

BLACK WORLD



A SUNY PUBLICATION - UNIVERSITY AT STONYBROOK

Vol. 13 # 13

AFRICANA STUDIES PROGRAM

presents

BLACK WRITERS' responsibility in the 80's

amiri baraka

Africana Studies Program
Author, *In the Tradition*, etc.

june jordan

Department of English
Author, *Passion*, etc.

louis peterson

Writer in Residence, SUSB
Author, *Take A Giant Step*, etc.

A DISCUSSION & READING

dr. les owens

Africana Studies Program, M.C.

THURSDAY DECEMBER 2, 1982

7 to 10 p.m.

LECTURE HALL 102

TODAY



"Love and Labor Conquer all Things"
---J.H. Lake, Sr.

FACT SHEET

SOUTH AFRICA: APARTHEID RULES OVER BLACK MAJORITY

- Blacks denied fundamental rights of citizenship
 - Cannot vote, join labor unions or strike
 - Must carry pass books listing name, address, tribe, place of birth and reason for residing in a white priveleged area.
 - Must live in labor camps which separate them from their families
 - Earn 18 times less than whites
 - 350 U.S. companies operate in South Africa; General Motors, Ford, Xerox, IBM, Gulf Oil, IT&T and Union Carbide
 - Another 16,000 firms do business through licensings arrangements or distributors
 - Last year the South African government spent \$51.30 to educate each Black child while spending \$620 for each white child
- Submitted by Students Against Apartheid (SAA) SUSB



PERSPECTIVES:

... ON SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME

by Seloka Phirwa

Once again the racist minority regime in South Africa is in the news. Once again the Reagan Administration is covertly lending a helping hand and attempting to win international respectability and diplomatic acceptance for a regime whose policies have been condemned the world over. At issue is the proposed \$1.1 billion loan to South Africa which is meant to rescue the regime from rampaging inflation, collapsed export earnings, and a stagnating economy.

The truth is that this is an attempt by the more powerful member-states of the IMF to inject fresh life into a doomed regime and help finance its oppressive policies against an African majority. Furthermore and perhaps even more crucial, the loan is intended to pay for the regime's adventurism in the name of "anti-communism" in Southern Africa.

The South African regime maintains an extremely burdened state machinery through which repression and untold human suffering is meted out to the African population. This machinery provides assured employment for the Afrikaner, who has been historically the least privileged of the white population. They are paid artificially high salaries to reinforce the false notion of white supremacy and privilege. To instill a sense of security and ultimate invincibility, a huge army and a state-run arms manufacturing industry (in which many of the multinational corporations participate) are maintained.

The regime finances, trains, arms, and controls various bandit groups and false liberation movements that terrorize the countryside in many of the neighboring independent African states. The MNR in Mozambique, Unita in Angola, and others in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and one is reminded of the recent attempted coup in the Seychelles. These acts of terrorism which are in flagrant violation of international law, are aimed at coercing these African states into alienation against the national liberation movements; the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), and the South West African Peoples' Organization of Namibia (SWAPO).

The regime invaded southern Angola several months ago causing extensive damage and casualties. It continues up to today to occupy parts of southern Angola. It continues to occupy Namibia against the wishes of the people of Namibia and international law. It contemptuously ignores United Nations resolutions on Namibia. It has become increasingly intransigent and artificially and repeatedly frustrates all attempts to bring about a negotiated and peaceful settlement in Namibia. Its adventurism and illegal occupation of Namibia costs it approximately \$3 million a day.

Quite obviously the least to gain from the proposed loan are the oppressed people themselves. In South Africa the regime spends \$700 for the education of a white child, as against \$30 for an African child. There is one doctor for every 40,000 Africans. The list is endless.

More important is that the present economic crisis that the regime finds itself in, is the direct result of the gains of the national liberation movements: the ANC in South Africa itself and SWAPO in Namibia. The proposed loan is therefore an attempt to frustrate these gains and to reverse the tide. The loan is therefore against the legitimate rights, the interests, and the aspirations of the African people in South Africa and Namibia and against peace and prosperity in Southern Africa. The IMF and therefore the UN would be compromising its integrity and would lose the respect of not only the African peoples wherever they are but also that of democratically minded mankind, if it approves the loan.

(editor's note: the writer is an SUSB Graduate student.)



"Africa must unite —"
---Kwame Nkrumah

Profile: CARIBBEAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION

BLACKWORLD

The basic organizational objectives of the Caribbean Students' Organization is to foster unity among the Caribbean students at SUSB.

"A lot of us forget where we came from," says Kelvin Daly, a member of C.S.O. The sub-objective of the Caribbean Students' Organization is to maintain connections and ties while educating its members. With speakers such as Paget Henry, Amiri Baraka, Carolyn Brown, and activities such as pot-luck dinners, debates, and cultural nights, where students recite, and perform, and view slide shows, C.S.O. serves as a vehicle enabling students to come together and share their experiences, be ti cultural, aor social, while receiving information on what's going on in the Caribbean.

C.S.O. in the Past

In the past, C.S.O. has been politically active, taking stands on issues regarding Polity, resulting in the establishment of PASBO (the Progressive Alliance of Stony Brook Organizations) and its members have been supportive in demonstrations resulting in the AFS Program's change in location.

C.S.O. today

Today's C.S. plays a very instrumental role in the establishment of the upcoming cultural Center, to be located in the Stage XII Cafeteria. C.S.O. has illustrated its desire in implementing more progressive activities at SUSB by working with others such as the Haitian Students Organization, in which the successful production of Carnival Weekend in the Spring 1982 came into being.

Future Objectives

C.S.O. while reeducating its members on current events, as the Caribbean is said to be experiencing a shift to the right within the last three years with the new government in Jamaica, in Barbados, the Dominican, and An-



Jefferson Miller

I'm for whatever organization rules laid down by the power structure that gets results. I don't go for an ture in Polity. It's takes actions to organization — be it the Caribbean get action, and this is what we have Students or the Black Student to realize. Students have to orga- Council, that has to compromise nized and become involved in with the power structure, and has groups which will involve any to rely on certain elements within means necessary to bring about the power structure for their finan- complete elimination of the cing, which puts them in a parti- conditions that exist today, condi- cular position to be influenced and tions that are actually discrimi- controlled by the power structure natory and unjust. I'll get in- itself. volved in the struggle with others

Whenever our people are ready for meaningful results for the stu- to take any kind of action neces- dents, but not for the benefit of a sary to get results, they'll get re- few hand pick "UNCLE TOMS" sults. They'll never get results as at the top who want "prestige" long as they play by the ground or "credit".

tigua, it is getting involved with other organizations to bring about changes on campus. Says Jefferson Miller, president of the Caribbean Students Organization, "WE would like to see students getting involved in groups as we cannot survive or flourish by individualism."

Some Changes

Social. Dissolve social apathy.

"It's sad to see a brother or sister that won't recognize you because you speak differently," says Rolan Noel.

Educational. "We need more professors and classes that represent us and are in tune with us as a people". For example, as one member put it, "as a political science major, it's been realized that the Political Science Depart-

ment at SUSB is geared solely to whites. I've been trying to do a research paper on the Caribbean. Where there is no professor in that department who has a thorough knowledge of the Caribbean, reflects on the last studies that concluded that "minority" professors are underrepresented.

Cultural. Says Miller, "We need to become more Culturally aware. A tree without roots cannot survive. We have the drum, the beat must be more harmonious".

Set Backs

C.S.O., a Polity funded organization received \$2,00 for the entire academic year. Their budget this year goes toward the Cultural Center, Kwanza, Black History Month, Caribbean Weekend (asmahing success of last Spring, which alone costed \$3,00), and Caribbean Day. As the members of CSO represent such diversity, coming from Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Nevis, etc., CSO tries to accomodate such diversity with speakers, Caribbean publication and film subscriptions, but is however handicapped by the lack of funds.



Next Issue: Baraka Speaks Out on Pan-African Solidarity

"You can be in the kitchen cooking, or in the backyard cutting grass and still understand what he's talking about"

see page 5

Answers to Black Consciousness Quiz

1. Wm Wells Brown
2. Marcus Garvey
3. Pres. Shehu Shagari
4. Conyers, Dellums, Rangel, Clay, Leland, Mitchell, Fautroy
5. None
6. Paul Robeson
7. W.E.B. DuBois
8. Duke Ellington
9. James Baldwin
10. Famous black painter

Scoring: 10-9 Black Scholar 7-8 On the case
6-5 Cool Below 5 Uncool

KWANZA

to be celebrated at SUSB!

**THURSDAY DEC. 9
TABLER OR STAGE XII**

**HAVE IDEAS?
WANT TO HELP?**

meeting Sunday 7:00 pm
Old Biology 155 A

for info contact : Melinda
at POLITY Morais

H.S.O. presents

HAITIAN DAY

**FRIDAY
DECEMBER
3rd**

10 am - 5pm

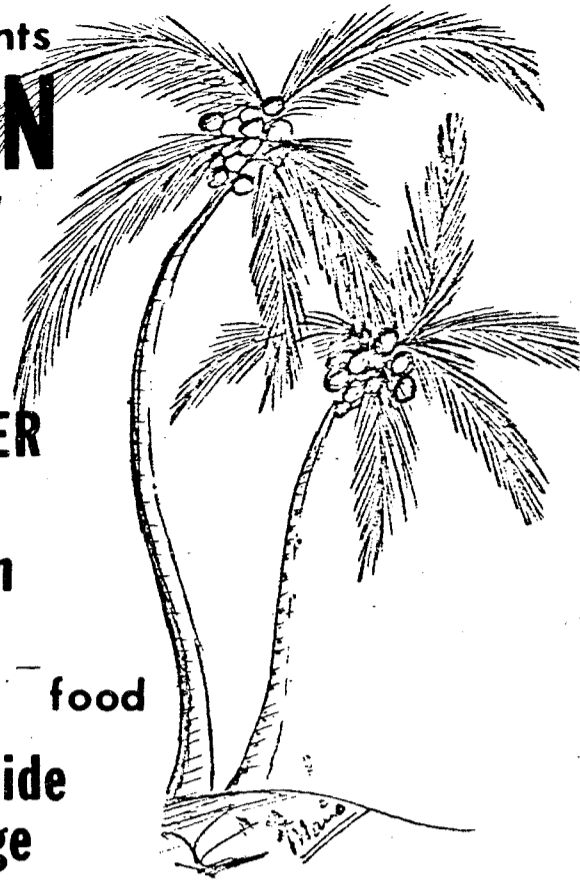
art - music - food

**union fireside
lounge**

evening...

**DRAMA NIGHT - Dr.
guest speaker Frank Laraque**

in union auditorium 8-11pm



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PLACE: STONY BROOK GYM

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Political Leadership in Africa

Africa.

The arrival of independence in Africa constituted an important milestone in the history of political leadership in the continent. At this time, African leadership changed from being colonially selected to being popularly elected. This development was important in two respects. First, it introduced the notion of the universal adult suffrage, which eliminates the traditional basis of chief-taincies of most African States. Chiefs under this new system were legitimized not by custom and tradition dating back to their founding ancestors, but by the ballot box which reflects the votes of the enfranchised members of African society.

This experimentation with the ballot box, however, did not really work for many parts of Africa. Since 1960, the political leadership in many parts of Africa has decided that the one-party state was the best way to legitimize the rule of the Westernized elites. Many of those who championed this form of political organization argued that the one-party system brings under its roof all the members and classes of society. One of the many motives behind such a political enterprise was the socialist intentions of many African leaders. Convinced that African political and economic development would be gravely weakened by class and ethnic rivalries, the advocates of the one-

party system deemed it necessary to bridge the elite-mass gap by bringing all of them within the framework of a single party. Such an act is perceived by the advocates as the only way to legitimize the rule of the new elites.

This experiment was later interrupted by the military coups d'etat of the 1960s and 1970s. The soldiers decided to enter the political arena and challenge their civilian political masters. By taking over the reins of government, they once again raised the question: how legitimate is this African government? The African oldiers who have seized power in many states have often tried to legitimize their rule by claiming to be true representatives of the masses. Blaming the ills of their societies on the corruption of their civilian predecessors, they most often claimed legitimacy on the basis of being native sons from amongst the downtrodden elements of societies.

When analyzed from the perspective of an African political scientist, one can say, in retrospect, that African leadership has undergone changes at every point in its long history. In ancient times, of which we have very limited information, African political leadership was legitimized either by custom or by force of arms. The colonial period saw the use of force to establish European hegemony and the limited

employment of residual legitimacy drawn from the defected traditional ruling families. It also paved the way for the introduction of the ballot box, which in the very few democratically inclined African states still served as an alternative source of legitimacy to both traditional custom and physical violence. In the post-colonial era, we see in various parts of Africa the emergence of physical violence as a means to power and legitimacy and the virtual death of traditional chief-taincies and their sources of legitimacy. Having said this, I should point out that the institution of chief-taincies is still maintained in many parts of Africa; what has changed is its basis of legitimacy. For example, in the Gambia, it is now based on the ballot box; and in Guinea Conakry, it is very much a civil servant job.

In conclusion, one can now say that, though African societies have gone through three distinct phases in their political history, the fact still

remains that political legitimacy continued to be based more on physical force and less on the ballot box, as presently attempted in Nigeria, Gambia, Botswana and Senegal, could go a long way towards the legitimization of the governments of these African countries. It can also make politics in most of these states less bloody and more stable. Last but not least, it can also be argued that the development of African culture and tradition can be enhanced only when the African political leadership reconciles the interests of the westernized elites and those of the great mass of people who are neither rewarded for their mastery of a foreign tongue nor trained in the military establishments of former colonial masters.

AFRICA GLOBE NEWS



Malcolm X



WALTER RODNEY

PUT YOUR TALENTS TO WORK. JOIN THE STAFF OF BLACKWORLD.



Say Something

He who boasts much cannot do much, boasting at home is not valour; parade is not battle; when war comes the brave will be known. -African Proverb

To all my sisters in Hand, especially Hope on her Birthday, love always, Big Brother.

To Lily and Diane. Thank you is such a little word, no longer than a minute, but its full of love and appreciation in it. Luv, Roselie.

To Sab, Roses are red. Violets are Blue, Sugar is sweet and so are you. Love your only little brother Rene.

Dearest Sabine, So you have finally reached the age of nineteen but to me you are still a baby - wishing you a Happy Birthday. Ad Multos Anos. From Mom lots of love.

To Bibine, Wishing you a very happy birthday and hoping that you make the most of it. Love always, Chubby.

Sab, I cannot begin to express the love I have for you. Happy Birthday Sab. (the biggest Knucke Head I know) Love Terry

To my loving sister Sabine. Here's wishing you a happy birthday and many happy returns. from your sis Marie.

To a wonderful sister and a special friend, There's a place in my thoughts that's especially for you. . . There's a place in my heart that is yours alone, too. . . And the reason this wish is the warm special kind. is because it was chosen with just you in mind. Every Happiness Always. Roselie.

Roselie, Happiest Birthday to a Powerhouse. Cozbi.

From Ice to the Crew 'Chill out'

To My Lady 'V', Who loves you. Ice.

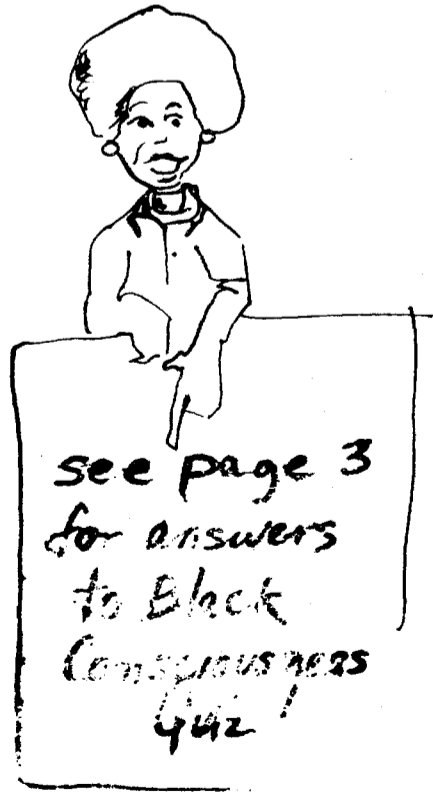
My dearest Ricky, We've been through so much together for all this time. But, better than your touch is this feeling that tells me you're still mine. What's yours is mine and what's mine is yours and what's ours is not theirs, so don't let anyone interfere. Your one and only Robin.

Happy Birthday Hope. You are a very special person to be cherished forever. We love you. Marcia and Beulah

Hope. Happy Birthday to a wonderful friend. Love Joanne, Sue, Sharon, Valerie, Vernon, and Cindy.

Black Consciousness Quiz

1. Who was the first black novelist and playwright in the U.S.?
2. Who was the leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association?
3. Who is the present president of Nigeria?
4. Name at least 3 black congresspersons.
5. How many blacks in the U.S. Senate?
6. Name a black graduate of Rutgers Univ. in N.J. who was both a football All American as well as a Phi Beta Kappa scholar.
7. Author of *Black Reconstruction*?
8. Composer of *Black Brown & Beige*?
9. Author of *Blues For Mr. Charlie*?
10. Who is Jacob Lawrence?



see page 3 for answers to Black Consciousness Quiz



CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS

FACES OF A PEOPLE

Photo Essay by Kelvin Daly

BLACKWORLD SCIENCE

BIOLOGY IN SPACE

The penetration of man into space confronted scientists with a number of new and complex problems. Space provides a unique environment for the study of some of the fundamental questions in biology. These questions include effect of gravity on the origin of life and the development of life processes, and the role of cosmic background radiation in evolution. The new environmental factors include prolonged weightlessness, lack of circadian rhythms (day-night periods) and increased radiation that normally does not penetrate as far as the Earth's surface. During the entire history of life on Earth, living things have never been exposed to some of these factors.

It was imperative therefore that the first manned flights in space be preceded by extensive programs of biological experiments such as those with the dog Laika in 1957. These experiments showed that brief exposure to the condition of weightlessness does not have any harmful effects on such basic activities as blood circulation and the normal functioning of the heart, and the mental processes of the brain.

The biological experiments of fairly long duration, and these were characterized by extensive international cooperation, were carried out aboard the biosatellite Cosmos-110 in 1966 on two dogs. These experiments, which lasted for 22 days, showed that under comfortable conditions, weightlessness does not have any adverse effects on vital functions and reproductive ability. The puppies that were born to these dogs were normal. Similar tests on tortoises did not exhibit any harmful effects. However, experiments conducted on a monkey

in 1969 had to be interrupted on the 9th day of orbit due to the sudden and inexplicable development of symptoms. The monkey subsequently died several hours later.

On the other hand, exposure to long periods of weightlessness during development was found to cause abnormalities in the muscular system in rats. Particularly those muscles that perform antigravitational functions on Earth, which showed decreased strength and elasticity. In addition, to lower mineral content, decrease in length were observed. These results suggested that the main changes in mammals during orbit were due to lack of movement.

Emphasis was also placed on the development of stressful conditions during some periods of the flights, especially when passing from weightlessness to gravitation. By providing artificial gravity, by means of a centrifuge, experiments with fish, insects, plants, and micro-organisms showed that stress reactions could be reduced and even eliminated. These stress reactions, which include increased fatigue of the central nervous system, decrease in respiration, and a decrease in energy consumption, were observed in similar organisms that were not exposed to artificial gravitation during orbit. The biological effects of artificial gravitation, on the other hand, were found to be similar to those of normal gravitation on Earth. Interestingly enough, even at one third of the Earth's gravitation, stress reactions could be eliminated. Thus prolonged space missions probably require artificial gravitation.

Plants were found to be most susceptible to weightlessness. In the absence of gravity some

plants stopped growing, became yellow and after two weeks of flight began to die. In experiments designed to study the division of cells in roots under conditions of weightlessness showed an increase in the number of cells with abnormalities in their chromosomes. Similar experiments on cultures of the human lung tissue performed on board the orbital station Skylab did not reveal any harmful effects caused by weightlessness.

The combined effects of radiation and weightlessness were studied on the spaceships Gemini III and Gemini XI and the biosatellite Bios II. Control experiments consisted of a similar capsule on Earth in which the same types of organisms were exposed to similar radiation and all other conditions of space flight except weightlessness. The larvae (caterpillars) of the fruit fly *Drosophila*, which is widely used in genetic experiments, showed high lethal mutations and other abnormalities in their chromosomes. Pupae of the flour beetle *Tribolium*, produced adults with a great number of abnormalities in their wings.

It has been suggested that the reports of bright flashes occurring in the eyes of astronauts during space flights may be due to space radiation impinging on their retina.

It seems likely therefore that future experiments in space will be directed towards, among other things, ways in which organisms adapt to weightlessness, the effects of cosmic radiation on the nervous system and the role of gravity in the origin of life on Earth.

(Note: This article is based on a review by Y.G. Grigoriev in *Endeavour*, Vol. 5, 1981.)

The Changing Nature of Political Leadership in Africa

by Sulayman S. Nyang, Ph. D

Political leadership in traditional Africa was based on two sources of legitimacy. First of all, there was the customary source of legitimacy that goes back to the beginning of organized society. Second, there was the legitimacy that is drawn from successful conquest. This use of physical violence was accepted only after the new ruler had demonstrated his ability to seize and retain power. Indeed, it is his successful maintenance of power that cowed his enemies and at the same time reassured his friends and allies.

Given these two sources of legitimacy in the old Africa, one can now argue that the arrival of colonialism in Africa did not necessarily deviate radically from the patterns of legitimacy established in pre-colonial Africa. From an African nationalist point of view, one can, however, argue that European colonialism did not only take Africans out of their own history, as argued by the late Amilcar Cabral, but it also introduced a new element in the domain of political legitimacy. Whereas in the pre-colonial era, the individual African subject gave obedience and showed deference to rulers who inherited power from a long line of rulers going back to a mythical founding ancestor, or to a new ruler or a newly established dynasty whose claim to power was or has been demonstrated by the wanton use of force over those who resisted, under colonialism the African was governed by an alien power from a dis-

tant land, and a different culture and language. Because of this fundamental difference between the European colonizer and the indigenous African polyethnic empire-builder, one can now say that the colonial powers were able to legitimize their rule initially through force and then later through the cooptation of Africans who had residual legitimacy drawn from the pre-colonial era.

From the discussion above, we can argue that from the earliest periods of African history to the present, the nature of political leadership in Africa has undergone several changes, depending on the ethnic group considered, its level of state-building and its size and territory. On the basis of the anthropological data, we can identify two main categories of political organizations, namely the highly centralized states and the acephalous ethnic groups with virtually no state apparatus. Change in African political leadership in the pre-colonial Africa was to a large extent conditioned by the type of political organization in existence among a given African people. For example, among the Senegambian ethnic groups (such as the Mandinka, Tukulor and Wolof), centralized state systems evolved and the rulers were legitimized either by custom or by their ability to seize and retain power. In other parts of Africa such as Iboland, where some form of "democratic" publicanism prevailed, the question of conferring legitimacy to a centralized authority did not occur

simply because such peoples were governed not by a king or chief exercising control over numerous villages and towns, but by a council of elders whose jurisdiction was limited to the boundaries of their own village. Of course, the concept of the council of elders also existed even in the African centralized states, although I must add that it operated slightly differently from the village democracy model associated with Eastern Nigeria.

Because of the differences in the nature of political organization in Africa, one would suspect that the question of legitimacy was treated differently by the various societies in the continent. The fact, however, is that regardless of the political order in a given area, the ruler had only two sources of legitimacy. He was either acceptable on the basis of custom or by virtue of being the sole monopolizer of coercive power.

Prior to the beginning of the colonial era in Africa, another source of legitimacy entered the African realm of ideas. This was legitimacy based on the charisma of a person identified with a given ideology or program of action. West Africa was a main theater for most of these historical men. Deeply touched by the Islamic religion and determined to establish an Islamic state, many of them used their charismatic powers to galvanize their followers to action in the form of jihad against the *kafirun* (unbelievers) and, in some cases, against the *ulema al-su (vile ulema)*. With

this development in African thought, we witnessed the addition of charismatic leadership as another source of legitimacy.

The coming of colonial rule put an end, in many cases, to the old sources of legitimacy. Africans were rewarded not because their ancestors were chiefs, but because they were proficient in the language and ways of the colonial powers. This changing of the rules governing social and political significance in the colonial order made it possible for many persons of lower status in the pre-colonial societies to rise rapidly in the new colonial order. Western education therefore became the fast moving social elevator that carried such people to the top of the colonial hierarchy. As a result of these changes in the legitimacy of power and position in the new African societies, we now see that in many African states political leadership is invariably confined to those who are partially or totally assimilated into the Western culture. Hence the adoption of European languages as official languages of their countries and the standing order in many an African constitution that proficiency in English or French is the *sine qua non* for admission into African Parliaments.

This state of affairs which was imposed by the colonial powers has continued into the present in many African states. Yet, in pointing this out, one must hasten to add that efforts are being made to tear down these inherited colonial structures.

Tanzania is one part of Africa in which efforts are being made to increase the legitimacy of the Westernized ruling elite through a closer contact between the leaders and the led. In that East African state, the political leadership has decided since the proclamation of the *Arusha Declaration* that henceforth Swahili would be the official language of the state. Such a decision has made it possible for the non-English-speaking members of Tanzanian society to participate actively in the affairs of the state. It has also reduced the sense of alienation among the Westernized elites.

Besides Tanzania, no other polyethnic African state has declared an indigenous African language as the official language of the state. The governments of Somalia and Ethiopia are, of course, exceptions to the above, largely because of their different historical experience. The Somalis are perhaps the most homogeneous people in Africa south of the Sahara and because of their common language, their leaders have found it politically useful to employ it domestically for the political mobilization of the masses. In the case of Ethiopia, the Amharic language has for a long time served as the vehicle of communication between the leaders and the led, and between members of one non-Amharic Ethiopian group and another. It was also an important vehicle of the Coptic church which unites the diverse groups in the Christian segments of the Horn of

Why did negotiations break down?

Namibia still not free

Four years after the UN Security Council adopted a plan for the independence of Namibia in Southwest Africa, the Namibian people are still not free.

Talks broke down in 1981 when South Africa walked out of a conference, hoping to buy time from the new Reagan Administration. Talks are stalled again today as the U.S. and South Africa link Namibian independence to the separate issue of Cuban troops in Angola.

As a result, South Africa still illegally dominates this land, hanging on for two reasons:

- Namibia is rich in uranium, diamonds and other minerals, which are mined by South African, U.S. and British firms through a system of high profits and low taxation set up by South Africa.

- Politically, Namibia is South Africa's last buffer zone against the rising tide of African resistance to imperialism and colonialism that has swept the continent.

White colonial domination

Whites have dominated Namibia for the last 100 years. Blacks have fiercely fought this domination, rising in revolt, and being brutally cut down. From 1920 to 1966, South Africa had League of Nations and United Nations sanction over Namibia and used

The Namibian guerrilla struggle advances and the South African government can only buy time



SWAPO guerrillas in Namibia continue the armed struggle to liberate their country from South African domination.



Today, the situation of Blacks South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in 1960. Whites' average income is 24 Intense harassment of its leader-times greater than Blacks'. The ship forced SWAPO to conclude present world recession has hit that Namibia would only be free Namibia hard. Uranium and dia- through armed resistance. In 1966, SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) began fighting — the same year that the UN declared South Africa's rule illegal. SWAPO reports: "As time went by, PLAN grew and grew to the stage where we have forced South Africa to accept the reality the 1960's.

this time to colonize the country. It set up a system of contract labor to exploit Blacks. Apartheid and security laws isolated whites is 68-72 years, but for Blacks from whites and kept the money on the white side of the line.

After years of oppression Blacks in Namibia formed the

that we are a well-organized guerrilla movement which is capable of fighting for years to come." South Africa's desperate attempts to stop SWAPO include 100,000 South African troops in Namibia, mercenaries, and since 1975, repeated invasions into Angola.

With all SWAPO's strength, why do the present negotiations drag on? Because two major parties to the negotiations have their own interests at heart. South Africa, which seeks a white minority government in Namibia, threw a last minute demand into last summer's talks. They refuse to settle until Cuban troops are withdrawn from Angola.

The U.S., using the talks to extend U.S. influence in Africa, has taken up that demand, hoping to force Angola into bilateral talks. SWAPO, Angola and other African countries have rejected this demand, stating that the Cuban troops in Angola are a separate issue from Namibia's independence.

The upshot of South Africa's new demand is to open a new, delayed stage of the negotiations, just at the point when the details of the implementation were being finalized; the ceasefire, the UN troops to oversee the change, the schedule of South African troop reduction, and in seven months, a UN-supervised election.

By this latest maneuver, South Africa is buying time, and that is all it can get. It is widely accepted that SWAPO will sweep a UN-supervised election. And by supporting the white reactionaries running South Africa, the U.S.

only adds more fuel to the freedom struggle that has dominated the scene in Black Africa since the 1960's.

Nigeria: Africa's Crawling Industrial Giant

by Ben C. Ogwezi, Ph.D

Twenty years after severing herself from British colonial rule, Nigeria, the most populous nation in Black Africa and probably the most endowed with human and natural resources, is still struggling with the problems of being a free nation. To be free is to accept the responsibilities associated with freedom — champion own political ideology, social and economic course; direct own education and pathway to industrial growth.

To these ends, October 1, 1982, the day Nigeria celebrated her 22nd political independence, was a day for stock-taking and assigning grades to Nigerians and their leadership. As one would expect, the Federal Ministry of Information, the official organ for public relations, was quick to outline the nation's progress report. President Shehu Shagari and his crew scored full marks — meaning that Nigeria has made remarkable progress in the last 22 years. President Shagari is a man of honor and priorities who has directed his resources in these past three years of his leadership towards feeding the nation, providing housing, and planning for quality education.

Nigeria's giant stride in education manifests itself in the euphemism of

what is now called "Qualitative Education." Qualitative education is the leadership's total commitment to a program of overhauling the entire educational system from the primary to the university, accommodating traditional values and yet industrializing as fast as time and resources permit.

KANGAROO

Like the kangaroo, the country has leaped as far as she could to establish herself as a progressive nation and let the world know she exists. Nigerian politics and flamboyance have attracted some attention. Economists, social scientists and many industrial nations eager to sell their goods and services find the Nigerian style intriguing. Nigeria once emerged as one of the Third World countries competing with Abu Dhabi, Kuwait and some other oil-producing countries in buying and paying for foreign goods and services. Nigeria, then, would buy everything from grain to germicide. It was one of Nigeria's ways of communicating her existence.

CREDIT

What is remarkable about Nigeria is that the leadership is alert, responds to challenges, and the citizen-

ry is quick in pinpointing the nation's immediate problems. Ask Nigerians in a small group communication encounter about the country's progress, they would be quick to agree in unison instead on what the problems are. Flamboyance and poor work ethics would surely rank high in the list of problems. Take, for example, the case of the recent improvised parade ground constructed at a cost of over N1ml (U.S. \$1.5 ml.) for the 22nd Independence celebration at Abuja. It was reported that it took the construction crew of West Germany's Julius Berger a little over six weeks to earn the million naira. That is flamboyance.

There is flamboyance in every project Nigeria conceives. When Nigeria decided to host the World Black Festival of Arts and Culture, she did it in style. Fancy the new Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja, which has been described as "second to none." The beauty and elegance of Paris and many other exotic cities in the Eastern and Western world may not match in comparison to Nigeria's new capital territory. That is flamboyance.

EDUCATION FOR INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

The problems which necessitate the need to move the capital from Lagos to Abuja are myriad. Population growth, national security, perennial traffic jams, intolerable congestion, and the chaotic sanitary situation played a major role in the decision for a change. The question is not whether the change of the capital territory has merits, but the readiness to address some of these problems from their roots and prevent them from surfacing in the new capital and other cities in the country.

Take the problems of poor sanitation and constant power failure in electricity, for example. These aching problems in Lagos and some other cities are not perennial because Nigeria lacks the manpower to keep the plumbing systems functioning or her electric current in constant flow. Because of our flamboyance, there is a way we define our needs in technology and forget the role of the middle-level manpower in the scheme of development. It is one thing to afford the money and import the most modern and sophisticated or giant-size computer equipment from America or Russia and install it in the presidential annex at Abuja, but it will be meaningless investment if the electricity supply is not there for the computers' regular use.

Surely, Nigeria's leadership has glamorous ideas and the projects they conceive give the nation that flair. But one thing has always been underscored. Just as the engineers and technologists are important for industrial growth and development, so also are the crop of talented craftsmen and technicians in all the nooks and corners of Nigeria, vocational and technical institutions. The nation must go beyond the university walls in search of willing and talented men and women who will help give meaning to her present dreams. Nigeria must define technology in terms of her immediate problems without losing sight of the future.

Programs of training in the vocational, technical institutions, and the polytechnics, must also bear relevance to the program emphasis of the new universities of technology. For a meaningful industrial development, these arms of training must complement each other. The industrial wheel of America, Japan, and Germany is in constant motion because of the contribution of the middle-level manpower of the countries. Nigeria has the resources to become Africa's industrial giant, but not without her middle-level manpower on the bandwagon.