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# AFRISCOPE

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## A Word For Barre

Somalia's President Barre could buy his military regime a little more mileage if he quietly withdraws from the complex game of big-power brinkmanship and fully diverts his enormous energies to the economic and social development of his Republic.

The surprise is not that he gambled and failed in Ethiopia. The miracle is that his regime whose legitimacy has been based on the twin visions of egalitarian paradise and irredentist dreams of Greater Somalia survived the defeat. Few military regimes in Africa would have survived such national disasters so gamely, but a cushioning device has effectively been built in Barre's Somalia by the cumulative effects of the populist mobilization approach which he has taken since he came to power.

It cannot be emphasized too often that Somalia's case against Ethiopia cannot stand. The injustice of balkanization lay in Africa's colonial past and the OAU, to which Somalia belongs, has sought to seal the Pandora's Box once and for all time with its unanimously accepted principle of immutable territorial boundaries.

Naked aggression—the only option left to Mogadishu—will create for the poor Republic more problems than it can ever solve. More serious in the long run than the military defeat of Somalia is the temptation before General Barre to play one ideological block against the other in a clever bid to get arms and perhaps prepare to fight another day. The ultimate result will be the surrender of Somalia's sovereignty to the auctioneer's hammer, a good buy for the highest Big-Power bidder.

There is a world of difference between a courageous soldier and a wise statesman. The pursuit of irredentist dreams is not the course for any wise statesman in Mogadishu.

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5. There will normally be no change in contract prices throughout the period of contracts, but in the event of any of the items being, during the currency of a contract, the subject of wholesale price control under the provision of any written law or if a controlled wholesale price is increased, the supplier may be granted a sum equal to the increase in the wholesale price. Where a controlled wholesale price is fixed at a figure below the contract price, the supplier shall be paid the decreased price.

6. A non-refundable deposit of ₦20.00 (Twenty Naira) is payable on a tender. This deposit should be paid into any Sub-Treasury under Revenue Head 5 Sub-Head 45 "Deposits on Tenders" of the current Federal Military Government Estimates. The original and a photostat copy each of the treasury receipts should be forwarded with completed Tender Forms to the Principal, Federal Government Girls' College, Ilaro, who will retain the photostat copies and later return the original to the tenderers. No tenders will be considered unless these treasury receipts are forwarded.

7. Completed tender forms should be submitted in sealed envelopes marked 'CONFIDENTIAL' and addressed to the Principal, Federal Government Girls' College, Ilaro, Ogun State to reach her not later than 15th March, 1978.

**A. A. AYoola (MRS.)**  
Principal.

**FEDERAL SCHOOL OF MEDICAL  
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ADMISSIONS: 1978/79 SESSION**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for admission to the Federal School of Medical Laboratory Technology, Lagos (Jos) in September, 1978 for a 4-year course leading to the Associateship of the Institute of Medical Laboratory Technology of Nigeria.

2. **QUALIFICATIONS:** Candidates must possess either

(a) General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) with O/L passes in five subjects including English, Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology or Physics and one other subject. OR

(b) West African School Certificate (W.A.S.C.) with passes at credit level in the above five subjects.

(ii) Candidates who wrote the May/June 1978 W.A.S.C. examination may apply attaching a statement from the Principal confirming that the required subjects were taken in the examination. Such candidates will not, however, be fully considered until the results are received.

3. **CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION**

(i) Selection of candidates will be based on academic qualifications, results of School entrance examination and personal interview. Institutions and Establishments wishing to sponsor students must make sure that their candidates satisfy the necessary entrance requirements.

(ii) Candidates selected for admission will be required to pass a medical examination.

(iii) Each candidate will be required to register with the Institute of Medical Laboratory Technology of Nigeria before commencement of course.

4. **ACCOMMODATION:** Hostel accommodation will be provided for students in Jos.

5. **METHOD OF APPLICATION:** Applications, in students' own handwriting, should be forwarded to the Principal, Federal School of Medical Laboratory Technology, 3, Broad Street, Lagos together with photo-copies of certificate/s to reach him not later than May 1st, 1978.

Principal  
Federal School of Medical Laboratory Technology,  
for Permanent Secretary,  
Federal Ministry of Health, Lagos.

(A. O. ODIGIE)  
for Permanent Secretary.

## A D V E R T I S E M E N T

### FEDERAL SCHOOL OF RADIOGRAPHY YABA, LAGOS, NIGERIA

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#### 2. QUALIFICATIONS

- (i) The candidates must possess one of the following educational qualifications:
- (a) FIVE General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) subject passes including any TWO subjects passed at A level. (O level subjects must not be passed at a grade lower than grade C) The five subjects must include: ENGLISH LANGUAGE, MATHEMATICS AND ONE SCIENCE SUBJECT PREFERABLY PHYSICS OR CHEMISTRY
  - (b) FIVE General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) subjects passes including ONE Science subject (Physics or Chemistry) passed at A level. (O level subjects must not be passed at a grade lower than grade C) The five subjects must include: ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND MATHEMATICS.
  - (c) Recognised Equivalent Qualifications to (A) and (B).
- (ii) A candidate taking General Certificate of Education A level in May/June, 1978, may apply attaching documentary proof confirming that the required subjects have been entered.
- (iii) The candidates must not be less than 18 years of age in December, 1978.

#### 3. CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION

- (i) The selection of candidates will be based on academic qualification and results of the School Entrance Examination and personal interviews. Institutions and Establishments wishing to sponsor students MUST make sure that their candidates have taken the necessary steps to gain admission.
- (ii) Candidates selected for admission will be required to pass medical examination, which MUST include full differential blood count and chest X-ray examination.
- (iii) Each student will be required to register with the College of Radiographers, London before commencement of course of training with a registration fee of £ 15 Sterling and an annual retention fee of £10 Sterling.

#### 4. ACCOMMODATION

The School is, at present, non-residential. The students are to arrange for their accommodation in Lagos.

#### 5. METHOD OF APPLICATION

- (i) Request for application forms should be sent to: The Principal, Federal School of Radiography, 2-4 Taylor Drive, Medical Compound, Yaba, Lagos. The request must be accompanied by a self-addressed and stamped envelope of minimum size 9" x 4".
- (ii) Application forms, duly completed must be returned to reach the Principal on or before 30th June, 1978.

Principal  
Federal School of Radiography  
for The Permanent Secretary  
Federal Ministry of Health.

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- 1.3 Education Officer, Grade I, Grade Level 09 ( ₦4368 – 5340)
- 1.4 Senior Education Officer, Grade Level 10 ( ₦5460 – 6432)
- 1.5 Principal Education Officer, Grade Level 12 ( ₦7104 – 7752)

**2 Methods of Entry**

**2.1 Assistant Education Officer, Grade Level 07.**

Candidates should possess the National Certificate of Education in the relevant subjects or its equivalent from a recognised Institution.

**2.2 Education Officer, Grade II, Grade Level 08**

Candidates should possess a degree, preferably including teaching qualification, in the following disciplines from a recognised University: *English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, French, Metal Work/Wood Work, Engineering Drawing, Agricultural Science and Domestic Science.*

**2.3 Education Officer, Grade I, Grade Level 09**

Candidates should possess any of the qualifications specified for Education Officer, Grade II plus at least three years' post-qualification cognate experience.

**2.4 Senior Education Officer, Grade Level 10**

Candidates should possess any of the qualifications specified for Education Officer, Grade II plus at least six years' post-qualification cognate experience.

**2.5 Principal Education Officer, Grade Level 12**

Candidates should possess any of the qualifications specified for Education Officer, Grade II plus at least eight years' post-qualification cognate experience.

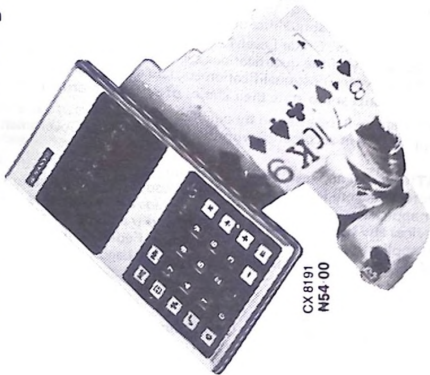
**CHOICE OF SCHOOL:** Applicants are to state their choice of Schools in order of preference.

**POINT OF ENTRY:** Applicants will be assessed by qualification and years of experience as applicable to the posts applied for in accordance with the current Federal Government Civil Service guidelines.

**METHOD OF APPLICATION:** All applications will be submitted in triplicate with photostats copies of educational/professional credentials. Applicants already in the Federal Public Service are to route their applications through their present heads of departments. Applicants in State Government Services and parastatals may be required to transfer their services to the Ministry of Defence. All applications are to reach the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, Private Mail Bag No. 12586, Independence Building, Lagos, not later than 31st March, 1978.

**Secretary,**  
**Federal Public Service Commission.**

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## THE WEST AND WALVIS BAY

The West, our Merchant of reassurance and all-round goodwill, has been urging SWAPO to accept independence of Namibia without Walvis Bay. SWAPO should "wait" until after independence when it will negotiate terms of surrender of Walvis Bay with South Africa.

SWAPO has of course rejected the advice. According to Daniel Tjongarero, the internal leader of SWAPO, the organisation will not sign any ceasefire agreement unless the enclave of Walvis Bay is included as part of Namibia. He also reiterated SWAPO's other wellknown conditions: the organisation would not take part in election until South Africa withdraws its troops into Southern Namibia, and agrees to United Nations supervised elections.

What worries observers is not so much the role which the West is currently playing in Southern Africa as the gullibility with which African States have literally overnight swallowed the mid-night metamorphosis of the image of the West—from that of the defenders of Southern African white oligarchies to that of a friendly fairly neutral empire.

The result of our complete enchantment with this diplomatic somersault has been our willingness since the last days of Kissinger to be used as toy kits of master magicians.

With mediators and friendly advisers like the West, we Africa certainly don't require any wrong leads and dead ends.

## SALISBURY AMBIVALENCE

The sell-out in Salisbury should be a measure of the West's commitment to genuine independence in Southern Africa.

The reaction so far has been

predictably ambivalent. Britain and United States are in effect saying: "Well, we may give Ian Smith's internal settlement a chance, if the leadership of the Patriotic Front is allowed to participate (in re-negotiation or implementation, one wonders?)"

Another false lead and dead end.

## GUINEA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

African diplomacy has again performed another of the miracles for which it is noted.

Six West African leaders met recently to reconcile Guinea with her two neighbours (Senegal and Ivory Coast). According to the



President Sekou Touré...burying the hatchet

communique, the three leaders have agreed to bury long standing differences and cooperate in future.

Apparently, the crux of the dispute—Guinea's allegation of subversion and the aid to Guinean anti-Toure political exiles by Senghor and Houphouët-Boigny —was quietly swept under the carpet.

## U.S. AND HORN OF AFRICA

Many times United State's Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Andrew Young, talks a lot of sense. But quite often his pious statements take on the enigmatic tone of a sybillian pronouncement.

On Cuba's involvement in Ethiopia, Andrew Young told Newsweek. "In so far as Cuba is assisting in development... it should not be any more threatening to us than the American Peace Corps should be to people in Africa. When the Cubans however are using their military power to impose a military settlement in Angola, or to intervene in the Horn of Africa in a century-old dispute, they are not contributing to stability but to destruction. They are not going to get away with it".

Apparently what he meant by Cubans not "getting away with it" is: "You can't root out an indigenuous movement that has the support of the people unless you slaughter all of those people... The reason why I don't get scared about the Cubans in Ethiopia is that if it does not stop, Ethiopia will be Cuba's Vietnam"

What Young seems to be saying is that the Eritreans and Somalis of Ogaden will resume guerrilla warfare against the government of Ethiopia. In one breath, he commends OAU's precept of mutual respect for territorial integrity. In other breath, he condemns powers that have been invited to assist Ethiopia to maintain this precept:

If I were Ethiopia's Mariam-Mengistu, I would take this utterances as a timely notice that the invisible hand that is stoking the fires in Angola will soon be at work in Ogaden and Eritrea.



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SOMALIA:

# Costly Miscalculation

By Our Nairobi Correspondent

The escalation of the conflict in the Horn of Africa to where it has become one of the major flashpoints of international confrontation in the world today was brought about directly by a monumental miscalculation on the part of Somalia. In the first place the encouragement given to the rebels in the Ogaden region by the Mogadishu regime was escalated at the time that the Somali Government obviously felt that the Ethiopian regime was already over-burdened with the Eritrean problem and would be unable to cope effectively with stepped up activities on another front. This was the first in a series of remarkable miscalculations on the part of the Somalis that have led to the recent nearly global level of fighting and has caused the war in the Horn of Africa to be internationalised to an unprecedented level in Africa.

There can be no doubt now that Somali support of the Western Somali Liberation Front in the early stages of the major thrust that so effectively humiliated Ethiopia, was not merely confined to the supply of arms. At the very least "advisers" on the line of the Americal "adviser" system that initially led to the American imbroglio in Vietnam, must have been attached to the rebel forces. The fact cannot be overlooked that there is a deep Somali commitment to reunification of all Somalis in one nation and it is therefore of paramount importance in assessing the realities of the Ogaden war that the Western Somali Liberation Front was fighting not just to liberate a nation but rather to withdraw their region from Ethiopia in order to make it a part of the existing Somali Nation.

## Wrong Appraisal

Unfortunately when the Somalis decided to confront Ethiopia openly they failed to study the swift changing forces of ideological conversion within the Ethiopian Government carefully. They seemed not to discern the depth of revolutionary commitment on the part of the Dergue, or to understand that the Ethiopian pre-occupation was with consolidating their swift conversion from feudal tyranny to proletarian dictatorship without any pretence. In such a situation the reaction to the humiliating over-running of the Ogaden region by Somali rebels aided by



The look of greed for President Siad Barre... any more shots?

Somali troops was bound to encourage the most desperate reactions possible and so the all-out appeal for help from their new left-wing allies should have been foreseen. Sadly the Somalis again miscalculated in believing that because of their own commitment to scientific socialism they would be able to influence the level and nature of Soviet support for the Dergue and effectively make the Soviets be their silent partners in a swift exercise designed to expand their own borders. They failed to take note of one particularly consistent theme in Soviet alliances in Africa in that the Soviets have always thrown more of their weight behind the principle of conservatism of existing borders which has been enshrined in the O.A.U. charter rather than behind plain expansionist tactics or secessionist exercises.

If the Somalis had offered to act as mediators biased in favour of the re-drawing of borders and had used their influence to halt the fighting while sponsoring representations to the O.A.U. on behalf of the Western Somali Liberation Front, they would have gained much more diplomatic support from the Soviets who would have felt constrained to prevail upon their new clients the Ethiopians to accept these terms and go to the negotiating table. Instead Siad Barre's Government staked their all on a swift and massive military strike and as a result stretched themselves thin on the

ground at just the time that they were creating a more favourable climate for Soviet alliance and aid in Ethiopia than existed in their own country then. The expulsion of the Soviet technicians and the withdrawal of port rights led to a swift escalation of Soviet support for the Ethiopian cause which was already more conducive to Soviet principles than the Somali cause. To the Soviets the Somali cause is being fought on the basis of ethnic expansionism which their ideology cannot really accommodate while the Ethiopians are fighting to preserve their legitimate borders.

Both the Ogaden conflict and the Eritrean revolutionary struggle have their roots in the not uncommon African problem of cross-cultural division of traditional ethnic alliances and groups by modern national boundaries. In the case of Eritrea and the Ogaden (or Western Somali) however, these divisions are seen as being extremely new since the regions were part of the failed colonial effort of Italy in recent times and represented the conquered outskirts of the Ethiopian empire. To justify their conflict against the Ethiopian Government both groups invoke the principle of anti-imperialism, but of course the present Ethiopian Government does not consider itself the inheritor of old imperial principles even if it is the inheritor of old imperial possessions. Clearly members

of the Dergue feel that they will have destroyed their own legitimacy if they should accept the Eritrean and Somali view of their separate rights. For the Ethiopian Government the main motivation for the continued fight is the preservation of the territorial integrity of a legitimate nation.

The major Eritrean guerrilla organisation—the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) is heavily armed, ironically as in the case of Somali at the start of the war, also by the Russians. They are also brilliant fighters who are motivated by a long-standing sense of their national commitment and right to be separate from Ethiopia and until the Somali actions changed the balance of military power in the area they were apparently pushing towards a point where they would have forced negotiations sooner or later. With the change of the situation engendered by the Somali miscalculation they too have lost Soviet support and are for the first time finding their brilliant guerrilla tactics confronted with massive Ethiopian retaliation from all angles and they have to develop new tactics just at a time when their international standing is being undermined by the more pressing problems that the Ogaden war has generated in the area. Unfortunately the Eritrean fighters were themselves ideologically revolutionary from the start and are in no position to appeal to the West in the same way that Barre has done without generating serious internal dissension and confusion in their own ranks. The Somali miscalculation has therefore had terribly adverse effects on their own struggle and Ethiopian overtures to them which were cautious but promising before the escalation of the conflict in the Ogaden have not been withdrawn but have been superseded by the nature of the greater conflict.

### Ideological Somersault

Somali's President Siad Barre has turned full circle in his alliances within the last year and now denounces the Russians with such vehemence that he gives the impression of a man whose boats have been burnt and needs any vessel at all in order to get back to the other side of the river. In recent months he has drawn much closer to Egypt's Sadat, reflecting the similarity of their problem rather than any deep or profound similarity in thinking. Both of them are now faced with the spectre of hostile countries confronting them with superior weaponry at a time when they had not prepared for long-term conflict. Together they are interpreting the Russian involvement in the conflict in terms of Russia's special interest in controlling global trade and

political policy by gaining some kind of hegemony over Indian Ocean ship movements.

There is no doubt that the Russians have major political interests at stake in the area. It must be remembered that they spent an enormous amount of money, and not as a loan, to develop the Somali port of Berbera, the use of which has now been denied them. But at the same time the Ethiopians are aware of the precarious nature of their security at this time since the internal upheavals caused by their socialist revolution has rendered their community ripe for enemy infiltration and betrayal of their revolution by disgruntled internal forces. It is unlikely that given this situation they would be willing to risk the consequences of an invasion of the existent Somali nation.

America's restraint in this conflict is indicative of a new caution in international affairs but there is no doubt that the American Government believes as President Barre does that the Russians intend to find some way of turning the defence of Ethiopia into a springboard for their return to Somali. They have prepared contingency plans for swift intervention on a massive scale in the conflict as soon as there is the slightest excuse available to them and at the moment the threat of an even greater and more devastating international conflict in the area is so imminent that there are signs that both the Somalis and the Ethiopians are seeking for ways to forestall this even while fighting each other.

The truth is that if this internationalisation of the conflict takes place then both countries will find that the war is no longer in their hands. They will not be able to control the nature of the conflict and the level of devastation in the area will certainly defeat all their best intentions. The O.A.U. is acutely aware of this threat and the paramount task facing the Mediation Committee of that organisation at this time is how to avert the crisis and bring all the warring parties in the Horn to the negotiating table, and reduce international involvement or extra-African interference in the affairs of the area.

One of the most frightening aspects of the conflict and the political implications of continuing war in the Horn of Africa is the extension of the Middle-East conflict into the area. Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan confirmed that certain specialised types of aid were being given to Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Foreign Minister Feleke Gedle-Georgis on the other hand has been diplomatically ambiguous in his statements concerning Israeli connections, being content only to state that

there are no Israelis in Ethiopia. On the side of the Somalis most Arab states with the exception of Libya, Algeria and South Yemen, have given aid to Somali. Egyptian aid was revealed most embarrassingly when Kenya intercepted a plane carrying large amounts of arms and ammunition from Cairo to the Somalis. Clearly the Israelis see this conflict as a chance to build up points in favour of reversing the O.A.U. inspired breakdown of its relations with most African states, while most Arab countries feel, culturally and politically bound to maintain its links with the Somalis who have been among their most loyal and active supporters in the Middle East conflict, among African nations.

The danger is that if this conflict escalates and a confrontation erupts between super-powers in the area then this will spill-over into the Middle East and bring about a much larger conflict that could pre-empt nothing less than a world war in which the original African antagonists would be completely submerged and the real interests of Africa as a whole would be ignored and totally subordinated to a scramble among the super-powers for new spheres of influence in the continent.

The Somalis did not intend to set of such a vicious chain reaction when they invaded the O.A.U. recognised borders of Ethiopia but a series of minor political miscalculations has made it impossible for any other developments to take place unless Somali is now ready to swallow its pride, withdraw behind their constituted boundaries and call, however belatedly, for negotiations to discuss the interests of their ethnic kinsmen who reside within Ethiopia's boundaries.

It is thus possible that the dramatic announcement by Somalia that she is withdrawing her troops to her pre-war borders defuses the bomb in a most uncertain and ambivalent manner. The fact that Somalia professes to take this action, not in a realistic acceptance of the legitimacy of Ethiopia's situation or the norms of O.A.U. Charter but in shrewd deference to Washington's opinion serves a notice that she sees the matter as far from closed. She seems now to be dancing to the tune of a badly needed ally in order to create a more favourable case for a massive injection of American aid ostensibly for the protection of the Horn from Soviet expansionist activities.

The first casualty of this brinkmanship may well be President Barre himself, but whether this is so or not a more fertile ground will have been created for the growth of super-power dialectical activities in Africa.



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# Kenya-Uganda Cooperation

Katongole Kyalo, Nairobi

The Kenya-Uganda link sooner or later, may be strengthened. January 25, 1978 witnessed the first of activities intended to normalise relations between the two East-African states, when the Kenya government sent the President's son the Hon. Peter Muigai Kenyatta, Kenya's assistant minister for foreign affairs to Kampala for discussions with President Amin and later, to Koboko to attend the celebrations marking General Amin's 7th year in office. The two countries seem to have recognised that whether the community exists or not, they need each other and therefore have to work hand in hand despite their ideological and political differences.

The second round of activities to improve relations between the two countries was the recent meeting at Uganda International Conference Centre on Wednesday February 8, 1978. The conclusion of the meeting was that Kenya and Uganda were to exchange diplomatic representations at ambassadorial level, according to Ugandan statement. The Kenya delegation that attended the one day talks was led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Muniya Waiyaki, and included the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Eliud Mwamunga, the Attorney General, Mr. Charles Njonjo, the Minister for Power and Communications, Mr. Daniel Mutinda, Assistant Minister for foreign affairs Mr. Peter Muigai Kenyatta, the Minister for Community Affairs, Dr. Robert Ouko, and the head of Kenya Civil Service and Permanent Secretary in the President's office, Mr. Geoffrey Kariithi. The meeting was officially opened by President Amin of Uganda, who called for closer and frank cordial relations between the two countries and appealed for peace throughout Africa and the world.

The host delegation which was led by the Minister for Industry and Power Brig. D. Sabuni included the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Col. Juma Oris Abdala, the Minister for Finance, Brig. Moses Alli, and the Minister for Transport, Communications and Works, Mr. Paul Etiang. After this meeting Kenya sources said that an adequate

basis for discussion had been reached. The two sides agreed on the need for frequent consultations and that another meeting would be held in Nairobi this March. Other issues believed to have been discussed in the meeting included a detailed list of Kenyans known to be in Ugandan jails. Kenya side was pressing for their release and since then 160 have been set free by the Uganda government.

In spite of all this, however, East Africa is totally divided and will never be the same again. Kenya and Tanzania have held several discussions over the reopening of the border and Kenya as interested as she is, finds Tanzania rather lukewarm over the issue of finding a solution to the normalisation of relations between the two countries. Tanzania indeed has shown no interest over the problem and does not even seem to like the idea of opening the border.

Popular rumour in Kenya is that Tanzania apparently intends to outwit Kenya so as to get hold of the three steamers grounded three years ago at Kisumu. They are the property of the defunct East-Africa Community and Tanzania would like to use them in her stretch of Lake Victoria waters between Musoma, Mwanza and Bukoba. Dr. Victor H. Umbricht the East African Community mediator in his

trips between the three partner states, disclosed that to date the partner states had not had any discussion about the sharing of the three vessels. (M.V. Victoria, M.V. Nyangumi, and M.V. Umoja) though there had been discussions on the utilization of the ships. The three partner states are awaiting the recommendations of Umbricht's report on the distribution of assets and liabilities.

Kenya and Uganda seem to stand a good chance of reconciliation. The same cannot be said of Kenya and Tanzania or Uganda and Tanzania. However, even after Kenya-Uganda reconciliation, there is fear that, after the diplomatic relations are established between Kampala and Nairobi, Kenyans and Ugandans travelling between the two countries will be required to obtain visas which is not the case now. This, according to observers, would be a pity for instead of making contact easier, it will make movement a little more difficult. Uganda refugees in Nairobi are also fearful that such a move would make their stay in Kenya untenable. Furthermore, political asylum for some of the Ugandan exiles will become problematical for Kenya, for once diplomatic relations are set up, Uganda may press for the bilateral arrangements that may make it difficult for refugees and exiles to seek asylum in Kenya. Such arrangements already exist between a number of neighbouring African states. But what will exactly happen in the Kenya-Uganda situation remains to be seen.

## Mutual Interest

What has led to speculation about what is brewing between Uganda and Kenya is the nature of top-level mis-



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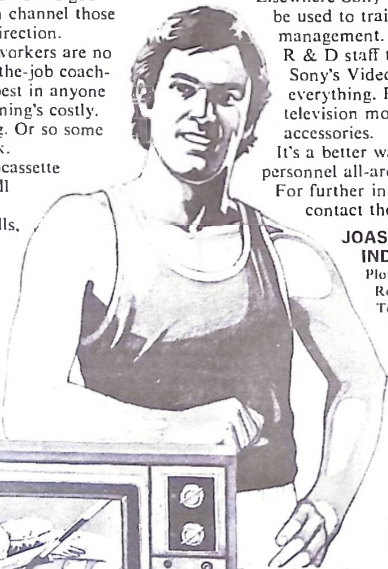
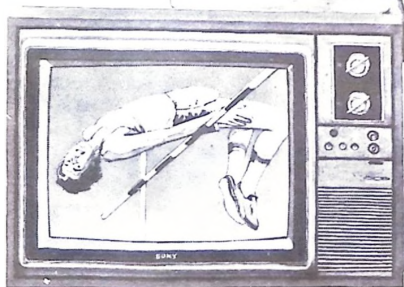
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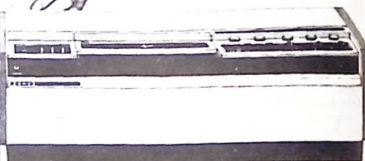
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sions to Kampala. For his part, Field Marshal Amin has made sentimental attempts to win Kenya's friendship. This is quite understandable, for the Field Marshal needs Kenya more than Kenya needs him. Uganda relies on Mombasa harbour and Kenya roads for her imports and exports. But Kenya too needs Uganda for Uganda is the largest single importer of its manufactures. Other customers are Rwanda, Burundi, the Eastern part of Zaire, the Southern part of Sudan, and Zambia. To reach most of these, Kenya uses Uganda roads.

In 1976, when a Kenya goodwill mission was in Kampala Amin praised Kenya's "true independence" and hailed President Kenyatta as a great leader. Amin said that as long as he remained President of Uganda he would not allow anything to be done against Kenya through Uganda, and at a ceremony in which he played his accordion for his Kenya guests, he pledged that he would always heed advice from President Kenyatta, "because I trust him." He said he regarded him as his own father.

Kenya is intrigued by the way the Ugandans have handled their Asian problem because Kenya too has a similar problem of her own. And what has happened in Uganda might have repercussions in Kenya. But this is not the main purpose behind the missions. Observers believe that the missions are not unconnected with attempts to revive East Africa's traditional unity.

Other observers believe that Kenya is trying to gain a moderating influence on Amin. But is this not rather late? Yet it is worth a try. Uganda's bad name is already rubbing off on Kenya. Many people abroad do not know the difference between Uganda and East Africa!

The tourist industry to say nothing of foreign investments—in Kenya could suffer more if chaos were to develop further along her borders. Another suggestion is that Kenya is trying to break the isolation in which it could find itself as her East African neighbours—Tanzania, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia lean more to the left.

Uganda, paradoxical as that may seem, is becoming more like Tanzania, and less and less like Kenya. The convulsions that have taken place there, and General Amin's "populist" stance will undoubtedly generate mass expectations in the near future among the people. Connected with this argument is the suggestion that Kenya is stepping in to exploit the diplomatic goodwill and new commercial possibilities that General Amin's policies are

expected to create. But whatever the reasons are for the Kenya diplomatic feelers in Uganda they cannot be separated from the recent developments in Uganda; and the reasons suggested here need not be mutually exclusive.

#### Continuity

It is of course possible that there is nothing new to be read in the goodwill mission, for Kenya has always had long contacts with Uganda, contacts that are both historical and geographical. At one time Uganda's Eastern province extended as far as Naivasha according to history and today many people of the same tribes straddle the Kenya-Uganda border. During the early nationalist struggle, Kenya Africans, made contacts with the more politically free Uganda Africans particularly the Baganda, they exchange notes and made a common cause. Also during the colonial period hundreds of Kenyans, unable to find similar opportunities here, went to Uganda to have their higher education, Many leading Kenyans had their higher education in Uganda and many friendships including inter-marriages have been made across the border.

The Railway line was originally built to tap the colonialists' "pearl of Africa", Uganda and Kenya was only important to the British as a passage way to Uganda. Today Uganda's sole practical opening to the sea and the outside world is still through Kenya. Thus Kenya's link with Uganda has been a long and historical one. It was not until Obote's 1970 expulsion of thousands of Kenya workers from Uganda and rumours of anti-Kenya government guerrilla training bases in Uganda, that relations between the two countries that had always been cordial and brotherly tended to sour. General Amin initially purported to change all this since he overthrew Obote on January 25, 1971, one of the reasons he gave for the take over was the deteriorating relations between Kenya and Uganda as a result of Dr. Obote's actions.

A senior government minister was dispatched to Uganda after the coup.

This mission was followed in April of the same year by Kenya's Vice-President Daniel Arap Moi who went to Uganda as Kenya's representative at the state funeral of the Kabaka. Recent missions could be nothing but extension of the long association that exists between the two countries, although we cannot disregard a new and deeper kind of cooperation between the two countries.

#### GHANA:

## Hunger Strike

Our Reporter, Henry Atenaga

General Acheampong's Ghana has been a country on imposed 'hunger strike' for the past six years. This strike has not been a mark of protest against bitter pills handed down by another but a necessity, recognised and imposed from the top mainly to conserve the little resources Ghana has in stock. It has been an attempt at ensuring that Ghana and Ghanaian lived within their means. And for a country without oil, a country so dependent on one cash crop (cocoa) for her foreign earnings, that meant a spartan or rather honest living uncorrupted by imported luxuries and middle-class luxuries.

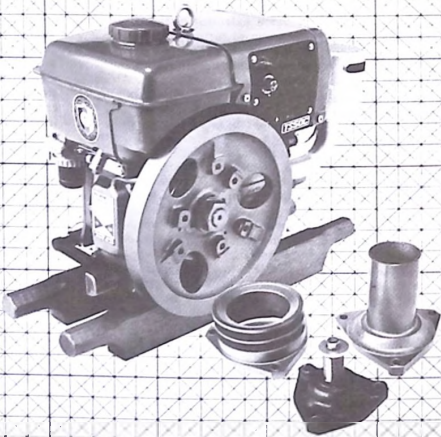
For Ghanaians, the going hadn't been easy and the growing number of illegal emigrants to neighbouring countries tends to underline the fact that more and more are finding it quite unbearable. Most of these people hardly look beyond their nose and to them the creed that Ghana's sufferings of today are blessings of tomorrow tends to hold no water. They resent tedious queuing under the scorching sun for basic necessities like soap, matches and a salt of others, sadder under the blow of the ever galloping inflation, and finally pack bag and baggage to neighbouring countries to seek the unknown which they presume is bound to be better than the Ghanaian known.

In spite of all this, Acheampong's



General Acheampong... scissors!

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Ghana is unique at least in the African setting. Apart from Sekou-Toure's Guinea and Nyerere's Tanzania (even then these are experiments in different directions), Ghana stands alone as the only African country that has come to realistic grips with her low level of resources. Compared to earlier Ghana (Nkrumah's, Afrifa's and Busia's) many bold policies of Acheampong's Ghana—like the salutary absence of prestige projects, and the emphasis on picking the threads from the grass roots (Agriculture where most African problems lie)—present a healthier alternative to Africa, much in the same way as Nkrumah tried to herald a new direction on a continental scale over a decade ago.

Just before Acheampong came to power in 1972, it was more than evident that Ghana's economic graph was plunging downwards very fast. Dr. Busia had been forced to devalue the Cedi, heightening the upward movement in prices of imported goods in a country heavily dependent on food imports. Consequently, the first step taken by Acheampong's National Redemption Council (NRC) was to reverse the devaluation and repudiate some massive debts incurred as far back as the Nkrumah era. Next it proceeded to control foreign mining and timber concerns but the precarious foreign exchange position still continued. This called for a ruthless pair of scissors to trim the economy to size and of course led to banning and/or partial prohibition of some imported commodities. Hence, the hunger strike of the past six years.

#### Self-Survival Projects

Of remarkable significance was the launching of Operation Feed Yourself and Operation Feed Your Industries programmes. Even hostile critics found themselves admitting that because of these programmes, Ghana by 1976 was self-sufficient in basic food items especially rice and maize. 100 000 tonnes of rice were produced two years ago compared to 61,000 tonnes before the programme. Fishing Corporation landed nearly 4,000 tons in the year 1976 while, because of the 'Feed Your Industries' programme, about 10 per cent of agro-based industries picked up interest in large-scale farming to produce their own raw materials. Last year, another 7,000 acres of land were cultivated under cereals, staples, oilseeds, and cash crops, and mechanised farming has become one of the most popular activities especially in Northern, Accra plains and the Volta regions. In all, between 1972 and 1977, a total of



Fruits of OFY... greater output; higher prices?

C220m had been spent on agriculture cattle ranches, crops, and fisheries.

Cocoa, however, retains its pride of place and a total of C48.5m has been spent as subsidy on its input. Compared to 1972 when producer price was a mere C8 per load, producer price last year was C40 per load—all in a bid to encourage farmers. However, this is no attempt at giving the impression that agriculture and related fields have been the only areas of concern for the Government, because the truth is, although agriculture had the greatest attention, it was by no means the only area.

In 1976, in response to the wind of indigenisation sweeping through the Black continent, the NRC introduced an Investment Policy decree which was aimed at ensuring that indigenes had control over the reins of the economy. 33 out of 36 affected companies had been bought over by Ghanaians while a host of others, like UAC, UTC, had gone public in compliance with the new decree. To guide against finance becoming a major barrier to the realisation of the aims of the decree, a trust holding company was also set up to help procure funds for indigenes intending to buy any affected business.

The National Reconstruction Corps came into being early last year. Made up of an initial labour force of 20,000 then drifting school leavers and unemployed youths, its main objective was "to undertake gainful agricultural pursuits" in farming, fishing, machine repairs, carpentry and other works generally orientated towards the idea

of dignity in the use of the hand. These youths were expected to live in farm settlements and other establishments conducive to their objective. Also in 1977, the minimum daily wage for low-income earners had to be increased from C2.70 to C4 to ameliorate the incidence of rising prices on wages.

Timber, Ghana's second single product, has since been left in the hands of the Timber Marketing Board. The Board now has monopoly over exports of logs and timber products and the right to fix export and local prices for same. It is also given the right to give directive to producers as to which percentage of their produce to export and which not to export. This policy was aimed at checking exports at the expense of local market.

#### Non-Alignment

A closer look at Acheampong's Ghana brings to the fore yet another encouraging development. Like Tanzania, Ghana in her struggle to stay above water level, has been clutching at every offered hand—right, left, centre: in fact it has been a six-year-period of enemy to none (except of course South Africa) and brother to all. So long as you can offer substantial assistance in the task of self-sufficiency, you are welcome. Only last September, a C15.5m agreement was signed with France for a water project in the South-western and Techiman districts. Seven months earlier, India undertook to provide Ghana Railways with consultancy in modern railway technology. The upper region Agricultural Development

Project is to be financed by the World Bank (\$21.5m), Britain (\$11.5m) Netherlands (\$1.5m) and Government (\$15m).

Russia, in addition to 4,000 tons of wheat and 8 tractors donated last year, is to supply \$5m equipment for Ghana's prefabricated construction industry while Ghana's joint venture with Czechoslovakia, a tannery which was abandoned in 1963, is to be reactivated. The list is endless. It includes Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, West Germany, Canada, in fact practically any developed and developing country that mattered somehow, no matter how little. ECOWAS too was not left out. Co-operation agreements on different fields have been signed with Niger, Togo, Ivory Coast and practically every neighbour.

#### Difficult Road Ahead

Despite all these, however, it would amount to nonsense, if one was to say that Ghana is problem free. In fact it is still ridden with problems both imported and created from within.

The hardest of them all remains inflation and scarcity. The price of foodstuff has gone up astronomically. While some put the inflation rate at 45 per cent others put it at 72.8 per cent. Like in Nigeria, the Prices and Income Board is powerless in the face of this hyper-inflation, which in the case of foodstuffs, stems from bad planning. The emphasis has been on Agriculture without an aligning review of the transport and communication sectors. As a result, there has been shortage of spare parts, infrastructural facilities like good roads and storage facilities. This, aggravated by high cost of farm inputs, continued to take the tool out of Acheampong's agricultural efforts.

Then we have the 'Market Mummies' and the smugglers. The mummies hoard products especially textiles driving the market to the walls because of the erosion, by an earlier Government ban on their involvement, of their former influence in the imported household goods market. Smugglers, on the other hand, now deal in anything, from Cedi to Cocoa. At the rate of C35 for 3,000 CFA francs instead of C5 they smuggle Cedi across the border to Togo. Although in November last year, Togolese authorities promised custom's control to check this trade, prescribing up to 5 years in jail for anybody caught, it is doubtful if Ghana's black market problem will be easily solved.

Coupled with these is the ugly head

of corruption even in high places. In late 1975 some top government officials were implicated by the Appiah Committee on R.T. Briscoe. After news of government take over of the company for illegal transfer of money and other malpractices, Ghanaians heard of the sudden retirement of two top members of the NRC—Air Force chief, Charles Beansoleu and chief of Defence Staff Lawrence Okai. This was few months after their promotion and till today the government is still silent over the real causes of their retirement.

Then of course, we have the downward movement in the price of cocoa.

#### ZAMBIA:

## Wisdom of Austerity

Arthur Madueke

In 1973 President Kaunda of Zambia, in an interview with Afriscope mentioned some measures which would see Zambia break the circle of a mono-economy. He pointed out that in 1972, the crop of maize reached a target of seven million bags, which was the expected return for 1976 in the 2nd National Development Plan. This healthy agricultural situation had led to self-sufficiency in the production of maize and even gave rise to some export surplus. Birds and eggs which prior to 1972 were for local consumption only, now had export potentials.

#### Diversification

In order to revolutionise and make it profitable, ranching on commercial purposes was being sold to the local farmers through indoctrination and practical demonstrations. Social value which hitherto was that the more cattle a farmer had the richer he was deemed, was being attacked from the grass roots. Farmers were advised to

As of now, this movement is gradual in the mix of Ghana's falling volume of production but should the International Cocoa Organisation's surplus forecast come true, faster price drops are around the corner. This is one of the prices Ghana has to pay for her over dependency on world market trends.

By and large, however, Acheampong's headaches, will emerge from an allied route—the political arena. Even if the balance swings adversely against him, history will remember him for his bold attempt to avoid the gallery and tackle Ghana's problems with unyielding realism.

keep in their possession only the minimum number of cattle for their consumption and domestic purposes. The excess was to be sold and the realizations re-ploughed in other agricultural or economic ventures.

In the industrial sector the government planned to diversify and increase the scope of mineral prospecting other than copper. An integrated Iron and Steel complex was planned to start full operation by 1975. The iron ore for the process was to come from Zambia. Other primary industrial activity which caught the attention of the authorities was the textile concern which started operation with locally grown cotton. These efforts were geared towards the break-up of the strangle hold which copper had as a major foreign exchange earner. These measures appear not to have solved the problem peculiar to a mono-economy.

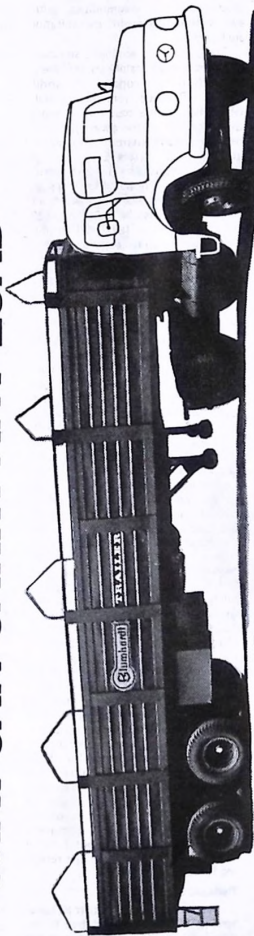
Zambians, recently have been called upon by their President to change their nutritional habits and to focus attention on the locally produced foodstuffs. It seems that there has been a drift towards the imported food materials, more as a sign of social elevation by the citizenry than the nutritional values to be derived, although there is a speculation that the subsidization of imported food items was a deliberate government effort to contain, like in all problem ridden developing nations, the increasing population, that does not balance with the mathematical ratio of fertile land to food production.

This situation has now changed. Government expenditure on imported food has been stopped, with a resultant side effect of panic-buying by consumers, in a bid to forestall the inevitable



Austerity man... Kenneth Kaunda

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scarcity that is bound to take place in the very near future. Predictably the sellers of these commodities, with eyes at immediate profit maximisation are hoarding.

The precarious economic situation was precipitated mainly by the sharp fall in the price of copper in the world market. Revenue from this mineral, which had in the past funded more than one half of the government expenditure had fallen from £240 million in 1974 to a meagre £8 million in 1976. Expenditure by the government had been lopsided and on the increase. Recurrent expenditure increased from 212.7 million Kwacha in 1967 to 633 million Kwacha in 1977. Within this same period capital expenditure had only risen by 40 million Kwacha.

In a bid to remedy the adverse situation, the Finance Minister, who is the chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee outlined some measures that will help check the drifting of the economy. The committee recommended that the quality of copper produced by Zambia for export, be drastically reduced as additional production can only accrue more aggregate revenue in the short run and definitely lead in the long run to a negative movement of the price mechanism. The increase in production he argued could only at the very best lead to the maintenance of the ruling price which will safeguard the jobs of the miners and their subsidiaries. In the long run the glut created as a result of increased production will serve to change the demand function, making it impossible to still sell a certain quantity at prices ruling previously. He supposed that with the reduction in quantity exported, the world market price will be affected so much as to exert a pull in the upward direction, leading to a price increase. Observers are of the opinion that Zambia has no monopolistic control of copper and that any reduction in price will have only, that if it does, an infinitesimal impact. It was envisaged that the cut in production will result in a substantial lay off of miners and to make sure that active labour did not idle away, it was suggested that those dislocated should be redeployed in other sectors of the economy. Coercion as an instrument in the reallocation was put forward as geographical inertia is a major retarding force to human migration.

#### Reduced Subsidization

The recommendation that all social services hitherto provided free to the populace, should be paid for, is not expected to be adopted by the govern-

ment without any opposition. Zambia has always maintained that here is a socialist or humanistic society and any implementation of this recommendation would amount to the abrogation of one of its constitutional cornerstones.

As a mitigant to the already bleak outlook the committee strongly advocated the immediate set up of an agriculturally oriented development plan, in addition to the encouragement of foreign investors. Quasi and state owned agencies and corporations are to be streamlined and be made to function more efficiently.

But President Kaunda, in his address to the first session of UNIT National Council Meeting appeared to be optimistic that economic recovery will start by the mid months of this year, although he recognised that there will be much girding of the belt by everyone. To him the Zambian economy has passed through its "worse hour of the dark trail." How much this optimism will last depends very much on future economic indicators. Such optimism ought to be observed very carefully as economic parameters which are not solely in ones control cannot be predicted. Kaunda can either be very serious or perhaps he is handing out consolations to his beleaguered countrymen.

Experience in black Africa has shown that development plans based on the acquisition of foreign grants and loans do not most of the time set off or even materialise. Zambia may be the lucky exception to this stagnation. If that happens Kaunda's call to foreign investors might yet reach fruition. Economies undergoing periods of recession have always been a taboo to economic investors; not to mention foreign investors, whose primary motive is profit maximization in the shortest possible time, rather than patriotism.

Zambia, this beleaguered, landlocked nation, deserves every sympathy and help. Her troubles have never been primarily of her own making. Natural factors are contributory factors and are gradually laying a strangle hold on this largely wind-swept savannah nation. The Tan-Zam railway line is very costly; the track through Angola is yet to be opened; road transportation through Kenya cannot be afforded and the cheap line through Zimbabwe is not being used for obvious reasons. Access to the sea, energetic diversification of the economy, and radical change of consumption habits hold the key to bright prospects of solving Zambia's economic problems.



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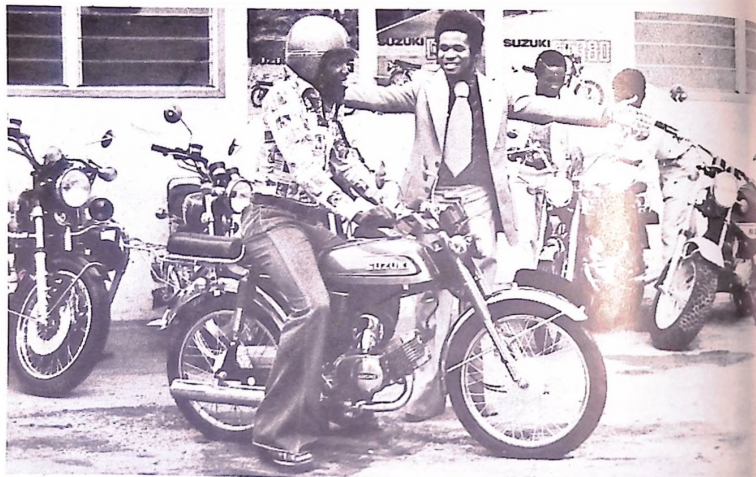


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### THE ARTIST IN AFRICA:

# Dilemma of Development

#### \*Lindsay Barrett

In most of the major independent nations of Africa within the last fifteen years the creative artist has either willingly or unwittingly been one of the major sources of political and social identity in the development of new national consciousness. Because of this role as the exponent of cultural form at precisely the time when these nations are in search of a broad image of their identity and reality which can serve as a basis for political identity and ideological style, the artist has often found himself confronting the fallacies and the illusions of the politicians as often as he has also been called upon to express the core of national development in possible terms. In most African communities the idea of art as the central force, the 'creative principle' governing the nature of social intercourse, is an old one. But at the same time the tales created by the individuals or groups responsible for establishing mythological unity within the community were not usually individualistic creations as such. They were based on well-defined cosmological beliefs and principles which were more often than not first defined and refined through the crucible of religious and sociological attitudes entrenched in the communal mind. The sculptors, musicians, etc. were seen not as creators of artifacts, or entertaining units, but rather they were generally accepted as representatives of ancestral truths.

#### Contemporary versus Communal Influence

In Africa today this modern artist, the living creator, is often faced with a dilemma that stems directly from the

communal perception of his role both in historical terms, as the representative of spiritual experience, and in contemporary terms as the delineator of the common identity. Very often the source of a writer's or painter's or musician's experience is contemporary political action. No artist, least of all those who seek to commune actively with the spiritual tone of existence in terms that can enhance human perception of the purpose of life, can ever totally ignore the nature of social existence in the community around him. The real meaning of universality is in fact the nature of the continuing quest that the true artist embarks upon each time he takes up his pen, brush, chisel or instrument, and it is through interpretation of the ordinary in terms of the extra-ordinary that he can draw the viewer or reader or listener totally into his world and so influence that person's perception of those things that seem normal and ordinary to him.



Mariam Makeda . . . the queen.

In Africa today the level of direct infrastructural debility that pervades the economic state of things tends to render pure creative perception seemingly unnecessary. In many cases mediocrity rules the taste and the style of the artistic perception of the elite group that rules these nations and they are not inclined to be receptive to the peculiarities of artistic perception but seek instead to see and hear those formal and imitative aspects of creativity that will serve to reinforce their own preconceptions rather than suggest alternative visionary moods and attitudes.

The real dilemma of the African artist lay in the desperate choice that is thrust upon him between the fulfilment of his ancestral role as the repository of ancient symbolic truth, and his new role as the critical observer of the methods and principles of building new nations. It is not a choice that can always be made consciously. It is not a choice that can be controlled by the promulgation of decrees or the establishment of national cultural policy objectives. As one of the major links in the cultural continuity of African existence the artist must preserve particular principles in his work and yet be open to new forms, new ideas, and new directions. In Africa today this duality of purpose and need can lead to near schizophrenia in the output of some creative people. There are artists in Africa who having started their productive lives with high-sounding dreams of forging a new world and vision through their work, have been coerced over the years either into silence (and they end up propping up a desk in some obscure office somewhere



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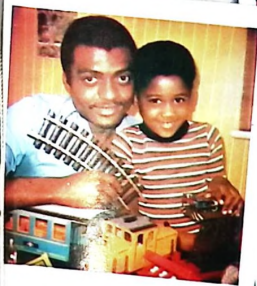
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Kole Omatosa and Abbie Gubenga. . .New Cups?

supposedly formulating objectives for newer artists to follow), or they end up churning out formulaised plays and paintings that serve the propaganda purposes of their various Governments and do not attempt to continue to shake the complacency of the elite, but rather seek to gain constant approval.

It is important that the tradition of constant re-evaluation of the spiritual essence of life within the context of the social and political form of contemporary existence should remain the core of the African artist's vision. Today, it is unfortunate that in most African countries any attempt to consciously cultivate this approach to artistic output can quickly lead artists into a negative confrontation with the establishment. Over the last ten years the truth of this has been only too visible. Probably the best known and the latest example of the confrontation between the artist and the establishment has culminated in the detention of Kenya's premier novelist Ngugi 'wa Thiongo as a result of opinions expressed in a play in Kikuyu which used as its source of expression contemporary political situations and views. The detention of Wole Soyinka during the Nigerian Civil War as well as the constant harassment of the musician Fela Anikulapo Kuti have been evidences much closer to home, and the question that these problems raise is really whether the artist's held views can be or should be separated from his creative value system. When Kofi Awoonor was held in Ghana, ostensibly for aiding a "coup plotter" on the run it was generally held that there were no questions of aesthetic attitudes or values at stake there. But as the case developed it became clear that in fact Awoonor felt that he had acted in concert with his spiritual principles

which have for years been an integral quality in his work, and which he has made into a central theme in his great novel *This Earth, My Brother*. He did not seek to divorce his defence from his statements of principles and did not seek to excuse himself from the burden to act. It is just possible that the acquittal which he won reflected the Government's confusion more than any particular conviction or conversion on their part concerning his 'innocence'.

At this point in the political growth of Africa the role of the artist should not continue to be a source of dissent or conflict. It is imperative that the cultural development and expression should serve as a catalyst for the harmonisation of the spiritual forces with the reality of social existence. The artist should not be considered a privileged being, but at the same time the peculiar demands of the visionary nature of his work should be accommodated by society. Unfortunately in the last decade it seems that a major trend away from this ideal has set in in the relationship between political leadership in many African countries and artistic values. Some of the finest writers, painters, and musicians of Africa have felt forced to live outside of their mother nations and in many cases have chosen total exile outside of Africa but their works have shown no equivalent divorce from the most profound cultural and social concerns of the continent. Apart from Ngugi whose consistent populist sensibility has probably been his most valuable contribution to the form and themes of African literature the Guinean writer Camara Laye was probably the most idealistic and romantic of the African authors who made it a prerequisite of his artistic life that he should live and work from the source of his imaginings. He made it an imperative ideal and

returned deliberately from Paris after his enormous success with both his early books, first to live in Ghana and later in his homeland. But after about five years he became more and more disillusioned by the difference that he perceived between the ideals of political leadership and the real quality of life and condition of existence in Guinea. His agonising exposition of this public dilemma in the novel-memoir "DRA MOUSSA: A DREAM OF AFRICA" was the first herald of his disillusionment and began the chronicle of his very definite break with the leadership of Guinea.

#### Old Wine in New Cups

It is unfortunate that in many cases the most vital relationships between Government and the most self-confident artists in African societies are usually defined by the differences between them. But if we examine the development of post-colonial African society from the point of view of the new forces unleashed by the introduction of Western education and foreign ideas of cultural expression we will better understand just why this relationship was inevitable. Such art forms as the fine art painting, the novel, the play and modern musical compositions are formal symbols of a new age in Africa. To a large extent they are not, however, impositions on the historical tradition of the African communities, but extensions of a continuous tradition and developments that express new attitudes to old truths. To the politician whose stock in trade is communication these forms are either allies or threats. The fact that the artist is the ultimate communicator renders him also a public figure by nature of his work just as the politician is and thus renders him a rival for the public's attention and also a potential referee for public evaluation of the worth, the necessity, and (not least) the honesty of political programmes. The artist's confidence and independence defines the nature of his work's relationship to the direction and policy of national leadership. Here in Nigeria the over-publicised case of Government reaction to the utterances and music of Fela Anikulapo Kuti, or the satirical plays, and the accompanying pronouncements of Wole Soyinka are well defined examples of the confrontation that inevitably arises between art and politics in a nation where Government is particularly sensitive about its credibility precisely because its development record and progress is basically a matter of public conjecture.

One of the major factors in the

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definition of the role of the artist in Africa is the concept of public accountability and economic usefulness. Because of the state of national development in the young nations of Africa the idea that all public actions should contribute effectively to the economic well-being of the community has gained prominence and as an adjunct to that idea the belief that public finance should show direct profitability has gained great currency. The constant and recurrent criticism of Nigeria's expenditure for FESTAC revealed the extent to which the rejection of creative expression as a valid area for the expenditure of public funds had entered the political rhetoric of the public. Some of the most prominent leaders and political aspirants in the nation and elsewhere in Africa were extremely vocal in stating their opposition to the level of expenditure that FESTAC generated, and they gave as their main reason the belief that the end result would not reflect in the material development of the life of the common man in Africa. But it is this attitude that reveals the major source of conflict and the disastrous predilection towards mediocrity, greed, and anti-aesthetic philistinism that threatens to militate against the vital and harmonious development of the artistic community in Africa as a full partner in development with other arms of social growth. The Garvey dictum that a people without culture are a people without hope has been given too many trite and self-serving interpretations over the years since independence and one of the major problems that the dedicated artist faces in African society today is the inability of much of the leadership or even the commonality to tolerate the freedom of expression and the necessity for experimentation that must be enjoyed if the artist is to maintain his vitality and integrity in all he does.

Very often the African artist is forced to walk a tightrope between the values of the community and the dictates of his soul. To the common run of political leadership cultural expression means often nothing more than decorative and stylised trimmings for propaganda forms that can enhance their image as the saviours of the people. But the demanding nature of real aesthetic appreciation eludes their sensibilities and their personal priorities. As a result the African artist is often cast in the role of the poor relation in the formulation of development plans and policies, and this not only in terms of the size of the votes

granted for artistic development but also in terms of the methods of supervision and dispensation of funds and materials for artists. Very often those bodies set up to administrate cultural policies are even more bureaucratic in tone than other institutions because there is the preconception often expressed by civil servants and political leaders that artists are financially irresponsible and not conscious of economic priorities. This myth has perpetuated itself as a matter of convenience in many African nations, and the result is that the administrators of cultural policies are very often totally out of touch with and unsympathetic to the values and problems of the artist. This kind of dichotomy has affected the growth of the arts in Africa and the fact that many of the most vitally innovative African artists still find exile to be the most conducive state in which to fulfil their creative tasks can very largely be attributed to this anomaly.

#### Patronage and Stereotypes

Subsidisation of the arts in Africa, by either official or private patronage, is often tied to specific returns. The no-strings-attached ideal is often considered either untenable or stupid. On the other hand the returns sought by patrons in terms of controlled commissions from writers and other artists often tend to stunt the free rein of imaginative development. We find that official agencies insist that artists should paint or write about preconceived themes in preconceived styles. This practice has become so all pervading that very often the young artist is forced into a stereotype before he has even really developed an individual principle. The upshot is that those who insist on developing themes and styles outside of the mainstream are either denied the benefits of subsidy or they turn to other pursuits to enable them to pursue their vocation as a hobby rather than as a profession. This syndrome has largely affected the artists who try to work in the modern media such as cinema and television. The constraints of expense and availability of equipment force them to work through patrons but where the patrons refuse them the measure of freedom that is necessary for the total liberation of their artistic sensibility they find it virtually impossible to pursue their highly technical and expensive art forms. This problem might form the basis of the long delay that has marked and continues to mark the development of modern African cinema, and the cloying stubborn

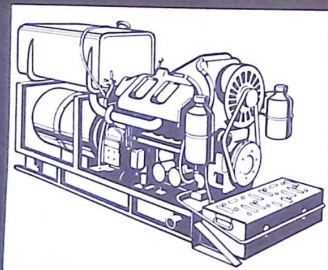
mediocrity of television creativity. Nevertheless this is not the only cause. The level of creative experience in the educational system of many African countries must be blamed for much of the desperate failure of the artist in Africa to more effectively influence the general imagery and style of modern existence in his society.

In recent years graduates from Nigerian fine-art courses have shown that they are more oriented towards the perpetuation of existent graphic form and often understand less now about the real influence of indigenous African form on world style in art than many of their forerunners. Proof of this will be found in any serious attempt to check up on how many of them are responsible for the trite and imitative graphic work that appears in local ads and how many do attempt any private artistic work based on internally generated visions nowadays. The trend away from creative experimentation in this field is alarming, for it is indicative of a deadening of the principle of artistic adventurism which must inform the truly vital creativity of the community if art is to play its true role as the harbinger of social progress and political identity. The trend is still partly alive in the literary world here in Nigeria and the existence of a small but extremely active and prolific group of writers and critics based in Universities such as Ibadan and Ife indicate the possibility of a resurgence of the great literary renaissance of the fifties and sixties that gave rise to Clark, Okigbo, Soyinka, Achebe, Ekwensi et al. The most prominent of the new names should include Omotoso, Jeyifous, and Osofisan, whose satire *Kolera Kolej* touches lightly but tellingly on the dilemma of the crisis of a community in which philistinism is in the ascendancy and so spiritual honesty (the fuel of the true artist) is of necessity dampened and in fact totally negated in the end. It is interesting that Osofisan used the symbolic character the Poet, to portray this negation of creative reality or justification in his book. In some ways the artist in Africa is beginning to explore the more profound aspects of self-criticism.

It is, of course, the inherent critical purity of great art that is its most threatening quality as far as the establishment is concerned. African writers such as Ayi Kwei Armah of Ghana (who lives in Tanzania) and Daniachew Worku of Ethiopia who wrote the powerful and prophetic *The Thirteen Sun*, have raised this quality to the level of a true aesthetic value with

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peculiar implications for the artistic observance of African realities. Prior to them Sembene Ousmane of Senegal had consistently shown both in his novels such as *God's Little Bits of Wood and Xala*, and his films that the critical view is always valid and provides the source for powerful creative evaluation of social realities. But it is the absence of consistent and broad critical evaluations of the artistic works themselves that most threatens the quality and consistency of really creative artistic development in Africa today. The best critics seem often to go silent or to retreat to the rarefied atmosphere of the campus and turn their talents and perceptions to academic and tutorial pursuits rather than to fresh critical evaluations of contemporary significance. In the media (and especially in Nigerian newspapers), sometimes total ignorance of the real currents of creative spirit and development is what the popular critics show in their work rather than even a rudimentary modicum of responsible evaluation. This syndrome which is an offshoot of creeping amateurism in the arts is probably the most destructive single factor responsible for the syndrome of non-collective response to contemporary issues that marks the breakdown of creative development in urban communities in Africa. In the last decade there has been no real constructive response by any particular group in the form of a school or literature or style of plastic arts or new mode of music that can be said to accurately reflect the turmoil of African development in the first post-colonial period. At the time of independence and just prior to the era of freedom, literature and art and music were highly visible arms of the anti-colonial struggle, if only because the very act of creation flew in the face of the fallacies and misconceptions that propped up the colonial regimes. The nature of subtle and not subtle suppression of individualistic creativity in today's Africa has however changed the collective outlook of the artistic scene and it is only real critical evaluation in the public media that can delineate the trends and principles and place them in perspective for the world to understand. If this remains missing then the trend to private exile will continue, spiritually and physically.

#### Future Guidelines

From the above one may get the feeling that all is bleak and hopeless on the art scene in Africa. This would be misleading.

The constant militancy of the writers  
*Continued on Page 44*

#### COLLAPSE OF EAC:

# The Role of Imperialism

Ngila Mwase, Dar-Es-Salaam

Many of the problems that faced the East African Community have been attributed to ideological differences between the Partner States. This must be qualified; for there are basically only two ideologies confronting each other; the Marxist-Leninist proletarian Socialist ideology and the imperialist's capitalist ideology (the monopolist's ideology). If one were to ignore the vacillating "middle-readers", one could dismiss all the talk about ideological differences or reduce them to differences in individual orientation of the leaders. But that would be an oversimplification. Neither Tanzania nor Uganda accepts Marxism-Leninism. Kenya shows in words and deeds that it is against it.

Does Tanzania fall under a national social democratic revolution? Much qualitative changes in the direction of "a transition to socialism has been made here, but the structure of the economy is yet to be radically changed. Thus there seems to be no fundamentally major ideological differences between the partner states—all could be described as neo-colonies at differential levels of "the awakening" (i.e. adoption of the liberation ideology). Had this differential "liberation" reached a very high level i.e. if Tanzania for example had followed a proletarian ideology, the Common Market would long have gone. The inference I am making here is that Tanzanian socialism (and thus its disunity effect on this capitalist-nursed Common Market) might be exaggerated.

Tanzania's attempts at disengaging from international finance capital had not gone far enough to cause major cracks in this "integrated/capitalist (Common)Market. Indeed one can go as far as drawing an analogy from the co-existence of UK under Labour (which baptizes itself a "socialist" Party) and the reactionary French Gaullists in the European Economic Community (EEC), made possible by the fact that both economies are (essentially) capitalists. With complete "disengagement" we could still have trade with the UK and USA (through trade Agreements) but this would not be on the basis of the integration. But East Africa's external economic

relations clearly show that they are not socialist; the socialist countries for example, do not (except Poland which is a special case) participate in the World Bank (disguised as "International Bank for Reconstruction and Development" but in reality the siphon of exploitation) which so greatly influences our policies.

#### Imperialism

We must grasp imperialism's inter-relationships globally, reflected in particular through the activities of giant multinational corporations MNCs. The UNO "Committee of 20" appointed to study the role of MNCs, in its report, 1 it called on them to try to plan their strategies in accordance with the national plans of the 'host' countries and obey a code of conduct. That such a plea was made indicates the hardness of trying to stop the MNCs' adverse penetration of LDCs economies. One can appreciate the need to go deeper in our analysis than superficial conclusions at the level of phenomena.

In analyzing the plight of (integrating) LDCs arising from relations with the Metropoles, both Prebisch<sup>2</sup> and Hirschman<sup>3</sup> have given the picture of the polarization between the two camps. Myrdal<sup>4</sup> in his circular causation theory revolves around Lenin's<sup>5</sup> theory of uneven development and explains "backwash effects" and "spread effects". But often its not clear where "backwash effects" ends and where "spread effects" start. Viner's<sup>6</sup> treatment of trade creation and trade diversion, harbours the danger of seeing the partner states as independent economic units, rather than as outposts for a particular type of production pattern; designed for it by tools of foreign domination and exploitation. With specific reference to East Africa, we have to go deeper than Philip Ndungwa.

The World Bank for example, when it gives loans to develop tea and tobacco complexes in Tanzania, knows that the Metropoles will benefit through unequal exchange for we cannot exchange tobacco with Kenyan coffee but with industrial products. Before securing a World Bank loan for example, the E.A. Railways Corporation had



Captain's of the grounded boat... Big Daddy Amin; Kenya's Kenyatta and President Nyerere.

to show the coffee, tobacco, groundnuts, sisal etc. which railway wagons could carry enroute for the Metropoles to get a particular (reserve) currency to repay IBRD loans. All these interlocking relationships strengthened the production of certain types of goods desired by the Metropoles.

#### Lack of Coordination

Lack of coordinated East African development plans and lack of public (investment) corporations in all the partner states were often cited as weaknesses in the EAC system. This is true. But we have to go deeper than that: there is not a single item in the plans that is not related to finance; unfortunately even the share from "internal" sources is outward-oriented, at least in the sense that our currencies are backed by the IMF's Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) or USA dollars—ours are "sub-currencies" they become stronger or weaker within the system. It is said that if Kenya had the equivalent of Tanzania's NDC (or Uganda's UDC) it would be easier to coordinate industrial development plans of the three states.

While this would be a snail's step forward, the capitalist-orientation of such public owned corporations with capitalist management agreements and consultancy services embodying new forms of exploitation should not be under-estimated.<sup>7</sup> Seen in this regard we cannot exactly categorize a product as an export of Tanzania or to be more precise, of the Tanzanian people, for its production might not have been determined by the Tanzanian people themselves, her industrial development is a function of developed countries political and economic power and influence. Furthermore, trade with the "centres" has to be seen from the point of view of production relations. A "Centre-Periphery" over-emphasis in the analysis of terms of trade for example can give a false picture that

the real problem is prices. Centre-Periphery ideology tends to show that imperialism is essentially a centre-Periphery phenomena. It is true the former relies on the latter, but the underdevelopment of the periphery is principally a result of the centre. Imperialism is more than the exploitation of the ex-colonies, by the "mother country" It is because of imperialism which has no ratio or geographical boundaries that when it managed to exploit, it did so even in Europe itself, (the underdevelopment of Southern Italy, Portugal and Spain—even at the level of 'economic growth' is partly a result of this exploitation).

#### Milk Cow

Thus East Africa as a whole is a "milk cow" of the imperialists. Indeed the relation is not the partner states as countries and the Metropoles, but the principle contradiction is that between the East African workers and peasants and the imperialism. Indeed one could start the analysis by looking at the unequal distribution of benefits among the different classes in East Africa.

An approach which looks at the unequal reaping of benefits among the partner states alone does not tell the whole story whilst imperialism dominates the whole region. Many Common Markets have not succeeded because of continued siphoning of whatever profits are realized. An approach that limits itself and concentrates on the "middleman" who "gains" on behalf of the "Master" is unsatisfactory and can hinder a conceptualization of how imperialism plunders. It could be argued that if the surplus was not siphoned off to the metropoles through Kenya, which is said to "gain" more, it could as well be siphoned albeit in reduced proportions through Tanzania or Uganda, even were it equally shared among the Partner-states.

Imperialism in its multilateral nature operates as one—with a global investment system based not on the profitability of one unit, but the profitability of a multinational corporation or on a whole world basis. Thus, essentially Kenya or East Africa for that matter should not be looked at as a separate unit, (though imperialism in its plunder selects certain central countries like cities e.g. Nairobi) which are easier to exploit—in this case Nairobi (as Kenya had among others a large colonial population to man the land and use it as a base for intensification of the whole region). The imperialists, bent on camouflage their exploitation are eager to show that one partner state gains at the expense of the other(s); and desperate to convince the exploited peasants and workers that exploitation is alien there—inherent in human nature. Indeed it is imperialism which makes these kind of problems appear paramount; and as the partner states start fighting among themselves they forget the real enemy—imperialism and its agents in the periphery.

#### Footnotes:

- 1 Reports on the Commission on Transnational Corporations, Development Forum, UNO, May 1975.
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- 7 Ndongwa, Philip: The Common Market and Development in East Africa E.A.F.I. Nairobi, 1968.

\*Ngila Mwase is on the staff of the Economic Research Bureau at the University of Dar es Salaam, TANZANIA.



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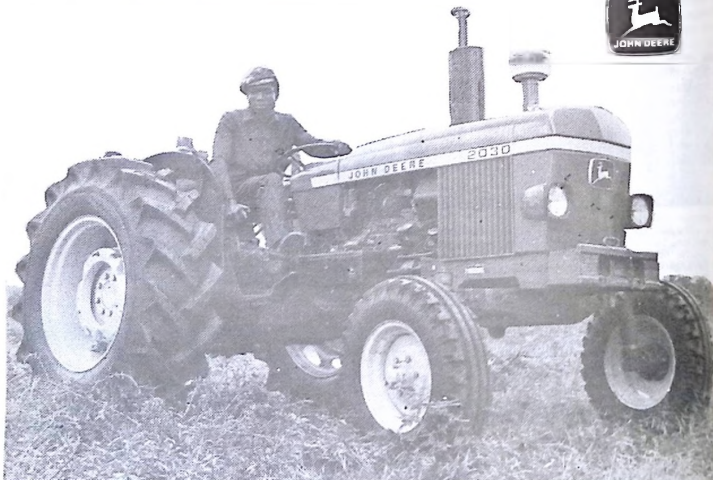
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## Book Reviews

Michael P. Todaro: **ECONOMICS FOR A DEVELOPING WORLD**: Longman Group Limited, London 1977. 409 pp.

Reviewer: **Adeyemo Aderinto**, University of Lagos, Nigeria.

At long last perhaps the single most perceptive and useable book on the Economies of the Third World is readily available. In its published format, it is infinitely more convenient for planners and policy-makers, teachers and students. Professor Todaro has written what will for a long time be standard book on the economies of the Third World. But he has done much more, he has contributed substantially to the growing literature on developing economies. It is an important book. Anyone interested in the process of economic change in the Third World should read this book with care unless he is willing to miss one of the best works published in the field. For all economists, especially those interested in varied aspects of the problems of economic development in the Third World, this book can be neglected at the cost of foregoing the pleasure of an uncommonly substantial intellectual stimulation challenge and provocation.

Since it is not possible to do justice to all the theoretical and methodical innovation and insight contained in the book, let me spell out in wide strokes what I believe the author has done. The following summary should be taken as the equivalent of a rough plot outline rather than a detailed literary appraisal. For a stimulating work such as this there certainly will be many reactions in the category of literary criticism by specialists of several fields encompassed by this book.

The book itself contains 25 chapters 50 figures and 70 Tables. The author's words, the book is intended primarily as "a comprehensive Introductory Economics Text for first year economics students at universities throughout Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East". The author organized the book into four parts. Part one focus on the nature and meaning of underdevelopment and its manifestations in different Third World Nations. It examines selected economic principles and concepts which appear to the author to be particularly relevant to an understanding of the problems of international development. Part Two and Three form the core of the book: Part Two

focuses on major domestic development and policies, while part Three discusses the place of the Third World Nations on the international economy. Topics analysed include economic growth, poverty and income distribution, population, unemployment, migration, agriculture and rural development, education, international trade etc.

On the question of inequality, the basic economic argument justifying income inequalities was the assumption that high personal and corporate incomes were necessary conditions of savings which made possible investment and economic growth through a mechanism such as the Harrod-Domar model.

If the rich save and invest a significant proportions of their income while the poor spend all their income on consumption goods, then apparently an economy characterised by highly unequal distribution of income would save more and grow faster than one with a more equal distribution of income. But unfortunately experience of the underdevelopment countries bear witness to the fact that unlike the historical experience of the now developed countries, the rich in contemporary third world countries are not noted for their frugality nor for their desire to save and invest substantial proportions of their income in the local economy. Indeed, landlords businessmen politicians and other rich elites are known to squander much of their ill-gotten wealth on imported luxuries, expensive houses, foreign travels and investment in foreign banking accounts. Such savings and investment do not add to the nations productive resources. In fact they represent substantial drains on these resources. Thus a growth strategy based on income inequalities is nothing more than a system designed to perpetuate the vested interest of the political and economic interest at the expense of the great majority of the general population. This section Todaro admirably brought into play his widely acclaimed familiarity with situation in the third world countries. His vivid description of misplaced priority in consumption and investment expenditure can be said to characterize each of the Third World Countries. Finally, part four reviews the possibilities and prospects for the third world development. After discussing the Theory and practice of development planning and the role and limitation of public economic policy, it analyses the evolving Third World economic order. The impact of the recent energy, food and fertilizer crises on the economy of the

developing nations is closely examined and the growing Third World demand for a "New International Economic Order" in the context of greater collective self-reliance are reviewed and analysed.

With this shifting world economic situation, the names and numbers of players as well as the rules of the international economic power game have changed rapidly. The Third World Nations will undoubtedly have a much greater impact on the future functioning and status of the world economy. The newly discovered resource and raw material bargaining potential of the Third World nations may turn out to be the lever that has long been needed to make the more developed countries realise that the economic future of both group of nations are intimately linked.

### Some Pitfalls

Having said so much by way of attribute to Todaro's book, I wish to add that the book suffers from a number of drawbacks. First there is an omission which limits the usefulness of the book for the general reader and for the economists who have not already done much work on African problems. The third world consists of a large and varied group of countries. While Todaro succeeds almost always in keeping the forest in view the reader may want to look at specific trees, because they differ in so many important details. No one manageable volume could offer such coverage and Todaro rightly does not attempt it. With his broad knowledge of the regions, he should have provided better bibliographical guidance into the extensive literature on particular countries and particular problems of policies. A bibliography of sources classified by countries and by issues or policy problems would give the interested audience guidance for further reading in more depth.

The purpose of Todaro's books was to prepare a "Comprehensive Introductory Economics Text for widespread use in the developing nations". To this end the book would detract what Todaro called "Western Introductory Texts". According to him these so-called international student editions of the Western Introductory Texts, have limited relevance to developing nations because the institutional assumptions and theoretical models put forward in these texts often bear little resemblance to the structure and economic realities of the developing world. I agree with Todaro on these observations, but in attempting to be down-to-earth relevant, Todaro has

attempted too much. In his attempt to fess theories with practices and to relate these to the developing worlds, he has himself committed the offence he criticised in the Western Introductory Text. He has made common and identical Institutional assumptions for the whole of the third World. It is worth emphasising that the Third World is extremely diverse and that generalization are necessarily statement of central tendency about statistical population with large variances. Any one who is familiar with one country or region of Africa for example will find himself thinking of exceptions to the generalization.

Part Four of the book is the least well-written. The discussions here are extremely sketchy, repetitive and uninformative. The title of the Section "Possibilities and Prospects" carries the impression that something like "prescription" or recommendations will emerge from Todaro's massive work. But rather than that, one finds Todaro repeating some observations he already made earlier—multinational corporations, Education and Health (pp 394-395). His discussion about the Energy and the World Economic order is so general that one has the feeling that all the Third World Countries are energy surplus. Similarly in discussing prospect of the third world, one expect a book like this to devote some space to the emerging solidarity among the third world in terms of regional groupings and cooperation. Todaro ignored this or he considered it important. In my mind, this book is more successful in its description of past development than its prescriptions for the future. The book contains a wealth of interesting and provocative materials exploring the ways the Third World has developed in the past. It is however lacking in basic prescription. For those of us who live within the Third World, the characterizations of our "development" problems made by Todaro are of little help, what is needed is honest suggestions of how to overcome these "Development" hurdles. This Todaro has failed to do.

However, these drawbacks apart, the author handled a very difficult subject rather very well and with considerable clarity. From his extensive experience he presents in this text an up-to-date discussion on the vast, diffused and often controversial literature on the subject of economic development in the third world. The book should be welcome by students and general readers as a useful addition to the literature on third world development.

# Seminar on Manufacturing

## By Our Correspondent

One thing is now very clear. 1977, which was declared by Nigeria's Head of State General Obasanjo as the year of 'Industry and Agriculture' ended up being the year that turned the hands of the Manufacturing Clock backwards. Yet before then, this sector was not worth singing about and the sum total of the year's events was to worsen a hopeless situation.

Understandably, at the start of the financial year (April 1st '77); the General had cause to see in the future a new path for Manufacturing industries; after all he had just announced budget concessions aimed at increasing companies' chances of survival in the face of competition especially from the international scene. Duties on imported goods—garments, shirts; suits and fabrics—were all increased while raw materials like Carbon black, synthetic rubber and barley, had theirs reduced to encouraging minima. Backed by these concessions, the General made bold to wish that "manufacturers will reflect these concessions in vastly expanded production and lower prices." In addition; beer bottles; Cars (over 2,500cc) galvanised buckets; laces and carbon papers among others either had bans imposed on them or their duties increased many-fold.

That was last year and the government that promised to "closely watch" how well this sector utilised its new opportunities found, seven months later, the 'much talked about' privileges discoloured from another sector—infrastructure.

## No Basic Services

The National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) started to ration electricity

towards the end of the year just one month into the second half of the fiscal year. The shortage was nationwide, all because water level at Kaindi dam (Nigeria's main power station) dropped below normal. Although the cause still remains unknown to those outside NEPA; it's effect has been immediate and dangerous. At least so agreed participants at a recent Annual General Meeting of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria.

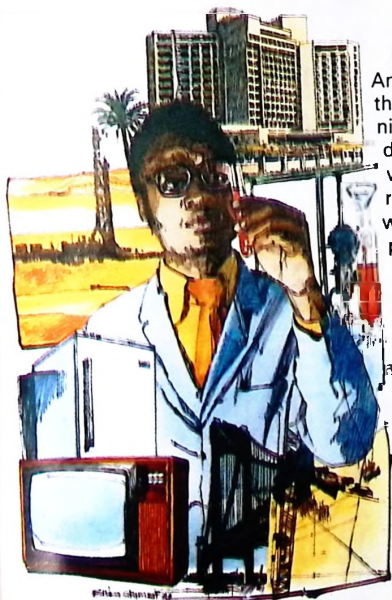
Speaking at the occasion, the Association's President, Chief T.A. Oduola of Oduola Industries said: "the most powerful check on investment is the climate of uncertainty generated by the institutional gaps experienced in implementing the commercial and trade regulations spelt out in some of our decrees, and variable and inadequate supplies of such basic services as electricity and water." Enumerating further on the power supply angle he added: "Machine in our factories suffer damage as a result of voltage fluctuations. Workers forced to be idle during working hours because of lack of power are paid for work not done. Production elements are not only under-utilised but also expensive to maintain."

From NEPA, the search for constraints to the development of the Manufacturing sector spread to practically all government monopolies. Professor Akinkugbe of the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank, after survey of the United States system declared: "their Government is not directly involved in the economy, yet their growth has been rapid, and we are patterning our own system along with theirs." Added another participant who preferred to remain anonymous: "Most of us (manufacturers)



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ers) operate with a heavy stock of social overhead—telephones that do not work and fluctuating power supply, ... what the Government needs is a realistic look. Face the problems of unsuccessful public corporations and I bet you if the private sector is invited into these areas, you will see efficiency rising."

Chief Odutola himself shared this view. He said: "While we appreciate the difficulties facing the authorities in control of our public utilities, we take this opportunity to reiterate that National Electric Power Authority, Post and Telecommunications Department and the Nigerian Airways, should not only be allowed to operate on commercial basis, but also be divested of the monopoly of operation they enjoy."

But in his own address the Federal Commissioner for Industries, Dr. RA. Adeleye, took the opportunity to emphasize official line: "The official policy has been and, will remain, minimum direct involvement of the public sector in the Manufacturing Industry ... only projects which are of strategic importance to the national economy and security (like Petroleum; Iron and Steel; and Defence Weapons) are reserved exclusively for the public sector."

The participants have quite a long catalogue of constraints and government-created problems. Most of the grievances are genuine. But there is in some cases a danger of over-statement. One notable exception was the same speaker who preferred to remain anonymous. He saw no need for import bans to encourage indigenous Manufacturers because to him "we produce to compete and not fear other products. Without competition there won't be any attempt at striving for perfection." Asked to reconcile the difficulties of a pioneering stage with this his stand he added. "What new and small companies need is not total protection from external competition but a reduction in taxes, tariffs; raw materials and other basic requirements that will give them an edge over established foreign products"

#### Future of Technology

An equally important area, perhaps more important in the long run, is the relationship between Nigerian industrialization and growth of indigenous technology. This is the marriage, in the Nigerian context, that has not been pleasant. Most Nigerian manufacturers of today use imported processes and designs, and often imported skills too.

The modest scientific break-throughs of the land like the grain planter; Soy-ogi and few others developed by

some of our institutes and individuals find no entrepreneurs mainly because local financiers fear to explore unknown prospects. Individual inventors suffer most in this regard.

Even then, the very few that have been accepted and commercialised by daring members of the association in addition to foreign systems given Nigerian touches, are hardly publicised. Yet they make up the true Made-in-Nigeria products. It was this fault many manufacturers failed to see within themselves that prompted Commissioner Adeleye's request: "... that the objectives of the association should now be reviewed to emphasize the need to promote actively ... the products of our local industries" and one form is to ... "embark on a systematic and purposeful advertisement of made-in-Nigeria goods through the news media as well as by way of nation-wide fairs and exhibitions ... accompanied by ... enlightenment measures such as public lectures, seminars, and symposia ..."

However, if today there is any hope for Nigeria's Technology, it emanates from the new National Science and Technology Development Agency established by the Government. Only recently it put out the following call to Inventors: "anyone in the country who considers that he or she has made an invention, should bring his or her claim to the attention of the Committee on Scientific and Technological Inventions." This committee is expected to recommend such works for special prizes and recognition; and determine best ways of commercialisation and development".

So finally, the future pace of manufacture and technology really seems to hinge on four bodies—the Government; Manufacturers (individually and collectively), the new Government agency, and Service Corporations. From now till August, NEPA has already declared that its power supply will remain inadequate. Although nobody seems to be able to do anything about this announcement, the Government can at least device subsidies and other forms of concessions to pillow the adverse effects for industry. In like manner, one can only hope that the new agency will not end up as another white elephant.

To the Manufacturers, Professor Akinkugbe had this advice: "we shouldn't expect co-operation from any Government but we have to extract co-operation" not by greasing palm; but by doing things worth encouraging. The ball remains in everybody's court!

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# Ninth Open Golf Championship

Benjamin Okri

The quiet grassy expanse would have been an idyllic setting in a woodland if not for the concrete structures which surround Ikoyi Club in Nigeria's high-brow Ikoyi. But the persistent irrelevance of the game to the generality of Nigerians is dramatised by the lumpsided audience which mainly comprised whites and non-Nigerians. It was the occasion of Nigeria's 9th Open Golf Championship which took place from February 23rd-26th at the Ikoyi Golf Club.

The Open Championship is an annual international tournament organised by the Golfers Union of Nigeria and sponsored by various indigenous and foreign companies in Nigeria. It was a 72 hole stroke-play event with two elimination and attracted, numerous golf fans from abroad and a host of golf professionals around the world.

A total of 104 (90 professionals with 14 top amateurs with handicaps of 4 or better) participated in this tournament and as in years past, there was a record entry from the British Professional Golf Association (PGA) in London. Altogether, 60 qualified entrants from United Kingdom (all within the top 100 in the British order of merit), one each from Gambia, Tanzania, Egypt and five from Ghana along with 18 determined local professionals battled for the handsome total prize money of ₦30,000. Before the Championship in Lagos there were local competitions in Port Harcourt, Benin and Ibadan, each with professional prize money of ₦8,000.

The Open Golf Championship, since its inception in January 1969 when 20 overseas professionals and 37 local entrants (including 5 Nigerian professionals) participated, has grown in number and popularity and is now regarded as one of the famous tournaments virtually constituting the first stop on the famed African "Safari Circuit" between Nigeria, Kenya and Zambia. It has continued to attract big names in the game around the globe and it now offers one of the biggest prizes in the African safari.

At the opening of this 9th Cham-

pionship there were standing offers from individuals and companies that complemented the prizes. Ray Cusworth and Bill Williams offered ₦1,000 for a hole-in-one at hole 6, West African Breweries proposed ₦500 for a hole-in-one at hole 13 (which was won by Sam Torrence) and free Top Beer (one carton a week) for the remainder of 1978 to any amateur holing-in-one at the same hole while BP Nigeria Limited proffered ₦500 for the best aggregate score over the four days at the 'dogleg' hole 9 (which was won by Cletus Iriaka, Ikoyi and Malcom Gregson of Britain).

## Keen Competition

The game began quietly. New faces naturally appeared. There were also old faces like Bill Longmuir and the 1977 champion David Jagger. After the first two days players were weeded by scores and reduced to 70. By the third day 50 final qualifiers have

Jays which is past any previous winning record, while Mike King (from Britain) on the other hand, who had participated twice already in the open, was a top competitor. Lyle, however, won the game and emerged the 1978 Champion with a 2nd hole 'birdie' (1 stroke under par) while King was a runner-up with a par (four strokes) score.

In excitement the caddies lifted Lyle shoulder high and carried him over 270 metres back to the golf club. Lyle's victory broke not only the Nigerian record but also created a world record with 124 points for two days running. He was, before turning professional, one of the best amateurs in U.K. Later he told me that the support he received and "the shoulder-high exclamation made all the difference. It never happened in my life before."

Lyle and King shared the first and second money prizes of ₦6,500 but the trophy went to Lyle. (It would



Champion Sandel Lyle (right) receives the Cup from General Adedope.

emerged to vie for prizes and trophies. Tension reached its climax on the last day of play when two people—Mike King with daily scores of 66, 65, 64 and 74; and Sandel Lyle 61, 63, 70 and 75—tied with total scores of 269, that is 15 each under par. Both had to 'play-off' from the first Tee to distill out who would score less for the holes.

Over 2,000 (mainly white) spectators and caddies under the late morning sun watched in tense silence the keen competition. Sandel Lyle from Scotland, who had only turned professional four months ago, began attracting attention on the last day because he played 18 under par for the first two

remain in Nigeria but Lyle's name will be engraved on it.)

## Bourgeois Game

Golf in Nigeria, a game not as known as others like football, is greatly considered an expensive, exclusive, and elitist game and has often been called a game for the idle rich. It is gradually gaining popularity, but it is still handicapped by the lingering prejudice of the image of an elitist past time. But the growing patrons of Golf insist that it has its philosophy. As Mike Enahoro the 1976 Amateur Champion put it "Golf though still a game for the high class because expensive, is nevertheless an enduring game. It is the

Continued on Page 4

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**PRESS RELEASE**  
**SELECTION BOARD FOR DIRECT SHORT SERVICE COMMISSION**  
**AND CADETSHIP INTO THE NIGERIAN ARMY**

1. The following under listed candidates who applied for Direct Commission and Cadetship into the Nigerian Army are hereby requested to attend the Selection Board holding at Ibadan from the 2nd of April, 1978. On arrival, Candidates are to report to the Headquarters, 2 Infantry Division, Agodi, Ibadan between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. for accommodation arrangements.
2. Candidates are required to bring along the following documents:-
  - a. Original copies of their qualification certificates.
  - b. Original copy of birth certificate or Sworn Declaration of age certificate.
  - c. NYSC Certificate of Service (for those who graduated from 1973 to this time).
  - d. Six passport size photographs.
3. Reimbursement of transport fares to and from Ibadan will be made to all candidates at the approved Officer Cadet rate of transport allowance.
4. Successful candidates will be required to undergo an orientation course lasting for six months at the Nigerian Defence Academy prior to Commissioning.

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127.	TOYIN DUROJAIYE (MISS)	191.	63NA/1496 S/SGT ADEBOYE MATEMILOLA
128.	OLANIRAN OWADUSI	192.	EMMANUEL TSEGHA
129.	IMEDOA T. EMEORDI (MISS)	193.	DR. (MISS) STEPHANY UDI IGHEDOOSA
130.	SYLVESTER S. AKPAN	194.	DR. BABATUNDE OLASUPO OTTI
131.	O. S. ABDUL	195.	DR. CHARLES A. OUDJOE
132.	63NA/345249 SGT. TAIWO OGUNJOBI	196.	DR. AKINLOLU O. ORAFIDIYA
133.	ADEBUNMI ADEBANJO	197.	DR. OLUSOLA ODUNUBI
134.	ZUBAI MUTTIN IDRIS	198.	DR. UBOGAGU MATTHEW
135.	OLAWAROTIMI ADEREDOLU	199.	DR. C. U. MEREGINI
136.	EYIDOLA GLORT JEDO	200.	DR. M. C. ARINZE
137.	RAPH S. ADESINA	201.	DR. S. C. OKECHUKWU
138.	F. A. AMURE	202.	DR. T. A. ODUNOWO
139.	FRIDAY EKELE OKPANACHI	203.	DR. J. I. OSAZUWA
140.	JOHN E NZEKWE	204.	DR. DADA THOMAS
141.	AYOADE V. G. AYODEJI (MISS)	205.	DR. MICHAEL ESHIET
142.	OLUWALE ADEOSUN	206.	DR. S. A. I. SALAWU
143.	OLORUNFEMI BABATUNDE	207.	DR. DAVID B. OGBEUN
144.	IBRAHIM MUSA HARUNA	208.	DR. OBI NDIKOM OBIM
145.	GABRIEL OGBEBOR	209.	DR. OGARANYA
146.	DARE O. AKINTADE	210.	P. O. MRIALIKE
147.	AKINTOLA O. SORRYAN	211.	ANTHONY CHUKWUAMAKA

## Sports

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story of life. While playing you are presented with some unthinkable problem, you are faced with challenges which only you can solve. The way you play golf basically reflects your reaction to life's challenges.' 'Another golf organiser Don Graham observes: 'Golf is playing against yourself. The biggest handicap in golf is yourself, your mind and muscle. There is a saying in golf 'It is ten per cent ability and ninety per cent application.' Also, age isn't important. Anyone from 10 years to 80 years can play it.'

There was general improvement in the performance at the Open Championship as indicated by the better scores. So far no African (and only one Black American, Lee Elder in 1971) has won the championship. But there was a clear improvement in the Nigerian participation. When first started there were 6 Nigerian professionals, but this year saw, out of 26 African players in which 14 qualified, 18 Nigerians (12 qualified) and of 7 Africans that received prizes, 6 were Nigerians, the other from Egypt.

The whole event was considerably successful both in patronage and professional participation and above all provided a meeting of minds for golfers from all over the world. The golf course, though good enough by African standards, fell somewhat short of the decor and colour which Golf landscapes in some parts of the world represent. We have brown patches around the holes where there should have been green grass.

Credit for the event's success goes to the Golf Union of Nigeria (GUN) and their Championship Committee's for organising the tournaments, to the companies that sponsored the various holes, and to the Nigerian Tobacco Company which helped to establish professional golf in Nigeria and sponsored the first tournament.

Before the prizes were presented to the winners at the end of the event by Major General David Ebor, Chairman of GUN, Major General Henry Adefope Commissioner for Labour, Youths and Sports, disclosed that Golf fell under the list of those sports to be given assistance and aided. He urged that in consideration of certain factors such as the distance one has to trek, and the concentration and muscle discipline the game required, observers should no longer see Golf as a past time of the idle rich.

## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

### PRODUCT NEWS

#### ELECTRIC CAR

Torch bearers of the imminent world energy crisis have at least, achieved one thing—everybody is now searching for alternatives in order not to be hit below the belt in the 80s. Even car manufacturers are on the look out too.

From Sweden comes 'IMPLUS 77' electric powered Car designed primarily for



handicapped people but because of energy situation, now puts on a new vision. It can run 50 km on one charging of its batteries with top speed of 30 km per hour. Presently, the price is prohibitive (\$7,000) but foreseeable large scale production will soon tone it down to bearable limits.

#### REPETITIVE LIFTING

For those in need of a repetitive lifting aid between the range of 70 and 180 kg., Marco Material Handling AB, has come out with a new device called 'MARCOLYFTARM'. It's powered by electricity and can be regulated to move between 0-20 meters per minute. With the aid of a control system, pre-setting of horizontal and vertical positions can be effected and here lies its usefulness in repetitive, same-position operations. It comes with different lift hooks.

#### TEREX LOADER

General Motors, Scotland has announced the introduction of a new generation front end loader TEREX 72-61 powered by a Detroit 8V-717 engine of the 228kW (207 hp) range. Transmission is by remote mounted 'Soft Shift' TRT 4820 from Allison with four forward and four reverse speeds. According to General Motors, a new design

life arm mechanism combined with "an efficient gear pump provides it with a superior break out force of 174 KN—exceptional in the 4.2m<sup>3</sup> class of loaders. The life arm is an alloy steel one-piece with linkage systems that eliminate cantilever loads (angular lever loads).

#### SOLAR HEATER

Yet another alternative energy source to oil is Solar Energy. The downward trend of oil production has given a new boost here too.

TEKNO-TERM, another Swedish firm, is developing a Solar Heater for residential water heating. The system comprises Solar Collector Panels, storage units, relay and drainage tank. According to Tekno-Term, 6 to 8 collectors will provide up to 70 per cent of single family hot water requirements.

#### POLYDRUM

Preservation of foodstuffs especially fruits and grains and packaging of chemical products require containers that will neither accelerate rot nor react chemically with these all important products. Generally steel drums do the trick but after some painting of the outside and inside to avoid direct contact with the products. Another way, courtesy of RHEEM of Italy, is the



solidification of polythylene bags inside the drum. Rheem calls it POLYDRUM and there is no contact at all between any part of the steel drum and the contents to be preserved.

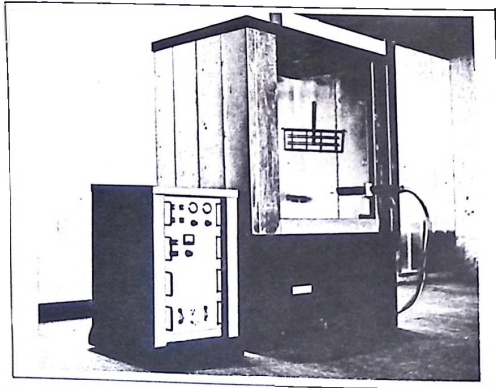
# COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

## INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY: POWDER COATING PLANT

In this very column last year (Afriscope October 1977) we featured guidelines on Spray Painting stressing the need for even coating and stroke overlapping. However, it becomes rather apparent that the effectiveness of the guidelines depend more or less on the operator of the Spray Gun and a correctly mixed and strained paint. These are human activities open to human imperfections which can result in iron rusting

due to uneven and ineffective coating. Unfortunately, small businesses just have to make do with these imperfections but big businesses like Motor Assembly plants need not, thanks to ITEP's powder coating system. It's a stationary plant that must be used within an establishment inside one building but despite this drawback, its coating with powder without solvents and unused powder recovery system recommends it to those who can afford the space and money.

It consists of four major units—the Spray gun; the Generator and Controls; the powder container, which is totally separated from the rest of the plant and a Spray booth. The spray gun's body is made of vacuum epoxy (synthetic polymers containing oxygen) including the handle which is also covered with metal plates connected to the ground. The generator and control cabinet comprises 3 small units—General Control, Electrostatic generator and Tool handling drawer.



The powder container has a vibrator at its bottom which ensures that its content is always in the semi-stable position needed for a good regulation of powder flow rate. With a volume of 50 litres, it can be loaded while other units are running.

Spray booth becomes necessary because of the desire to recover powder unused. It has a flat bottom where almost 50 per cent of unstuck powder fall to and on the side of the walls, suction devices recover these as little as possible for maximum efficiency. Later the recovered powdered is recycled to the recovery boxes and from thence to re-use.

Next month, we will feature the mechanical process and accessories added to the

automatic model as against the manual system described above.

## FOCUS:

### RHEEM'S WATER HEATER

This month, Rheem's Water Heater is a focus for a different reason—its simplicity in concept and design. Our bet is you will cry 'oh but it's the fire principle', the end of this piece. The question then: Why didn't we, here in Africa, think of before or even now?

The Water heater comes in two models—electrically and gas heated models. Both consist of a water tank into which a heater is mounted from the bottom and this in turn is connected to main or burning gas. In the case of the electric model, the water tank is made of plastic, enclosing an insulating material to keep the water always hot without loss of heat. Other major components are thermostat which automatically checks temperature and switches on or off the electric element inside the heater and the thermometer for setting required temperature and reading. Two valves within ensure that the set temperature is maintained throughout, undermining content change.

However, it is in the gas model the column has more interest. Like our normal water heating system, the burner is outside the water tank which is, this time, made of steel. As in chimney, there is an apparatus for the expulsion of unused gas. In this case the basic thing is: the burning gas heats the heating element which is immersed in the water to be heated. In effect then, addition to the fire principle are the insulation material; the heating element; the measurement instruments and the safety valves.

Of course, Italy's Rheem deserves its protective patent rights over its well developed RAD1 water heater series. This only leads to the disturbing questions asked by this month's 'QUESTION MARK'.

## FINANCE AND COMMERCE

### BARCLAYS: OVERSEAS TO THE RESCUE

UK's Barclays International recorded improved results last year, thanks to its overseas subsidiaries. Pre-tax profit increased from £197.7m to £267.6m after a mid-year jump from £28.1m to £131.5m. According to Chairman Anthony Tuks, the Barclays United Kingdom operation had followed a downward trend in the year's second half because of lower level of interest rates.

In sharp contrast, booming business overseas precipitated by increased lending in these areas, smoothened the drop in local business. From Nigeria, for example, Barclays International earned £11.8m from its 40 per cent ownership in Barclays of Nigeria. This compares favourably with £15.9m earned in 1976 from the now reduced 48.33 per



212.	WILFRED O. LADOYE	276.	MRS. PHILOMENA EFFION EWA
213.	O. A. A. OKANLAWON	277.	Y. G. BOT LENG
214.	CLEMENT U. IDIGO	278.	OLUMUYIWA AKINYODE
215.	ONYUNG OKONEYO	279.	ABA EMMANUEL ENOKELA
216.	EMMANUEL OLATUNDE TAIWO	280.	UKO AKPAN ESHIET
217.	OGUONU O. I.	281.	GANIYU O. BABALOLA
218.	GABRIEL N. OFOCHE	282.	MICHAEL AWOYINFA
219.	RAYMOND U. OKOLO	283.	C. K. OYEBANJO
220.	OYESORO OLUTOYIN	284.	MAXWELL O. O. DURU
221.	DOYIN ADERI BIGBE	285.	BASIR A. IBRAHIM
222.	NNEBO J. ENNY	286.	CHIGOZIE C. CHIMAROKE
223.	DAVID P. M. ONUBEZE	287.	BIODUN OLUYADI
224.	AGODEYI AIYEOLA	288.	IBIEZUGBE AMOS
225.	IWUCHUKWU CHARLES	289.	TUNDE OLARUNFEMI
226.	KALADA D. IRUENABERE	290.	G. O. DIKE
227.	ROBERT D. ORUHAVI	291.	IBE O. ANAOEMBE
228.	WILFRED O. LADOYE	292.	E. T. ANDY
229.	NWADOZIE M. UZO	293.	JOSHUA J. OLAYEMI
230.	ADETOJUMBO O. SOWUNMI	294.	FELIX MEHEUX
231.	JOHN A. F. F.	295.	EMMANUEL AHME
232.	NELSON AKUMAH	296.	SHIYANBOLA OLUFEMI
233.	SAMUEL C. OSUJI	297.	JIMINE GEORGE OGBEMI
234.	J. O. FAKOREDE	298.	JONAH A. UDEH
235.	VICTORIA O. ADEBIYI	299.	OSIDEINDE A. A.
236.	BENJAMIN I. OCHEI	300.	SULEMAN I. WALI
237.	OLAYEMI F. F.	301.	OLADAYO ODUNKUNLE
238.	FELIX O. OCHIDA	302.	M. S. GIMBA
239.	KESTER M. NWEKE	303.	PAUL PAM DALIOP
240.	F. O. OGUNGBAMILA	304.	OKORO O. L. CHIDUME
241.	F. A. CHUKWURAH	305.	B. C. EZEKWE
242.	GODWIN S. OKAFOR	306.	O. O. AKINNIRANYE
243.	T. O. ANIFOWOSHE	307.	AMBROSE ALEMOM
244.	KWAGBE S. P. Z.	308.	S. M. SULEIMAN
245.	OLASUNKANMI OMOTOSHO	309.	F. E. EDEAWE
246.	F. O. ABIAKAM	310.	F. D. EBOMAH
247.	VALENTINE O. AGBAH	311.	A. Y. ADEJUMO
248.	VIRIGILINUS A. OPARA	312.	VIASHIMA AGU
249.	RUFUS ADEGOKE	313.	B. H. F. DAVID
250.	JOSIAH B. AYEYE	314.	JOHN A. ABE
251.	GODFREY E. IGBO	315.	EMMANUEL O. UMEJI
252.	O. R. B. AFOLAYAN	316.	SUNDAY OKPIGHE
253.	OLUWEMIMO O. ODUKOYA	317.	ADEGI A. FOLUWASO
254.	LINUS-IFEANYI IHEMEJE	318.	ANTHONY AKPOMIEME
255.	ABAYOMI ADEOYE	319.	OBEMBE M. OLATUNJI
256.	OLAYODE ADEYEMI	320.	C. ODOLO
257.	OMOTAYO B. EBODA	321.	S. O. *ODUSOLA
258.	EDWARD O. IGBOKWE	322.	MUHAMMED GARBA
259.	SGT. STEPHEN E. MADUKA	323.	OLUSOLA A. KOMOLAFE
260.	SOLOMON O. GEORGE	324.	D. J. A. OLAWOYIN
261.	OLUSESAN G. ADEDIYIN	325.	P. R. IGBINOVIA
262.	EDWARD ARIGBEDE	326.	MICHAEL A. OJUKWU
263.	ADEMOLA A. ALABI	327.	OLUWOLE MACAULAY
264.	LATEEF ADISA AMINU	328.	S. ABDULRAZAQ BALOGUN
265.	LAWRENCE O. AMADI	329.	MURAINA S. SALAMI
266.	AMOGU E. AMOGU	330.	CHUKWURAH CHRISTOPHER
267.	JOHN E. EFENU DU	331.	IDRIS JIBRILU
268.	STEVE O. OJOMOH	332.	IDI ADAMU
269.	J. A. EGBEDINA	333.	OLUWALE M. ALLI
270.	MR. GABRIEL A. OLAWUNI	334.	SHAMSIDEEN A. GIWA
271.	D. U. EKEANYANWU	335.	ADO S. MOHAMMED
272.	MISS A. M. ORUAMBO	336.	MOSUGU M. MOSES
273.	OLUFEMI O. LAWSON	337.	EMMANUEL N. KRACHA
274.	SAMUEL O. AJAYI	338.	ADEWUNMI O. ADERIBIGBE
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## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

cent share. Over all pre tax profit was got after deducting £2.4m operating losses recorded in investments and adding £24.2m gained from the same source. During the year, Barclays South Africa raised 100m francs from an unsecured guaranteed loan at a floating interest rate.

Compared to 1976 annual earnings per share (40p), 1977's 60.6p was a marked improvement.

### SOUTH AFRICA:

#### EMIGRANTS GROWING

South Africa's apartheid policies and the equally growing resistance and uncertainty, has germinated its first sign of discord on South African population. The Department of Statistics has, for the first time, admitted that last year Emigrants from the apartheid territory topped immigrants by 1,178 compared to net gains of 40,209 and 30,598 it announced in 1975 and 1976 respectively.

According to a release after a new Bill which automatically made white settlers South African citizens after two years of residential status, the Department disclosed that only 24,822 people came in last year with the bulk coming from troubled Rhodesia. Even the given figure for Emigrants (some 26,000) is considered lower than the actual, because of many who, for obvious reasons, left without registering with the authorities.

Resistance to the new bill has been from all corners because of its future effects. It makes it mandatory for settlers, as citizens, to be eligible for recruitment into the armed forces while on the other hand, it is bound to discourage more whites from coming in.

### WORLD FINANCE

#### LENDING RISE THIS YEAR

The World Money Market is in for an activity session this year, so says the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). In its forecasts released early this year, OECD, the opposite organisation to the Developing Countries Group: expects oil exporting countries to drain more from the international scene this year topping their last year's \$6.3bn. by up to \$26bn. Venezuela Iran and Nigeria top the list of countries expected to increase their borrowings while the Gulf States may end up reducing theirs.

However, the organisation expects the present differences between yields on dollar securities and German D-mark issues to continue while in the opinion of the report, some less developed countries "have now established themselves as regular borrowers on the major international bond markets and are in a position to raise sizeable amounts at comparatively attractive terms."

### MASSEY FERGUSON

#### LABOUR THREATENED

Workers at Massey Ferguson's Coventry plants are threatened by the fall in international market for the company's products. Says Mr. Scott Glover, Director of Coventry factories: "At present I cannot see the period beyond the end of April reflecting any significant improvements in programmes. In fact a number of markets will have to improve to support our present programmes"

The Financial Times estimates the number of workers that may be laid off at 4,800 in the factory. About 80 per cent of Ferguson's production are for exports and the Coventry factory accounts for about 20 per cent. Although the company's farm tractors and other products are exported to Africa, and many other parts of the world; the present slump is mainly from the United States, Turkey and Pakistan.



#### IS IT KNOW-HOW?

##### Henry Atenaga

Rheems Radi Water Heater focused in 'Industry and Technology' is just one from many. Not too long ago I came across one water treatment system that utilised nothing but nature's inbuilt law of gravity and its effects on impurities in water. Of course we don't need any telling to realise that this is one thing seen in every corner of Africa. It's universal and very natural.

At this stage one starts to wonder. Are we always right in saying that we are behind because of lack of KNOW-HOW? In pointing an accusing finger at the developed with that bitter look on our face for being taught only surface knowledge? Can't it be correct, after all, to say that we are being punished for our attitude towards nature—uninvolved, always taking face values; never asking the why; hows that gear the brain? Is something not wrong with our attitude towards our few sons who have, on their own, attempted to provide us with our own Technological Originality?

In the final analysis, the question is: Is it always a question of Know-How?

## Lead

Continued from Page 29

and artists of Southern Africa is a fact and has continued to be one of the most profound sources of political dissent in a positive sense on the continent. The essence of the revolution in Mozambique and Angola is best understood through the literature of the revolutionary school of poets and storytellers such as Homero Andrade, Neto etc., and one cannot deny the profound sense of tragedy and defiance that the paintings of the Mozambican Malangatana not only illustrated as the nature of the revolution, but also defined as the means of spiritual agony that made the revolution necessary. Across the widest boundaries of feeling and spirit African art has developed a sense of commitment and in many communities today small groups of artists continue to explore the connection between the imagination and the reality of African experience, and the most promising experience of the African world today is that of the thrust towards development of the infrastructure of nations, and the organisation of new social realities.

African art today reflects either the dilemma itself or the source of the dilemma of spirit that pervades the methods and plans of most developing societies, where traditional mores and attitudes are almost certainly subordinated to the adaptation of alien forms which are in fact not so much alien in their usage as in their origin. Modern technology is in itself an extension of the cultural mode of another world but the universality of humanity is the guiding force behind the finest indicators of political development as of cultural expression. The true African artist today, must aid his people in understanding this principle on both the abstract and the real plane so as to harmonise the continuity of history with the constant change of contemporary development. This task is not an easy one, but against all odds this battle must be won through creative determination. The last decade and a half has been a crucial one for the African artist. The coming decade promises to be even more terrifyingly destructive but great art arises out of adversity and the experience of recent years should provide a source of examples and methods for combating the forces of philistinism and artistic creativity.