

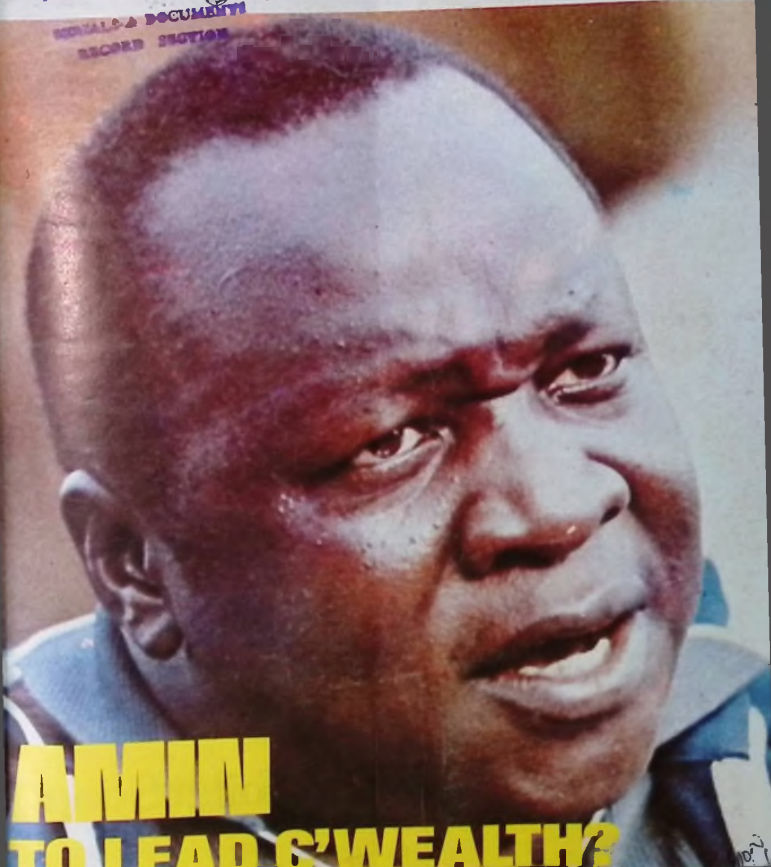
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## EDITORIAL

### Angola and Zaire

Is it really a true or desirable reflection of African reality that we Africans tend to view the soured relations between Angola and Zaire through the lenses of the East-West ideological conflict? The alarm must be sounded that unless the current trend of our thinking on Pan-African conflicts is checked, Africa is on her way back to the political wilderness and disintegration of the early sixties.

True enough, the rhetorics of Zaire and Angola have not helped us to see the root of the conflict. Zaire's Mobutu sees Angola as a Soviet satellite and has spared no abuse in projecting the image of Angola thus. Angola's Neto in contrast speaks in the language of an international revolutionary, and to him what is happening in Zaire is nothing more than a national uprising of the workers and the peasants. The presence of the rival super-powers in the two countries helps to lend a superficial air of a cold-war conflict to the crisis.

We should, however, be able to see through this fog. The reality is that, on the local level, there are a number of real and substantial disputes outstanding before the two countries. The disputes range from Zaire's imperialist eye on the oil-rich Cabinda enclave to Mobutu's historical hostility to the MPLA regime. The universally acknowledged unpopularity of the Mobutu regime in Zaire and the genuine desire of Zairean patriots to relieve the country of this American stooge only reinforce the explosive factors in this purely local conflict. On the Pan African level, Mobutu is a stumbling block to the decolonization of Southern Africa.

The Angola-Zaire dispute is therefore a purely African problem. It has something to do with cold-war politics only to the extent that in Mobutu's continued stay in power we are suffering one of the consequences of the manipulations of the forces which colonize Southern Africa.

If Africans fail to see the conflict in the light of this African reality, we have no business talking about grand strategies for Southern Africa.

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# Letters

Dear Editor,

## ZAIRE

Of what stuff is Mobutu Sese Seko's 40,000 strong army made of if they are over-run by a rag-tag band of 5,000 invaders? The truth of the whole matter may be that even the so-called Zairean army are willing collaborators with the Katangese gendarmes because of their dissatisfaction for Mobutu's rule.

Allegations are rife that some of his soldiers have not been paid their salaries for over six months!

Charles Nwaora  
Nairobi, Kenya.

If African leaders, especially the Arab countries and Morocco in particular, had responded half as enthusiastic and sincere about their commitment to the liberation struggle in Africa as they have been in rushing to Mobutu's aid, the issue of liberation in the continent would have been a foregone conclusion.

However, one can put two and two together in view of recent revelations in the western press of the activities of the CIA and Morocco's King Hassan. Mobutu himself being a CIA agent, Hassan's presence in Zaire could be regarded not as an assistance to the Zairean people but to a fellow agent at the bidding of the master.

Kingsley Atuma  
Jos, Nigeria.

Nigeria has quite a task reconciling Zaire and Angola over their current disagreement. Nigeria's stand was instrumental to the settlement of the Angolan crisis and at the same time she is in friendly terms with Zaire; but the task of reconciling these two nations without compromising Nigeria's own

commitment to the total emancipation of Africa is the greatest assignment Brigadier Joseph Garba has yet to tackle since assuming office.

Kwesi Awoonoh  
Accra, Ghana.

The authorities in Angola cannot pretend not to know anything about the invading forces in the Shaba province of Zaire.

While Angolan soldiers may not be directly involved in the fighting it is obviously clear that she has provided a base for the dissident Katangese who had served both in the Portuguese army and the MPLA forces.

Dada Nguru  
Kampala, Uganda.

## ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION

The direction of the Ethiopian revolution is becoming clearer with the approach of every new day. But must it be at the expense of the students and workers through whom the military came into power?

The random shooting of students to pave a clearer path for Ethiopia Tikdem is too revolting to contemplate. Please, stop it!

Maria Osakwe  
Enugu, Nigeria.



## BOTSWANA

For a country that has shared common borders with the racist regimes of apartheid South Africa and Rhodesia, it is incredible that it is only now that Botswana is thinking of having a defence force.

While wishing Sir Seretse Khama a successful defence of his borders, I'd hate to think that he has also created the instrument of his future oustal from office.

Onana Ahmadu  
Victoria, Cameroun.

## ZIMBABWE

Britain abrogated all rights to handle the Zimbabwe

issue when she failed to bring Ian Smith to book when the latter declared UDI.

To expect her to play any significant role other than that of a moderator now is like flogging a dead horse. Britain has not only demonstrated her ineptitude to bring about a negotiated peace settlement but has consistently delayed the fighting forces from going all out by sweet-talking them into believing that independence will come without a fight.

I think the British are more concerned about their investments in Zimbabwe than the welfare of a black majority.

Stanley Joe,  
Freetown, Sierra Leone.

All talk of new initiatives to resolve the Zimbabwe issue is mere rhetoric as long as Ian Smith remains the illegal prime minister of that country. He has vowed that majority-rule will never be in his life-time.

The Nationalists should not be fooled into another round of delaying talks unless there are concrete proofs that Smith has changed his mind. Meanwhile the fighting forces should step up their military action.

Andy Kwame,  
Kumasi, Ghana.



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## HAIL, OAU

Can there be a depth lower than inertia and sterile existence? OAU seems to be sinking even lower to that. See the Zairean crisis, or the Zimbabwe crisis or the Ethiopian crisis. The Organisation is no longer able to muster enough will to enact the usual ritual of emergency summits.

What does one expect when a beloved Knight of the British Empire is reigning for the year?

## ETHIOPIA TIKDEM

Ethiopia ticks—Tikdem, Tikdem, Tickdem....

The giant U.S. Asmara base has been closed down, and the division-strong army of military advisers who have been garrisoning the Horn of Africa have left. Few commentators appreciate the historical import of this development. Remember the stormy OAU summit of 1973? Lybia's Gaddafi accused the late Emperor Haile Selassie of hosting Washington's main listening post in Africa. No one took him seriously. If it takes the escalation of the internal conflict in Africa and the obvious link between the mysterious strength of the rebels and the dominant presence of American para-military presence in Ethiopia to realise the danger, one would admit that the Ethiopian crisis has yielded something good to Africa.

But the scenario taking shape in our eastern wing has to be watched. An intriguing network of local alliances involving the super-powers—the Soviet Union in Somalia and Ethiopia, and USA in Sudan—seems to be emerging. The ultimate loser will be Africa.



## THIS FOUNDATIONS

Among the disqualifications for candidates in Nigeria's forthcoming local Government elections are

*"Acknowledgement of allegiance, obedience or adherence to any foreign power or state.*

*"Imposition of punishment on any person found guilty of corruption, unjust enrichment or abuse of office by a tribunal or an inquiry between January 15, 1966 (the beginning of military rule) and the date of the closure of nomination of candidates.*

The disqualification of corruption is worded in operationizable terms. But how does one prove the disqualification of foreign allegiance? Obviously the beneficiary of such allegiance would not "acknowledge" that he is a fifth

columnist. Perhaps, the regulation could be further clarified with the addition of such objective criteria as source of income, general political orientation and style of living—that is, if we have defined in practical terms what the proper orientation means.

## TOO MANY SABOTEURS

Zaire seems to be swarming with saboteurs. At the beginning of the crisis, they were the unnamed military officers who gave the secret codes of the army to the rebels. Later, they were the Cubans and Russians. Now, Mobutu has discovered some journalist who entered Shaba province illegally from Zambia and were engaged in subversive activities. The President is careful yet not to add to the list the people and masses of Zaireans who, according to independent sources, are actively collaborating with the insurgents.

Neither has he added his own policy of authenticity. For, right from the beginning of the crisis, the policy was hastily dropped in favour of everything that is "at stake for the West."

## BROTHERHOOD

The Brotherhood Club will be meeting again in London. The Commonwealth summit.

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Mobutu Sese Seko

## Zaire: Stability Western Style

\*A Special Correspondent

The Internationalization of the conflict in Zaire's Shaba province continues. More countries are being drawn into the conflict. Judging by the reaction of the Western capitals, they are quite satisfied with this course of events. The traditional colonialist and neocolonialist forces can now keep aloof, at least outwardly, and thus tone down the criticism by their public which is demanding that an end be put to the interference in the internal affairs of that African state. In the final analysis the West is in no way concerned over the fate of the Zairean people.

When early in March the National Executive Council of the Republic of Zaire submitted a new draft budget, its reduction as compared with the previous years came as no surprise. In fact, this reflected the extremely serious economic and financial situation in which the country found itself after several years of the industrial and business "boom". Specialists observe that prune-down measures were worked out in Kinshasa under the pressure of foreign corporations. Seriously alarmed at the "Zairization" programme which jeopardized their multi-million investment the corporations patiently waited

for the time to deal a counter-blow.

The hour struck in April of last year when the Zaire Government found itself with no funds for repaying the interests of external debts. The country was on the verge of bankruptcy. The external debt reached about 3,000 million dollars, while its interest amounted to one-third of the national budget. This way, sixteen years and a half after the winning of freedom Zaire proved to be in the same (if not stronger) grip of economic dependence.

Having put the country on the verge of a financial catastrophe, the Western investors decided that the time was ripe for exerting pressure on Kinshasa.

This policy manifested itself most clearly during the January visit by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko to Belgium. Without beating about the bush the business circles of the former metropolis demanded greater guarantees and privileges in exchange for their "voluntary participation" in the economic development of the republic, and a compensation for the Belgian employers' property which was subject to the "Zairization." The President has assured Brussels that from now on his government would guarantee all foreign, particularly Belgian, investments in Zaire.

This way Belgian corporations have won, without a single shot fired, the "battle for Zaire" and gained an appreciable compensation for all former "troubles." At present the old bosses are getting big profits in exchange for the 30,000 million francs they have invested in their former colony: after all, scores of Belgian companies operate in the key sectors of the Zaire economy, and they won 55 per cent of enterprises which refine Zaire's copper.

### Uncle Sam Enters

But ever more frequently Uncle Nogo, as Belgian capitalism is called in Zaire, has to step aside, making way for his more powerful relative—uncle Sam.

The penetration of American corporations into Zaire began shortly after World War Two and gradually they secured firm positions in the mining, hydro-electric and tools manufacturing industries. The USA was quick to understand what a juicy piece was the country mining seven per cent of copper, 67 per cent of cobalt and one-third of industrial diamonds in the capitalist world. A billion dollars invested by US corporations in Zaire speaks for itself. The expansion of the corporations is fully backed by the American Government, irrespective of who controls the White House—the Republicans or the Democrats. Both the Ford administration and the Carter

administration have unanimously characterized Zaire as one of the select circle of African countries towards which the interests of the United States "automatically" gravitate.

Taking advantage of the "open door" policy, other Western states are also trying to strengthen their positions in Zaire. During his visit to Kinshasa in August 1975, President Giscard d'Estaing of France promised to increase French investment from 100 million to 1,000 million zaires by 1980. British investment is now estimated at 70 million dollars. Through their London partners the racists from South Africa are trying to take part in exploiting the national resources of Zaire. The Anglo-South African "Charter Consolidated Company" is the main partner of the joint Compagnie Minière De Tenke Fungurum Consortium which has started the exploitation of new vast copper deposits in the Shaba province. Along with Britain and the Republic of South Africa, the consortium represents the United States, France, West Germany and Japan.

Like in all other countries, ordinary people have to pay for the "philanthropy" of Western corporations in Zaire. Annually millions of dollars flow into the safes of Western banks, and in order to maximise their profits expenditure on social services in Kinshasa is minimized.

The West is not short of ingenuity in finding the ways of repatriating "investments." "Open doors" prove to be wide open for the outflow of the "philanthropic" corporations' profits. Money is invested not in the sectors in whose development the country is interested most of all, but in those sectors where corporations will derive highest profits most rapidly. Bringing other sectors to the state of decline, the West willingly receives requests about "emergency aid," especially if countries in question pay for it in cash. In 1960, Zaire got from the exports of farm produce the same profits as from copper exports. In 1975, Zaire returned to the West one-third of the country's currency receipts in the form of the payment for the import of foodstuffs.

It is worth noting that quickly responding to President Mobutu's call for helping him to regain his control over the country, neither Washington nor Paris and nor Brussels have motivated their actions by the concern over the Zaire people. They spoke (and speak now) only of "stability." The three powers, like their Western partners, really need in that country such a stability which would guarantee their stable profits.

# Soviets' Low Priority in Africa

## \*A Correspondent

Despite the criticism of the volume and terms of Soviet bloc aid to the developing world expressed formally by the Group of 77 (comprising over 100 developing countries belonging to the United Nations) at their meeting in Manila in February last year, the Soviet Union and its partners in the Comecon trading organisation have continued to give a relatively low priority to widespread development aid and grants, particularly in Africa as a whole.

Moscow made little contribution to the fourth session of UNCTAD (UN Conference on Trade and Development) in Nairobi in May last year, and it has not participated in the "North-South dialogue" at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris.

In Manila, the Group of 77 in particular called on the Soviet bloc to increase its aid to meet the target laid down by the UN of 0.7 per cent of GNP (gross national product) to be devoted to aid.

Preliminary estimates by the Western OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) suggest that actual net Soviet disbursements last year to the whole developing world (including the two main recipients, Cuba and Vietnam) were below the 1975 total of the equivalent of US\$350 million, itself less than the 1971-75 annual average of US\$590 million.

The 1975 total represented 0.04 per cent of Soviet GNP, and Western experts also calculate that, excluding Cuba and Vietnam, the Soviet disbursements amounted to only 0.01 per cent of GNP.

New offers of Soviet economic aid to the non-Communist developing countries amounted to US\$770 million during 1976, according to Western estimates. This marks a sharp decline in comparison with the 1975 total of approximately US\$1,300 million. It also represents a reduction in comparison with the 1971-75 average of US\$815 million a year.

The interest rates and repayment periods imposed by the Soviet Union remain relatively harsh. No rescheduling of debts was allowed last year, and at least three major debtors—India, Egypt, and Iran—paid more, in interest charges and repayments of capital than they received in new disbursements during that period.

Most Soviet credits have to be repaid over 10 to 12 years, normally at an interest rate of two-and-a-half to three

per cent. Credits specifically designed to boost recipients' exports, usually to the Soviet bloc, involve harder terms with interest rates of four to six per cent and repayment over one to eight years.

Moscow has also failed to respond to the call by the Group of 77 in Manila for the promotion of trading methods other than the traditional barter system favoured by Comecon. Nor has the Soviet Union heeded the Group's appeal that payments due to developing countries be settled in hard currency.

The developing countries as a whole suffered a heavy deficit with Comecon last year, equivalent to US\$337 million



Soviet Leader Nikolai Podgorny: Africa needs development aid.

in the first six months alone. Cuba and Vietnam have been the main recipients of Soviet aid in the developing world since 1954. Cuba, indeed, has since then taken around 40 per cent of all Soviet aid to developing countries. In the non-Communist world, for political and strategic reasons, the Soviet Union has concentrated almost 80 per cent of its aid offers on areas near the Soviet bloc (South Asia and Turkey) and on the Middle East—to the detriment of other regions.

## Black Africa

Soviet aid offered to sub-Saharan Africa has totalled only about US\$750 million dollars since 1954, making it the least-favoured area in this respect. Offers have tended to concentrate on heavy industrial projects, which the recipients often could not afford, and on the exploitation of the recipients' natural resources.

The main beneficiary of Soviet aid in Africa has been Guinea, with most of the aid being devoted to the development of its important reserves of bauxite. Under an agreement signed in

1969, two million tonnes of bauxite have to be shipped to the Soviet Union each year over 30 years, including one million tonnes in direct payment of Guinean debts.

The second largest recipient has been Somalia. Moscow's latest major offer to Somalia was in 1975, involving projects for irrigation and drought relief worth US\$60 million. Soviet aid to that country also covers technical assistance to the health services and the fishing industry; the construction of meat and fish processing plants; port improvement at Berbera; and the provision of further facilities for storing oil. Somalia's debts (US\$45 million) were re-scheduled by the Soviet Union in 1974, at a time when the Soviet Union was seeking increased port facilities in the area in anticipation of the imminent reopening of the Suez canal.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has tried to consolidate economic links with Nigeria, which has accepted Soviet offers of training facilities, and help with prospecting, both in connection with its oil industry. Soviet experts have also provided designs for an iron and steel complex, which has been under consideration since 1966. General agreement on this project was eventually reached in June last year. The completion date is 1980, though this is regarded by many as unrealistic.

Somalia, Guinea, and Nigeria have all received substantial military supplies from the Soviet Union, but the other main recipients of Soviet arms (Angola, Mozambique, Uganda, and Guinea-Bissau) have received little or no Soviet economic aid, except for offers to Uganda worth about US\$20 million in the 1960s. This anomaly is especially noticeable in the case of Angola, which is reckoned to have received Soviet arms worth US\$200 million to US\$300 million up to mid-1976; but although economic agreements have been signed by Angola with several members of the Soviet bloc; no loans have so far been extended. Bulgaria has agreed to supply agricultural equipment and advisers, and the Soviet Union has tentatively offered to help with some projects.

In the last few years, the Soviet Union has tried to revive three lapses projects in Ghana—Begun under Nkrumah and abandoned immediately after his downfall in 1966; a prefabricated housing factory, an experimental atomic energy reactor, and the construction of a technical training institute.

Fisheries agreements have been concluded with many sub-Saharan African states, including Ghana and the Sudan in the 1960s, and Mauritania and Mozambique in the early 1970s. More recently, agreements have been reached, or are being negotiated, with Guinea-Bissau and The Gambia.

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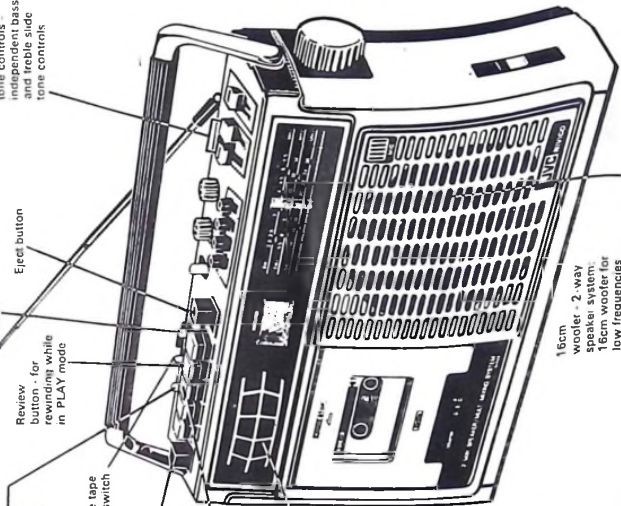
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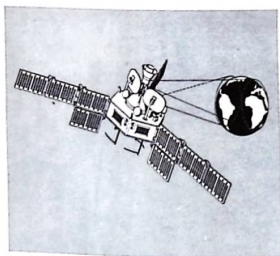
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# Zimbabwe's Peace Prospects

\*Tim Chigodo, Lusaka.

The fighting forces in the rebel colony under the Patriotic Front have made it abundantly clear that they will not go another constitutional conference unless they get an assurance from the British Government that the subject at such a conference will be the transfer of power from the minority to the majority and that such a decision would be implemented without delay.

The patriotic front which has grouped all the fighters under the umbrella of the Zimbabwe Peoples Army (ZIPA) is the result of an alliance between the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) led by Mr. Joshua Nkomo and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by Mr. Robert Mugabe.

The two nationalists have said that the only way left out for them to liberate themselves is through the barrel of the gun. Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe have stated that no matter how long the fight will take, the government of Ian Smith and his agents cannot win. So the patriotic front can afford to dictate the pace.

The Zimbabwean nationalists have pointed out that despite the evil machinations of the imperialists, and no matter what the prophets of doom in Rhodesia, South Africa, Britain and United States may make the world to believe, theirs is to win. According to Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe, the truth of the matter is that stability, national unity and genuine independence for Zimbabwe will only come through the armed struggle.

When the British Foreign Secretary Dr. David Owen set off on his shuttle diplomacy of Southern Africa to confer with Presidents of the frontline countries Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola and Botswana, he was warned of the dangers of paying too much attention to the people who do not really matter in the Rhodesian problem.

Before his departure for Southern Africa, both nationalists and heads of frontline states made their stand clear—a positive approach to the Rhodesian problem that will bring forth tangible results.

## Wrong Priorities

The nationalists and the frontline presidents also warned that past efforts

including those of the former American Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger to resolve the Rhodesian problem had failed because Dr. Kissinger had put the patriotic front last in order of importance in his programme. According to the nationalists, Dr. Owen made the same mistake. He saw them casually and last as though they were mere onlookers of the Rhodesian war, when they are the main participants.

The result is that the Patriotic front which has been recognised by the frontline states and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) as the only authentic liberation movement in Rhodesia has rejected the British proposals and called on the United States to keep out in the talks.

What their present stand means is that if Britain wants to do business, she will have to do that business with the Patriotic Front and the minority government in Rhodesia. What the stand also means is that bringing in of the United States is not desirable because, according to Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe, it will internationalise the issue by bringing other super powers into the talks.

The two leaders have objected to the proposed Anglo-American co-chairmanship of the proposed new talks. The nationalists have also warned that any imposition of a puppet government in Rhodesia, will only escalate the present war. Commenting on their rejection of the American role in the Rhodesian crisis, Mr. Nkomo said: "The conflict is between the people of Zimbabwe and the British government as a colonial power. We do not want any more masters. The British are enough."

On who should participate in the constitutional conference and on whether other nationalists like Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole should be included in the talks, Mr. Nkomo declared: "the British government and indeed the West, are aware of the fact that concern over the Rhodesian situation has been the result of war being waged by the Patriotic Front." He added that this meant that however desirable it may be to bring in other interested parties into the talks other than Smith whom the Front is fighting, the other parties were bound to end up confusing the situation because they would be there for completely different objectives.

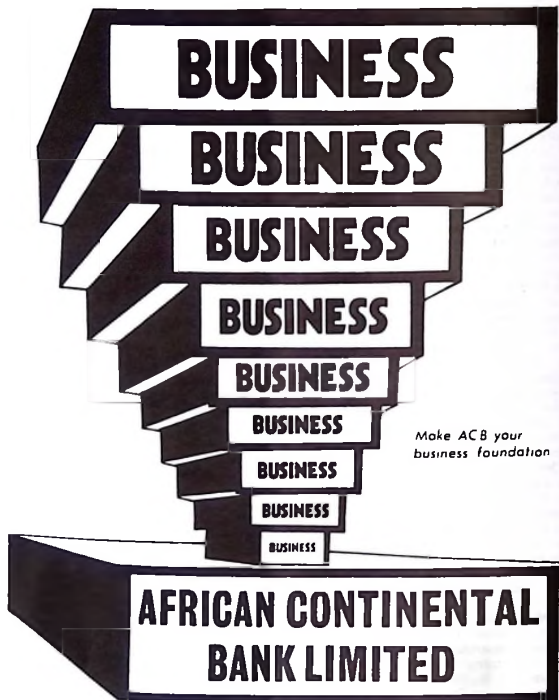
The Patriotic Front has outlined that it will only attend another conference only on two conditions—that the conference should last two to three days and that Britain would be bound to carry out what would be discussed on the transfer of power. Mr. Mugabe



Top: Nationalists Joshua Nkomo  
Bottom: Rebel Ian Smith

called on the British government to prove to the Patriotic Front and the people of Zimbabwe that she now has effective means to bring Smith to surrender power to the black majority of Zimbabwe.

According to Mr. Mugabe, if Britain has not got such powers, it is pointless to hold any conference. He noted that Britain was seeking assistance from other circles like the United States. This Mr. Mugabe said they had no objection to, but the United States should not take over the show, "because the Zimbabwe conflict is between the people of Zimbabwe and Britain". On Dr. Owen's proposals, Mr. Mugabe



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**BRANCHES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY**

said the Patriotic Front cannot accept proposals which had to be taken to Smith for vetoing.

The decision by the Patriotic Front to reject British proposals were echoed by the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua who was in Lusaka at the time. He accused some western countries of using negotiating initiatives in order to delay the armed struggle in Rhodesia. He said such powers must be condemned in the strongest terms.

Mr. Eteki said that unless the British came up with positive initiatives designed to bring about majority rule in Rhodesia without delay, the only way left now was the intensification of the armed struggle.

The Front has also dismissed any participation by South Africa in the Rhodesian constitutional talks. Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe have accused South Africa of being part and parcel of Smith by maintaining the rebel colony up to its present stage.

On whether their alliance is a loose one as some people have often referred to it, the two nationalists have declared that the Patriotic Front is there to stay. They were fighting together and bringing their armies together to fight and win the war and then defend Zimbabwe together. The two organisations—ZANU and ZAPU were now in the process of closing ranks in all fields in order to strengthen their unity.

conditions which the manifesto envisages are in step with the objectives of South African policy and public opinion." Other government statements expressed the same theme.

What had angered Horwood were charges that the government was eroding business confidence at home and abroad with its racial and economic policies. He presented figures showing "net receipts of foreign capital" were about \$1000 million in 1976—higher than the \$725 million average for the years 1968 through 1975 (but well below the \$1900 million of 1975).

But his critics said he was misleading the country with those numbers, since short-term capital outflow totalled about \$900 million. In addition, large foreign loans account for much of 1976's inflow. South Africa's borrowing on the Eurocurrency market was a record \$800 million last year, and the government has drawn another \$350 million from the International Monetary Fund.

With political resistance to white rule in South Africa on the rise and economic difficulties multiplying, the country has begun to look less attractive to foreign investors than it did during the boom years of the 1960's. In addition, public criticism of their South African involvement has continued for corporations based in the United States and Europe.

The most publicized protests in the U.S. have been those involving churches. This year, a large church coalition filed shareholder resolutions with six industrial corporations asking them to withdraw from South Africa, with five banks asking them to stop lending money to the government, and with three mining firms asking them to drop expansion plans.

Most observers agree that this shareholder pressure was the main reason why the "statement of principles" was drawn up. Among the signatories were four of the corporations and one of

the banks which are currently facing church resolutions. As for the rest, "they did not go along with it; they thought it was too stringent," says The Rev. Leon Sullivan, the black Philadelphia minister who coordinated the effort.

The twelve firms endorsed six points, promising to integrate eating, comfort, and work facilities, to provide equal employment and pay for all races, to offer training programmes and promotions to management positions for blacks, and to improve employees' lives outside work. "Where implementation requires a modification of existing South African working conditions, we will seek such modification through appropriate channels," the statement said. Before issuing the document, Sullivan and several corporate leaders discussed it with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and with South African ambassador Roelof Botha. Both the State Department and the Embassy issued brief statements "welcoming" the initiative.

Sullivan says he spent 18 months getting the companies to agree on the principles, but he hopes that future actions will not take so long. "I am trying to see if companies can be moved so their influence can be significant enough to create change," he told AFRICA NEWS, "because if that doesn't happen, there is no justification for them staying there at all."

#### Superficial move

But the statement did nothing to convince critics that the companies would really become a force for change. "It says so little, especially little about social and political conditions in South Africa," responded Tim Smith of the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility, which coordinates church shareholder actions. "Most importantly, it places no limits on loans or investments there."

In Johannesburg, Scakes Sikhakhane, a black trade union leader, told The

## U.S. Firms And South Africa

### \*Reed Kramer

Even as twelve large corporations in the United States issued a "statement of principles" last March pledging to work for an end to discriminatory racial practices in their South African operations, a heated Parliamentary debate on foreign investment was smouldering in Cape Town. "Foreign capital," argued Finance Minister Owen Horwood, "is not a decisive factor." "He must be kidding," retorted the Financial Mail reflecting the near-unanimous views of business and the white opposition parties.

It was not the corporations' statement which sparked the controversy. "The fact is," said a self-serving South African Broadcasting Corporation commentary, "that the Better working



Ambassador Andrew Young—outspoken critic of apartheid.



South Africa's U.N. Ambassador, Roelof Botha: Where is the promised change?

## U.S. BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA

These are some of the major loans extended by U.S. banks to South Africa during 1976:

- \*\$200 million to Escom (a government-owned utility), lent by Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty, Manufacturers Hanover and Barclays;
- \*\$138 million for a mineral project, managed by Citibank;
- \*\$80 million for the government's iron and steel corporation, handled by Citibank, Chase Manhattan and several German banks;
- \*\$75 million for South African Railways from Morgan Guaranty and a German bank;

\*\$30 million for the government's phosphate development corporation lent by Manufacturers Hanover;

\*\$20 million for the South African Broadcasting Corporation from Citibank. In addition, the Private Export Funding Corporation (PEFCO)-owned by some 50 banks—has \$110 million in outstanding loans to South Africa, all guaranteed by the U.S. Export-Import Bank, which is prohibited from making direct loans to South Africa.

Star that the omission of trade union rights from the statement "smacks of paternalism, which makes it suspect to black workers." The Financial Mail said "not only does continuing refusal by US (and other) companies to recognize African unions constitute a perpetuation of racial discrimination" but it hampers the firms' ability to tackle the very problems the manifesto speaks about.

Perhaps because of the critical reaction, especially from churches, General Motors followed up the statement by announcing in late March that it will freeze its investment in South Africa until that country's problems are solved "on a basis which is just and equitable to all."

A company statement said "severe civil disturbances" and a resulting "economic recession" have cut the demand for its vehicles. "Consequently, the Corporation has no present need for, and has no intention of, further expanding its productive capacity." This time, the company went far enough to get the churches to drop their shareholder fight, although the eight groups which sponsored the GM resolution say they still favour withdrawal "unless and until the South African government has committed itself to ending apartheid."

Despite the church response, the GM action is less far-reaching than it appears. During its 50 years of operation in South Africa, GM's investment has grown to \$125 million. But during the past three decades its only significant expenditure was \$20 million to increase the proportion of the manufacturing process done in South Africa, to meet the government's requirements on "local content."

GM's statement was the first of its kind by an American firm, but according to a recent Cape Town University

study many other companies also plan no expansions. Business Week says the confidential survey which included 100 U.S. corporations found 15 considering withdrawal because of "the risk of political and social unrest," 11 planning investments, and most others forecasting no capital increases.

Another study, the University of Delaware Business Environment Risk Index, has recently dropped South Africa from 8th to 19th place on its list of private investment climates around the world.

The rate of increase in U.S. direct investment in South Africa has also declined. Between 1966 and 1975, almost half of U.S. affiliates' earnings were reinvested in South Africa. Now, a Johannesburg financial analyst told the Wall Street Journal, South African subsidiaries are remitting 20 to 30 per cent more of their profits to their parent firms. With reinvested earnings down and capital influx virtually frozen, U.S. direct investment (which grew by an average 10 per cent over the past decade) may rise only minimally this year from the current \$1600 million.

But international capital is not preparing to abandon South Africa, and the previously mentioned level of South Africa's international borrowing indicates a continuing willingness to be involved there. Lending by U.S. banks has now surpassed \$2000 million, making U.S. indirect investment in South Africa larger for the first time than direct investment there.

The major U.S. subsidiaries, which dominate critical sectors of South Africa's economy—auto, oil, electronics, communications, and computers—are fully committed to remaining there. "We certainly feel pretty bullish about the future of business in South Africa," says the managing director of the U.S.-owned NCR (South Africa). Surveying

NCR and a number of other foreign firms, the Financial Mail found those sentiments widespread.

Rather than abandon South Africa, most foreign investors are making plans to stay on. The recent "statement of principles" represents the latest in what will surely be a growing number of efforts—all designed both to improve the domestic image of corporations and to make their influence for reform felt in South Africa.

Calls for change are increasingly heard these days from business interests both foreign and domestic, and the reason is simple. "It is now quite clear that the apartheid system is undermining the future value of the rand," notes the latest issue of London's International Currency Review. Apartheid, says the deputy chairman of Johannesburg's Nedbank, is costing South Africa \$1500 million, or about 40 per cent of last year's Gross National Product.

However critical they may be of government policies, though, the business interests form a central part of the white power structure which continues to deny freedom to South Africa's black majority. As long as they remain in the country, foreign corporations will continue to face calls for withdrawal from those supporting black political aspirations.

## Ghana's Union Government

### Special Correspondent

The public debate on the proposed establishment of Union Government made up of all identifiable groups and professional bodies on a non-partisan basis continues unabated in Ghana.

The latest body to contribute to the public debate is the Catholic Bishop Conference (CBC). In a recent memorandum presented to the Dr. Koranteng Addo Ad Hoc Committee, which is gathering and collating views on the form the Union Government should ultimately take, the Bishops called for the formation of a representative government whose members are chosen by the people through the ballot box.

The Rt. Reverend Dominic K. Andoh, Catholic Bishop of Accra and President of the Conference, who presented the memorandum to the Ad Hoc Committee, objected to the formation of a Union Government based on professional representation. Instead, he suggested

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INSURANCE DIVISION  
VACANCIES**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified and experienced candidates for appointments to the following vacant positions in the Insurance Division of the Federal Ministry of Trade, Lagos, Nigeria.

- |                              |                                 |                                  |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| A. (1) Director of Insurance | of Insurance                    | (10) Higher Insurance Inspectors |
| (2) Chief Actuary            | (6) Senior Insurance Inspectors | (11) Insurance Auditor Grade II  |
| (3) Assistant Chief Actuary  | (7) Senior Actuary              | (12) Actuary Grade II            |
| (4) Principal Actuary        | (8) Insurance Auditors Grade I  | (13) Insurance Inspectors        |
| (5) Deputy Superintendent    | (9) Actuary Grade I             | (14) Legal Officer Grade II      |

**B. QUALIFICATIONS/EXPERIENCE**

(1) Candidates for the post of Director of Insurance should possess any of the following qualifications:-

- (a) F.C.I.I. or A.C.I.I. plus Degree in Law from a recognised University and about eight years post qualification experience of which five must have been spent in senior management position in the Insurance Industry. OR
- (b) A Degree from a recognised University plus Diploma in the profession of Actuary obtained from a recognised Institute of Actuaries and must have had at least five years practical experience in the field of Actuarial Science or in the Insurance Industry. OR
- (c) F.C.I.I. or A.C.I.I. with not less than ten years post qualification experience in the Insurance Industry, eight of which must have been spent in Senior administrative position of a Major Insurance Company or Corporation. OR

(2) Candidates for the post of Chief Actuary should possess:-

- (a) A Degree from a recognised University plus a diploma in the profession of Actuary obtained from a recognised Institution of Actuaries with a practical experience of not less than 8 years in the Actuarial Science or in the Insurance Industry. OR
- (b) F.I.A. with not less than 8 years post qualification experience in the field of Actuarial Science or in the Insurance Industry.

(3) Candidates for the post of Assistant Chief Actuary must possess qualifications similar to (1) above, but with a reduced post qualification experience of 6 years.

(4) Candidates for the post of Principal Actuary should possess similar qualification to (2) above, with at least 5 years practical experience in the field of Actuarial Science or Insurance Industry.

(5) Candidates for the post of Deputy Superintendent of Insurance should possess:-

(a) A.C.I.I. or equivalent qualification plus at least 5 years experience in the Insurance Industry, Government Corporation, 2 years of which must have been spent on a Senior Managerial or Administrative Grade. OR

(b) Legal practitioners with Degree who have specialised in the Insurance field and have had at least 5 years post-cal experience are also eligible.

(6) Candidates for the post of Senior Insurance Inspectors should possess:

- (a) A.C.I.I. with at least 3 years experience in the Insurance Industry. A good working knowledge of Insurance accounting will be an advantage. OR
- (b) A.C.I.S. with at least 3 years post qualification working experience. OR

(c) A degree from a recognised University in Economics or Business Studies, plus at least 3 years working experience.

(7) Candidates for the post of Senior Actuaries should possess:-

- (a) A Degree from a recognised University plus Diploma in Actuarial Science. OR
- (b) Diploma in the profession of Actuary obtained from a recognised Institute of Actuaries with at least 2 years of relevant post qualification experience.

(8) Candidates for the post of Insurance Auditor Grade I should possess one of the following qualifications:-

- (a) The final certificate of a recognised Accounting Body with not less than 2 years of relevant post qualification experience. OR
- (b) B.Sc. (Accounts) from a recognised University with not less than 3 years post qualification experience in relevant Industry or in an Insurance Company. OR
- (c) H.N.D. (Accounts), with not less than 3 years of relevant post qualification practical experience. OR
- (d) A.C.I.S. with not less than 3 years of relevant post qualification experience. *Continued on page 18*

(9) Candidates for the post of Actuaries Grade I should possess similar qualifications as Senior Actuaries with some good working experience in the Insurance Industry or a Government Corporation.

(10) Candidates for the post of Higher Insurance Inspectors should possess:

- (a) Qualifications similar to that of the Senior Insurance Inspectors with the reduced working experience of 2 years instead of 3. OR
- (b) H.N.D. (Business or Accounts) plus at least 2 years relevant working experience. OR
- (c) Significant progress in the examination of the Chartered Insurance Institute with not more than 2 subjects to complete the Associateship Diploma and at least 5 years working experience in a reputable Insurance Company may be considered.

(11) Candidates for the post of Insurance Auditors Grade II should possess:-

- (a) The final certificate of the recognised Accounting Bodies. OR
- (b) B.Sc. (Accounts) with some experience in Insurance Accounting/Auditing or other relevant experience. OR
- (c) H.N.D. (Accounts) with at least 2 years experience in the Insurance Accounting or relevant experience. OR
- (d) Diploma in Accounting, Finance, Business Studies obtained from a recognised Institution, plus 2 years relevant working experience.

(12) Candidates for the post of Actuaries Grade II should possess similar qualifications with those of Actuaries Grade I, but may not necessarily have working experience in the Insurance or similar Industry.

(13) Candidates for the post of Insurance Inspectors should possess:-

- (a) A.C.I.I. OR
- (b) B.Sc. (Accounts) or Economics, H.N.D. (Accounts) or Business Studies. OR
- (c) B.Sc. (Insurance Business Studies) OR
- (d) Passes in at least 7 subjects in the examination of the Chartered Insurance Institute, plus not less than 5 years working experience in a reputable Insurance Company. OR
- (e) Intermediate examination of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries with at least 7 years experience in Insurance or relevant working experience. OR
- (f) A pass in the examination of the Society of the Incorporate Accountants and Auditors, sections 1 and 2 or parts A and B. OR
- (g) Final examination of the Institute of Book-Keepers plus about 5 years relevant working experience. Candidates with Insurance Diploma from a recognised University obtained after a progressive course of study of not less than 2 years duration plus at least 2 years post qualification experience are also eligible.

(14) Candidates for the post of Legal Officer Grade II must possess any of the following qualifications:-

- (a) A University Degree and must have been enrolled as Solicitor and Advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria. OR
- (b) A call to the Bar as a Solicitor and Advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria. OR
- (c) A call to the Bar as a Solicitor and Advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria plus Associateship of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries.

### C. DUTIES;

#### (1) DIRECTOR OF INSURANCE

The successful candidate for the post will serve as head of the Insurance Division. He will be responsible for the administration and enforcement of the Insurance Laws and Regulations. He will advise on policy matters and evolve new law designed to regulate Insurance Companies, Brokers and Agents in the Country. He will deal with reports and recommendations of the Chief Actuary and the Superintendents of Insurance. His duties will also include matters relating to Government participation in foreign-owned Insurance Companies, National-Res, and Africa-Res. He will perform such other duties as may be directed by the Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Trade.

#### (2) CHIEF ACTUARY

The successful candidate for the post will be required to carry out the following functions:-

- (i) Head the Actuarial Section of the Division.
- (ii) Advise and assist the Director of Insurance with respect to the technical administration and enforcement of the Insurance Decree;
- (iii) Formulate and advise on policy in respect of all technical aspects in the supervision of life Insurance business in the country.
- (iv) Liaise with the Superintendent of Insurance, and the Director of Insurance in the registra-

that anybody acceptable to and chosen by the people could be a member of the representative government envisaged by the CBC.

Bishop Andoh pointed out, however, that the Conference did not subscribe to the view of the Christian Council of Ghana (the Protestant Churches organisation) that such a person should first have to renounce his membership of his professional group.

This suggestion was put forward by the Christian Council because other groups who had advocated participation in the proposed Union Government had already allocated certain numbers of seats to bodies like the armed forces, and the police. The Christian Council urged that soldiers, police officers, or other officials should first resign from these services before standing for election.

Bishop Andoh, explaining the CBC's objection to this idea said that their proposed representative government need not follow the Westminster party political line.

The Bishops stressed that care should be taken that all who wished to assess the trust reposed in them by their professional groups should have a fair chance of testing their popularity through the ballot box.

In selecting the Head of Government, for example, the CBC suggested that a representative proposed by an interest group or a professional group should be supported by not less than 10 per cent of all the representative, and chosen by not less than a two-thirds majority of the representatives who form the government.

The Bishops said the idea of the Head of the Government selecting some or even all his cabinet ministers from outside the group of official representatives might be given some consideration, provided such appointments were approved by the whole House, and that any such cabinet ministers became members of parliament and so accountable to the official delegates.

The idea of appointing technocrats, who are not necessarily politicians, as members of the cabinet was suggested by the Christian Council to guard against the "spoils system" which has been the pattern of former civilian governments.

Since the Ad Hoc Committee started public hearings on proposals for the formation of a Union Government two sets of ideas have emerged from the views submitted by the people of Ghana.

#### Increasing Acceptance

Almost all organized bodies, namely



Gen. Acheampong: selling the idea of a Union Government

farmers organisations, co-operatives, local and district councils, development associations, youth clubs and associations, and all manner of pressure groups have come out solidly in favour of the idea. These bodies appeared to have accepted the Government's view that party politics is unsuitable for the people of Ghana judging from the record of past performances by the two previous civilian administrations.

The Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice, Dr. Koranteng-Addow, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, has constantly reminded the public that the Government of the Supreme Military Council feels that party politics are not suitable for the country.

He has explained at the public hearings that because party politics breed animosity, hatred, and even divisions in families because of the diversity of ideas and opinions the Government of the Supreme Military Council felt that the proposal for the establishment of a Union Government should embrace all sections of the community with a common political objective.

The Attorney-General has reminded the public that what form the Union Government will take depends on the people, and has called for maximum co-operation to enable the Committee to present a good report to the Government.

Dr. Koranteng-Addow's position as the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee has to a large extent taken the cut and thrust out of the public debate, so much so that the views of those who have not accepted the thesis of the Supreme Military Council Government over the necessity of forming a Union Government have been practically short-

shift at the public hearings.

Only really courageous individuals and groups like the Christian Council and the Catholic Bishops Conference have been able to present any divergent views on the proposed Union Government.

The Christian Council and the Catholic Bishops Conference memoranda did not reject the proposal for the formation of a Union Government outright, but their arguments contain elements which appear to be diametrically opposed to the core of the argument of the Supreme Military Council and the public exposition of the idea being given by the Attorney-General.

This one-way traffic type of debate has caused some uneasiness in certain circles. Some would-be contributors to the debate are frustrated because it appears to them that the government has already decided the issue, and that all the public are being asked to do is to help the Government formulate ideas on the formation of the Union Government.

To sell the idea of a Union Government more effectively to the general public the Union Government Secretariat has published an eight-page pamphlet, distributed by the Ministry of Information, answering 15 questions on the proposal. The pamphlet bears the slogan of the first principle of the Charter of Redemption, namely "One Nation, One People, One Destiny."

The questions and answers are so simplified that those with functional English can easily read and understand the questions and answers.

"The danger of this simplification is that politics and government are not such simple matters. Other important issues affecting the fortunes of all Ghanaians have been left out of this pamphlet which should have been raised and answered properly," said one political scientist at the University of Ghana, Legon.

He also shares the view of Ghanaian lawyers, who are strongly opposed to the idea of Union Government, that a system of government based on corporate bodies like the armed forces, trade unions, teachers and students' unions, fishermen and farmers organisations, and pressure groups like the Peace and Solidarity Council will ultimately result in dictatorship worse than the evils of partisan politics which the Supreme Military Council Government fears so much.

Whatever reservations the opponents of the proposed Union Government idea have, the debate continues, and it does appear that support for the idea is gathering momentum daily.

- tion and effective supervision of life Insurance business in Nigeria;
- (v) Prepare together with the Superintendent of Insurance, Statistics and a Comprehensive Annual Reports on the Insurance business in Nigeria;
  - (vi) Assist in the development of training programmes for Actuaries;
  - (vii) Conduct research and advise on the adoption of suitable mortality table for use in the country's Life Insurance business.

**(3) ASSISTANT CHIEF ACTUARY**

The successful candidate for this post will assist the Chief Actuary in the performance of the duties enumerated in (1) above. He will also perform such other duties that may be delegated to him by the Chief Actuary. Liaise with the Superintendent of Insurance in supervision of the activities of Life Insurance Companies in the country.

**(4) PRINCIPAL ACTUARY**

The successful candidate for the post, will be required to assist the Assistant Chief Actuary in the efficient performance of the duties assigned to him.

**(5) DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT OF INSURANCE**

The successful candidate for this post will assist and act for the Superintendent of Insurance in the performance of his duties.

**(6) SENIOR INSURANCE INSPECTOR**

The successful candidates will:

- (i) be responsible to the Superintendent of Insurance in the direction of the Inspectorate Force;
- (ii) organise and supervise the activities of Higher Insurance Inspectors.
- (iii) prepare reports of the examination of Insurance Companies and other Intermediaries;
- (iv) Examination of Returns by Insurance Companies, Brokers/Adjusters and Agents.

**(7) SENIOR ACTUARIES**

The successful candidates for the posts will be required to assist the Principal Actuary in the performance of the duties assigned to him. He will also be expected to carry out other duties or functions, as may be directed by the Chief Actuary or his assistant.

**(8) INSURANCE AUDITOR GRADE I**

The successful candidates will be required to assist the Senior Insurance Auditor in the performance of the following functions:

- (i) Examination of Annual Returns of Insurance Companies and other Intermediaries;
- (ii) Liaise with Insurance Inspectors in the examination of the books of accounts of Insurance Companies.
- (iii) Checking the valuation of assets, the adequacy of liability reserves in respect of:
  - (a) Reserves for unexpired risks;
  - (b) reserves for outstanding claims, and
  - (c) contingency reserves.
- (iv) Examine the investment portfolio of Insurance Companies.

**(9) ACTUARIES GRADE I**

The successful candidates will assist the Senior Actuaries in the performance of the duties assigned to them. They will also be expected to carry out such other duties which may be assigned to them.

**(10) HIGHER INSURANCE INSPECTORS**

The successful candidates will assist the Senior Inspectors in the efficient performance of the duties assigned to them. Supervise the activities of area Inspectors under them. Co-ordinate the work of group Inspectors. Make further investigation of matters requiring more detailed examination.

**(11) INSURANCE AUDITORS GRADE II**

Successful candidates for the post of Insurance Auditors Grade II, will be required to assist the Insurance Auditor Grade I in the performance of the duties that may be assigned to the Senior Insurance Auditor, as specified under in paragraph (7) above.

**(12) ACTUARIES GRADE II**

The successful candidates will be expected to assist the Actuary Grade I in the performance of the duties assigned to him.

**(13) INSURANCE INSPECTORS**

The successful candidates will be required to:

- (i) Physically check the records, books and other business documents of Insurance Companies and may be directed from time to time to check also the records of Insurance Brokers/Adjusters and Agents;
- (ii) Submit reports for detailed examination;
- (iii) Supervise the activities of Assistant Insurance Inspectors;
- (iv) Examine the Returns submitted by Insurance Companies, Brokers and Agents;

# Base Of Afro-Arab Unity

\*Dr. P. F. Wilmot  
Department of Sociology  
Ahmadu Bello University  
Zaria—Nigeria

The question of Afro-Arab unity has often been posed in terms of sentiment instead of hard-geopolitical facts, in historical terms when Afro-Arab unity, or lack of it, is a product of precise historical forces, in racial terms when race serves only to confuse the issue. On both sides of the divide, Africans and Arabs are vehicles and victims of obscurantist fanaticisms, of dogmatic and divisive religious exclusivism, and of atavistic fantasies of cultural superiority or inferiority.

Even the posing of the question, however, betrays the fantastic level at which the discourse is traditionally conducted, because it implies that "African" and "Arab" can be considered as mutually exclusive concepts. But the majority of the Arab world, and some of the most dynamic Arabs at that, are as fully African as any other inhabitants of the continent. The African-Arab countries of Egypt (40m), Sudan (17m), Morocco (16.7m), Algeria (16.0m), Tunisia (5.6m), Libya (2.3m), and Mauritania (1.5m) have about three times the population of the non-African Arab countries of Syria (6.5m), Iraq (9m), Saudi Arabia (8m), Jordan (1.7m), Lebanon (2.7m), the United Arab Emirates (approx. 200,000), Yemen (5m), South Yemen (1.5m), Kuwait (800,000), and Oman (750,000). Any attempt on the part of the Arab World to exclude itself from Africa, thereby reduces its potential geopolitical impact by three quarters, while the exclusion of Arab Africa from the rest of the continent reduces Africa's potential impact by a quarter.

When the obvious is perceived or even conceded by imperialism, i.e. that the Arab world is inseparable from Africa, the Sahara desert is immediately trotted out to create a new division between "sub-Saharan" and presumably "super-saharan" Africa; or, even more convenient, imperialism and its agents divide the continent into "Black" Africa and "Arab" Africa despite the fact that some of the blackest members of the continent are found among the Arab inhabitants of Libya and the Sudan.

The Sahara desert never, however, constituted a barrier in pre-colonial times when the only means of transport were camels, horses, oxen and asses. The fact that it now does so, in the

age of modern communications, is a sign that the desert is not a physical but a political barrier. Further, since its nature as a barrier has become more pronounced since the imposition of colonial domination, it means that the political process of separating Arab from "black" Africa is historically conditioned, and hence reversible.

Before the imposition of colonial rule the sub-saharan states of Ghana, Songhai, Mali, Borno and Sokoto had fruitful and reciprocal economic, political, social and cultural links with the Arab states in and across the Sahara desert. In fact the territory of many of these "sub-saharan" states extended well into the Sahara itself. It was Britain and France, the Chief colonial powers of West and North Africa which disrupted these links, and have striven, in the age of neo-colonialism, to see that such links are never restored. The manoeuvres of neo-colonial agents to prevent the construction of the eminently sensible Trans-Saharan route is a case in point.

But the Americans who have taken over as the high priests of imperialism have now assumed the divisive roles of the British and the French. While the British created the bases of a primitive and reactionary Arab nationalism, by installing clients on the thrones of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Jordan, it is the Americans who today control this right wing of Arab nationalism. They actively stimulate the narrow racist, chauvinistic, anti-christian and anti-communist ideology of Saudi Arabia and, in operation "No Beef," pay Hussein \$750,000 a year to spy on his fellow Arabs and to act as a conduct line for Western arms to the racist regimes of Southern Africa. While the French collaborated with Morocco to assassinate the Pan-African Ben Barka, the Americans today finance Moroccan aggression against Polisario and the Algerians.

In "Black" Africa, British, Portuguese and French imperialism, through the christian missionaries, actively stimulated a primitive African nationalism which was anti-Arab and anti-Islamic. In the court of the Monomotapa in Zimbabwe Jesuit missionaries instigated the massacres of Arabs who had traded there peacefully for centuries. In the former kingdoms of Borno and Sokoto the British and French severed the ancient intellectual links between local centres of learning and leading North African universities such as Al-Azhar in Cairo. Today it is CIA-sponsored



King Khalid Ibn Abdel Aziz of Saudi Arabia

American Christian missionaries who generate anti-Arab and Anti-Islamic hysteria, branding the Arabs as slave traders and Islam as a religion of conquest and destruction. But both primitive nationalisms betray their origins and, more important, the source of their finance, by their right wing fanaticism which brands as "communist" everyone who refuses to worship Mammon, who takes an interest in his brother's Welfare, or who follows the true path of Jesus or Mohammed. In sections of Africa where the two great religions of Christianity and Islam co-exist, imperialist agents work assiduously to sabotage national unity by labelling Christianity as European and Islam as Arab or "Oriental." And the fact that some of the most vocal adherents of both religions lack any knowledge of theology, and reduce religion to statutory, rich garments or meaningless incantation, simply adds incense to the flames.

## The Question of Unity

Unity, considered in the abstract, and in the face of intractable political problems, tends to be reduced to a panacea for all ills, to a fetish in whose name sentimental appeals are made, or to a chimera pursued even by the minority of political leaders who experience rare outbreaks of lucidity.

Unity for its own sake, unity without precise objectives, unity without the necessary organizational infrastructures is a sure formula for political promiscuity in which field marshalls, psychopaths, emperors, CIA agents, assassins and patriots come together for orgiastic displays of revolutionary rhetoric. But if sexual promiscuity is condemned, political promiscuity should be doubly so because while medical science has effective cures for syphilis and gonorr-



Senegal's Senghor (R) welcomes Secretary-General of the Arab League Mahmoud Riad (L) to the opening of the Dakar Afro-Arab Conference.

hoes, political science is yet to find a cure for treachery and reaction.

Unity in the concrete, unity between Arabs and other Africans must therefore be unity for whom, unity for what objectives, unity within what organisational framework. The fantastic unity of rhetoric and alcohol must be replaced by concrete unity based on the conditions of lives of the Arab and other African Peoples, on the strands of their historical development.

All the peoples in question had their historical development interrupted and transformed by the colonial imposition and the neocolonial aftermath. Afro-Arab unity must therefore be for the Arab and other African peoples, must aim towards restoring the people to the path of their own historical development; its objectives must be struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism which have subordinated the historical destiny of the peoples to the requirements of economic exploitation by the United States of America, western Europe and Japan. The organizational requirements of unity are institutions which structure economic integration, political association, cultural renaissance, social interaction and military cooperation. In short concrete unity involves the creation of mechanisms to effect the disengagement from the neo-colonial system which marginalizes the "under-developed" peoples at the periphery by perpetuating economic, political, military and cultural institutions created during the period of direct colonialism.

Within the international neo-colonial structure the Afro-Arabs occupy a subordinate but strategic position. Of the OPEC countries only three (Iran, Venezuela and Indonesia), are not members of the Afro-Arab bloc. Among the biggest oil producers in the world only three (the Soviet Union, the United States and China) are not members of

OPEC. OPEC controls over 95% of world oil exports, over 90% of proven oil reserves and over 60% of current oil production. Among the "developed" imperialist countries which refuse to adopt a reasonable attitude in the so-called "North-South" dialogue with the "developing countries, Japan is dependent on OPEC for almost 100% of its oil requirements, the Western European countries for between 95 and 100%, and the United States for over 50%.

These so-called "wealthy" countries are also dependent on the Afro-Arab countries for most of their other strategic raw materials: for over 90% of their gold and industrial diamonds, 80% of their uranium, 70% of their copper, cobalt and chrome, vast quantities of their iron ore and phosphates, plus almost all their supplies for rare metals (molybdenum, vanadium, beryllium etc) Thus the basis of the wealth of these so-called rich countries is yet vast supplies of raw materials from the so-called "poor" and "under-developed" Afro-Arab countries.

The structure of dependence created by imperialism is therefore vulnerable. Instead of strength it can produce weakness; instead of power, impotence; instead of wealth, a truly desperate poverty heightened by an unrealistic level of consumption and an illusory consciousness of material affluence.

Within the neo-colonial structure of power the strength of the West consists in its superior technological knowledge vis-a-vis the Afro-Arab bloc. But while this bloc can acquire technological knowledge through the natural process of learning, there is no equivalent manner in which the West can acquire oil, iron, ore, copper, cobalt, chrome, uranium, titanium, tungsten or beryllium.

This natural condition of strength which has been transformed into weakness by the imposition of colonialism and neo-colonialism can be reversed

through a process of decolonization. In purely physical terms the control of its raw materials will enable the bloc to establish not just dominant but even punitive relations over the West within the relationship. To punish the West by denying it raw materials, to carry out apparently calculated acts of political cruelty by exposing entire populations to the effects of economic collapse, should serve to remind the West of its murderous behaviour in the past as well as encourage it to avoid political adventurism in the future.

The operations of OPEC and the Arab "oil weapon" are examples of what could be done. But these operations will operate at a limited, tactical level. The West has simply raised the ceiling of exploitation without altering the neo-colonial structure. Its populations have made but limited sacrifices instead of being reduced to the level of poverty suffered by the populations of the Afro-Arab bloc whose wealth of raw materials make their current affluence possible.

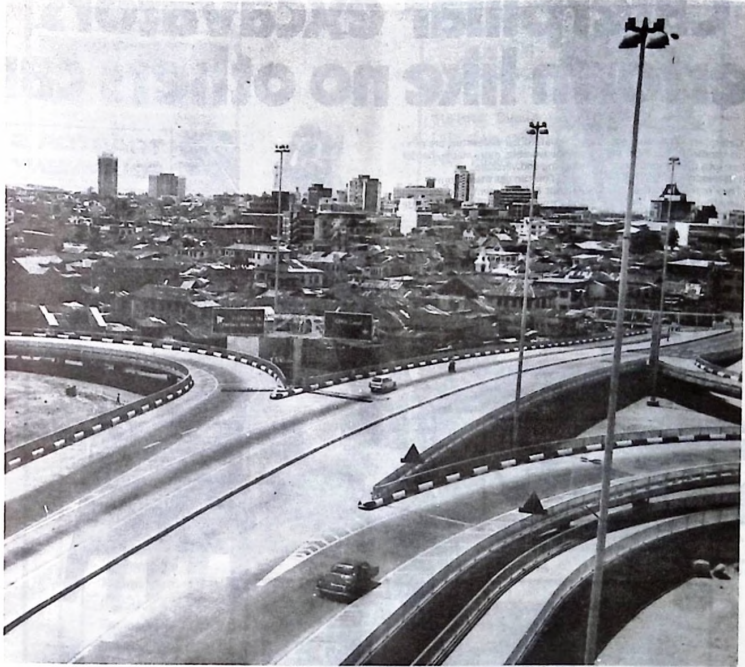
A comprehensive and articulate strategy would involve total control of the raw materials of the bloc—just as the West now controls not only its own raw materials but those of the "developing" countries as well. With this control established, prices could be controlled—just as the west now controls the prices of its manufactured goods. And control of prices would involve not simply quantity but the currency to be paid—not in dollars or mark or sterling but in factories, oil refineries and petrochemical complexes.

Simply raising prices will not alter the neo-colonial structure in which the West sells relatively high-priced manufactured goods in exchange for relatively low-priced raw materials. To break the cycle the West must be forced to help industrialize the bloc through the threat of withdrawal of essential raw materials. Thus the problem is not simply economic but political as well.

#### Techniques of Decolonization

The neo-colonial structure in which the "developing" countries participate without any real concern or even clear perception of their interests vis-a-vis the "developed" world cannot be explained in purely economic or political terms. Without a social elite whose primary base of support and focus of loyalty are not in their own countries but in the boardrooms and chancelleries of the developed world, a neo-colonial structure which breeds poverty, apathy and disillusion could not long be tolerated.

*Continued on page 23*



*Eko bridge: a multi-carriageway.*

## NIGERIA'S BOOMING CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

An apparently astonished visitor during the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC '77) described Lagos, the federal Capital of Nigeria as "a veritable bee-hive of construction works." This apt description of Lagos also mirrors the galaxy of construction works—roads, schools, hospitals, office and residential accommodation, barracks,

factories, dams, etc. etc.—now going on all over the country.

Having emerged financially stronger from a devastating 30-month civil strife which had wrecked untold damage to the basic infrastructures of many parts of the country, Nigeria has been not only eager to obliterate all traces of war damages; but also anxious to move forward with the development of her

economy in all directions. Thanks to the new found oil wealth which now puts the nation number five greatest producer of oil in the world.

Hence the increasing boom in the construction industry which in turn has affected the economy one way or the other; a good but painful example being the now forgotten cement jams

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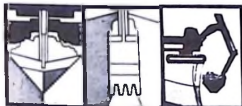
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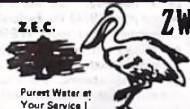


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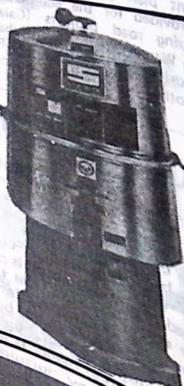
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at the Lagos port which nearly brought the economy to a standstill.

#### Roads

Road Construction was of high priority in the second National Development plan (1970-74). ₦27.5m was provided for the completion of continuing road projects (Calabar-Ikom; Warri-Okene; Beni sheikh-Maiduguri and Onitsha-Owerri Roads among others). ₦52.9m was provided

for the rehabilitation of the Lagos-Kaduna, Jos-Enugu, Benin-Asaba and Kano-Katsina roads and ₦26.9m also earmarked for new projects. Other road projects of interest since 1973 include the trans highways expected to connect Nigeria with neighbouring African Countries; the Lagos-Mombasa trans highway; the Shagamu-Cameroon border through Benin, Onitsha and Abakaliki; the Gboko to Republic of

Benin highway. By the end of the second plan (1974) the Federal Military Government had spent ₦850m from oil money on roads throughout the Federation excluding maintenance costs of existing network. For example it did not include ₦0.55m spent monthly for the maintenance of the old Benin-Shagamu Road under a contract signed with DUMAZ in the same 1974 and expected to expire in 1978.

After the takeover of trunk 'B' roads from the State Governments, the Federal road bill increased remarkably thereby widening the boom of road construction firms. In Anambra and Imo States alone about ₦45m was earmarked for reconstruction of 1200km of Trunk 'B' and 722 km of Trunk 'A' roads. And in Kaduna State the Federal bill was ₦90.9m for the same road grades. The third Development plan's vote for Trunk 'A' and 'B' roads all over the Federation is an attempt at correcting flaws in past policies which resulted in only 9,562 miles out of 19,859 miles of Trunk 'A' and 'B' roads being paved by 1972. Said the then Director of Public Works, M. T. Usman, way back in 1973: "the reason for these arterial road being below the normal standards is partly a reflection of the past policies of stretching funds to achieve a maximum of thin bituminous surfaced roads."

The States too, were not left behind. Before the Federal takeover of trunk 'B' roads they managed and cared for these roads from their annual budget. For example, as far back as 1972/73 the then North Central State allocated ₦16.8m (then £8.4m) specifically for Construction projects. The Bend State (former Midwest State) has practically tarred all streets in Benin, the state capital and constructed many more roads connecting the reverine areas with other parts of the state; and Benin, with divisional capitals. The Cross River State (former South Eastern State) by 1975 had tarred 800 miles of road and built 56 bridges while Lagos State constructed among others the Lagos-Badagry and Lagos-Epe expressways.

#### Building

The acute shortage of housing accommodation as a result of ever increasing drift from the rural to urban centres is an endemic problem or urbanisation which has paved the way for the Building firms' share of the Construction boom.

The Federal Government took the lead with an original provision for 54,000 Housing units under a national low-cost Housing scheme. Later this

## SOCIAL COST OF THE BOOM

The main Social cost of the boom in the Construction Industry is its impact on inflation. Since 1970 money supply (money in circulation plus deposits in Banks) has been increasing not directly because of the oil boom but because the increased revenue from oil is pumped into the economy almost as fast as it is realised. And Construction, the industry with the lion's share, being a non-food producing sector, the sum effect of these plough-backs is increasingly too much money pursuing too few goods—inflation.

In 1974 money supply increased by 42.5 per cent to ₦1,178m from ₦827.2m recorded in 1973 which was 18.1 per cent up in 1972. By 1975, the supply figure was ₦1,044.1m; which is about 73.5 per cent increase over the 1974 level. Although the figures for 1976 are yet to be made public, a further steep climb upwards is more than possible. According to the Central Bank in its 1975 report "as was the case in the two preceding years, the main source of expansion in the stock of money remained substantial government monetization of Naira counterparts of receipts from Petroleum."

Under these circumstances one is not too surprised that the lower income group composite consumer price index compiled by CBN went up by 33.9 per cent in 1975 as against 13.4 per cent in 1974 despite a load of anti-inflation measures introduced in earlier budgets. Food index alone increased by 62 per cent thereby underlining the failure of the food sector to catch up with construction and other sectors.

Another sad development is the rate of increase in demand for construction materials which seemed to outrun the rate of increase in domestic production of these materials. In 1974, out of 2,261,000 tonnes of cement used, 53.1 per cent was domes-

tically produced but by 1975 domestic proportion fell to 40.3 per cent out of 3,431,000 tonnes used. The same with paints—78.8 per cent domestic in 1974 has dropped to 69 per cent by 1975 and fears are that both will drop further in 1976, when statistics become available. The effect of this is most felt in the balance of payments where the thousands spent on crude material and manufactured goods go on increasing yearly, especially now that by 1976, the 1975 surplus of ₦158m had plunged to ₦242.6m deficit.

Then, of course, there is the effect of corrective measures on government finance. The Federal Military Government has, for this year, limited recurrent and capital expenditure to ₦3,097 million and ₦5,500m respectively in a bid to minimise the effect of this on inflation. And as far back as 1974, in an attempt to check the rise in cost of building materials, import duties on them were reduced by a maximum of 10 per cent while cement and other home produced materials had their excise duties withdrawn. Later in 1975, these import duties were further reduced from 50 per cent to 20 per cent while re-inforcing fabric and similar materials of Iron or Steel Wire, Paints etc., joined the group of excise duty-free goods. Then again in 1976, duties on semi-finished iron rods; glass and plastic ceiling tiles were reduced to 10 per cent, 20 per cent and 33 1/3 per cent respectively. Sadly, however, despite depriving the Government of this revenue, these measures are yet to have any impact on the movement of the prices of these raw materials.

The puzzle now is: can domestic production ever catch up with the boom-induced increase in demand? And if not (which is most likely), should the tempo of the boom be lowered? Either way the social cost continues.

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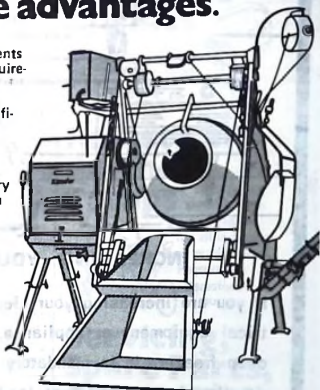
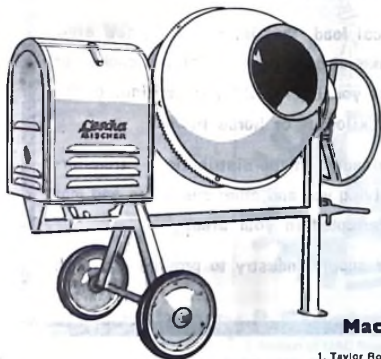
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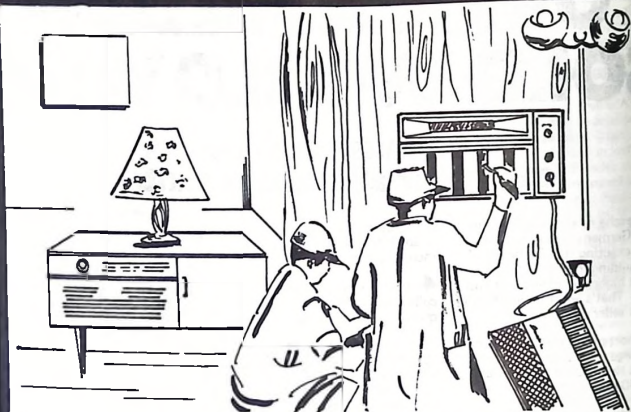
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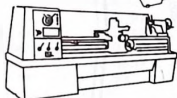
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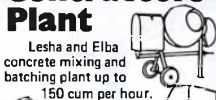
Jones and Shipman surface cylindrical/tool and cutter grinders.



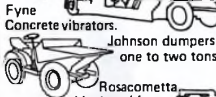
Stenner saw milling equipment

## Contractors Plant

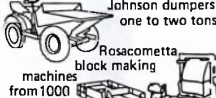
Lesha and Elba concrete mixing and batching plant up to 150 cum per hour.



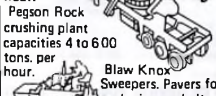
Fyne Concrete vibrators.



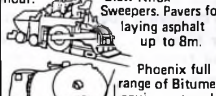
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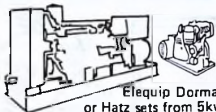
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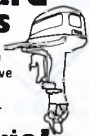
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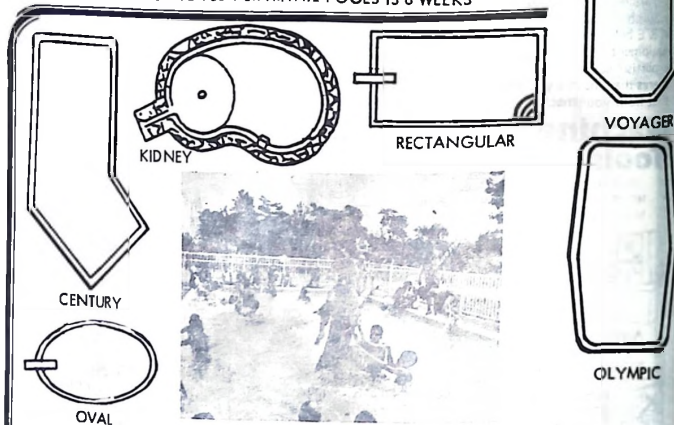
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was increased to 60,000 and further increased again to 200,000 units.

Following this cue, State Governments embarked on their own housing schemes. Lagos State by last year spent more than ₦8m in completing 608 units as part of its Ogba housing scheme. With the second phase now in progress and work still going on at the Isolo estate, Lagos appears to be at the forefront, just behind the Federal Government. In addition its housing corporation (LSDPC) is putting finishing touches to its 1,200 hectares ₦114m Amuwo-Odofin new town expected to relieve Lagos City of some of its pressures.

Last year the Kwara State Government budgeted over ₦100m for two housing estates to comprise of 4,000 units and 13 markets upon completion. The Cross River State, on the other hand, by 1975 reconstructed 23,000 houses; built 350 low cost houses and like every other new state, built a state secretariat building; two first class Hotels and a ₦2.5m Cultural Centre.

In a bid to attract and house industrial establishments most states constructed industrial estates. Lagos State contracted the ₦900,000 Matori Industrial estate of 2.04 hectares which is expected to benefit 800 employers and employees and Cross River embarked on a ₦0.5m industrial estate.

Into the purse of Building Contractors also came the expenditure of UPE buildings. The Universal Primary Education Programme, being a national one, cut across all states and in like manner more classrooms, schools and laboratories were and are being built. In the Cross River State, for example, by 1976 there were 13 teacher Training Colleges as against nine in 1974/75 and 4,500 classrooms were under construction.

#### Other Areas

Happily, the spread of Oil money did not end with buildings and roads as far as the Construction Industry is concerned. Specialised areas like irrigation also had their fair share and today dams are common sights in some parts of the country; especially, towards the north.

In 1971/72 two ₦14.352 m water projects were begun at Katsina and Zaria and by the second Development plan ended (1974) the then North Central State had spent over ₦25m on this group of projects. The former East Central State also provided ₦6m for completion of rural schemes and the reconstruction and rehabilitation work on water establishments.



*Eko Hotel—more of its kind are springing up all over the country.*

The approach of prestige continental commitments such as FESTAC '77 further accentuated the pace of the construction boom in the country. The National theatre and its accompanying Festival Village had to be ready on schedule and many road projects had to be completed to facilitate the smooth flow of traffic. The international trade fair which is taking place late November, sports stadia at Benin, Ilorin, Lagos and of course, the reconstruction of Tafawa Balewa Square which is at its final stages have all contributed in no small measure towards the increased tempo of the construction industry.

#### Bottlenecks

The boom, however, has not been without bottlenecks. The major one being the insufficiency of engineers and technicians to plan, design and execute the projects. This problem remains unsolved and the result is the years of dependence on expatriates and the winning of major contracts by only those who are able to engage this higher salaried specialists. In fact this remains one of the factors responsible for the inability of indigenous constructing firms to win major road, building and irrigation contracts despite present government efforts on their behalf.

A second problem stems from bureaucracy. Some of the constructing firm face at one time or the other threats to their very existence because of delays

in the payment of mobilization fees on contracts won.

Rising cost of Raw materials continues to be another major problem for the industry despite government's fiscal measures.

Lastly, most of these projects are constructed in bits in order to allow for undisturbed use, especially in the case of roads within towns. Hence it takes more time, money and effort, to complete them successfully.

#### Future

However, despite these handicaps the boom appears ready to continue far into the future. Although the Federal Government has limited its capital expenditure to ₦5,500m this year because of inflation (See Box-in), the future still looks good for this industry. The 200,000 housing units are yet to be completed. The states are embarking on their own schemes and the numerous North-South, East-West road networks from Lagos to Sokoto, Warri to Kano and Port Harcourt to Maiduguri are also in progress.

Most important the newly elected Local Government Councils are embarking on projects aimed at raising the living standards within their areas of jurisdiction. It is from these areas that one expects increased constructional works in the Federal Military Government's efforts to raise the standards of living in the rural areas as a means of stopping the drift to urban centres.

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*Supplement Editor  
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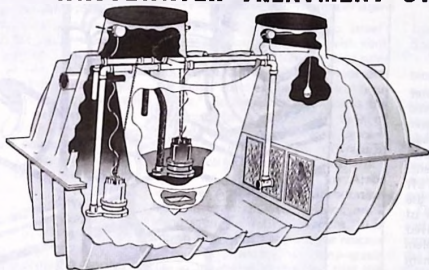
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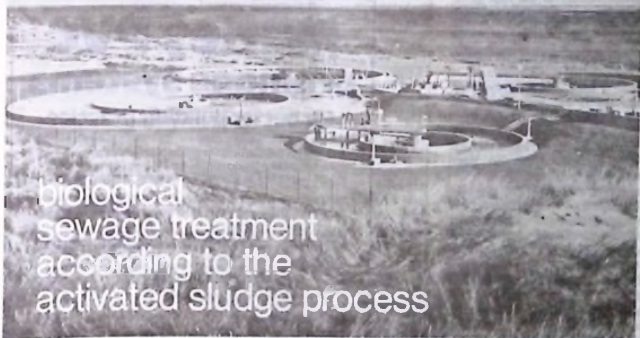
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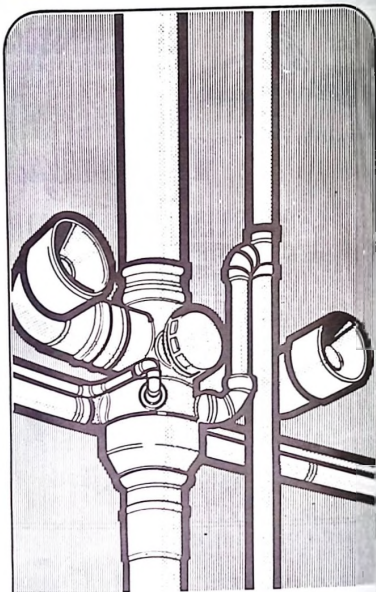
## WATER TREATMENT

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Some good amount of havoc has been done to humanity in certain areas of the world either through much of water (uncontrolled) or the lack of it. Water is known to cover three-quarters of the Earth's surface to an average depth of three miles and there is often as much as 50,000 tons of water vapour over one square mile. The amount of water passing back and forth between Earth and sky is also very great. An estimated volume of 16-million tons of water evaporate every second from the Earth's surface. Similarly, some tonnage is falling back to Earth as rains, sleet, snow, hail, frost and dews.

Quantity is therefore not the vital factor in talking of water; controls and standards pose the challenging problem, at least, considering the importance of their various usages. In fact, without water the soil would be sterile but its commonness makes it look to lose the impact it has over mankind.

Science, the progressive discovery of the Divine by man, has a great influence on the day-to-day affairs of the people. We talk of the most vital to life through the commonest. We have already gone too far in putting out good uses of good water to people and our marks are here and there.



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Continued from page 22

rated. Decolonization therefore involves the transformation or elimination of such elites because political unity is impossible where perceptions and articulations of interests are in conflict. Afro-Arab unity cannot come about where some political leaders are publicly identified as being on the payroll of the CIA or any other intelligence agency, or where leaders persist in adopting dogmatic political positions without regard for concrete and precise interests.

Besides the neo-colonial elites which they maintain in the Afro-Arab bloc, the Western countries preserve their interests through the use of the threat of military intervention. But the form of military intervention has had to be modified because of current international realities as well as of internal developments within the Western countries themselves. With the liberation and access to great power status of the Soviet Union and China, certain constraints have been put on the military adventures typical in the period of direct colonialism. The West must therefore rely increasingly on subversion, assassinations and the use of military client-states.

This later role is carried out principally by Israel in the Arab world and South Africa in the rest of Africa. Both states serve the functions of Western military outposts, as arms depots, laboratories and staging areas for aggression against their neighbours. Both states have virulent racial ideologies which set them apart from their neighbours and justify their aggressive behaviour. The state of Israel was founded in 1948, the year the present Nationalist regime came to power in South Africa.

Although some Israelis were victims of Nazism while the Nationalists supported it, their community of interests has more than made up for this temporary historical misunderstanding. Vorster paid a state visit to Israel in 1976; Dayan, former Chief of Staff and Defence Minister, and Meir Amit, former Chief of Israeli intelligence, pay regular visits to the racist republic. Israel supplies star class missile ships and the license for constructing Dabur coastal patrol boats to the South Africans. She is helping South Africa to build up its electronic military industry. And Israeli instructors are training racist military officers, and operating alongside South Africans and Rhodesians in the war of aggression against Namibia and Zimbabwe.

In return South Africa supplies



Egypt's Anwar Sadat, Boumedienne of Algeria

minerals and investments to Israel's industries. South Africa's Jewish community is allowed to transfer large sums of foreign currency to Israel despite the racists' strict exchange control regulations. South Africa also allows the return to Israel during war time of military personnel of Jewish descent who, under Israel's law of return, automatically become citizens.

But far more ominous for Arabs and other Africans is the collaboration between Israel and South Africa in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. It is known that Israel has a nuclear reactor capable of producing weapons-grade fuel in the Negev desert, and that the Zionist state has actually produced several crude atomic bombs. Currently, with the collaboration of France, the United States, West Germany and Britain, South Africa is engaged in constructing a nuclear fuel processing plant and two nuclear power stations with a total capacity of 902 megawatts each. According to U.S. intelligence sources, quoted in Newsweek of 21st February, 1977, South Africa will produce enough fuel to manufacture several nuclear bombs per year.

In return for Israel's military nuclear technology, and the supply of aircraft capable of delivering atomic weapons, South Africa will supply Israel's requirements for enriched uranium. Iran has also invested in the racists' nuclear installations and will be repaid with enriched uranium. The Arab countries bordering Iran need not ask what the megalomaniac Shah plans to do with such uranium.

The Afro-Arab bloc could therefore find itself boxed in by Western client states possessing nuclear weapons. The achilles heel of this potential nuclear triangle is South Africa's lack of petroleum. The Arab states claim to have cut off supplies to the racists two years ago and should now make sure that Western oil companies are not circumventing this boycott. That will isolate



Boumedienne of Algeria

Iran as the only admitted supplier to South Africa and Israel.

To deal with Iran, the Afro-Arab bloc comprising sixty countries with a population of nearly 450 millions should threaten to isolate Iran diplomatically. As the most numerous bloc in the United Nations and among the Non-aligned nations, the Afro-Arabs could also use these forums to wreak diplomatic havoc with the Shah's fragile political legitimacy.

On the Economic front, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, who produce the same type of crude as Iran could, with the tacit approval of OPEC, engage in a discreet price war aimed at destroying the Iranian market at a time when diplomatic isolation and heightened tension would force the Shah to step up military expenditure and thus precipitate bankruptcy. Then cutting the South African jugular would not be too high a price to pay for the tranquility which would stem from having a clear conscience as an upholder of the peace.

Afro-Arab unity should therefore be based on a community of concrete interests of an economic political, social, cultural and military nature; on a clear perception of who are the friends and who are the enemies of the Afro-Arab world; on a willingness to coordinate an articulate strategy for reversing the negative processes introduced by colonialism and neocolonialism; and most important of all, on the absolute commitment to reintroduce the colonized people not just to the stage of world history, but to the centre of that stage.

Without such community of interests, without such perception of friends and enemies, without such willingness to struggle and commitment to popular participation, Afro-Arab unity could turn out to be a higher form of neo-colonialism, with a stabilized structure recognizing a rank order based on the importance of each country within the overall design of imperialism.

- (v) They may also conduct preliminary investigation into complaints against Insurance Companies and other Intermediaries.

**(14) LEGAL OFFICER GRADE II**

The successful candidate will assist the Legal Officer Grade I in the performance of the duties of enforcing the provisions of the Insurance Decree and Regulations.

**D. SALARIES**

- (1) Director of Insurance – Grade Level 15 (₦9,996 – ₦11,028)
- (2) Chief Actuary – Grade Level 14 (₦8,868 – ₦9,828)
- (3) Assistant Chief Actuary – Grade Level 13 (₦7,764 – ₦8,724)
- (4) Principal Actuary – Grade Level 12 (₦7,104 – ₦7,752)
- (5) Deputy Superintendent of Insurance – Grade Level 10 (₦5,460 – ₦6,432)
- (6) Senior Insurance Inspector – Grade Level 09 (₦4,368 – ₦5,340)
- (7) Senior Actuaries – Grade Level 11 (₦6,444 – ₦6,984)
- (8) Insurance Auditor Grade I – Grade Level 10 (₦5,460 – ₦6,432)
- (9) Actuary Grade I – Grade Level 10 (₦5,460 – ₦6,432)
- (10) Higher Insurance Inspectors – Grade Level 08 (₦3,264 – ₦4,164)
- (11) Insurance Auditors Grade II – Grade Level 09 (₦4,368 – ₦5,340)
- (12) Actuary Grade II – Grade Level 09 (₦4,368 – ₦5,340)
- (13) Insurance Inspectors – Grade Level 07 (₦2,496 – ₦3,216)
- (14) Legal Officer Grade II – Grade Level 08 (₦3,264 – ₦4,164).

**E. CONDITIONS OF SERVICE**

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

**F. METHODS OF APPLICATION**

(a) In Nigeria: Applications from candidates not in Government Service should be completed in triplicate on the appropriate form obtainable from the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Lagos, or any of the State Public Service Commissions. Applications from candidates in the Government Service should be submitted in letter form through the Head of the applicant's Department or Ministry to the Federal Public Service Commission, and be accompanied by copies of confidential reports for the last three years.

(b) Overseas: Applications should be completed and submitted in triplicate on the appropriate form obtainable from the Recruitment Attache, Nigeria High Commission, 9, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2, if candidates are resident in Europe; or to the Head of Chancery, Embassy of Nigeria, 1333-16th Street, N.W. Washington 6, D.C. 20036, U.S.A., if they are resident in the U.S.A. or Canada. In other cases, applications should be submitted to the Commission/Embassy nearest to the applicant's station.

**G. CLOSING DATE**

All applications should reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Private Mail Bag No. 12586, Independence Building, Lagos, not later than 30th July, 1977.

## PUBLIC NOTICE

### MINISTRY OF DEFENCE, LAGOS

#### Disposal of Unserviceable Aircraft of the Nigerian Air Force

This is to inform the general public that the Nigerian Air Force has a large number of unserviceable Harvard T.6 and DC7 aircraft and Noratlas ND-2501 and Jet Provost 4 spare parts for immediate disposal.

2. Persons or firms who may be interested in purchasing any of these aircraft and spare parts should contact the Director of Engineering, Nigerian Air Force Headquarters, Ministry of Defence, Marina, Lagos on or before Tuesday 31st May, 1977 for further information.

28th April, 1977

Permanent Secretary,  
Ministry of Defence,  
Lagos.



*Field-Marshal Idi Amin: an unwelcome guest?*

# IDI AMIN

## AND THE COMMONWEALTH

### \*Saka Fadairo

The forthcoming Commonwealth summit has attracted more than its fair due of world publicity, not because of the summit's vaunted ability to find answers to world problems but because the presence of Uganda's Idi Amin would once again raise the issue of a clearer definition of the status of the Commonwealth in the world today. In a sense, Idi Amin represents the success of the Commonwealth—the organisation that is divorced from its colonial origin, open to "all" members, and committed to the pursuit of racial harmony and equality! To this extent, the club is a victim of its own "success."

### Anglo-Uganda Relations

From the mass repatriation of Asians to Britain and his humiliation of the British over the Dennis Hills affair to his public message that he would not attend the Kingston 1975 Commonwealth conference "because the Queen of Great Britain herself will not be participating," Idi Amin has tried his best to be a true sovereign within the Commonwealth. Ugly incidents such as these have—naturally—marked the relations between the two sovereign and equal members of a fraternal organisation. From the West's revulsion over Amin's massacre of over 50,000 Ugandans to his ego-deflating telegrams

to Western leaders, the General has studiously courted the hatred and fury of the Western powers.

To be caught in the logic of its club rules and host Idi Amin in the forthcoming Commonwealth conference is to Britain to be asked to extend her hands to shake a leper. But the cunning Ugandan leader is enjoying every moment of the embarrassment. Britain's Prime Minister Callaghan at first dropped the polite hint that "Britain will not feel slighted if Amin does not attend the jubilee anniversary." But Amin does not only hate reading bet-

ween the lines; he is not also literate enough to even read within the lines. His reply? "I love the British people and I will be going with two hundred and eighty people. I have a long memory of Britain and the monarch. I even knew the Queen before Prince Phillips."

Idi Amin is not the type who will appreciate the problem posed by his presence in London or, if he does, would resist the temptation to deepen the agony for all sides.

### The Problems

But for Britain and the Common-



*Secretary General, Shridath Ramphal*

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF TRADE  
COMMERCIAL LAW DIVISION  
COMPANIES & BUSINESS NAMES REGISTRY

## STAFF VACANCIES

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for appointment to the following posts in the Companies and Business Names Registry of the Commercial Law Division, Federal Ministry of Trade.

### 1. POSTS

Principal Assistant Registrar	—	Grade Level 12 (₦7,104 — ₦7,752)
Senior Assistant Registrar	—	Grade Level 10 (₦5,460 — ₦6,432)
Assistant Registrar Grade I	—	Grade Level 09 (₦4,368 — ₦5,340)
Assistant Registrar Grade II	—	Grade Level 08 (₦3,264 — ₦4,164)
Pupil Assistant Registrar	—	Grade Level 08 (₦3,264 — ₦4,164)

### NOTE

Successful candidates for the post of Assistant Registrar, Grade II, are eligible for enhanced entry point at step 4 of Grade Level 08, i.e. ₦3,714 — ₦4,164. Pupil Assistant Registrar enters grade Level 08 at the 2nd step i.e. ₦3,414 — ₦4,164.

### 2. QUALIFICATIONS

#### Pupil Assistant Registrar

Applicants must possess any one of the following qualifications:-

- a University Degree and must have been enrolled as a Solicitor and advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria or
- a call to the bar as a solicitor and advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria or
- a call to the bar as a solicitor and advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria plus Association of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries.

#### Assistant Registrar Grade II

Applicants must possess any one of the qualifications prescribed for Pupil Assistant Registrar, as above plus at least 2 years post qualification practical experience as a Legal Practitioner.

#### Assistant Registrar Grade I

Applicants must possess any one of the qualifications prescribed for Assistant Registrar Grade II, plus at least 4 years post qualification practical experience as a Legal Practitioner.

#### Senior Assistant Registrar

Applicants must possess any one of the qualifications prescribed for Assistant Registrar Grade II plus at least 6 years post qualification practical experience as a Legal Practitioner.

#### Principal Assistant Registrar

Applicants must possess any one of the qualifications prescribed for Assistant Registrar Grade II plus at least 7 years post qualification practical experience as a Legal Practitioner.

### 3. DUTIES

#### Pupil Assistant Registrar

Successful candidates will be required to perform the following duties with close supervision:

- Checking for availability of names in the Register of Companies and Business Names.
- Checking, examining and scrutinizing Memorandum and Articles of Association, Business

wealth, there is a problem. Whether Idi Amin attends or abstains from the summit, the Commonwealth will lose a little more of its credibility.

On a narrow legal plane, the issue would have been straightforward. As the Assistant Secretary-General explained in an interview in this issue. "The Commonwealth Secretariat serves every member equally. . . . The point to note, however, is that the Secretariat makes arrangements for meetings and conferences but the security aspects are the host's responsibility." This



Britain's James Callaghan and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania: a poster for the Commonwealth?

## A New Commonwealth Is Born

### \*Saka Fadairo

There is something supremely peaceful that puts one at ease when one is with Mr. Emeka Anyaoku, the Assistant Secretary General of the Commonwealth. That thing which is his frankness and amiability lures one to spend hours with him without feeling bored or dried out.

Extremely witty and humorous, Mr. Anyaoku was in Africa of recent for the Commonwealth Education Conference in Ghana. Later, at Nigeria's Institute of International Affairs, he delivered a series of public lectures on "The Racial Factor In International Politics." A graduate of classics from Ibadan University and a one time executive of the Commonwealth Development Corporation, he was formerly in the Nigeria diplomatic service and served under Chief Simeon Adebayo, Nigeria's Permanent Representative at the UN for three years in New York before joining the Commonwealth Secretariat. At the end of the lectures he granted an interview to Afriscope's Saka Fadairo. Below are excerpts from the conversation:

**Afriscope:** As an African working in an organisation whose headquarters is in the whiteman's land what is your working experience like?

**Anyaoku:** It's exciting, hectic but equally challenging. Exciting in the sense that one has quite a number of problems to solve at the same time which call for real work and imagination. Hectic, because the problems are compelling. For instance, I travel a lot; although I am based in London. I hardly stay there. It is challenging because one has got to prove that one is worth the post not necessarily because one is black or white.

**Afriscope:** Apart from sponsoring some

indigent freedom fighters to the Geneva Peace Conference, what other concrete terms can your organisation lay claim to, to suggest that it has cast its lot with the nationalists in Southern Africa?

**Anyaoku:** We have a special programme to help Mozambique to implement sanctions against Zimbabwe. The Commonwealth has technical assistance scholarship and education programme for youths deprived of education in Zimbabwe. For example, over 3,000 Zimbabweans trained under the scheme are now waiting to move to independent Zimbabwe to assume responsible posts once independence is achieved. There is also an educational assistance programme to Namibia and 74 scholarships have been awarded very recently. Besides, the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee in London is poised to review sanctions against Ian Smith's regime.

**Afriscope:** Your recent lectures were centred on racialism in International Politics. Isn't the Commonwealth headquarters the veritable seat of racism; an organisation which aids and abets the racists in Southern Africa despite the Kingston Resolution of 1975 that the Commonwealth would help bring down the rebel Ian Smith?

**Anyaoku:** In fairness to Britain, Britain has laws against racism and if a few dissidents maintain economic ties

with the rebels in Southern Africa, it must not be taken as the official British stand. The Commonwealth is leaving no stone unturned to achieve majority rule in Zimbabwe.

**Afriscope:** As an organisation which has no other official criteria for attendance of members other than their membership, how do you see Britain's attempt to exclude Uganda from the June Commonwealth Summit in London and Amin's insistence on attending?

**Anyaoku:** The Commonwealth Secretariat serves every member equally and has not taken any contrary step. The point to note, however, is that the Secretariat makes arrangements for meetings and conferences but the security aspects are the host's responsibility.

**Afriscope:** Many people feel that the Commonwealth is just a social gathering of ex-colonies rather than a forward-looking and dynamic group. Don't you think that the old master-servant relationship still exists or how do you explain that since 1944 only Nigeria (1966) Malaysia (1971) Canada (1973) and Jamaica (1975) had hosted the Commonwealth Summits?

**Anyaoku:** I say emphatically, No! to the idea that the Commonwealth is a social gathering of the ex-colonies or that the old master-servant relationship still exists. You see, the fact that the Commonwealth Secretariat is in Britain is an accident of history. It could have been in any other member country. The Secretariat serves Britain as it serves Ghana, Uganda, Nigeria, Canada etc. Modern Commonwealth came into existence in 1965 though its conception was in 1947 when India became independent. The Secretariat has not been fairing badly if I may put it so. For example the Secretariat had only £2,000 to start off with a handful of experts. Now, the fund of the Commonwealth exceeds £8 million and it has over 250 experts who are working in different member countries and in the Secretariat.



Assistant Secretary General Emeka Anyaoku

administrative-legal view misses the array of complex historical and diplomatic forces which have turned the Amin irritant into a dilemma for the Commonwealth.

The main selling point in the new image of the Commonwealth is the subtle projection of the Cinderella potentialities of this unique force in international politics. We are told that the equal respect for and treatment of all members including Britain, irrespective of the gradations of resources or variations of political systems, makes the Commonwealth a nursery of a new international practice and morality. The historically cultivated atmosphere of parliamentary and liberal democracy further strengthens the image of a new and sanitized world order.

It is this image that Idi Amin will hurt.

If he goes to the summit, the pose of higher political morality and smug eighteenth-century liberalism which has adorned the modern Commonwealth will be undermined. This pose had so far successfully accommodated a few credibility gaps here and there, especially from the variety of the political systems of the Third World members some of which are quite close in bestiality of rule and institutional weakness to Idi Amin's. But the Ugandan tyrant's attendance will widen the gap into an unbridgeable gulf, especially in the light of the fanfare and diplomatic excitement which the news has genera-

ted. If, on the other hand, Idi Amin is

not allowed to attend, no one can agree convincingly convince many that Britain is not the kingpin of the Commonwealth. In spite of the technical argument about the host country's responsibility for security arrangements the main cause of Idi Amin's non-attendance will not be lost on observers: he could not attend because he has offended the antagonised Britain. At the very best, a new precedent will have been set: the bilateral relations between a host country and other members will decide attendance at future summits.

#### Other Club Programmes

Besides the Amin affair, the summit will be dominated by its economic and technical programme. Issues like Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are likely to feature prominently in the forthcoming Commonwealth conference along with other international issues like the economic order, future of South-East Asia and the East-West detente.

However, besides dabbling in the politics of cheer-leading the move towards a new economic order and sponsoring a tall list of technical aids to members primarily because of the club's attitude to decolonization. The Commonwealth provides assistance for Zimbabwe students. Over 3,000 Zimbabwean students were trained in various commonwealth countries recently. 71 scholarships have been awarded to Namibians while 24 legal and constitutional experts were made available to the founationalist delegations to the ill-fated Geneva Conference last year —infrastructural support to the British preference of constitutional approach to independence?

#### Ambivalence

In spite of its impressive club programmes, the status of the Commonwealth in contemporary international affairs is still ambiguous. On the economic side, its programmes are those which any international or regional organisation without the burden of a colonial history can pursue. On the political plane, it is not clear, in spite of the arguments of its Assistant Secretary-General in this issue, that Britain is still the Hamlet and that the Commonwealth is a play that can be staged without London. Beyond fuzzy objectives like international understanding, the organisation does seem to achieve little besides providing a wider canvas to Britain's diplomacy.

It is this kind of ambivalence that the uninvited presence of leper Amin highlights in the august assembly of angels



Names Forms and other Statutory Forms for incorporation of Limited Companies and Business Names.

- (c) Replying to letters, checking and filing of Annual Returns.
- (d) Appearing in simple cases in Magistrate Courts either as witnesses "ad testificandum" or "duces tecum."
- (e) Supervision of the work of clerical officers etc.

#### **Assistant Registrar Grade II**

Successful candidates will be required to perform the same duties as for Pupil Assistant Registrar and in addition will take charge of appearing as advocate for cases in the Magistrates Courts and for motions before the Federal Revenue Courts. Successful candidates will also be responsible for checking of Resolutions i.e. for change of name, increase in share capital, amendment of Memorandum and articles of Association and other Resolutions presented for filing.

#### **Assistant Registrar Grade I**

Successful candidates will perform the same duties as for Assistant Registrar Grade II but at a higher level of responsibility particularly as regards appearing as advocates in the Federal Revenue Courts. He will also be responsible for vetting and preliminary examination of Memorandum and Articles of Association of trade associations and Companies limited by guarantee, unlimited and public companies. To supervise the proper administration of the registry and ensure distribution of work among the clerical staff.

#### **Senior Assistant Registrar (States)**

Successful candidates will be required to head Zonal and States Offices and will be required to perform the same duties as for Pupil Assistant Registrar and Assistant Registrar Grade II. He will keep custody of business names forms and answer all queries on them. In addition he will be responsible for vetting, checking and processing of Memorandum and Articles of Association of limited liability companies and business names in his Zone or State and will liaise with the Principal Assistant Registrar at the headquarters on all matters relating to his Zone or State.

#### **Principal Assistant Registrar**

Successful candidates will be required to take charge of:-

- (a) foreign companies seeking incorporation or exemption from Part X of the Companies Decree 1968;
- (b) as officer-in-charge of filing Mortgages, debentures, charges and Bills of Sales;
- (c) Officer-in-charge of Court summonses, and also responsibility for court matters to be duly prepared and filed in Court;
- (d) to brief the Deputy Registrar on all serious and contentious litigation matters in Court as head of the chamber work in the registry;
- (e) Controlling and issuing directives to Zonal and States Offices.

#### **4. CONDITIONS OF SERVICE**

The posts are pensionable and in the case of a new entrants into the service appointment will normally be on probation for two years. Other conditions of services will be as prescribed for the time being for officers of equivalent grades in the Federal Public Services. Successful candidates must be prepared to serve anywhere in the country.

#### **5. METHOD OF APPLICATION**

Applications from candidates not in Government Service should be completed in duplicate on Form FPSC1 obtainable from the Secretary to the Federal or any of the States Public Service Commissions. Applications from candidates in Government Service should be submitted in letter form through their respective Heads of Departments and the appropriate Public Service Commission and be accompanied by copies of confidential reports for the last three years. It will be appreciated if a covering letter can be sent containing any special comments that may be of value in assessing the candidates suitability for the post applied for.

#### **6. CLOSING DATE**

All applications should be submitted to reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Lagos, not later than 30th June, 1977.

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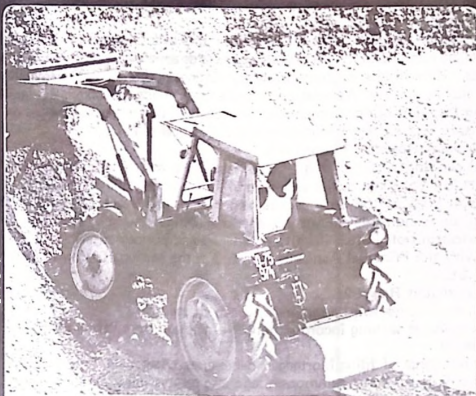
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NITECO

# COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

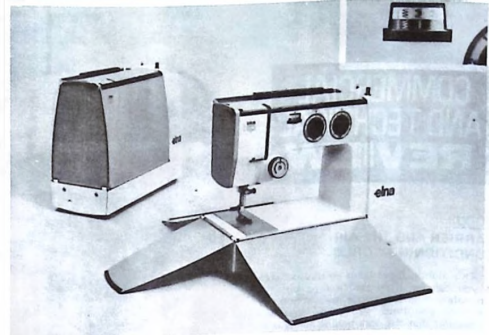
## INDUSTRY & TECHNOLOGY: SUPER COLOUR TV SET

Now, many just relax in their arm-chairs and not only watch, events happening at particular areas from a TV set but also control such sets from the same sitting position. True, REMOTE CONTROL has been an idea floated around in the Electronic world for some years past but not without wire connection to stand by set. This is why the recently developed wireless Remote Control continues to hold the desired interest the world-over.

Presently, there are two types of Remote Control TV sets viz the ULTRASONIC and the INFRA RED. Both control by transmission signal from a compact transmitter on to a receiver which translates the signal into a language worthy of the TV set. Hence with control box in hand, buttons can be pressed that transmit the right signals to put off or on the set; adjust the brightness, colour mix and even the sound. The only difference between Ultrasonic and Infra Red models is that the former is disturbed by external sounds of the same frequency with the signal. For example, the dropping of a spoon and ringing telephone affect these models to the extent that they can be put off when these small notes are received.

One big innovation introduced by Grundig before emergence of Remote Control was the MODULE UNIT. This is a compact and less costly assembly within a geometrical framework which presently has replaced and functions as the heavier and bigger systems in older models. With the Module Unit, fault tracing in GRUNDIG'S SUPER COLOUR TV SET has become a matter of seconds because this is easily done with the aid of a fault tracer.

Trust Nigerians with comfort, the hand operated mechanised model of yesteryears has been practically off the market for good since the coming of the Remote Control development especially the Super Colour Ranges distributed by Weide & Co. in Nigeria.



## PRODUCT NEWS:

### COMPACT SEWING MACHINE

The days of big, heavy duty sewing machines are over—thanks both to new feeling of sophistication and Research. A Nigerian company ALOMACO is now marketing a compact, easy to carry table sew machine which performs the same jobs with older, bigger models. The latest in the series is ELNA LOTUS-TSP which can zigzag, overcast; and stiche as usual. In addition, apart from needing no extra carrying case (the protection flap goes for that, the model needs no threading as all thread passages are open including the thread take-up lever.

### LARGER SIZE COPIER

Hagemeyer (Nigeria) Limited now has in stock the first A3 size copier in the country. Modelled GCE 1610, it produces perfect copies of the usual size as well as large items like ledgers, bills of lading and two adjoining pages of a bound report at one operation. According to the manufacturers GCE 1610 seldom needs frequent attention except minor dusting ofls and cleaning.

### BICYCLE TO BEAT TRAFFIC LAW

Raleigh Industries Limited, Nigeria's

pioneer bicycle manufacturer, has beaten all others to it once again. Approximately a month after the new decree banning vehicles on some roads at given days was promulgated it has come out with a new compact bicycle which can be folded and kept at the back of a car for later use.

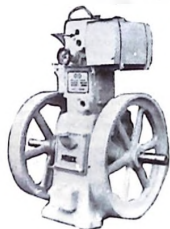
### PRESSING MADE EASIER

The world continues to be up to its neck in the 'made easier' craze. From Switzerland, a brand new pressing device is now taking Nigeria unawares. ELNAPRESS is fully automatic and exerts 45 kg ironing pressure on clothes without any bit of contribution from the user except the bringing down of a lever. Ironing is faster, less strenuous at sitting position, and at no risk of getting clothes burnt!

### MINI-GROUND STATION

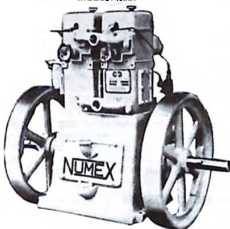
According to a British Information Services bulletin, Marconi Space and Defence Systems have developed a low-cost, portable mini-ground station, COMPACT, to provide reliable communications under adverse conditions for Military and Civil Operations. It can be carried by a three-man team and operated in the field where normal methods have been disrupted.

MODEL NLT



6 H.P. DIESEL ENGINE

MODEL NLT



12 H.P. DIESEL ENGINE

## NUMEX GRINDING MACHINE

The importance of this machine in Africa lies in its ability to grind maize and other related crops which form staple foods for

many of us Africans. It is a two-unit machine comprising of the power generating diesel engine and the grinder.

The basic principle behind its operation is rotation force transmission. The engine

is connected to the Grinder with a V-belt or through 'dog teeth' connection. When the engine is activated the mechanical energy generated is transmitted through these connections on to the Grinder which starts to rotate and grind any soft material inside it.

Numex diesel engines are normally d-stroke with design that permit the widest possible range of applications. Of replaceable centrifugal cylinder and high grade cast iron pistons, these engines come in 6, 8, 12 and 16 horse power models and because of the exhaust silencer normally supplied with them, they operate silently thereby knocking the bottom off the noisy grinding operations of yesteryears.

The Grinding Unit comprises of the input pan; the rough-surfaced grinding rod which rotates and grinds inside the unit and the output pore. Depending on the buyer's taste, this unit can be small and attached to the engine through only 'dog teeth' connections or big like the ones used for cassava grinding. Either one depends on the intended use and of course, will determine which horse power model to buy along.

These apart, it is inspiring to realise that Numex engines are made in struggling INDIA.

# COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

## FOCUS:

### CARRIER AND THE AIR- CONDITIONING WORLD

This month, focus takes an unusual step as you can see from the heading but the rationale behind this step is that we hope by the time you finish this piece, you will understand that the idea behind focus is to give credit where it is due!

Carrier is the trademark of Carrier International Corporation of New York but because of its active role in Air-Conditioning the world-over, it has become synonymous with this important world development. Example, in Japan after combining the operation of water-cooled system with heat transfer efficiency in air cooled models, it has come out with a 'Radiator System' for central cooling. In India, the first ground aircraft cooler was designed and constructed for Air India by its subsidiary, Voltas Limited. This cooler is mounted on a truck chassis for reaching planes during stopovers. In practically all other parts of the world, this 'beating everybody to it, attitude is an everyday going concern. Precision airconditioning for computers in Europe; Centrifugal refrigeration machines for Nuclear Power Stations in France, Iran, Spain and a host of others. In the process, Carrier has become the 'breadwinner' for a lot local businessmen in these areas.

Here in Africa, where the scotching sun shines non-stop, the emphasis is on Room Air Conditioning although central units for skyscrapers are increasing daily as a direct consequence of development. Nigeria's Mandilas Limited could hardly have got somewhere today without the magic 'Carrier' trade mark connection. What's more, the airconditioning industry today in Nigeria will always be grateful to CARRIER for providing it with the first Made-In-Nigeria 'Air Conditioner.' Norman Industries Limited, the Nigerian Carrier licensee, has in fact, so found its feet that it has become one of this country's taste-deciders. At the moment it is marketing Made-In-Nigeria model 51 ME 21 special which beats the shortcomings of the



power authority with a rare ability to operate effectively on electrical inputs fluctuating between 185 and 253 volts. Above all, it has the advantage of being tested in tropical Nigeria unlike imported models.

No doubt, one can definitely predict without blinking facts, the sky will remain the limit for CARRIER INTERNATIONAL as long as present constructive policies prevail.

## FINANCE AND COMMERCE

### GOOD FOR ALL FRIENDSHIP

Nigeria's only indigenous manufacturing Electronics, Maiden Electronics and PYE TMC LTD of London have signed an agreement to make available to the Nigerian Market, a wide range of Telecommunication equipment. It provides for the supply of Telephone instruments by the London Company to Maiden including training facilities and programmes for Maiden personnel to enable the Nigerian Company to assemble these instruments on mass production basis making provision for future manufacturing.

Of considerable interest to the Nigerian scene is the PYE TMC Pulse Code Modulation system (already supplied to British post office) which can increase the number of telephone calls carried in existing network. This automatic dialing system provides substantial benefits for busy executives in the form of saved dialling time and efforts. Summarising his feelings at a joint display held recently, Maiden's MB, MR. GUOBADIA said: "I am delighted to be able to announce this exciting development of expansion of our Company with this agreement just concluded. . . . we are convinced we can provide unmatched equipment and service. . . . to the ultimate good of Nigeria and, I hope, to mankind!"

### FRENCH MISSION TO NIGERIA

A two man promotional mission from the French aeronautical industry (I.G.I.F.A.S.I) visited Nigeria in March this year. General Raymond GUILLOU and Mr. Jacques Noetinger, the two representatives, gave promotional lectures on behalf of the industry during their stay.

Addressing a press conference on March 24th at Federal Palace Hotel, Mr. Noetinger

emphasised French contribution to the development of World Aviation right from 1908 when a french man became the first man to fly an aircraft. Defending the French Government's massive financial involvement, Mr. Noetinger disclosed that this industry needed quite a lot of money for any product or design—a load which tended to be too weighty for individual companies at times.

On concord, he added that this innovation was almost killed because of lack of market notably the feud with New Yorkers. To Mr. Noetinger, the noise of an aircraft depends on a number of factors outside factories especially length of Runway, and position of dwellers to airport.

### SOUTH AFRICA ASKS FOR MORE

Following substantial increases in envied government expenditure for the new financial year, apartheid South Africa posed once again to ask financial houses to invest more in Government Stocks. As per present calculations, the Government will realise R760m (about £506m) from that source in a bid to offset R1.2bn expected deficit. For the same purpose, a 15 per cent surcharge on all imports has been introduced and this is expected to bring in

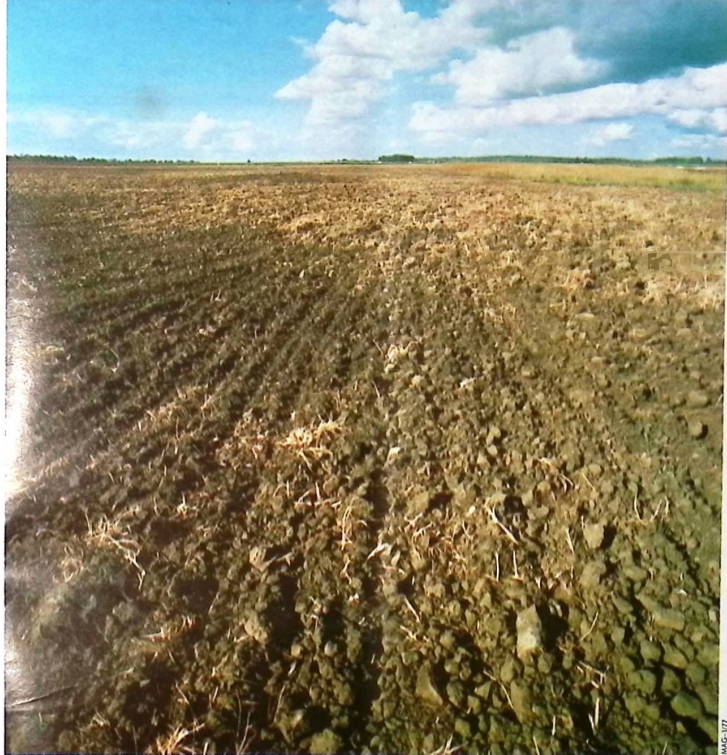
Continued on page 42



John B. Mandilas (left), chairman of the board of Mandilas Limited, receives a commemorative plaque from Robert T. Kells, president of Carrier International Corporation, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Carrier's Nigerian distributor.



South Africa's John Vorster.



MAG-177

## It takes more than tillage to yield the soil's wealth.

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Success is dependent upon a total plan—a plan tailored to the land, covering every phase of food development and transportation. Each country is different. Each crop has its own requirements.

Grasses for grazing may require only a shallow till. But, for high crop yields, there may be a need for deep tillage that permits better seed

germination; improved root growth. Tillage is important but it is only part of a plan.

Every phase of food development requires wise decisions that best utilise men and machines.

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FEDERAL MINISTRY OF TRADE: VACANCIES IN  
THE TRADE FAIR DIVISION

Applications are invited for appointment into the vacant posts in the Trade Fair Division.

- I. Senior Trade Officer - Grade Level 09  
Higher Trade Officers - Grade Level 08  
Trade Officers - Grade Level 07

Trade Officers of the Division are responsible for identification and collection of trade fair exhibits from manufacturers all over the country. They are also responsible for compilation of statistics of Made-in-Nigeria goods. They are to liaise with State Government officials, Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturers organisations on matters of trade fairs. Candidates for the posts of Senior Trade Officer and Higher Trade Officers should hold at least University pass degree. Working experience of 3 years in the relevant fields is also essential in the case of the former. Trade Officers should hold the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) Advanced Level Certificate in three papers at a sitting or any equivalent qualification. Working experience of at least 3 years for the post of Trade Officer is essential.

II. Principal Architect - Grade Level 12

The Principal Architect will be the head of the technical section of the Division and will supervise the technical installations at the Trade Fair Complex. He will examine and approve all designs and architectural drawings of stands and pavilions of participating exhibitors during periods when trade fairs and exhibitions are held. Candidates should have professional qualifications registrable with the Architect Registration Council of Nigeria (ARCON) and should also have a minimum of 5 years relevant post qualification experience.

III. Mechanical Engineer Grade I - Grade Level 09

The Mechanical Engineer will be responsible for the efficient running of the mechanical workshop, maintenance of all mechanical plant and vehicles of the Trade Fair Complex. He will be responsible for training of subordinate mechanical staff. He will also have to approve stands and pavilions to be constructed by Exhibitors during trade fairs and exhibitions. Applicants should have a degree of a recognized University or be members of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers or hold equivalent qualifications. They must have had three year's post qualification experience.

IV. Electrical Engineer Grade I - Grade Level 09

The Electrical Engineer will be responsible for supervision and maintenance of electrical installations at the Trade Fair Complex. He will approve all electrical fittings and equipments to be installed by exhibitors during trade fairs and exhibitions. He will also be responsible for the training of subordinate staff. Applicants must possess a degree of recognized University or be members of the Institution of Electrical Engineers or hold equivalent qualifications. They must have had at least three years' post-qualification experience.

V. Mechanical Superintendent - Grade Level 07

Mechanical superintendents will be responsible for the supervision of operation and maintenance of air-conditioning, ventilation and refrigeration plant equipments of the Trade Fair Complex. Candidates should possess the City and Guilds Technician Certificate II, Course 632, or equivalent. In addition, they should have acquired two years' industrial experience.

VI. Electrical Superintendent - Grade Level 07

The Electrical Superintendents will be responsible for servicing and maintenance of electrical and electronic equipments of the Trade Fair Complex. Candidates must hold the City and Guilds Technician Certificate, or equivalent qualification, and must have had two years' industrial experience.

VII. Interpreters/Translators - Grade Level 08

Interpreters/Translators will be responsible for translation and interpretation duties at the Trade Fair Complex. Candidates should have recognized University degree, and relevant post-graduate qualification and training in interpretation and translation. Proficiency in French and German will be essential.

VIII. Higher Stores Officer - Grade Level 08

Stores Officer - Grade Level 07

Stores Officers will organise and take charge of the stores of the Trade Fair Complex. Candidates for the posts of Higher Officer and Stores Officer should be members of the Institute of Purchasing and Supply. They should in addition have four and two years industrial experience respectively.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

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

METHOD OF APPLICATION

Applications from candidates not in Government Service should be completed in duplicate on Form FPSC1 obtainable from the Secretary to the Federal or any of the States Public Service Commissions. Applications from candidates in Government Service should be submitted in letter form through their respective Heads of Departments and the appropriate Public Service Commission and be accompanied by copies of Confidential Reports for the last three years. It will be appreciated if a covering letter can be sent containing any special comments they may be of value in assessing the candidates suitability for the post applied for.

CLOSING DATE

All applications should be submitted to reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Lagos not later than 30th June, 1977.



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# The Phenomenon Of Roots

Peter Nazareth

Mention "Roots" to people in the United States of America and chances are every second person will say "Kunta Kinte" "slavery," "Juffure," "Gambia" or "Alex Haley."—Millions of Americans have heard of Alex Haley's novel, based on 12 years' research, which traces his ancestry all the way back to Juffure, Gambia, Kunta Kinte was captured in Gambia in 1767 and was brought to America as a slave. Two hundred years later, on the strength of a few words passed down from generation to generation, Alex Haley succeeded in tracing his ancestry through Kunta to Juffure. Haley decided that the best way to write about his family saga was not as history or documentary but as a novel, *Roots* (Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1976). He calls it "Faction." By design or accident—Haley says the latter—the 688-page novel was published during the Bicentennial Year. Haley subtitled it, "The Saga of an American Family" and dedicated it as "a birthday offering to my country." The book went to the top of the General (i.e. Non-Fiction) Best Seller List and has stayed there ever since. Haley is reportedly already a millionaire.

While the book was on the top of the Best Seller List, a 12-part television film was made by ABC television and shown on eight consecutive nights in January, 1977. It was apparently a gamble. In the United States, television shows are judged by the Nielsen ratings. Gadgets have been attached to a statistical sample of television sets by the A.C. Nielsen Co. of Chicago and the results are used to estimate the number of people who have watched specific shows nationwide. Since there is competition between the three big networks, ABC, NBC and CBS, quite often a show estimated to have been seen by five million people could be taken off. This has nothing to do with whether the show is good or bad. Each network its money selling advertising spots on its shows. A one to four-minute spot of advertising comes on after four to ten minutes of the main show. If the network feels not enough people saw the show, as judged by the Nielsen ratings, it fears it will lose advertising to its competitors. But if it can prove that a show has drawing power, it can

ask for more money for advertisements. Such television policy has important side-effects. Three years ago, an Egyptian cultural representative visited the University of Iowa. The first question by an American student was whether there were advertisements on Egyptian television and if so, how frequently were they shown. The American was astonished at being told that advertisements on Egyptian television were shown after half an hour or an hour. The frequent advertising on American television has tended to shorten the attention-span of the viewers to a few minutes. Those who make tele-films have to work up to little climaxes every four to ten minutes so that people watch the advertisements that follow and do not switch to another channel. Furthermore, since each advertisement makes its point in thirty seconds, the audience is conditioned to expect the main show to make its point equally quickly.

Thus it would appear a suicidal gamble to show a serious film on slavery for eight nights in a row to a country that was built up on slavery. But gadgets tend to underestimate how people will behave. It is now estimated that 130 million Americans watched one or more of the episodes. The last episode of *Roots* is rated as the most watched of any single show on American television, seen by 51.1 million people. The show also advertised the novel, apparently the first time a book in hardcover (costing \$12.50) was thus advertised, ensuring that it would stay on top of the Best Seller List and confirm Haley's status as a millionaire from one novel. Over 1 million copies of the book were in print by March 1st, 750,000 copies being sold in the first four months of publication. Staggering figures.



*Roots* has become an American phenomenon that makes judgment by an individual almost impossible. Nearly every newspaper and newsmagazine has long articles on *Roots*; a long-playing record of music from the tele-film by Quincy Jones is in the Top 40 within three weeks of release; a single from the LP is in the Top 100; tour operators have been making trips to Gambia to arrange for "homecoming" visits to Juffure for a flood of black Americans; Haley is exhausted from travelling around to give lectures, some at institutions that would not have him before *Roots*; the Gambian government has declared Juffure a national monument; Haley has released an LP in which he tells the story of *Roots*; the television moguls are so pleased with the success of the show that they are considering making *Roots* a weekly series. . . . On publication of the novel in September, 1976, James Baldwin returned from France to write one of his sermons that pass for literary criticism on the front page of the *New York Times Book Review*. He began, "I cannot guess what Alex Haley's countrymen will make of his birthday present to us during this election and Bicentennial year" (*New York Times Book Review*, September 26, 1976). He was right: he could not have guessed.

It will take two or three years for the fallout to end, if ever. Anything that sells must be milked for all it is worth. Therefore what follows is a tentative attempt at extracting some real meaning out of *Roots*.

The tracing of ancestry all the way back to Africa is of exceptional significance to black Americans. One of the consequences of colonialism, and one of its causes, is the stealing of history, culture and religion by the colonizers. If you do not have a past, you can be made to accept your oppressive present and future, controlled by others. As Haley shows in his novel, every means was used to make the African slaves lose any sense of their identity in America. The Africans were separated so that they could not retain their tribal identity and language. Drumming was banned. Their names were replaced by Christian names. They were made to feel that they came from nowhere, to forget the dark night of savage Africa. So when Haley traces back his ancestry

Alex Haley. Author of *Roots*, the novel that has set the U.S. searching for her ancestral roots.

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to Africa, and shows that his ancestor was not taken out of savagery into enlightenment but out of a rational and ordered way of life into the savagery of slavery, it released tremendous energies. Haley did not write a documentary because most people are got moved by facts and figures. They are moved by stories, by being made to identify with apparently real people and taken through their lives, their loves and hates, their hopes and fears. Furthermore, by writing a story, Haley not only gave back roots to all black Americans; he did something similar for white Americans. It is a mistake to assume that because Africans were enslaved by white men, therefore all white Americans are aware of the truth of slavery and are directly responsible for it. Quite the contrary. When a great crime has been committed against a nation, most often the people of the nation that committed the crime become amnesiac. They just blot out the crime, perhaps because most people cannot live like brutes. By writing *Roots*, Haley brought the truth of slavery to most white Americans. This was done by the novel, and even more by the tele-film. The moving picture makes a tremendous impact on the people because it seems so real, affecting more people than the printed word. Like the griot in Juffure, the tele-film told us the story of Haley's ancestors. You cannot escape a medium that comes into your home. Television is an evanescent medium and we could forget if we saw just one episode, but we could not in the case of *Roots*, because of the relentlessness of eight daily shows.

There are differences between the novel and the film, however. Haley's purpose in the novel is not only to sell the story of Kunta Kinte but also to make his spirit broad over the lives and histories of his descendants. Haley has done this by devoting the first 427 pages—nearly two-thirds of the novel—to the story of Kunta Kinte so that the reader cannot forget him. This effect is lost in the tele-film, partly because the younger Kunta is played by LeVar Burton and the older one by John Amos. Both are fine actors, but were unable through the TV format to make one image dominate the rest of the story, one television picture tending to displace another. In the novel, Haley has told the story almost entirely from the perspective of the black family. This is an acceptable literary technique. The only white people we see in depth are those who were in fact close friends of Kunta's great-grand children. Since the tele-film

was showing us pictures of the white people and not telling us about them, it presented rounded versions of them. This worked, but differently from the novel. Sometimes, the script writers (apparently white Americans) made the white characters even more violent than they were shown to be in the book (Guilt? Masochism?). But the makers of the film were unable to escape the pull of TV clichés particularly those of soap opera. It is a historical fact that Kunta's foot was cut off when he was caught by slave-catchers, poor whites, ostensibly to prevent him from escaping but really out of gratuitous cruelty. In the film, this is the first time Kunta has escaped. He had run away to trace a woman, Fanta, whom he had met in Africa, who had been captured and transported on the same ship, and who was not on another farm. When he finds her, her mind has been captured: she does not want to be reminded of her past and she does not want to escape. Because of her noisy refusal to run away with him, Kunta gets caught. In the novel, there is no Fanta. Kunta tries to escape as soon as he gets to his first owner's farm, and it is after his fourth escape that his foot is cut off. The book graphically describes the experience of all runaways, being tracked down by dogs. The film succumbs to the power of romantic live while the novel emphasizes the fact that Kunta never lost his desire for freedom, a desire he passes down through generations until his descendants are free, like Alex Haley himself. But the film exercises good judgment in one respect: it ends when Tom moves away with the family after the formal ending of slavery. The strength of the novel is that it is a novel, but when Haley comes closer to his own time and then finally to himself, it ceases to be a novel and becomes reminiscence. Haley would have done better to have put such reminiscence, in the last 22 pages, into an Epilogue.

There is one area where the tele-film makes a point through the medium itself. This is by using popular white actors in roles similar to the roles identified with them on television—and showing us the other side of the coin. For example, Kunta's first owner is played by Lorne Greene. He acts as a patriarch as in the long-running, popular series, *Bonanza*: but in *Roots*, we are shown the callous indifference of the patriarch to the whipping of Kunta for a transgression, for trying to regain his freedom. The wisdom of the patriarch is paid for by a hierarchy of exploitation, the base of which is the slave.

However, the film loses what one might call the "revolutionary" historical consciousness that runs right through the novel. Actual history of the United States figures much more in the novel than in the film. This is done through the "grapevine," through the way people talk and pass messages on.

For Example:

Another Sunday dinner's conversation concerned Indians, George said. "One dem mens said de Cherokees is takin' up sump'n like eighty million acres de white mens needs. He say de gumblint would o' took care dem Injuns long fo' now it wasn't for some inter-ferin' big white mans, 'specially two name of Massa Davy Crockett an' Massa Daniel Webster."

On Sunday in 1818, George reported "sump'n dem guests was callin' de 'Merican Colonize Society' tryin' to send shiploads o' free niggers off to a 'Liberia' somewheres in dat Africa. De white folks was a-laughin' 'bout de free niggers bein' to' dat Liberia got bacon trees, wid deslices hangin' down like leaves, an' 'lasses trees you jes' cuts to drain out all you can drink!' George said, "Massa swear far's he concerned, dey can't put them free niggers on ships fas' enough!"

"Hmph!" snorted Sister Sarah. "I sho' wouldn't go to no Africa wide all dem niggers up in trees wid monkeys—"

"Where you git dat at?" demanded Kizzy sharply. "My pappy come from Africa, an' he sho' ain't never been in no trees!" (pp. 453/54).

Kunta and his family become a device for seeing into white America and thus America as a whole. As Kunta thinks, Bell—whom he later marries—and the old gardener "coudn't be expected to see it as he did, with the eyes of an outsider—one who had been born free" (p. 290).

Kunta's daughter Kizzy is bought by Massa Lea and thus separated from her parents. Her owner had sold her because she had helped one of the slaves escape by forging a pass for him. The runaway had been caught and she had been sold off in punishment by a stern master to a poorer white, Tom Lea. He raped her and fathered George, later called Chicken George because of his skill at managing and training fighting chickens. This was Tom Lea's passion, apart from women, and he taught George, his slave but actually his own son, to manage the chickens. We learn that Tom Lea was so ruthless because he had been a poor white, born into a large family. He had been little better than a slave—except that being white, he was able

to claw his way up like one of his chickens. He had a fear of losing all he owned, which happened eventually after he was forced into a bet on one of his chickens by a visiting upper-class Englishman. Those who should be allies against the real oppressors are more ruthless with those below them on the pecking order.

Haley says he is astonished to find that he has been turned into a kind of guru by many people in America, mainly black Americans. The Roots Phenomenon would make us think that Haley's novel is unique, that it does something that has never been done or known before in any shape or form. In fact, the phenomenon obscures the fact that there is a rich and complex heritage of black American literature that has done in different ways what Haley has done in his novel. Take the novel by William Melvin Kelley, *A Different Drummer*, first published eighteen years ago (Anchor Books, Doubleday, New York, 1969). In this novel, we hear the story of a slave from Africa called the African who was killed because he would not be tamed on the shores of America. His spirit broods over the novel, right into present times. The African baby with the African was named Caliban. His great-grandson is Tucker Caliban, who has a large head but a small body. Tucker becomes a leader, a strange one since nobody sees him lead. One day, he gets up and leaves the state, and all the black people move out of the state, leaving it to collapse.

The high point of Haley's return to Juffure was his meeting with a griot, who told him the story of his ancestors. Four years ago, I interviewed a black American poet at Yale University, Jodi Braxton, who told me that her grandmother was a griot, remembering 250 years of family history all the way back to Africa. Haley was therefore not the first black American to discover his family through a griot. One might also say that Miss Jane Pittman in Ernest Gaines' novel, *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (Bantam Books, New York, 1971), made into a tele-film and shown two years ago, is also a griot.

#### Flight to Canada

Almost unnoticed, another "Roots" was published during the Bicentennial year. Entitled *Flight to Canada*, it was Ishmael Reed's fifth novel (Random House, New York, 1976). This novel does in 179 pages much of what Haley does in 688 pages. Reed's novel is full of American history, simultaneous history: the part of history that has not

changed. History is not something over and done with. Thus *Flight to Canada* is in simultaneous time, psychic time. Three slaves have escaped from Swille's plantation in the South (Swille is simultaneously a multinational). One of the slaves is a writer, Raven Quickskill, who has written a poem, "Flight to Canada." He is hoping to get it published in *The Beulahland Review* and use the payment to catch a Boeing 707 to Canada, the Promised Land to slaves ("Beulahland" means "Promised Land"). But the slave-catchers are after him, two characters like Laurel and Hardy. He escapes by using a modern trick, playing on the weaknesses of the slave-catchers' psyches. Americans have been fed a myth that Vitamin C is good for the common cold. Quickskill notes that one of them has a cold. He says that he has Vitamin C tablets in the bathroom. Saying that he will get the Vitamin C tablets, he jumps out of the bathroom window and escapes. Eventually, he gets to Canada: only to find that Canada is no different from the United States. One of the characters returning from Canada tells him, "Man, Americans own Canada. They just permit Canadians to operate it for them" (p. 161).

The one black who does not run away is Uncle Robin, similar to the Uncle Tom of history. Uncle Tom's story was published in the novel credited with having exposed slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Reed's novel suggests that Harriet Beecher Stowe stole the story of the real Uncle Tom, Josiah Henson, who died in Dresden, Canada. The Uncle Tom figure in this novel, Uncle Robin, through his "stupidity" ends up owning the estate of his master, Swille, who is consumed by fire. Harriet Beecher Stowe phones him, trying to steal his story too as she wants to buy a new dress, but he is too smart. The Promised Land is right where one is.

Swille used to ask the faithful Uncle Robin for slave mothers' milk every morning to drink. Like most rich Southerners of his time, Swille was raised on the milk of black women. After Swille is dead and Uncle Robin owns the estate, the following conversation takes place between him and his wife:

"Why did you provide the man with those poor slave mothers' milk each morning? That was hard to swallow. But you were my husband and so I never brought it up," Aunt Judy said, squashing her Turkish cigarette in one of Swille's ashtrays.

"That wasn't slave mother's milk," Uncle Robin said, puffing on a Brazilian

cigar. "That was Coffee Mate," he said, blowing out smoke rings. "Every time I went on trips for Swille, I'd load up on it. They serve it on the airplanes. I'm an old hand at poisoning and so I'd venture a guess that if Swille's wife, or Vivian or whatever or whatever pushed him hadn't be'd of gone on from the cumulative effects of Coffee Mate." (pp. 174/75).

Coffee Mate is something concocted and sold to Americans as a milk-substitute to keep down weight and cholesterol. Reed adds as a footnote, taken from a packet of the stuff, that the ingredients of Coffee Mate are "Corn syrup solids, vegetable fat, sodium caseinate, mono- and diglycerides, dipotassium phosphate, sodium silicoaluminate, artificial flavour, tricalcium phosphate, and artificial colours," a poisonous-sounding combination!

Much of *Flight to Canada* is hilarious series of jokes, but most of the jokes are a sugar-coating over the pill. Reed claims that his novel is backed by history, real history and not myth-making history. For instance, Lincoln is a character in the novel and he is assassinated on television just after displeasing Swille over the freeing of the slaves in the Civil war. This suggests a simultaneity of various Presidential assassinations, which stimulates thought, especially in the ambience of Swille's remarks. Creating in simultaneous time, as in some TV sketches, Reed not only writes in a way that is amusing and appealing to Americans with short scenes to suit their attention span, but also makes the reader think: History is not over and done with: it is real. Thus Reed's epigram from James Bertolino: "Evil dogs us."

#### Myth and Reality

In important respects, *Roots* and *Flight to Canada* cover the same ground. They both rework American history from the perspective of the black American, from the perspective of truth. Both makes reference to the exploited American Indians, and in fact one of the main characters in *Flight to Canada* is Princess Quaw, Raven Quickskill's lover. Both novelists try to demythify reality to lead the way to the future. Haley has pioneered the in-depth interview technique by interviewing Malcolm X and then writing *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, just after which he began the search for roots. Unfortunately, the Roots Phenomenon has tended to replace one myth by another. Many black Americans seem to believe that all was fine in Africa before they were snatched off into slavery, and

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## LITERARY SCENE

that they can somehow re-capture the innocence of those early days by romantically embracing their African identity, as though nothing has changed in all those years. This is a dangerous illusion, as one can see from African plays like Ama Ata Aidoo's *The Dilemma of a Ghost* and Wole Soyinka's *A Dance of the Forests*. In Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, Okonkwo returns from exile to find that his place has been filled, just as the lizard that loses its tail grows another one. After-*all*, Haley's novel shows that he has some white blood and some American Indian blood (strictly, genes). To accept that he is only black, that is, just an African living in America is to accept the legal definition of white America instead of working towards a self-definition. (Many American states defined as negro anybody who had a little African blood, even if he looked white). Knowledge of the past must be a springboard to the future instead of just another turn of the wheel. There is a danger in using one's past for illusion or profit, as Princess Quaw Quaw does in Reed's novel, performing ethnic dances on University campuses.

Ishmael Reed seldom makes direct statements, preferring like his namesake to leave his prophesies veiled, but he did speak clearly to a group of Third World writers in California. Talking of the divide-and-rule of colonialism, he said, "If by some miracle Cortez could be brought back to life and his soldiers, Christian front men, "explorers," and their ghostly crew were brought into this auditorium, this Third World conference would be conquered because we are divided." (Ishmael Reed, *The "Liberal" is Us All*, Antaeus, ed. Daniel Halpern, Tangier/London/New York, No. 21/22, Spring/Summer, 1976, p. 149). Reed went on to say, "The Puerto Ricans are now debating whether they should accept their Spanish or African heritage. /Puerto Ricans say that Chicanos reject them because Chicanos claim to lack African blood, even though Africans have been in Mexico for hundreds of years. The Mexican Governor of California, Pio Pico, 1845 to 1846, was a Negro, and the name California is derived from Califa, a Negro Queen who appears in a novel written in 1510 by Garcia Ormodes de Montalvo. /Even in the so-called 'Black community' there is a color caste whose segments have been engaged in a cold war for three hundred years, so much so that in some nineteenth-century writing,

Brown, Black, and Yellow are treated as different races. /The whole thing is a mess because all of us have similar problems living in a country whose cultural and political leadership views it as an extension of Europe."

As colonized peoples, we should find our roots. But what if tracing our ancestry too literally back through time causes problems? Why trace our ancestry back through only one parent? There are two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, sixteen great-great-grandparents, thirty-two great-great-great-grandparents... Whose dominant characteristics can we claim? In Gary Trudeau's popular syndicated cartoon, *Doonesbury*, Clyde, a black American, is inspired by the tele-film of *Roots* into trying to track down his ancestry. On March 9th, he says to a friend, "THIS COULD VERY WELL PAY OFF BIG WHO KNOWS, MAN—I MIGHT BE RELATED TO SOME VERY HEAVY ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR." The friend replies, "ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU MIGHT BE RELATED TO IDI AMIN."

Our discovery of roots should help us end exploitation and self-exploitation. We should learn from history and avoid its and our mistakes. Ishmael Reed ended his speech with a warning: "Nationalism is healthy! Go through it just don't go through it for ten years, or go through it over and over again." Flight to Canada avoids counter-myth-making. The black matriarchial figure in the novel is named Barracuda and she gives a whoop of joy when she inherits Swille's whips. This characterization goes contrary to current black American efforts to rehabilitate the image of the black matriarch. The novelist says, "Not only were the slaves enslaved by others, but they often, in subtle ways, enslaved each other... Slaves judged other slaves like the auctioneer and his clients judged them. Was there no end to slavery? Was a slave condemned to serve another Master as soon as he got rid of one? Were overseers to be replaced by new overseers?" (p. 144) To be fair to Haley, despite occasional lapses of the writing into clichés, *Roots* makes the same point. On page 293, we read, "But their worst enemy, it seemed to Kunta, was themselves." However, this message escapes the *Roots* Phenomenon.

History is with us. *Roots* is inescapable. All the more need for us to create the Promised Land where we are, where we have put roots.

## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

Continued from page 32

R400m towards the deficit.

Although the new budget was, for practical purposes deflationary, the government spending continued its upward trend to a total of £11.5bn. This represents an increase of 21.3 per cent to £11.5bn. It will be recalled that the 1976 defence took the Lion's share of last year's deficit to which financial establishments were also asked to contribute.



Question Mark

### ISN'T THIS EXPLOITATION?

By Henry Atenaga

The table below surfaced from an interview a business Journal had with the Chairman of an International Business Organisation. It shows Geographical breakdown of the Organisation's profit contribution for the year 1976. For example, Africa with 6 per cent of total company assets contributed 4 per cent of sales and 14 per cent of the income; while Southeast Asia with 34 per cent of assets contributed only 18 per cent to profit and 22 per cent to sales. In the nutshell, Africa and Middle East are the only areas where profit contributed was grossly out of proportion with assets invested.

#### Geographical Breakdown

	Net assets %	Turn over %	Net Income %
Africa	6	4	14
Australasia and South Pacific	7	8	2
Caribbean	1	1	2
Far East	23	21	25
India	2	-	+
Middle East	4	5	29
North America	-	2	-9
South East Asia	34	22	16
UK and Europe	23	37	21

\*Investment Income only.

+Less than 0.5 per cent.

However, in fairness to the Chairman I did add later in the interview that "It is absolutely wrong in principle that a company should be made to repatriate dividends to places which need the money for development." For your information, the company in question is British and has long standing connections with Africa including ownership of two establishments in Nigeria dating back to 1969.

Hence, throwing the law of diminishing returns to the winds it cannot be held responsible for this gross lack of proportion one would like to ask a question: Isn't this a clear example of the imperialist exploitation of our motherland?

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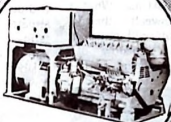
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## COMMONWEALTH GAMES:

# An Imminent African Boycott

\*Ogeh Appah

Following so soon after the Olympic boycott in Montreal another concerted African pull-out from the 1978 Commonwealth Games scheduled to take place this time in Edmonton will be as hurtful to the pride of the Canadians as it will be to the continued existence of the commonwealth itself. The action may be a little too hard on an innocent Canada. But the issues involved are equally vital to the self-respect and dignity of the African. The African members of the commonwealth have therefore decided to pitch their wits against those who practise apartheid or those who continue to fraternise with them even in the field of sports.

## The Olympic Boycott

When at the Montreal Olympics African contingents gave a hint of their intended boycott on the grounds that New Zealand be asked to withdraw because of her sporting links with the apartheid regime in South Africa, the IOC did not as much bat a wink. Instead the attention of the sporting world was engaged with the issue of participation of Taiwan. This in itself was a slight on the African opinion.

The dramatic departures of black and African contingents from the Olympic Village, however, changed the situation and had unbelieving IOC officials blink-

ing. Even the ever vilifying Western press which had regarded the boycott threat as a bluff were caught pants down when a Nigerian Airways jet zoomed into Montreal to convey the Nigerian contingent home. In all, over 30 African, Arab and Caribbean nations pulled out of the 1976 Olympic Games in protest against New Zealand's participation. This was Africa's greatest hour in her fight against apartheid in sports. All the gold, silver and bronze medals put together would not have been more effective.

## Conspicuous Absenteeism

If the African boycott at the 21st Olympiad had such telling effects on the over 90-member-nation sporting organisation, what then would be the effect of a repeat performance at the Commonwealth Games.

Two-thirds of the Commonwealth countries are either African or Caribbean nations which were unanimous in their Montreal boycott—the Caribbean countries, obviously because of their African roots. The African members of the Commonwealth are not in the least likely to renege on their threat, especially in the light of renewed calls by the OAU and the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa. What is left of the Commonwealth then if the boycott comes off will not even qualify to be tagged a "shadow" of what used to be one of the world's

most glorious multi-racial sporting festivals. Already Canada's Pierre Trudeau has expressed concern about the African threat when he met his British counterpart Mr. James Callaghan. Although Mr. Callaghan may not show any signs of grave concern about the failure of the games, observers believe that Britain will be the last to see the breakdown of the Commonwealth on such an issue. The task may be unenviable but under diplomatic pressure is brought on racial citrator New Zealand to either stay away from the games or repudiate her sporting ties with South Africa there would certainly be some conspicuous absenteeism at the games.

## Consequences for Africa

Like the Olympic boycott, the call has been placed on the table. In New Zealand and apartheid or Commonwealth Games. The African members of the Commonwealth are committed to the resolutions of both the OAU and the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa. But what are the consequences of a continued boycott of these major world sporting events for Africa and her crop of budding athletes?

The Montreal boycotts were not without a few grudges. A crop of athletes who had sacrificed so much in terms of training were deprived of the opportunity of testing their standards against the best in the world. The boycott was even more painful to those who have reached their peak and are not likely to wear their national colours again. To this class it was a painful denial of their last chance to hit a world mark and have their names in the book of records. And to the younger ones, who though there are many more years to hope for, the Montreal withdrawals were a complete waste of time and energy.

A prolonged boycott of major sporting events is not only likely to dampen the competitive spirit of African sportsmen and women but may also leave the continent bereft of the finest athletes at least temporarily until the issue of apartheid is resolved. While maintaining a non-compromising stance in her fight against apartheid in sports, it becomes necessary to find avenues for African Sportsmen and women to let out steam. The African Games (which takes place once in five years) alone cannot cater to the competitive needs of the continent. The need for more regional and sub-regional sporting forums to which top athletes from Africa and other parts of the world could be invited, cannot therefore be over-emphasized.



Mr. Samuel Ojiako, President of the SCSA, an opponent of apartheid in sports.



Africa's Queen of the track - Ghana's Alice Antwi