assistant Secretary)

- Senior Planning Officer)
- Senior Programmes Officer)
- Senior Accountant) G.L. 10 ₦5,460 —
- Senior Assistant Secretary) ₦6,432
- Principal Executive Officer)

- Planning Officer Grade I)
- Programmes Officer Grade I) G.L. 09 ₦4,368 —
- Assistant Secretary Grade I) ₦5,340
- Senior Executive Officer)
- Personal Secretary)

- Assistant Secretary Grade II) G.L. 08 ₦3,264 —
- Higher Executive Officer) ₦4,164

- Executive Officer) G.L. 07 ₦2,532 —
- Confidential Secretary Grade II) ₦3,252

- Confidential Secretary Grade III) G.L. 06 ₦1,944 —
- ₦2,520

- Stenographers) G.L. 05 ₦1,476 — ₦1,908

- Clerical Officers)
- Driver—Mechanics) G.L. 04

- Typists)
- Drivers) G. L. 03

Conditions of Service

The posts are permanent and pensionable. The terms and conditions of service are similar to those in the Federal Public Service. Housing accommodation or allowance in lieu will be provided where applicable.

Method of Application

Applications which should be submitted in 3 copies must indicate clearly the post applied for and give the following particulars:

Full names, address, age, institutions attended with dates, qualifications obtained, details of experience with addresses of employers and dates, present post and salary, names and addresses of three referees (not relatives).

Applicants who are already in Government or other public service should send their applications through their Head of Department.

Applications should be forwarded to:

The Executive Secretary,
National Board for Technical Education,
P. O. Box 1224,
KADUNA.

to reach him not later than 20th September.

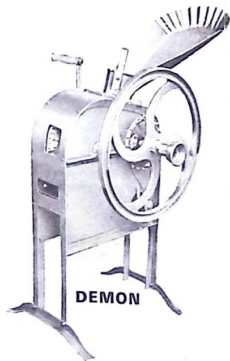
I. I. INWANG,
Executive Secretary.

enclosed driving gears and it can shell up to 408 kg of maize per hour. Simple to operate and with no operation costs (apart from depreciation), it is most suitable for small-time maize grower whose harvest is not voluminous enough to task manual operation.

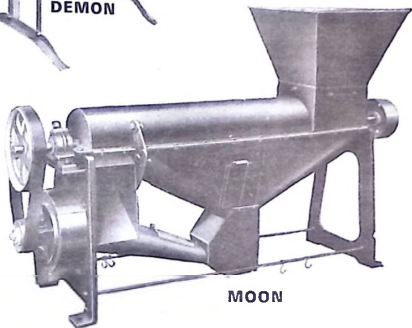
On the other hand, the Puma, a surprisingly lightweight model for both Husking and Shelling, "requires approximately 5 h.p. to keep it going and it's output is within the range of 3,628 kg per hour. Which means, the maize must have to be transported from the farms if this model is to be used. Ditto the model called 'Moon.' It shells previously husked maize head, at the rate of 4,535 kg per hour and requires between 4 and 6 h.p.

Out of all, only the 'Hippo' can be operated either in the field or in the town. It has provision for both manual and electrical operation and shells a modest 907 kg of corn per hour, although, it shells only already husked corn head like the 'Moon.'

However, although these machines are yet to play important roles in present-day maize production, there is no doubt, they will become important as time and conditions change.



DEMON



MOON

COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

FINANCE AND COMMERCE

STANDARD BANK FOR NIGERIA: Revenue 32 Per Cent Up

Standard Bank of Nigeria recorded ₦20.21 million as gross profit last financial year representing a 32 per cent increase over the preceding year. Net profit was ₦11.09m after provision had been made for ₦9.12m taxation. As a result a final dividend of 6.5k per share is proposed bringing the total dividend for the year, (including 10k per share interim) to 16.5k per share. Apparently, dividend rate was pegged to this low ratio because of the continuing ceiling imposed by the Government.

Reviewing the year's performance, Chairman Mallam Ahmadu Coomissie expressed dissatisfaction with present lending. He said: "Although we achieved a 22 per cent increase in our overall lending, . . . we would like to improve this performance in the light of the prevailing monetary situation." Towards this objective, he is of the opinion that with deposits over ₦1,000m, Standard Bank was in a position to invest a larger proportion of its resources in long and medium term lending.

PRE-CAST PLANT FOR NIGERIA

A new company, Banbury Systems (Nigeria) Limited, has been formed to erect a

plant for the manufacture of pre-cast concrete and other allied building products. Based in Kaduna, work on the plant has already started.

It will also produce timber component steel frame and aluminium doors and windows in addition to pre-cast structures of the Banbury Building System. These can be sold openly despite their special construction for this building system.

According to the Financial Times, decision to form the new company was arrived at after a market survey established the potential for Pre-cast Concrete building especially as housing, school, clinic and commercial units.

EAST AFRICA:

£12m BRITISH ROAD CONTRACT

A British Construction Company, MORGENTHAU LEM, has bagged two road contracts for construction of strategic connecting roads and bridges.

The Tanzanian contract (worth £12m) for the construction of a Dar-es-Salaam bypass to the port. Expected to provide for about 800 men, the contract, which is expected to start in September, involves construction of 16 km of four-lane highway crossing several rivers and streams. Consultancy services is provided by H.C. Garissa and the award was by Tanzania's Ministry of Works.

The £900,000 Kenyan contract, on the other hand, is mainly for the construction of Garissa bridge over River Tana. Expected to be 126 metres long, this bridge will give access to the crossing for the Kenya-Somalia highway.

Work was expected to begin last month with the Kenyan Ministry of Works providing consultancy services and about 100 men employed.



Question Mark

TECHNOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM

*Henry Atenaga

A shortwhile ago, a lecturer from Zaire talked of a new type of imperialism and delivered a lecture at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. He called it Technological Imperialism—a sort of giving a hard enough egg to make him come crawling for more. To this brother African, the western world are at it again and we had better watch out.

But then, one bitter fact stands out clear. "The old colonial imperialism was a greater extent, a product of the men and attitude of our forefathers. And when talking of the new form I see no difference.

Presently, we are interested only in the profitability of products and not their value. We are interested in how we can get up neither do we engage in any worthwhile research. All we do is wait open mouth for the Westerners to bring another ration of the meal they prepared back home.

Now, under these conditions, can we rightly call the new form of imperialism with the West. Technological Imperialism isn't a case of pointing one finger at another while the rest point to you!