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## LETTERS.3

## COCKROACH REPORTS.4

## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW.7

## QUESTION MARK.10

## AFRICA NOW:

Politics of Conscience.13

Ghana Countdown to  
Civil Rule.14

Somali Greed.21

## PANORAMA:

Nigeria: Elites Everywhere.27

Unemployment Vs Politics.28

## TECHNOLOGY:

The Energy Crisis.33

## LEAD:

Pretoria's Nuclear  
Trumpcard.41

## LITERARY SCENE;

Symposium on Modern East

African Literature.50

Book Review.52

## SPORTS:

Ecowas Games: Hopes and  
Prospects.53

An Unfortunate Affair.56

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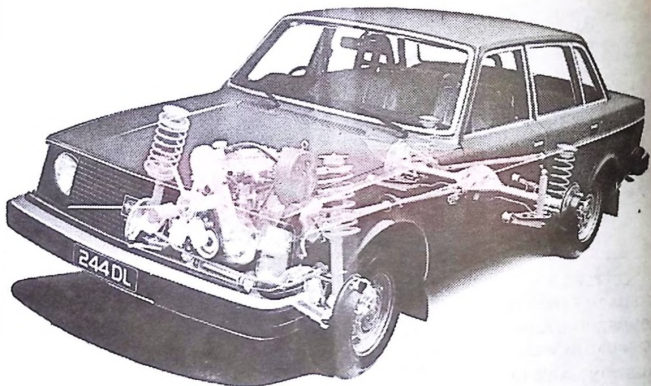
## The Arabs and the Horn of Africa

We must continue to call attention to the anti-African behaviour of some Arab states in the Horn of Africa. Of all the external intruders in the Ethiopia-Somalia conflict, the Arab intervention is the most effective and deadly.

While all external partisan interferences in a regional African conflict are wrong, the Arab role in the present conflict is totally inexcusable. There is no way of defending the fire-stoking mischief of a brother—although a self-certified one—who instigates two brothers to fight to a bloody finish. One can understand the role of USSR and USA on the ground that they have never claimed to be part of Africa: they are in Africa to protect and project their national interests. But some of the Arab states fuelling the regional fire claim to be part of us and profess in yearly OAU summits their commitment to peace and brotherhood in Africa. Sudan, for instance prides herself on being the bridge, whatever this means, of the African and Arab worlds. Yet she, Suddi Arabia and other Arab states are materially aiding Somalia's imperialist designs on Ethiopia.

The reasons so far advanced by the intruders for their partisanship are quite tendentious. Two years ago, Sudan more or less admitted that hers was an act of vengeance because the Ethiopian authorities sponsored an unsuccessful coup against Numeiry. Suffice it to say that Numeiry is a thick-skinned self-righteous leader who never looks inwards for plausible explanation of the dissatisfaction of his army: the fault always lies in a foreign enemy. Lately, the official stand is that the problem of Eritrea differs from other successionist problems in Africa: why or how, Sudan has not bothered to explain. For Saudi Arabia, the medieval kingdom is not a country to miss any opportunity for a jihad medal.

It does appear that, for the Arab countries, African unity begins where Arab brotherhood ends. We begin to doubt the viability of the basis of OAU. If Ethiopia is split, one of the long-term consequences will be the split of Africa across the Sahara.



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Dear Editor,

## LATENESS

Since this year, your Magazine has been coming out late. So late that at one time I started wondering if yours was now a Magazine on its way out! Is it true to hold this view?

Permit me to say that it will be a sad affair for Africa, for her only international Magazine, edited and published by her sons and in African soil, to die without seeing the light of the African day ahead. Is it correct after all to say that nothing good comes from Africa?

Please prove me wrong. Afriscope must survive no matter the odds.

**TOM MBUREI, Nairobi, Kenya.**

Dying? Huh!! Nothing of such. Our printers continue to plead machine breakdowns. But a radical and permanent solution is on the way.

Editor.

## SOUTH AFRICA

If what you say in your July lead (Vol. 7 No. 7) is correct, why are companies like Standard Bank, Mobil, ITT, IBM and others mentioned by you, still allowed to do business in free Africa?

I think the time is come for Africa to stop fooling itself. Everyday one



*Blacks in Apartheid police: to learn too!*

hears of condemnations of Apartheid issued by our leaders. At the same time we allow Companies that survive by exploiting our brothers in South Africa, to operate in our soil yet we talk of Western conscience.

It is gratifying to see papers like your Magazine expose Apartheid and all its evils. I will say more grease to your elbows but please don't be discouraged by the double standard of our leaders. One day they will learn

**BUKA OUABE, Jos, Nigeria.**

Your July lead on Apartheid titled 'South Africa and the Impending War' made an interesting reading. I only have quarrel with your conclusion.

"The days of Apartheid are numbered" you said but to me these words are not exactly new. African Press, Leaders and sympathetic foreign media have been talking of the numbered days of Apartheid since the beginning of this decade if not since the sixties.

Lets not deceive ourselves anymore. Days of Apartheid can be numbered but a period of 100 years is still made up of numbered days. The people that will really decide Apartheid's fate are the Western powers and their companies. So that if we follow them to say Apartheid's days are numbered without seeing concrete action on their part, we might go on waiting endlessly for the D-day that may not come.

**EZEKIEL OKORI, Chicago, USA.**

## HORN OF AFRICA

What is really happening at the horn of our fatherland? Who is kidding who? Where is our so-called African Unity as symbolised by the OAU?

I can't understand. Many things do not seem right. One moment, we talk of non-interference in internal Affairs of brother African countries, the next second, we arm rebels who make us believe they are fighting for freedom. It happened in Zaire, Nigeria, and many other countries. Then now Ethiopia. But lets face it. Which country in Africa is too big to survive as one? Have we not had enough of puppet States made up of one or two towns? States that later on cling to the tail of big powers for survival?

I don't care for what is responsible for the present state of affairs at the horn of Africa. Neither do I care whether or not the Eritrean nationalists have a case because all said and done, any case if any, will centre around tribalistic dissatisfaction. All I strongly believe is that Ethiopia and any other African country for that matter, is not too big to exist as one. Somalia, despite its denials, should hands-off the internal Affairs of Ethiopia. Once this is done, this important Horn of our land will stop being the big powers' arena for power supremacy.

**KOFI AGYEI, Accra, Ghana.**

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# cockroach

## TOGO

The Togo Republic is fast acquiring the reputation of the nerve-centre of foreign subversion in West Africa. Some months ago, Dahomey gave irrefutable proof of the involvement of Togo, Gabon and Morocco in a coup attempt. Recently, Ghana has accused Togo of training saboteurs against the Acheampong regime.

Who is paying the bills in poor Togo?

## SLOW DEATH

According to official statistics, Zimbabwe's white population is dwindling fast—at an annual rate of 9,000.

For those who talk about ceasefire before the implementation of the British-US peace proposal takes off, they may do well to see the obvious link between white unease in Zimbabwe (which is the only factor that makes any talks of peaceful settlement and hope of majority rule feasible) and the continuation of the guerrilla war.

## NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Yes, there should be no nuclear proliferation AFTER Black Africa secures at least one viable plant.

It is therefore good news from Sir Mark Oliphant, the Australian nuclear physicist: "Although I have worked in nuclear physics and nuclear energy all my life, I cannot believe that power from uranium will be more than a passing phase in satisfying world energy needs particularly as it is clear powerful nuclear weapons can be made from plutonium extracted from spent nuclear fuel. Any nation determined to do so can make nuclear weapons."

Thank God, our imperial masters may not be able to legislate on this.

## A STEP TOO FAR

The one-day mysterious visit of Rhodesia's Ian Smith to Zambia's President Kaunda as the international pressure on the rebel clique to accept the British American peace proposal intensifies, is the kind of diplomacy



Dr. Kaunda (left) and Smith (right).

that should not be encouraged in Africa.

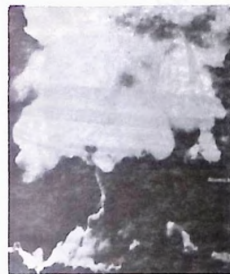
Ian Smith seemed to be bent on his internal settlement. The frontline states, of which the Chairman is President Nyerere not Kaunda, are bent on a truly African settlement. The two approaches have no meeting point. Why the visit, then?

## THE POLITICS OF POLITICS

No one knows which is easier—politics itself or the politics of politics.

Nigeria's present stage of politics of politics—that's preliminaries for the return of politics in 1979—has not been easy. On the behaviour of the actors or their guide (the Federal Military Government), the sailing is quite smooth. Deadlines are being scrupulously maintained, while the actors' showing in the Constituent Assembly is not poor.

But no one is sure about the mood of the polity itself. Old habits seem to die hard. The old habits range from voters' mercenary evaluations of their votes (as may be seen from some sharp practices during the local council and Constituent Assembly electoral preliminaries to the nation's religious devotion to high consumption and glitter). Nigeria's General Obasanjo did warn in the 17th Independence anniversary: "Our strength as we march forward in our political programme will be in our ability to vehemently discourage impolitic attitudes, practices and behaviour which may breed chaos in the society."



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# COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

## PRODUCT NEWS:

### ALL PURPOSE PUMPS

Because, in present day Africa, many roadside sellers of different oils pour these oils from drums physically, Macfought's All-purpose pump is most welcome. Able to pump liquids up to a viscosity (molecular resistance to flow) of SAE 90, Model A2 meant for 60-205 litre drums, is ideal for oils, resins, gelloats and many other products of petroleum.

What's more, pumping is less tedious as little force applied on its lever sucks the liquid out of the drum.



### GREASE FOR SHIP'S LONGER LIFE

Mobil Research and Development Corporation has come out with a new grease. Called Mobilgrease 28, Mobil says, its main job "is to help increase fleet readiness by keeping equipment in use for longer period."

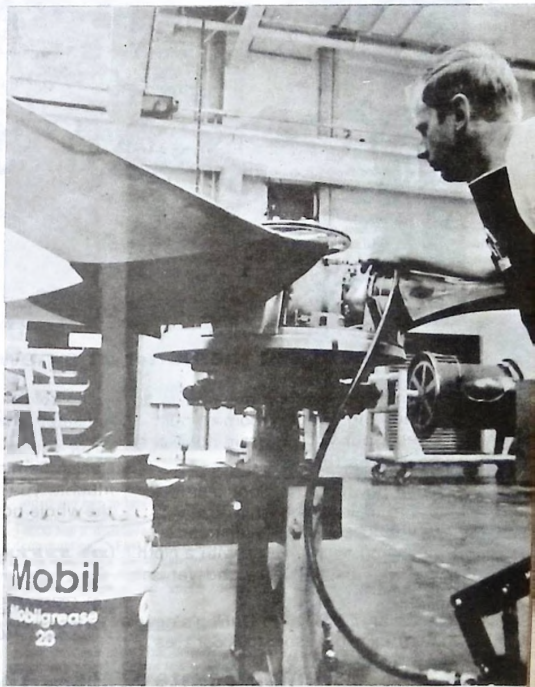
According to experts, Mobilgrease 28 helps to extend the overhaul period of a ship to once in seven years "by reducing ball-bearing failures, without needing intermediate relubrication."

The company claims that only the new grease met the target of 10,000 hrs running time in special tests. "There is no question" says Senior Product Manager Bill Mareneck "that this is a unique high performance grease made to meet extremely critical applications"

### COWPEA BETTER FOR DROUGHT

According to Legume Physiologist, Dr. H.C. Wien of Nigeria's International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, Cowpeas have a greater capacity to withstand short periods of drought during the vegetative and early reproductive period than Soybeans.

The results of an experiment carried out by the doctor indicate that for two weeks on stressed field plots without water, there was no effect of stressed treatments on Cowpea Seed yield, whereas Soybean showed reductions of 53 and 29% in relation to the well watered control plots in two experiments conducted in 1975/76 and 1976/77 croppings seasons.





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## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW



### INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY

#### FORD MULTIPURPOSE TRACTOR

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Coming to "non-technical pluses, we have operating ease, service, comfort and convenience. The driver's seat adjusts by itself to size and weight of the operator while the controls are

within easy reach even if the operator settles back. Finally, however, one can't help but question the availability of very many optional implements. Understandably front-end weights, and rear wheel weights should be optional but can the same be said for dual fuel filters (which helps protect fuel injection system) and air precleaners (which protects engine against dust)? Shouldn't these be part of the standard especially for exports to dusty Africa?

### FINANCE AND COMMERCE

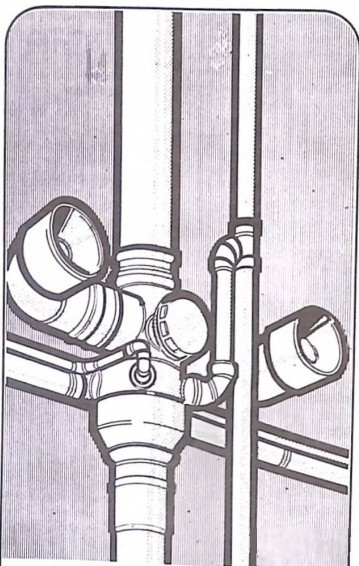
#### MOBIL: Training For Employees

Sixteen supervisory level employees of Mobil Oil (Nigeria) Limited (MONL) and Mobil Producing Nigeria recently completed a course on Applied Management at Benin City—capital of Bendel State. Aimed at giving them better understanding of their role as future managers, the Benin course was seventh in the series. Messrs. John Diggan, a consultant from UK and Innocent Uchendu, MONL's Personnel Manager jointly conducted the course.

Addressing the participants at the opening Mobil Nigeria Chairman, Robert C. Mills declared "We are still in a period of great and rapid change and so face considerable uncertainty. What is clear, though, is that the oil industry and those of us who work in it are facing unprecedented challenges in meeting future energy requirements in the face of supply-demand imbalances; soaring costs and economic uncertainties."



Mr. Mills (2nd from right) with Senior Mobil officials. . . . "In a period of great and rapid change. . . ."



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## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

### BERGER PAINTS:

#### Pay Off For Marketing Strategy

According to Berger Paints Marketing Manager, Mr. Rowland Okwechere, a new marketing strategy developed by his department is paying off handsomely in the form of increased sales. At a recent Divisional Managers meeting in Lagos, he disclosed that promotional promise to send the first four distributors with highest percentage increases in turnover to Kenya on holidays, continues to pay off so handsomely because "everyone wants to go to Kenya's land."

In the first week of the strategy, he said, orders for thousands of litres of paints were received. Berger Paints' house magazine, LUXOL PROGRESS quotes him as saying that "By staging this type of promotion, Berger Paints are not only able to enthuse their customers to maximising on their purchases but are able to provide the atmosphere of total commitment to total company objectives."



Question Mark

### WHY SUBSIDISE OIL?

#### "Henry Atenaga

A refinery costs far more than "small change" to build. And, of course, it takes time. So for small and poor African countries without any at the moment, the chances are that these may still be missing well into the 80s and 90s. Hence their dependence on other nations is bound to continue.

For countries with refineries, the story looks different but the end can still be the same. The fact is that where demand increases so fast to outstrip supply, most of those countries might themselves turn net importers of both refined oil and crude. Probably in the 90's.

Yet, all of these countries encourage domestic consumption of fuel by selling the end product (petrol etc) at heavily subsidised prices. Nigeria, for example, lost ₦105m in revenue between January 1975 and October 1976 selling petrol at subsidised prices.

The question: Instead of spending several millions in keeping the domestic price down, why don't we devote the sum to research into alternative sources? Do we not know that subsidy brings the doomsday news?



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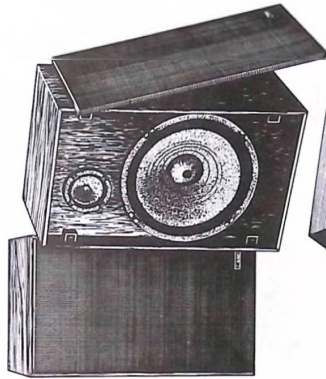
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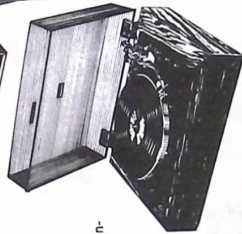
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# Lagos UNO Confab: Politics of Conscience



*Ambassador Young: Some handtwisting for the West.*

**\*Olu Collins**

General Obasanjo's appeal to the twin central points of action and conscience did prevail and guide the Lagos United Nations Conference, but in doing so it revealed the severe limits of the conscience option in international affairs. The conference succeeded more than its predecessors in getting to the heart of the South Africa but it was woefully helpless in removing the long-standing constraints. So, if the conference did achieve much, it was only in stretching to the fullest the efficacy of the conscience option and thereby showing to all and sundry that this approach cannot effectively solve the apartheid problem.

Difficulties surfaced earlier when the Western powers, true to character, joined all in a chorus of moral anger against the inhumanity of apartheid system and quickly beat a retreat into the ambiguities of diplomatic language when the issue went beyond the realm of conscience to the pad of positive action. Andrew Young, the main spokesman for South Africa's military might, did not fail to try to intimidate—and to a large extent he succeeded—non-nuclear Africa with graphic accounts of the impregnability of a nuclear stronghold and with his conviction that Africa had a more potent weapon in her economic arsenal than in nuclear muscle flexing (a conviction always tactfully loaned the weight of his experience in the civil rights movement). And when intimidated Africa turned to examine the possibilities of economic warfare, the old hard truth surfaced that the Western powers controlled both the routes and supplies to Southern Africa and that they could



*Nigeria's Obasanjo and Zambia's Kaunda: Home truths and tears!*

also slip past the most vigilant United Nations embargo blockade.

One illustration during the conference revealed the narrow boundaries of the politics of conscience. Among the most detailed documentation of sanctions-bursting by the Western po-

wers, is the movement of a vessel, S A Tugeloland, which sailed last May from Cape Town to Antigua. At Antigua, the vessel under a German flag though South African-owned, loaded military hardware under the customs label of "Meteorological equipment," a cargo that was sent from New York via St. Johns in Canada to Antigua. Of course, the United States Government could always clear its conscience with the plea that it thought it was allowing through meteorological equipment.

The documented evidence of the link between South Africa's nuclear research and American assistance need not also affect Washington's conscience. It could always remember the thin line between "peaceful" and "offensive" ends and claim that its help was hopefully directed to peaceful ends.

Perhaps, the politics of conscience could gain a little more mileage from personal follow-ups, the kind of face-to-face talks envisaged in Carter-Obasanjo talks. But it is not likely that the defensive arguments of the West would shift until there are visible alternative areas of maximum profit in Africa.

The most effective way of reaching the conscience of the West is intensification of armed struggle (and consequent threat to the possibility of further maximum profits in Southern Africa).



*Cried the beloved Student.*

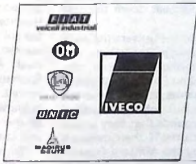
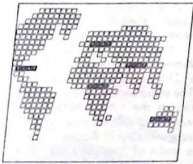
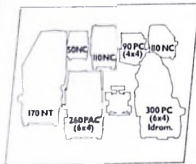


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during the sittings of the Ad Hoc Committee in Accra. In the early stages, few people spoke against it. These were allowed to do so. But later, anyone who wanted to express dissenting views, was not allowed to do so. In effect, the Committee had a bias for speakers who would support and not oppose the proposal.

On several occasions, Dr. Justice Koranteng-Addow, the chairman, explained that the duty of his Committee was to collect and collate views on the sort of Union Government that would be suitable for the nation and anyone opposing the Committee's terms of reference could not appear before it.

Meanwhile, the Bar Association and some groups and other out-spoken individuals have expressed opposition in the forms of memoranda to the Committee, with others proposed Scientific Socialism as Ghana's political ideology, with a One or Two-Party system of Government. Others too, supported the idea of Union Government but opposed the inclusion of members of the Armed Forces and the Police on the grounds that they are "not to participate in politics," and that if members of the Forces want to be politicians, they should first resign or retire before doing so.

While this was going on, there were a number of demonstrations by some workers, cooperative organisations and other organised bodies in favour of the Union Government. However, one of the greatest oppositions to the Union Government proposal came from students of the country's three universities. On May 13, they staged protest demonstrations in Accra, Cape Coast and Kumasi against it. The students also complained of high cost of living, corruption in high places and other matters affecting the state, and asked the Government to resign. The Government acted swiftly by closing down the universities and asking the students to be drafted into farming to produce more food to help beat down the cost of living.

After a month, the universities were re-opened, following mediation by Chiefs, the Catholic Secretariat, the Christian Council and prominent individuals. The students actually reported at the campuses but refused to attend lectures on the grounds that they would only resume lectures if their demands would be met by the Military Government. But before the universities re-opened, the Ghana Medical Association embarked on a solidarity strike action for the Medical students who form part and parcel of the entire student body. In that period, patients

at the hospitals were not attended to.

The Medical Association wanted the Government to re-open the universities before they would restore their services to the people.

In spite of the seriousness of the impasse, the Government asked the medical students and the final year students to report at the campuses and sit for their examinations, after which, they would return to cultivate farms, under a programme being drawn for that purpose. No final year student sat for the examination.

On June 14, the Government made certain changes in ministerial assignments. The changes affected some senior army officers who held civilian appointments and were asked to return



to barracks. Under the changes, five civilians were also appointed Commissioners for some ministries. At the same time, the Chief Justice, the Governor of the Bank of Ghana, the Surgeon at the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital and the Head of the Medical School were retired while the Commander of the Navy, with the rank of Rear Admiral and member of the Supreme Military Council was also retired. The retirement of these officers culminated in the further withdrawal of the services of the medical doctors and lawyers, notably in Accra.

In the wake of this confusion, the Government reinstated the two medical officers but not the other retired notary members. According to the Government, the retirement of the Chief Justice was on the strength of complaints received from the Bar Associa-

tion itself about a year ago.

### Confrontation

Meanwhile, tension was mounting in the country. As a result of a petition to the government, a direct confrontation ensued between the Government on one side, and the Association of Nine Professional Bodies which have been recognised as such under Decree No. 143.

The petition dealt with matters affecting the welfare of the Professional Bodies themselves, the economy and the political future of the country.

The tension further intensified when on June 23, the Nine Professional Bodies sent a joint-petition, later endorsed by the Association of University lecturers who had been unhappy on the trend of affairs in the country and had also stayed indoors. In the petitions, the Government was given an ultimatum to resign by July 1 (17th Anniversary of Ghana's Republic celebrations), otherwise, they would withdraw their services. They proposed that the Military should appoint a transitional government of civilians—a Presidential Commission, comprising the Chief Justice and a representative each from the National Council of Chiefs and the Association of Professional Bodies.

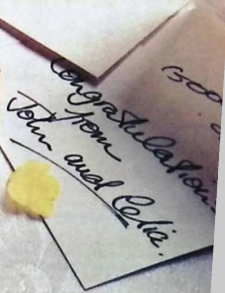
The Government did not take kindly to this petition. In its view, the government, however, kind, pious, magnanimous and tolerant, would consent to abdicate its responsibility to the people and surrender its authority on the most "extraordinary, unreasonable demand for power by some irresponsible, selfish and callous few bent on destroying Ghana."

However, true to the threats of July 6, some of the professionals actually withdrew their services. The withdrawal of the professionals' services came as a surprise to many Ghanaians because on the eve of Republic Anniversary, being the day of the expiry of the date of the professionals' ultimatum, General Acheampong made a radio and television broadcast to the nation that the Referendum would be held in nine months' time to enable Ghanaians decide the sort of Union Government or National Government they would choose. He also explained that it was not the intention of the Armed Forces to dominate the Union Government or even ask for equal representation.

By July 10, events in the country had almost become chaotic when workers of the Ghana Italian Petroleum Company (GHAIP), the Oil Refinery at Tema, also went on strike. The



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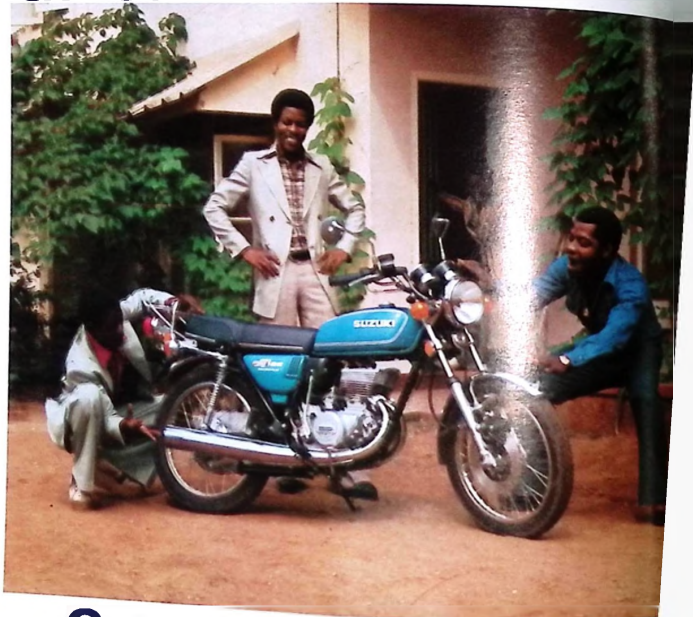
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workers described their job as "highly risky," noting that in the event of serious injuries their safety was at stake because there were no medical doctors to treat them. Many vehicles were off the road and for the five days that the workers were on strike, the economy was adversely affected. A 24-hour ultimatum given by the Government did not compel the workers and the professionals to resume duty.

On July 12, when the workers resumed duty, the government had lost substantially.

## Mutual Accommodation

Following a dialogue between the Government and representatives of the Professional Association Bodies, the Professionals officially restored their services to the public on Monday July 18, and thus ended the feud. At a joint press conference, the public was informed that members of the Association have resumed work "on the basis of the undertaking and the assurances given by the Supreme Military Council." It also emerged that the Government had given assurances of protection from victimisation and molestation of any member of the Associations who had withdrawn his services during the period.

The role played by the Ghana Trade Unions Congress needs a special mention. Some attempts were allegedly made to influence the T.U.C. or its affiliate bodies to go on strike in support of the Professional Bodies Associations, and was allegedly averted. On more than two occasions, the T.U.C. came out with public statements pledging its support for, and confidence in the Supreme Military Council, thus avoiding a situation which could have aggravated the situation.

The lesson which must be learnt from this episode is that ultimately power lies with the people. There was a certain arrogance and implied hereditary claim to power by the professional groups, and a dangerous precedent would have been laid if the government had bowed to their seven-day ultimatum: the stability of future governments would have depended on the whims and caprices of professional groups. On the other hand, the professional groups did articulate the mood of the masses and require commendation for their courage: it would have been foolhardy for any government, however powerful, to ignore the mood.

It is a credit to General Acheampong's political discretion and common sense that he did not yield to that temptation so familiar in African politics.



The pay-off so far (above) for the greedy—Somali's Siad Barre (immediate left) at the expense of Ethiopia's Mengistu Maniam (upper left).

## Horn of Africa: Somali Greed

by Blamuel Njururi, Nairobi.

A dark cloud sweeping across the Horn of Africa is increasingly assuming the colours of an ominous disaster that may leave the area economically, militarily and politically a catastrophic chapter in the history of the entire continent.

Already political and economic observers along with military analysts are watching the unfolding scenario with a pessimistic eye following developments which have left even the most conservative peace lovers rather sceptical about peaceful settlement in the whole region. From the military front, it is awesome that the area is providing the most competitive impetus in arms race in which Western and Eastern countries are sharing an escalating stake. The military build-up in some countries is perhaps the most disturbing aspect in an area where most of the countries have nothing much to claim in way of political or economic stability. Large portions of populations are being deprived of badly

needed educational, health and social services simply to save for an extra missile or gun to defend threatened regimes or their territorial boundaries. The big powers appear to be interested in safeguarding the crucial oil pathways as Arab states are interested in a Red Sea alliance of Arab States to be proposed in a conference in October.

Internally the marxist regime in Ethiopia is having more than its share of armed strife in the entire region. It is faced with secessionism as well as Marxist-Leninists fighting the regime. The government there seems to be fighting an escalating war over the secessionist province of Eritrea which has escalated to the proportions of great magnitude. The Eritrean liberation Front (ELF) and Eritrean Popular Liberation Front secessionist movements in the country, have for some time now been in full control of large areas of the province having captured and occupied several key towns leaving only the provincial capital, Asmara, a besieged fortress in a jungle. The

Eritreans wish to be independent of the Addis Ababa government and their determination through mounting assistance from radical Arab states and neighbouring Sudan leave little doubt that their 16-year struggle has entered a decisive stage.

Next to Somalia, the Ethiopian regime under strongman Col. Mengiste Haile Mariam, is deeply entrenched in a battle against Somali-backed insurgents claiming 25,000 square miles of the Ogaden—an area sparsely populated by tribes of Somali ethnic group.

## Big Power Hustle

In recent months victory bulletins issued by the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) broadcast by Radio Mogadishu from the Somali Capital,

substantially. Several tons of military ware have been airlifted from the Soviet-armed Libyan Jamahiriyah and several hundred Russians and Cubans are reported to be swarming Addis Ababa, and battle zones as military advisors, doctors and technicians in a variety of fields. It has received R34 tanks, 60,000 small arms and other equipment from North Korea comprising uniforms for a 300,000 people's militia and new weapons from Czechoslovakia. Most were paraded in a 100,000 people's militia unveiled in July in Addis Ababa.

It is questionable whether the Soviet and Cuban involvement in Ethiopia will have as a decisive role as in the Angolan civil war. U.S. ambassador to the United Nations,

intensify super power competition in the region. Oil-rich Saudi Arabia is expected to foot the bill of what may run into several billion dollars just short of what Carter describes as an overall reduction of the current volume of sales running at about 10 billion dollars. Egypt with her volatile Middle East problems will see US arms up five-fold from 40 million dollars to 200 million. Saudi has pledged 400 million dollars in assistance should Mogadishu break ties with Moscow.

## African Greed, African Imperialism

Sudan has bones to pick with both Libya and Ethiopia, Sudan's Jaffar Niumery has frequently accused Gaddafi and the Ethiopian regimes of fermenting coup plots in Sudan. In fact Niumery has grown to be a close pal of Sadat in respect of Libya since they see a common enemy in the person of Gaddafi. Peace among the three countries who are all members of the Arab League of Nations is far from near and prospects of military superiority by any of them (Egypt being the one with an upper edge now) appears not to be a deterrent to Libya which has an upper hand over the land-locked Sudan. The US has agreed to provide to Sudan 6 C130 transport planes and may sell F5 fighters. Their antagonistic relations do not augur well for a Middle East peace settlement—an Area where Egypt takes most of the blunt when war erupts.

Somalia is regarded by her neighbouring Ethiopia and Kenya as a "marauding power" adept to achieve "Great Somalia" comprising five areas which the colonial rule placed under different countries. So far the "Greater Somalia" represents the present Republic of Somalia being a merger of the British and Italian Somaliland which united at the time of independence. Ethiopia and Kenya are wary about article 6 paragraph 4 of the Somali constitution which provides for the unification of all five Somali populated areas. So far those left are the recently independent Djibouti, the Ogaden region in Ethiopia ceded by Britain in 1897 (thus Somali's claim that Ethiopia is a colonising power) and a large chunk of Kenya's north eastern area. The two countries further claim that the five-star point Somalia flag is manifestation for its expansionist design in the Horn of Africa. Somalia on the other hand contends that people of those areas should be given the right to their self-determination because they were divided up by colonial power. Obviously Kenya and Ethiopia have found it difficult to swallow such



The backers: Saudi Arabia's King Khalid (left) and President Niumery of Sudan.

have claimed massive success in large areas. Ethiopian territory and towns which only about a year ago seemed secure are now falling into the hands of insurgents who early August reported serious fighting in the military academy town of Harar and are said to be besieging the main commercial town of Dire Dawa. Dire Dawa is an important link town along the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway line which serves as Ethiopia's life line to the sea. Traffic along the line has been halted for several months after three bridges were blown up by the WSLF. Ethiopia has accused Somalia of sending regular troops into the battle field and occupying vast areas.

How long Ethiopia will stave off the mounting tide and what will be left of the 29 million people empire is not certain. Since April this year, the Addis regime severed military ties with its traditional supplier the United States and landed itself in open Russian arms. Over a period of less than six months, Ethiopia has beefed up its arsenal

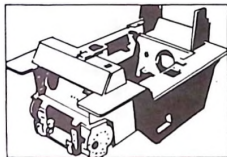
Andrew Young has said that the Cubans may play a stabilising role in both Angola and Ethiopia but a senior foreign affairs Somali official wondered if in fact Ethiopia may not provide a Vietnam for the communists. While Russia moved in to fill a vacuum left by departing US military advisors and to replenish battered Ethiopian armaments, they angered their erstwhile ally in the region—the military regime of Somalia. The fact that Somalia's relations with Moscow are strained to almost the breaking point is manifested in a turn-about arms pledge policy by three Western powers led by the US. As the Soviets moved in to flirt with Somalia's traditional enemy of Ethiopia, President Jimmy Carter announced in July that the US would provide defensive weapons to Somalia, Sudan, Egypt and Chad. The first three are former Soviet allies in the Horn of Africa. Similar gestures were made by France and Britain. What most observers fear is that this overt western challenge to the Soviet Union in the region will



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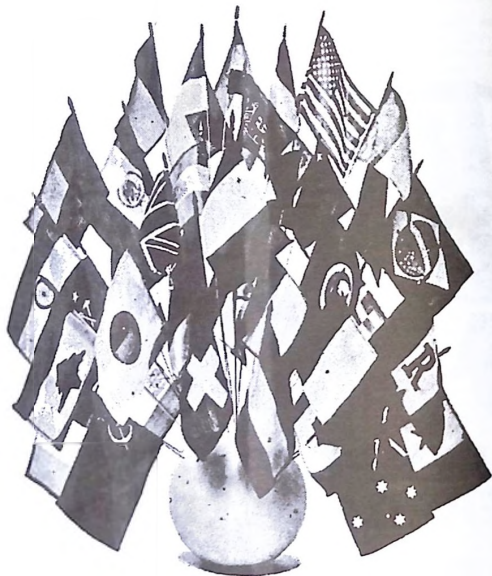
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The gun (top left); the Soldiers (top right) and the city: Dire-Dawa (above)—the Somali end and means!

Kenya's Foreign Minister, Waiyaki.

bitter pill. Ethiopia has turned down a Somali proposal that insurgents fighting in the Ogaden should be represented in an organisation of African Unity (OAU) mediation committee set up in July to reconcile the warring neighbours. In August Ethiopia displayed Somali Mig 21 wreckage shot down in the Ogaden and two Somalis who said they were regulars in the Somali army.

### Kenya, Next Target

In June when a border shoot-out flared up in the remote post of Rhamu on the Kenya-Ethiopia border, Kenya made no bones about Somalia's regular troops having been involved. Kenya's foreign Minister, Dr. Muniya Waiyaki,

who was leading the Kenya delegation to the OAU summit meeting in Gabon Libreville, accused Somalia of aggression and sounded a warning to the effect that Kenya would defend her people, property and territory without reservations. Kenya had Ethiopia on her side condemn Somalia at Libreville although back home they appear to be bent on the policy of "everyone for himself and god for us all." Kenya has turned a blind eye on the Somalia involvement in Ethiopia although Ethiopia particularly through its ambassador in Nairobi, Mr. Ato Mengiste Desta has on frequent intervals dragged Kenya into the debate of territorial claims by Somalia.

The border shoot-out which claimed

seven Somalis and six Kenyans, was vehemently refuted by Mogadishu which claimed no involvement. At Libreville, Nairobi and Mogadishu Siad Barre's officials and envoys echoed a similar tune—Somalia's non involvement. Kenya was never convinced and showed it openly when Barre dispatched one of his three vice-presidents, Gen. Hussein Kulmie Afrah on what Somalia termed as a goodwill mission to Kenya. The Somali visitor on a week-long visit to Kenya with a number of government officials received such a cold shoulder that political observers in Nairobi speculated the Somali mission had not been sanctioned by the Kenya government. They did not have long to wait before Kenya's foreign assistant minister, Mr. Kassim Mwanzandi, told parliament that the Somali party had actually burdened themselves upon suspicious Kenyans. Mwanzandi said that Africa received a cable from



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Mogadishu on July 11, two weeks after the border incident, saying the vice-president would be headed to Nairobi for a week's visit as of July 14. Kenya never responded and as Alrah and his party went as scheduled only just managed to meet the Kenyan counterpart Daniel Arap Moi two days before his trip ended in a low profiled diplomatic courtesy gesture. The two vice-presidents and a team of government officials agreed on a loose proposal to set up a border commission ostensibly to look into border clashes, promote trade, veterinary and social services and mutual co-existence along their common border. The Somalis may use the commission to dispute the existing Kenya boundary which Somalia says is disputable but Kenya is unlikely to entertain that. Observers think that Somalia wants to first see the Ogaden battle won before turning to Kenya and even then its role will be supporting kind of shift a secessionist who fought guerrilla skirmishes soon after Kenya's independence until the Arusha memorandum of understanding in 1967, mediated by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

When Carter announced that his administration would sell defensive arms to Somalia, most Kenyan politicians and government officials were dumbfounded. The US has in recent years come out as a willing arms dealer for Kenya. Currently the Americans are building one of what will be the biggest embassies in the region in Nairobi. Kenya has on order some ten F-5A fighters from the US and initial shipments are expected early next year for about four of them. When they arrive they will be the most sophisticated fighter bombers for Kenya which hitherto has been spotting 9 vintage-type British BAC-167 StrikeMasters and FAG-9 Hawker Hunters all of which are looked down upon by Somalia with 52 Somali combat aircraft. Kenya with about 10,000-strong army (Somali 20,000 men armed with modern Soviet weapons) is ill equipped and no matter how well the British, American and Israeli-trained military personnel might be, there has been growing feeling in the region that much more should be spent on armaments. The prospect of diverting vast sums of money for military deployment by a country which has borrowed substantially to boost agricultural and industrial infrastructure is what is worrying many Kenyans. There are unconfirmed reports that one jet fighter from Kenya was shot down during a hot pursuit attack after the June incident.

## Nigeria: Elites Everywhere

From Constituent Assembly results to the dramatic Foreign Exchange trials, two major events that consumed the attention of the nation recently, the message persists that the primary index of social prestige in Nigeria is money and, in spite of the tough egalitarian counter-pull of the Obasanjo regime, the various elite groups continue to over-inflate the real value of this index. A crime phenomenon like the foreign exchange scandal is of course on the other extreme and of the social spectrum while an honourable exercise like electoral race into the Constituent Assembly belongs to the other, but one requires little stretch of the imagination to see that a tie links both and that this is the overwhelming influence, computed in terms of money, of many of the actors in the different theatres.

The electoral campaign for the Constituent Assembly was almost an exclusive elitist game. The weak financial muscles pulled in no time and of course limped out of the competition early in the race. The weak muscles, consisting mainly of socialist leftists, various social idealists and generally not-materially too-well-off political aspirants, ironically represented by and large the much-discussed new political class who were to replace the old political generations. New faces—numerically a majority, too—did successfully gain entry into the Constituent Assembly, but the



Chief Rotimi Williams—Protest for elite clients?

fact is that most of the new set of politicians seem to have qualified, mainly via the index of material affluence, for the respect of their various constipated to the top (or nearly the tuencies. The grim result then, is that the Constituent Assembly is peopled mainly by members who, by the virtue of this criterion of social respect, have



Members of the Foreign Exchange Tribunal: Col. Vatsa (left), Chairman: Justice Orojo (Middle) and Mr. Okon Una.

## Kenya: Unemployment Versus Politics



Brig. Shehu Yar'Adua... by the people, for the...."

top) elite circuit and who as a result do not threaten, by their known views, the basis and structure of the existing elite formation. A field day for the Nigerian system and its criterion for the selection of ruling elites.

The Foreign Exchange scandal—in a sense, the economic (even if of a darker and criminal shade—side of the elite phenomenon—was almost bent on leading the society to the same result. In the middle of the trial, the group of defence lawyers decided to promote to a cardinal point of human rights the issue of retrospective legislation, a stab of conscience and cry of righteous indignation that predictably waited until the spray of the corrective detergent of the military regime reached their fellow elite group.

Typical of elite groups everywhere (at least in the developing countries), the cost to the nation is secondary. No one would of course blame the declining curve of Nigeria foreign exchange graph on foreign exchange racketeering, but one cannot shrug off as chicken feed the rumoured loss of over one billion dollars through this source.

That the regime, to the applause of the masses, firmly rejected the learned plea of the defence lawyers speaks as much for the firmness of the government as for the malignant growth of the elite phenomenon. The growth is pervasive. It is as evasive as a deceptively calm expanse of estuary quietly but surely swelling into a mighty wave threatening to engulf both the ship, the captain, and the neighbouring shore.

"The Constitution is very clear on the matter, and any Kenyan is free to go anywhere to seek employment." So declared Vice-President Moi in parliament in a bid to suppress the brewing storm over job offers from Oil-rich Saudi Arabia. Authoritative though he was, it was apparently an attempt that failed to pay off.

Two politicians, Messrs Shaffir Nassir and S. Hemedi, had sparked off the controversy when they announced plans to provide 4,000 jobs for Kenyans in Saudi Arabia. At a salary of not less than K. Shs. 2,500 per month, the offers were too attractive for workers to ignore, hence the official nod. But this did not deter other politicians and the Trade Unions from opposing the plan.

The Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) made up of about 47 trade unions, argued that because organised labour movement was not in existence in Saudi Arabia, anything could happen to Kenyans recruited and if at all the offer was to be considered, it should be channelled through Governments of both countries. Apparently, COTU believes that conditions would be better spelt out if things were handled by the Governments.

Political critics of the government on the other hand, see no good in the plan. To them, it is an attempt to "sell Kenyans to Arab tycoons in Saudi Arabia as slaves." Leading the opposition is Mr. Juma Boy, Mombasa MP and Secretary-General of COTU. Incidentally, both Messrs Shariff and Hemedi are also MPs from Mombasa and political opponents of Mr. Boy. At one stage COTU went as far as to demand the reference of the matter to the Assembly of ILO in Geneva.

One fact though, it is hard to determine whether or not Mr. Shaffir and his partner are acting as bonafide Kenyans or Kenyans with Arabic origins which they unfortunately are. On one hand, unemployment is so high in Kenya that it can be assumed both politicians are acting in the best interests of the country. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia's position as an Arab country brings to the fore the issue of divided interests which Mr. Boy and his fellow members are now trying to capitalise on. **Unemployment**

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President Jomo Kenyatta and his Labour Minister (right) Mr. Nyamwaya: caught in labour politics.



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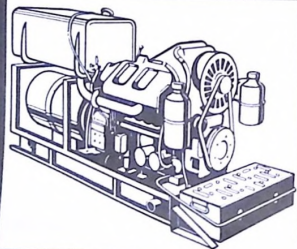
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Vice-President Arap Moi. . . . "go anywhere for employment"

6 No. 8). According to this report, 2.5 million Standard Seven school leavers and 400,000 forms four and six graduates are expected by next year. In addition, population was also expected to put on 2.3 million by 1978 over the figure in 1974. Hence, wrote Afriscope, "if the average family size stayed as planned (74-78 development plan) at 6 persons, the provision of one income earner per household would imply the creation of 400,000 jobs whereas each family with two income earners will double the figure, even before making provision for the school leavers with no where to go!" And indeed these school leavers are very great in number.

As per 1960, school enrolment ratio was 49 for Primary and 3 for Secondary but by 1970 this had risen to 67 Primary and 9 Secondary. In all probability then, 1970's younger generation who were enrolled in these schools should be out by now available for employment. Yet in this same year, 48 per cent of total population was made up of youths of 14 years and below while between 15 and 64 years accounted for another 48 per cent.

Naturally one would expect this to reflect on the number of employed people in the course of years. In 1960 3.3m were employed, 5.1m in 1970 but the sad development is that estimates for last year put the figure at 5m, recording a drop.

In fact, statistics for last year have confirmed that paid employment dropped by 1 per cent in 1976, the first in a decade. In other words, in the mix of increases in population and number of school leavers, investment and job creation have moved at such a slow pace that by last year it was apparent things were not well.

This, to an objective observer, is

understandable. Adverse effects of oil crisis and until 1976, low prices for coffee and tea have tended to tie the Government hands. In 1973, for example, oil bill was Shs. 424m and by 1974 had more than tripled to 1616m shillings. The effect of which has been the continuous balance of payments deficit and combined Government capital and current accounts which has been out of balance. Compared to surpluses of 145.8m and 187.4m shillings recorded in Government current account in 1969 and 1972 respectively, capital expenditure was 472m and 1064m shillings in the same '69 and '72. Hence, President Kenyatta had no alternative than to go on looking outside for help.

To make matters worse, Government capital expenditure on agriculture has been declining comparatively in recent years. In addition, many youngsters have trooped to the urban centres to the detriment of the farms. 1965's agriculture percentage of capital expenditure (34.8) had declined to 15.1 per cent by 1973 while transport sector's share increases from 29.9 to 30 per cent within the same period. Yet the farms still account for 88 per cent of labour force as at last year.

#### Foreign Exchange Angle

Another plus for the Saudi Arabian

deal comes from the angle of foreign exchange. During that 1973/75 period of all-time low commodity prices, Kenya's reserves went down with nothing to support it. 173 million Special Drawing Rights (SDR) recorded in 1973 dropped to 158 million in 1974 and by third quarter of 1975 it had reached 145 million SDRs. Thanks to upwards movement since then in coffee and tea prices, it changed direction by 1976 and in May this year external reserves stood at 425 million SDRs according to IMF monthly statistics. The fact that becomes apparent is the dependence of the Kenyan economy on changes in commodity prices. Hence when a chance comes along to reduce this dependence, no matter how little, it is hard to refuse. This, no doubt, was the more reason why the Government told the Arab Kenyans to go ahead in not so many words.

Despite the political benefits Mr. Boy and his friends hope to get from opposing the deal, the fact still remains that it is difficult now to honour the Government's 1974-78 plan pledge to provide jobs for all by 1980. From the point of view of the unemployed, the 2,500 shillings offer is nothing but most welcome. But, as critics point out, its political price requires careful re-think.



One and only Kenyatta being cheered by the people but for how long with increasing unemployment and short performance in plans?

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Two ways: On shore (above) and Off shore (bottom right) drilling for the black gold

## The Energy Crisis

We offer a review of the World and African Energy situation by our Staff writer, HENRY ATENAGA. The review is based partly on papers and discussions in an energy Seminar held recently in Lagos.

To some, more than enough has been said and written about the imminent Energy Crisis. Living for the present with little or no time for future-time paradise, talking of a crisis that is yet to come is, to this group of people, a misadventure gone too far.

In a way, they are correct. Right from 1938, when discovery of large oil fields in Middle East led to world shift to this new source, supply of oil has been in the surplus. Coal, the former major source, was displaced overnight and by 1972 oil and gas accounted for over 50 per cent of World Energy Consumption. Both grew at the rate of 7% per cent per year within the period. Of course, this share is still growing and coal is still losing. So given the present surplus in oil supply, the indifferent attitude of these men of the present becomes inevitable.

For example, in 1960, oil production capacity was 28m barrels per day and 58m barrels by 1975. On the other hand, consumption was 22m barrels per day in 1960 and 53m barrels few years later. Even projections

for 1985 still expect this surplus trend to continue. With consumption growing at the rate of 4% per cent per year, by 1985, demand for oil is expected to reach 95m barrels per day. Compared to projected production capacity (105m barrels per day), the surplus will be in the range of 10m barrels per day. Hence, so long as other energy sources provide their share of growth to make up the total world energy requirement of 190m barrels per day of oil equivalent (growth 5 per cent per year), there shouldn't be any crisis.

At this stage, however, one can't help looking further than this rosy mirage. Depending heavily, as we are, on oil, any disbalance in the oil projection will precipitate a major crisis in World Energy Situation. And that precisely, according to oil experts, is what we have got on our hands.

In the first place, the production projection would only be a possibility if investments and discoveries follow the trend achieved in the past decade. In other words,

we need the billions invested in the past decade and much more (to account for inflation) to achieve the projected volume of production. This however, will be hard to come by for various reasons. For one, unless Oil Companies revert from present low-profit-margins to pre-1973 high margins, investment incentives will be no where near levels achieved in the past decade. Even then, given present prohibitive legislation and conservation cutbacks, improved recovery techniques will be needed to meet the required production level. Hence, assuming the required investment level is met, this can only guarantee that demand does not outstrip supply before 1985. After 1985, limits to technological advancement will make a crisis inevitable. Eight years from now, we should either be in a position to switch to other energy sources or else the crisis in oil will precipitate a World Energy Crisis very much different from the 1973 crisis.

### Other Sources

The first alternative source that comes to mind, especially for developed countries, is Nuclear Energy. All things being equal, experts predict that by the year 2,000 Nuclear Energy should meet over 20 per cent of world energy requirements (equivalent to 1975 non-Communist oil production). Compared to expectations for 1985, (9 per cent), this, no doubt, means a steep rise. In fact, said one expert, this will mean commissioning of one nuclear plant every 2½ weeks in Western Europe and one every 2 weeks in the United States. But here again there is a big question mark.

A lot of constraints on the path of Nuclear Energy makes one question the possibility of meeting this. Environmentalists' resistance, technological shortcomings and world uranium prices are but a few of the problems the world will have to overcome to bring Nuclear Energy to the fore.

After Nuclear Energy, we have gas as a second possible source of energy. Presently, gas is inevitably flared and although, it is at





The Akosombo dam in Ghana: an example of where hopes lie for Africa.



Solar collector panels mounted on roof of George Town's Elementary School in Atlanta, Georgia.

times associated with crude oil, it remains a yet-to-be fully tapped source of energy. Only about 300,000 barrels a day oil equivalent is currently carried over the world and by 1980, given present facilities, this might increase to 700,000 barrels per day oil equivalent. World gas reserve stands at between 1000-2000 billion barrels (25% in OECO countries, 30% in Communist and 45% in developing ones). But establishing an LNG plant for liquefaction of these presents a lot of problems.

There must be financially and technically sound customers available apart from capital requirement of between \$2bn. to \$2.5bn. per plant. Only 5 LNG plants are presently in operation and any substantial increase in world supply of liquefied gas in the near future lies solely with the United States where production can be increased from 500m metric tons to 2,000m metric tons by the year 2000.

Coal can still have a part to play in averting the crisis. Its reserves dwarf proven reserves of both oil and gas but only half are recoverable at present prices. The same goes for shale and tar sands. Although they can be processed to oil at current US oil prices, only one large-scale plant is currently operating in the world (in Canada) for tar sand. None for shale. Utilisation of natural forces like windmills and dams have no international value in the fight against energy shortage mainly because they cannot be exported.

In the final analysis, there is no gainsaying the fact that, like Mr. J. D. Lunn put it: "the forthcoming period will be one of energy transition (1980-1985) away from oil as the dominant fuel. Greater international co-operation among increasingly interdependent nations is essential" to make it a fruitful one.

## The African Situation

Because we have just, more or less, started

using oil, a handful of African countries do not have oil refining facilities neither do they produce crude. They depend on other countries for refined oil. So that if one tries to compare African petroleum production with consumption, the exercise becomes somehow useless except of course, we assume Africa is in no way dependent for energy on other nations.

By 1985, Africa is not better off. African crude oil production per day stood at 5,944 barrels in 1973, then dropped continuously to 5,571,000 barrels and 5,053,000 barrels in the next one year and two. In 1976, Nigeria, Libya, Algeria and Egypt fared better but Gabon went further down. With these, if we compare the 2.8m barrels per day consumed in 1973 3.01m barrels and expected 3.31m barrels per day on 1975 and 1977 respectively, it becomes apparent that we have surplus in Africa too. And with experts expecting African consumption to stay at the rate of 3.9m barrels per day by 1980 and 5.5 m barrels per day in 1985, it stands to reason that if production remains at improved 1976 levels, the surplus should continue. At this stage, however, the African situation shows a marked difference from the world situation.



Alkator Fusion reactor in Massachusetts.

Despite prospecting and minor finds newly discovered in countries like Chad, Cameroun, it will be impossible for production to remain or better 1976 levels well into 80s for a number of reasons.

One expects lack of investment within this period to be more pronounced for Africa than in the rest of the world. With Nationalisation and Africanisation policies prevalent, company profit margins might become so low that any investment will be government-led. Secondly, as countries deplete their precious reserves go down with so much left to achieve in the economy, many will take to cutbacks in production or even have this forced on them by the depletion of not too large deposits. For example, Gabon's continuous drop in production is due to exhaustion of deposits and failure to discover more.

Then, we have the gap between production and final product consumption created by lack of adequate refining facilities. If African countries without refineries do not construct theirs, when the world crisis comes, this inadequacy will work against Africa so effectively that even by 1980 the might become a net importer in quantity terms, unless, we too looked for our own alternative sources.

## The Alternatives

For us, salvation lies in the utilisation of natural resources. Hydro-Electric power generation is the first that easily comes to mind. Happily, almost all African countries have recognised this source. As a result, the past three years have seen an unprecedented increase in plans for new dams.

In Mali, a hydro-electric station equipped with 4 turbo-alternators generating 11,900 kilowatts is to be established. Similarly, in Mozambique work on the 2nd phase of the Massiger dam has started in addition to the Cumborra Botsa dam already on stream. Ivory Coast, Zambia, Zaire and Tanzania also have similar plans.

In Zambia, with the 1st stage of the Kariba Dam already commissioned, the 2nd stage (additional two 150 mw generators)

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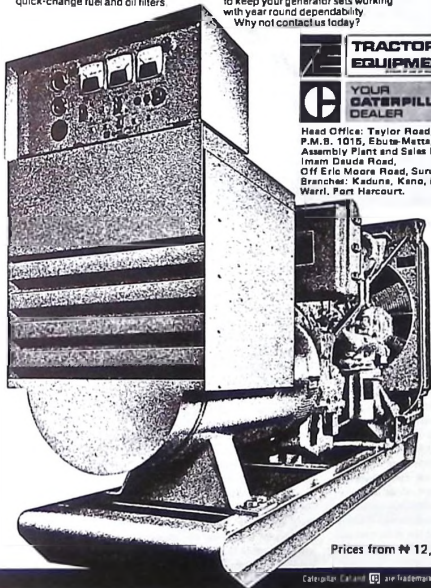
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will hopefully be commissioned by 1982 Ivory Coast's 6,400 metres long and 38 metres high, 900 kw dam is already being worked on at Buvo and will come on stream by 1980. This will augment the Tasbo project on River Bandama which is expected to have average running capacity of 110 megawatts.

But no African nation has, so far, been able to beat Senegal in the utilisation of the abundant Solar Energy. Apart from past installations, a 10 kw Solar pump and a 60 kw Turbine will be installed this year. In Mali, though, France is to install a 90 kw Solar power plant. And in Niger a Solar Energy Board has been established and a factory to convert solar energy into electricity is being built.

Two sources on which hope doesn't

stands out as irresistible in the face of the imminent crisis. Drop in its production and consumption gave rise to the increased use of oil and gas today. Coal mining depends to a great extent, on the structure and position of the reserve in the earth's crust. But broadly speaking, the various mining methods can be divided into two—Surface and Deep mining. Surface mining is the most welcome but unfortunately is the least applied because most coal reserves lie deep in the ground. Recovery ratio in surface mining can be as high as 95 per cent although on the average about 80 per cent.

In deep mining, on the other hand, despite risks of cave-ins, roof-falls, explosions etc., recovery ratio is a mere 50 per cent and average production per man per day is 11 tons compared to 35 tons in surface

release heat which in turn produces steam. The steam powers turbines and from them electrical energy is got.

Pollution tendencies and radioactive wastes, which are hard to dispose of, are responsible for the present resistance from the environmentalist. In fact, opposition is so great that many countries are scaling down their nuclear programmes. A study, recently concluded, called for the establishment of reprocessing centres in politically stable parts of the world on joint basis primarily because the cost of these reprocessing plants are so high that very many countries cannot bear it on individual basis.

Plans for reprocessing 12,400 tonnes of spent fuel by 1990 has been announced by the non-Communist world but that there are doubts is obvious enough. However, an expert believes that for nuclear energy to play the role envisaged for it from 1985, the world needs fast-breeder reactors, the latest in the reactor demand.

Natural gas is another of the new energy sources. When developed it can meet domestic and factory needs. Basically, there are two types of natural gases—the Associated and non-Associated gas. The former is found dissolved in crude oil hence can only be produced along with oil. The latter can be produced from gas reservoir scattered all over the world. Both, however, undergo the same process for transportation. They are cooled to minus 161°C to become liquid. In the process about 600 cu metres of gas is reduced to one cu metre of liquid and transported. But a typical liquefaction plant needs compressors, storage tanks, heat exchanger, generators and steam boiler, hence, the \$2bn.—\$2.5bn. needed to establish one.

Hydrogen, tar-sand and shale, are all new sources of energy that can be developed. Hydrogen, for example, is plentiful and has high energy contents. It burns leaving water as the only by-product and if developed, can be used for practically all purposes. As for tar-sand and shale, J.D. Lunn observed: "the rate of development will depend on trends in world oil prices and is unlikely to be significant before 21st century."

Lost but not the least, there is Solar energy. In 1973, a U.S. study proposed that if the United States spent \$3,500m on solar research over the next 15 years, it could be drawing a substantial proportion of its energy from the sun in 50 years hence. According to the Financial Times, the cost of required investment in Solar Energy will make \$200,000m "look like a small change."

However there are two options for those who want to harness solar energy. They can either go along with the small-scale application of Solar Collectors or install geosynthetic collectors in geo-stationary orbit for collection of sun-rays night and day. The first option is most suitable for space and central heating and home cooling.



Coal, the once dead energy source, on its way to revival and dominant role in the future.

really lie for Africa are Natural Gas and Nuclear Energy. Both are too costly for majority of poverty-stricken African countries. However, it is worth mentioning that two countries—Algeria and Nigeria—have hopes for Liquefied Natural Gas. Algeria is presently waiting for a second plant to come on stream by 1980 while Nigeria, last October, signed a \$2,000m contract with BP and Shell to build its first.

Egypt, on the other hand, hopes to establish 12 nuclear stations at the cost of \$15,000m along the Egyptian coast before the year 2,000. French engineers arrived late last year to carry out feasibility surveys on uranium finds and station sites.

In a nutshell, if Africa can effectively meet its domestic and part of its industrial purpose demand from utilisation of abundant natural forces, she can survive. That is, so long as we do not forget the roles coal and firewood are presently playing and should still play in our lives.

## Old And New Sources

Among the old sources of energy, coal

mining. Apart from its use in steam and locomotive engines; oil can now be got from coal—all pointing to a rosy future for it.

In sharp contrast, wind-driven mills appear to be on their way out. Disadvantages are, no doubt, too many. It generates only when there is wind and even then, generated power is usually very small. For example, in Holland about 300 windmills are still in use generating a total of 0.15 megawatts which is not continuous. Unless there is an improvement in its technology one does not see windmills performing.

Among the new energy sources, Nuclear Energy stands out, technologically. In a nutshell, its technology revolves round reactors—devices that permit fission of atoms at controlled rate. Uranium ore is purified, enriched in U 235 (already enriched uranium) then passed to a reactor which transforms it through radiation to electricity. The resulting spent fuel is taken to a reprocessing plant for reprocessing and separation into waste (mainly plutonium and unburnt uranium). In the reactor, fission of the atoms

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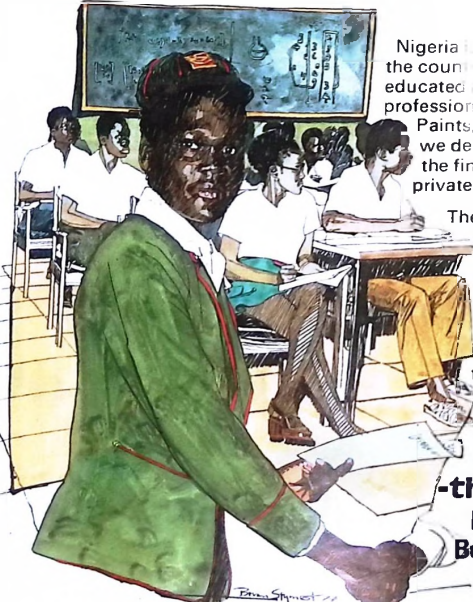
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# Lead

By Tami Hultman and Reed Kramer,  
Washington, D.C.

[This article was researched with a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism].

In 1973, two Foxboro Corporation engineers left their Massachusetts USA factory for South Africa, to supervise installation of two FOX 1 computers purchased by the South African government. Negotiations for the deal, code-named Project Houston, had been conducted in extraordinary secrecy. Not until the engineers were on the spot did they learn that the Foxboro equipment—the most powerful sensor-based computer system then—available—was the key to a pilot enrichment plant, a highly clandestine facility outside the network of international nuclear safeguards.

Two years later, South Africa successfully brought the experimental Valindaba enrichment plant into operation, thereby propelling itself into an elite club of nations who have mastered the secret of transforming raw uranium into a form useable in nuclear reactors. It had passed the major hurdle towards making nuclear fuel and weapons—an event of enormous importance in a world which is both energy hungry and insecure.

The accomplishment received little attention outside the African continent until this month, when both Soviet and French officials said South Africa was preparing to detonate a nuclear bomb—news which prompted the State Department to obtain assurances to the contrary from the South African government.



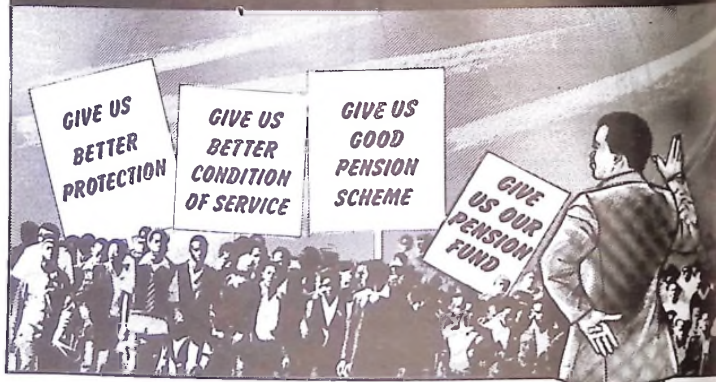
Ex President Nixon (left) and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (right), . . . secret nuclear aiders of apartheid!



But the flurry of  
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failed to highlight th  
dilemma facing the C  
develops nuclear or no  
power today is sobering  
when the finger on the bu  
to an increasingly isolated  
gured white minority regime.  
may prove even more troubl  
the high card South Africa  
in the approaching world energy  
If that aspect of South A  
nuclear potential has gone largely  
noticed here, its significance is not  
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the bargaining power equal to that  
any Arab country with a lot of oil,  
exulted Atomic Energy Board vice

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But the inability of the U.S. to meet projected demand and the unwillingness of other nations to remain so dependent on one source is causing the picture to change. The Soviets are currently supplying two-thirds of Western Europe's enriched fuel needs, according to Administration sources. Europe's first commercial enriching facility jointly owned by Britain, Holland, and West Germany, opened in 1975, and other plants are under construction or on the drawing boards.

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Mining companies are actively pursuing ways to increase uranium output even faster. One quick method, which experts say could raise South African reserves 10-20 per cent, is reprocessing the discarded tailings from the gold mines. Nearly all uranium output in South Africa is a by-product of gold mining, and because of inefficient methods in earlier years the tailings contain easily recoverable deposits of uranium, gold, and precious metals. Several large facilities for reprocessing are under construction, and mining houses are already negotiating long-term contracts to sell both newly-

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Prospecting for new uranium deposits is now first priority for the largest mining houses, such as Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation. Results are a state secret, but unofficial reports suggest that in South-African-controlled Namibia, in particular, reserves could be far larger than previously known.

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Above: UN's Dr. Waldheim. Below: Mr. Apartheid; John Vorster and Walter Mondale (U.S.) at conference table: Another round of nuclear hide and seek?



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Newbreeds: Gen. Obasanjo (left), President Carter (middle) and his Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance: the same old story?

the world's largest uranium mine. At full capacity the Rossing mine will produce 5000 tons of uranium oxide per year.

The uranium riches are a prime reason South Africa has held onto Namibia in the face of international condemnation and an escalating guerrilla war by independence forces. Contracts selling Rossing's entire output until well into the 1980's have been signed, and South African mining firms have carved out spheres of interest in areas still being prospected. The South African government's recent willingness to compromise on formal political control in Namibia has been accompanied by measures designed to guarantee continued economic access.

Current South African uranium sales are all yellow cake, a semi-processed ore, but the commercial enrichment plant being constructed is expected to double the country's uranium revenues. South Africa hopes to account for 15 per cent of world enrichment capacity by 1986. For some customers South Africa may have special attraction as the only one of the big four producers (accounting for 80 per cent of non-Communist world reserves) which has not joined the anti-proliferation drive for stricter controls of nuclear material. Nations who, for reasons of military ambitions or national pride, want to thumb their noses at the restrictions the U.S., Australia, and Canada are attaching to sales will find in South Africa a willing supplier.

Whither, Carter?

The challenge this poses for the Carter administration is considerable. An extensive review of U.S./South Africa nuclear relations is now underway in the State Department, and combines two high-priority areas of concern for Administration foreign policy—non-proliferation and Southern Africa.

American policy-makers face several questions:

**"The Pelindaba research facility, built largely with U.S. material, is operated under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. An application is pending to ship an additional 60 pounds of highly-enriched uranium. Should South Africa continue to receive such material, plus equipment and technical advice, while refusing to sign the non-proliferation treaty?"**

**"The Valindaba enrichment plant is outside the scope of the U.S./South African nuclear cooperation agreement, since nothing specifically classified as 'nuclear material' from the U.S. has been used to operate it. This facility, which South Africa has never offered to place under IAEA safeguards, can turn out enough weapons-grade uranium to build a sizeable arsenal. Should the U.S. continue to supply computers and other hardware for this plant? Can any other measures be taken to discourage a nuclear weapons build-up in South Africa?"**

**"Fuel for the two French-built nuclear power reactors is scheduled to be supplied by the U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration. Should this provision in the cooperation agreement be changed, pending South Africa's endorsement of the non-proliferation treaty?"**

**"A large array of equipment will be required for construction of the commercial enrichment plant. Even if South Africa agrees to place the plant under IAEA safeguards, should the U.S. allow the export of equipment, some of it so sophisticated that South Africa will not be able to obtain it elsewhere, for a facility which will establish the white-ruled nation in a politically and economically privileged position in the nuclear market?"**

Pretoria has been warned, says

Richard Mouse, the new Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. "That there must be a progressive transformation of South African society and an end to racial discrimination, or of necessity, our relationship with the South African government will change." Just how much the Administration will try to alter the long-standing nuclear ties is yet to be seen.

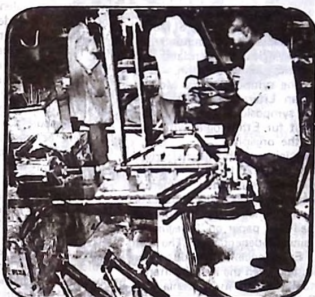
The architect of the Carter nuclear policy, Deputy Under-Secretary of State Joseph Nye, Jr., says the U.S. is adopting several tactics for motivating nations to join in the non-proliferation drive, including security agreements which offer the U.S. nuclear umbrella as a substitute for weapons development. Nye argues that the non-proliferation treaty offers adherents the benefits of energy development on a non-discriminatory basis: "Countries without nuclear weapons have accepted an explicitly unequal status in the military area, on the condition that they be treated equally with regard to civil nuclear cooperation."

Since South Africa has already utilized many of the civil benefits of cooperation while concurrently developing its weapons option, it is hard to see how current policies offer South Africa any incentive to join the non-proliferation campaign.

Whether a complete end to cooperation would do more than impede South Africa's rise to the top is not clear. What is certain is that, without a cut-off, South Africa faces no serious obstacles to becoming a major broker of world energy supplies within the next decade—with the attendant ability to form protective alliances for itself. With blacks' challenges to South Africa's rulers on the rise, that small margin of difference is what critics of the white government hope for, and why they want to see decisive action from the Carter administration.

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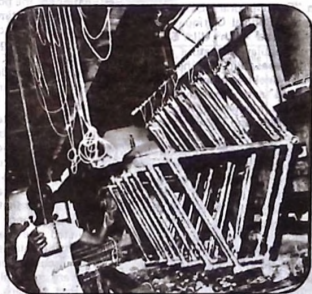
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## Symposium on Modern East African Literature

\*Chris Wanjala, Nairobi University.

The symposium took place in that historical wine-producing city of Mainz, in West Germany. It was in honour of the German Africanist, translator and literary critic, Janheinz Jahn. The theme of the symposium was Modern East African Literature and its Audience; the symposium was hosted by the Institut für Ethnologie, with Ulla Schild as the organizer.

The participants and guests arrived on Friday the 22nd April, and met casually at a tavern called "Taberna" on the Mainz University campus. The symposium opened with the present writer reading a paper on "Imaginative writing since Independence: The East African Experience." A discussion followed, and then the Kenyan literary intellectual resident in Tanzania, Professor Grant Kamenju followed with a paper on "Contemporary East African Literature: A Radical Critique." The first day closed with Ulla Schild's paper on "Popular Literature in East Africa." She was followed, the following day, by Mineke Schipper-de Leeuw from Holland and Ebrahim Hussein the Tanzanian playwright, who read papers on "Origin and Forms of Drama in the African context," and "Traditional African Theatre" respectively. The programme of the conference ended with words of literary interest from E. Kezilahabi, the Swahili novelist from Tanzania, and Abdilatif Abdalla, the Mombasa-born poet who lives in Tanzania. The novelist talked about "The Swahili Novel and the Common Man in East Africa," whilst the Kenyan poet addressed himself to "Swahili poetry: Its Past and Present."

Monday the 25th was the last day of the symposium and the most interesting from the point of view of the East African participants. Professor Ernst Dammann, once a missionary in East Africa after the First World War, addressed the symposium on "Muhammad bin Abu Bekr bin Omar Kidjumbwa Masihii: A Swahili Poet Between Ancient and Modern Times." His paper was

discussed, and then there followed a Reception by the President of the University (equivalent to a Vice-Chancellor) before the delegates broke out into sightseeing and touring wine villages with tasting of wine. The symposium had ended with a petition to the President of the University, urging that in view of what the Institut für Ethnologie und Afrika-studien had done in African studies, a chair of African literature be created at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, West Germany. The petition was signed by all the participants.

The last paper was the most interesting to us. It showed what personal experience of the literary critic informed by encounter with the creative writer can bring to literary criticism. Professor Ernst Dammann had met the poet he was talking about in the late 1930's. His paper was full of personal estimations of the poet as a man, and as a poet; these estimations illuminated the poetry that Professor Ernst Dammann discussed in great detail. Mungai wa Kamau, a VOK journalist working in Holland, recorded the address by Professor Ernst Dammann, with a lot of interest.

The Second International Janheinz Jahn symposium treated the development of East African literature from its oral sources, through its early Makerere College days, to its more committed epoch just before and after independence. It noted that there is now a sudden disappearance of foreigners who dominated the East African literary scene in the colonial period, and focused its discussion on the wealthy stock of literary material written by indigenous East Africans.

At one stage it became necessary to compare African literature in the English expression with African literature in the French expression. Although there has developed serious literature from the English-speaking African world, it has been imbued with the purist Calvinistic trait that is typical of the English people in their colonizing mission. The Franco-phone African

literature on the other hand should that instead of that religious overtone in the Anglo-phone African literature, African literature can offer positive alternatives to man's alienation. The delegates of the Jahn Symposium were thinking of Sembene's God's Bits of Wood.

Right from the first paper, Popular Literature in East Africa was one of the most controversial issues. Emerico Seruma's novel *The Experience* has, since its publication in 1970, paved the way for new writing in East Africa. The writing in "popular style" was welcomed by Dr. Angus Calder in 1971 when the latter was teaching literature at the University of Nairobi. Dr. Angus Calder argued that despite its treacherously bourgeois conclusion, *Son of Woman* by Charles Mungai, for instance, looked like "a solid beginning for an authentically popular application of the novel form in East Africa."

Ulla Schild brought the discussion of Popular Literature in East Africa to a head with her paper on the subject. From the discussion of her paper, it became abundantly clear that the term "popular literature" must be defined. Is popular literature the trivial literature that is produced on pulp (cheap paper) in mass? Are the poems produced in Baraza, Taifa Leo, Uhuru and Mambo Leo part of this popular literature? How do we judge a popular novel? Is it by its simple structuring, and how its suspense is resolved? Who reads popular literature? Are the repeated structure and the repeated motifs in this literature meant to emphasize a popularity that people will then rush for? These questions are still to be answered by students of African literature.

The conference did more work on Swahili poetry than on the poetry in English. Perhaps this has been long overdue. Discussions of drama were mainly theoretical and searching because they brought the term that Janheinz Jahn is best known for, "Neo-African Literature" ("Neo-Afrikanische Literatur," in German) into question. The



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BRANCHES THROUGHOUT NIGERIA

Dutch literary scholar, Mineke Schipper-de Leeuw, argued that it is time the term "Neo-African Literature" was questioned. This came from the view that the roots of African literatures are in the oral traditions which are as old as Africans themselves. Where do you then see African literature as new, and where is it old? The related question was raised by Ebrahim Hussein,

Just as the question of popular literature was left unanswered at the Jahn symposium on East African literature, so was the need to distinguish ritual from theatre as we know it in Europe. A theatrical play may be defined as an artistic piece of information that is concentrated in action to a number of hours on a stage, involving actors and the audience. It is a timed activity for purely aesthetic entertainment.

Where does a ritual come in? A ritual, even in its functional role, may have aesthetic elements found in theatre. The observer has the choice to withdraw from the ritual action and to observe the ritual dance (or whatever) from a distance. That way he responds to the ritual as he would do to play on the stage. And yet a play on the stage may well play a social function as well as the ritual dance. Is the play then a ritual?

The papers of the 2nd International Janheinz Jahn symposium will be published in a year's time by the Institut für Ethnologie und Afrika Studien, West Germany. Already the papers of the First International Janheinz Jahn Symposium 1975 have been published in *Neo-African Literature and Culture, Essays in Memory of Janheinz Jahn*, Ed. Bernth Lindfors and Ulla Schild, Wiesbaden: B. Heymann 1976, at 352 s., or DM 68. Further symposia of this nature will yet illuminate African literature further, and probably leave the literary world, a little clearer to us than ever before.

## book review

**Title:** The Sociology of The Third World (Disparity and Involvement)  
**Author:** J. E. Goldthorpe  
**Publishers:** Cambridge University Press 1975  
**Reviewer:** Shabanji Opukah

The trend of Sociological thought and analysis is fast shifting from mere

diagnosis of Societal phenomena to a serious concern for the problems of development and related issues. And it is of course a fact that the attempts to defeat squalor, improve wealth distribution and thereby raise standards of living is the essence of the development debate. This is the focus of The Sociology of The Third World—a study of disparity and involvement.

Disparity is seen to exist at both intra-national as well as international levels in this Universe of inequalities. This paradoxically goes along with the involvement all classes create in the common human struggle to improve their lots.

Goldthorpe is looking at the underdeveloped societies. He focuses on history as well as other disciplines. In history for instance he finds evidence of exploitation through the colonisation of most of these societies at one time or another. This Epoch developed paternalistic attitude in the coloniser-colonised relations; a thing that today manifests itself in dependency and domination Exploitation; although he refutes this last term!

It appears that disparities hide behind GNPs and such other misleading economic jargon. Goldthorpe therefore suggests more "appropriate" means of looking at development, like real consumption patterns and energy use. Thus whereas the rich consume 3000 calories of nutrients a day, the poor do with only 2000.

The result is the emergence of growth poles between the rich and poor within and between nations whilst the poor countries suffer from "big-firm-small-country" syndrome, leading to industrialisation without employment. This is underdevelopment.

The overall effect is in the exhaustion of non-renewable resources pollutions and shortages of all sorts, while the third world is trapped in the snares of big power politics and economic supremacy aggravated by malice. How do they escape?

For escape the author prescribes the gap-approach to development where the poor must strive to catch up with their models the rich! This should occur through the need for achievement (nAch) as it will lead to a disposition to achieve tasks oneself rather than have them set from outside.

He however cautions against internal paternalism and the dependency complex which amount to the "interference complex" by the state against the ruled and against itself a thing that is all too common in Third World countries.

He also notes that despite aids and

experts-agencoes aimed at alleviation of poverty etc, there are still problems ranging from a lack of homogeneity in the experts themselves to a mixture of motives in the very aids and donations. Thus the moral obligation to share is thoroughly undermined. The author conclusively asserts that "the great divide is not between the socialists and the capitalists but between the rich industrial World and the poor countries."

This book appears great in both content and intention. Yet from deeper analysis one disappointingly discovers that it actually evades the core of the underdevelopment debate which is inevitably the sociology of exploitations. The heavy emphasis on regional rather than class disparities is misleading as it is not the best way to analyse underdevelopment. This particular style is out of fashion. And so are the aggregate measures that he uses for measuring "development."

The author further commits a blunder by implicitly brushing aside such critics of neo-colonialism like Frank, Rodney and Samir Amin while paying tribute to sociologists like Weber, Durkheim, Parsons and others; fellows whose works have little or nothing to do with underdevelopment and inequality as it were. Tragically he at one stage defends colonialism arguing that colonies benefitted a lot from it, since it "transformed" traditional societies into modern ones!

Worse still the book lacks a coherent sociological approach. It appears the author was too hasty and ambitious to give this due consideration. The whole thing reads more or less like a careful and subjective summary of various Western Scholars with an over-emphasis on Myrdal.

We cannot help concluding that the book is self-defeating and at times contradictory in that, whereas it seemingly calls for self-reliance and economic morality in the world, it is in fact a campaign for the continuance of dependency and exploitation in the cloak of intra and international co-operation and human brotherhood based I suppose, on benevolence. This is calling for utopia that can never be.

Finally it is clear the author has deliberately refused to see the Third World in its proper perspective vis-a-vis the powerful nations. To substitute the term exploitation for quasi-exploitation as he does without much justification, is bad scholarly behaviour. Goldthorpe is aware of this. He is another victim of the myth of "objective social science." This is like a call to Third World intellectuals to answer back

## ECOWAS Games: Hopes and Prospects

\*Ogeh Appah

Although the concept of regional games cannot be said to be totally new in Africa (the Jeux Inter-Africas comprising of French colonial Africa, the East and North African Games had been in existence before the all-embracing All African Games came into being in 1965), the idea had not really caught on in the West African zone of the continent, where sporting links had

phone countries, for instance, played Netball, Polo, Cricket, and Hockey which were the favourites of their colonial overlords, they (British colonial Africa) knew very little or nothing at all of Basketball, Cycling, Judo and Handball which were highly favoured and developed in the Francophone countries.

Although the British, the French, or any other colonial power may today

and love which the 1960 games generated was allowed to die and the nations went back to the country-to-country setting again. Most prominent amongst these sporting engagements was the annual festivals between Nigeria and Ghana, organised on a rotational basis.

However, the sordid incidents that nearly marred the 1975 Ghana-Nigeria fiesta highlights the nucleus of the First West African Games (ECOWAS GAMES). The 1975 Accra meeting had sparked up so much tension from both countries that athletes degenerated into fights and officials disagreed openly. It took the personal intervention of both Ghana's Head of State General (then Colonel) Acheampong and the then Commissioner for Social Develop-



*Cycling: Another game that will underline ECOWAS Spirit.*

been strictly structured by the colonial cleavages of the countries that make up the sub-region.

While the English-speaking countries participated only in sporting activities organised by sister English-speaking countries; their French-speaking counterparts would rather participate in the "Jeux Inter-Africas" which embraced all the Francophone African countries.

Notably, Nigeria and Ghana which had annual sporting fiestas since both countries became independent had never extended their annual festivals towards the Republic of Togo and Benin (then Dahomey), which are geographically contiguous to both Ghana and Nigeria.

This colonial setting not only drove a wedge between the countries of the sub-region but also limited to a large extent their knowledge of each other; and of certain games prevalent in the respective countries. While the Anglo-

preach a "gospel" of divorcing sports from politics, it is evidently clear that these colonial powers were not only guilty of this offence by implanting it in their colonial strongholds but also vehemently perpetuated the practice for the benefit of their continued exploitation.

### Nucleus

With independence however, which started in the late 50s, came a new thinking in intra African sports. Nigeria made a bold step towards breaking the iceberg and achieving the objective of regional games, when she invited all the West African countries, be they French, English or Portuguese speaking, to what would rightly have been the First West African Games, to mark the country's attainment of independence in 1960. The effect of this was quite encouraging and assuring for the future; but the spirit of friendship, brotherhood

ment, Youth and Sports, Major-General Olufemi Olutayo, who led the Nigerian contingent to Accra to avert what could have resulted in hostilities between the sister-countries.

The ECOWAS GAMES (the "ECOWAS" tag is in reference to the birth of the Economic Community of West African States which incidentally came into reality at about the same time that arrangements for the 1st games in Lagos and Ibadan were concluded), therefore is a direct outcome of the recommendations of a panel that was set up to look into the aforesaid disturbances, with the possibility of safe-guarding future reoccurrences and also widening the scope of the competitions.

### Prospects

Besides fostering the bonds of brotherhood and unity amongst the ECOWAS nations, the biannual West African Games is expected to spotlight the

# PUBLIC NOTICE

## INTRODUCTION OF NEW CUSTOM REVENUE DOCUMENTS AND SECURITY EQUIPMENT

It is hereby notified for information of the general public and of importers/licensed Customs agents in particular that with effect from 1st November, 1977 the Department of Customs and Excise will introduce the following new documents for the relevant Customs transactions.

- (a) Form C. 188—Import Entry for Home Use. This Form replaces Form Sale 42—Import Entry for Home Use, now in use.
- (b) Form C. 189—Entry for Warehouse, Ex-ship or Ex-Government Warehouse—in place of the current Form Sale 92—Entry for Warehouse, Ex-ship or Ex-Government Warehouse.
- (c) Form C. 190—Import Entry for Motor Vehicles. This Form is to be used exclusively for entering imported vehicles.
- (d) Book C.66—Supplementary Release Book. This book is to be used for the subsequent release of packages which were placed on stop by Customs at the time part of the consignment was released on the Release Authority issued when the goods were originally examined.
- (e) Book C.321—Customs Receipt. This Book replaces Book C.303 (Customs Miscellaneous Receipt), Book C. 306—Passenger's Duty Receipt—and Book C. 304 (Auction Sale Receipt Book).

2. **Other Entry Forms:** The other Entry Forms listed in Annex 'A' in Customs and Excise Notice No. 27 published as Government Notice No. 1928 of 1970 are still extant. These forms are not affected by the procedural changes arising from the introduction of the new Entry Forms mentioned above.

3. **Production and Sale of the New Entry Forms:** (i) Form C.188 (Import Entry for Home Use), Form C.189 (Entry for Warehouse Ex-ship or Ex-Government Warehouse) and Form C. 190 (Import Entry for Motor Vehicles) are to be exclusively produced by the Board of Customs and Excise and sold to Licensed Customs Agents and importers. \* Entries have been produced in serially numbered books of 50 sets and are to be sold at the marked price of ~~£~~14 each booklet. An official receipt Book 321 shall be issued by the proper officer for every sale. For security reasons, the Board of Customs and Excise is maintaining at every selling point, a permanent record of sale of these books in a Register which contains among other details the name and contact address of the buyer, quantity and serial number of book(s) etc.

(ii) It is therefore advised that Large Stock of the Old Entry Forms affected by these changes should no longer be produced. Importers and Licensed Customs agents should endeavour to exhaust their stocks of these old Entry Forms now in use before 1st November, 1977.

(iii) Licensed Customs agents are expected to reflect in the bills for their services, the exact cost of the Entries used in clearing an importer's consignment. The Board reserves the right to revoke the license of any agent who is known to be charging prices higher than what ought to be paid for a set of Entries.

4. **Other Changes in procedures concomitant with the Use of the new Entry Forms:** The introduction of the new Entry Forms will give rise to some changes in Customs procedures for clearance of imported goods.

- (i) Six copies each of the Form C.188 (Import Entry for Home Use) and Form C.189 (Entry for Warehouse Ex-ship or Ex-Government Warehouse) and seven copies in the case of Form C.190 (Import Entry for Motor Vehicles) are now required to be submitted to Customs.
- (ii) Invoices and other documents that should be submitted together with Entries are to be stapled to the back of the set of Entries and must not be inserted at the back of the original and duplicate copies of the Entry.
- (iii) As from 1st November, 1977 a separate Customs Release Note of Form Sale 12 will not be required to be submitted with every set of Entry because one of the copies of the new Entry

Forms has been designed to incorporate Customs and Nigerian Ports Authority/Nigeria Airways release requirements.

(iv) Supplementary Release Book—Book C.66 will be prepared by the proper collector for the release of goods entered but either short released or short landed and subsequently produced or landed.

(v) The new procedure for clearance of imported motor vehicles call for special attention of importers and their licensed Customs agents.

(a) Imported motor vehicles are to be exclusively entered on Form C.190 Import Entry for Motor Vehicle.

(b) Only one model of vehicle (e.g. Peugeot 404 Saloon or Mercedes 200) irrespective of the number of vehicles of that model shall be entered on one Entry. It follows from this that one invoice (in original and duplicate) is to be submitted for one model of vehicle or vehicles together with Entry.

(c) In view of this requirement, importers and their licensed Customs agent are advised to obtain separate invoices for various models of vehicles if these models are to be shipped as one consignment.

(d) Importers and their licensed Customs agents are to note that any Entry on which more than one model of vehicle is entered shall be rejected at the Import Control Seat.

(e) Form C.191—Vehicle Duty Certificate which is the same as the vehicle card mentioned in paragraph (viii) of the Explanatory Notes contained in column 29 of the vehicle (Entry Form C.190) should be submitted at the time the vehicle is about to be released from Customs Control and one vehicle certificate is to be submitted for every motor vehicle.

(f) A vehicle Duty Certificate (Form C.191) will be issued in triplicate by the Customs to the importer or to the person/body entitled to duty free privileges in respect of every motor vehicle on which duty has been paid or on which exemption from payment of duty has been granted.

(g) After Customs authorisation, the importer or person/body entitled to duty free privileges will forward the three copies of the vehicle certificate to the Motor Licensing/Registration Authority with his application for a Motor vehicle Licence.

(h) One copy (triplicate) is to be returned to and to remain in the custody of the licensee after endorsement.

#### 5. The New Security Equipment:

(i) The Automatic Time and Date Stamps: Three types of date stamps in this category will be in use in every Customs ports or stations in the country. The three stamps are: (a) Import Control Stamp bearing the inscription, IC (b) The Scrutinizer's stamp with the symbol AFP

(c) The Exchange Control Stamp carrying the symbol, EC

(ii) The U. V. Lamps:

These lamps are fitted with special security ribbons which make it possible for the security stamp and the special cashier's machine impressions to fluoresce under the lamp. The U.V. lamps are designed for detecting irregularities on the new Revenue documents. They have been issued to scrutinisers and cashiers for cross-checking Entries, Receipts and Naira currency Notes) and to Releasing Officers and other appropriate schedule officers in the Long Room and the sheds in all Customs Sea Ports, airports and stations in Nigeria.

#### 6. Amendments of relevant Customs and Excise Notices

Amendments in the official Gazette of the relevant Customs and Excise Notices affected by the procedural changes arising from the introduction of the new Revenue documents will soon be made. The Customs and Excise Notices affected by these amendments are:

(i) Customs and Excise Notice No. 27 published as Government Notice No. 1928 of 1970;

(ii) Customs and Excise Notice No. 13 published as Government Notice No. 1989 of 1970;

(iii) Customs and Excise Notice No. 30 published as Government Notice No. 1974 in the Federation of Nigeria official Gazette No. 57 Vol. 58 of 25th November, 1971.

(iv) Customs and Excise Notice No. 40 published as Government Notice No. 2344 of 1963.

(v) Customs and Excise Notice No. 10 published as Government Notice No. 699 of 1959.

Alexander O. Akinyele  
for: Director  
Department of Customs and Excise

potential world-class athletes of the sub-region. It is also expected to be a regular forum for assessing the performing standards in the member-countries. West African athletes unlike their East and North African counterparts are little known in world athletics circles. While East Africa can boast of having produced world beaters like Akii-Bua, Filbert Bayi and Kipchoge Keino; and the North, Abeba Bikila and Maman Wolde, to mention a few, West Africa is yet to create any appreciable impact in the record books.

This, however, has not been because West Africa is bereft of world beaters. The reason may be the fact that the crop of fine athletes in the sub-region had not been sufficiently exposed to constant big-time competitions. Some governments in the zone do not even regard sports sufficiently enough to provide the necessary training infrastructures for their athletes. These governments are yet to be rid of the now discarded saying of the spirit being "in taking part and not in winning," in a world that now regards sports as a very potent instrument of international politics. Hopefully, however, the sports men and women of the West Africa sub-region will carry the ECOWAS banner further into the international scene.



The Accuser: Mr. Isokrari (left) and his accused Mr. Akiyoe (right).

The Commissioner claimed that Mr. Akiyoe had flouted his order not to go to Yugoslavia and in addition left without the consent of the Permanent Secretary and the deputy director of Sports.

In an answer to a reporter's questions at the press briefing he (Commissioner) gave to clear the air on the issue. Mr. Isokrari said Mr. Akiyoe did not inform him that earlier direct Cables and telex messages from the Yugoslavia Embassy in Lagos had failed to get Coach Tiko back to Nigeria.

On the other hand, the Director of Sports was quoted as saying in a reply to the query which accompanied his suspension letter that the Commissioner did not reject his idea of going to Yugoslavia during their meeting on September 4, 1977. He was also quoted as having informed the Commissioner of the previous Cables and telex messages sent to 'Tiko' through Yugoslavia Embassy in Nigeria of which there was no reply to any.

The discussion which took place between the Commissioner and the director of sport on Sunday September 4, was a verbal chat which had no recording. For this reason, whatever both of them said was discussed and agreed upon could only be seen as a hearsay now as third party is concerned.

But under normal circumstances and for due accountability expected of the director's, Calibre, it will not augur well for any person in his shoes to have made such a journey without a written record addressed to either his boss or his immediate subordinate officer showing his movements at such particular period in which he would not be in office. One could put psychological diplomacy of the Com-

missioner into question when at the press briefing maintained with emphasis that he still has confidence in Mr. Akiyoe's administrative capability and coming down again to deplore the commission's administrative set-up where Mr. Akiyoe is the Chief Executive of the whole set up made up of seasoned Coaching professional rather than square pegs.

All that had been happening at the NSC is not peculiar to the Commission alone in this country, but a situation where the 'prosecution' is also the 'Judge' could not be totally seen as perfect. This is obviously human.

The positions and powers of all the corporations chairman of which the incumbents are political appointees, should be clearly made to be distinct from that of their chief executive.

Matters relating to all disciplinary actions against the chief executive should be based on collective decisions of the board to alleviate the influence of any personal feud which is generally human.

In the interest of 'natural justice, Judges are not only to be seen as being fair in their judgment but should avoid to be a party to the offended.

This is the main reason why the untidy state leading to Mr. Akiyoe's suspension could be seen as very unfortunate.

The commissioner whose order was flouted had been seen as the 'accuser' who later directed that the 'accused' be suspended from office without any reference.

In the case where there is error of judgment, who will be the redeemer and saviour of the wronged. This is a case for thought to all our policy makers in the interest of justice.

## It's Really Unfortunate the NSC Director's affair

The administrative conflict which led to the suspension of the Director of Sports of the National Sports Commission—Mr. Isaac Akiyoe by the Federal Commissioner for Social Development, Youth and Sports is an unfortunate incident indeed.

Mr. Akiyoe's suspension was brought about by his recent visit to Yugoslavia to negotiate for the return of 'Father Tiko'—the National Chief Soccer Coach who was by then on leave.

According to the Commissioner who also is the Chairman of NSC Mr. Akiyoe left the country without clearance from his Ministry.

It is really unfortunate for many obvious reasons. First, it has grown up in the public mind that there is something more to it than what we are being fed with.