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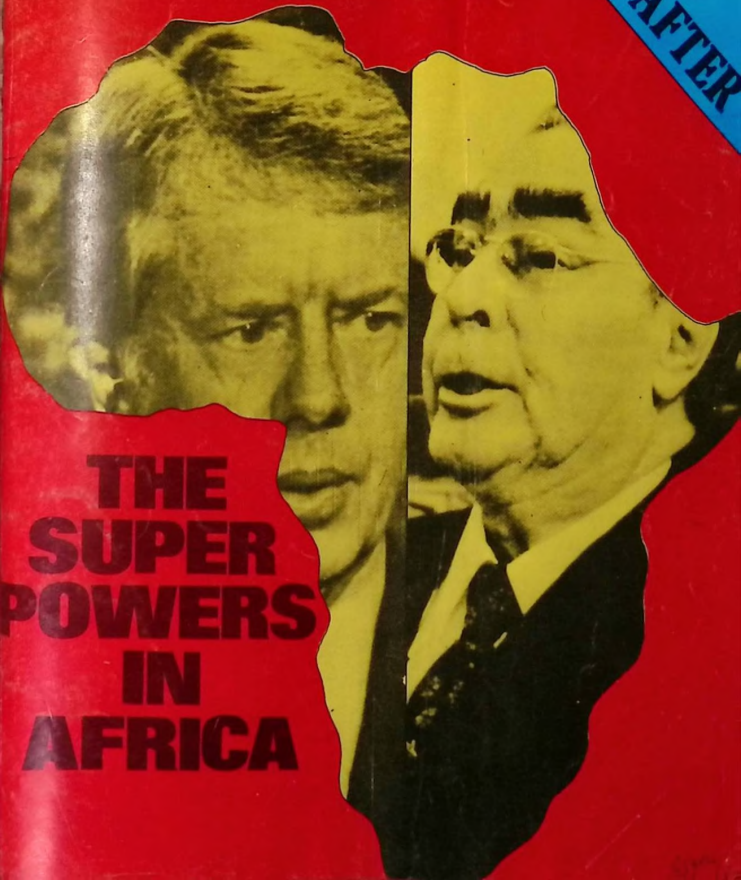
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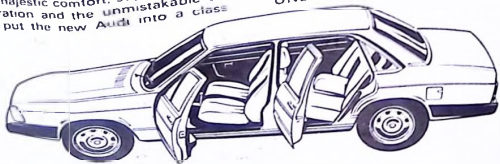
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## The Only Option In Zimbabwe

The sponsors of the Anglo-American peace plan in Zimbabwe still entertain the hope, inspite of the disenchanting impact of subversive developments, that they could get the cow and its butcher to negotiate a mutual accommodation. This hope, always wan and weird, has now taken on the absurd glow of a lacerated worm exuding false warmth of life as it crawls to safety and certain death.

True to style, British Foreign Minister Owen could always see the brightest colours in the darkest pitch. To him, the hope of an agreeable settlement is still there because he has "sensed" a willingness to negotiate on both sides, in spite of wide differences.

How he intends to narrow the gap and unite two cliffs of a deep divide is still a mystery. Ian Smith, exploiting the latent sympathy of the Western world for marooned fellow whites has wisely preempted the situation, and like any other clever politician worked out an internal settlement to counter the Anglo-American plan. In its basic provisions for a guarantee of existing white power structure and in its carefully calculated insurance against a future change, the internal settlement is pulling in a direction opposite to the Anglo-American plan.

Sithole and Muzorewa are surely not expected to negotiate their own political death. For Smith, it has been proved time and again that 'negotiations' and 'talks' provide an ideal stage to buy time and play out the circular logic of self-survival.

If the West and their African collaborators are really interested in genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe the only option open to them now is armed conflict. The internal disunity of the Patriotic Front is a major constraint, but one does not accept neo-slavery because he lacks the immediate resources to smash his shackles. The West can support in the meantime with tightened economic sanctions, while the committed independent African states simply have to accept the sad fact that they have to fight beside Patriotic Front in a Zimbabwean war.

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## IN'S AND OUT'S

As USSR pulls out of Somalia China is predictably pushing in.

As Barre completed his visit to China, Peking predictably packaged hard-headed bargaining and gifts of military and economic wares with the usual ideological cellophane. Thus, it has become "the bounden proletarian internationalist duty" of Peking to give aid to Mogadishu and "No matter how the international situation changes, nothing can stop the people of China and Somali from advancing together in the united struggle against hegemonism."

"United struggle against hegemonism"?

Ha! We began with struggle against colonialism, then against neo-colonialism, then onward march against imperialism-cum-zionism-cum-racism. As if the battle objectives are not yet enough, we now have to reach across to Peking and borrow hegemonism.

Wait until India and Brazil effectively arrive. They will sure lend us at least two more grievances.

## ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

One must sincerely thank President Carter of USA for effectively manoeuvring Israel into a long overdue arms embargo against South Africa.

Admittedly a half measure, the embargo at least vindicates the claim of Africans that the solution of the problem of South Africa lies with the United States and that any American Chief Executive with his heart in the right place can do a lot, in spite of the insensitivity of the American white establishment.

The price to be paid for this modest beginning is another matter. A joint action by USA, Saudi Arabia and Iran against 'communism' in Africa and the rest of the Third World.

No one has bothered to explain

in the unwritten horse-trading, where progressive patriotism ends and communism begins.

## ECHOES OF BOOMS

The Nigerian public appears quite confused by the new invitation to spartan tenor. Taking a cue from the Federal Government, state governments have made an average of 10% cuts in their projected expenditure of the new financial year.

The public is both elated and frightened at the same time. One corner of the public mind welcomes the austerity measures as long as the other side is still contemplating the task of changing fast-acquired habits of ostentatious living. Ironically, the hardest hit—through prices of consumer fees and adjustments of educational cost—may well be the low income earner.

Quite sad that a boom not yet celebrated is vanishing into an echo. Well, at least, the country has an interlock of overhead bridges and the glamour of international festivals to show for it—and also Gowon knew how to finance greatness.

## FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS

Col. Acheampong has not quite revealed who these enemies of Ghana are—the enemies who want to precipitate chaos and bloodshed in Ghana.

To the best of our knowledge, the whole palaver began with inflation-fuelled agitation for a return to civilian government.

Acheampong himself staked his military honour and uniform on a fair referendum and the verdict of the people. Then, the ballot boxes side-tracked an independent body set up by Acheampong himself and found their way to a government department.

Witch-hunt for enemies of Ghana followed.

Reaping another round of the whirl wind, eh?

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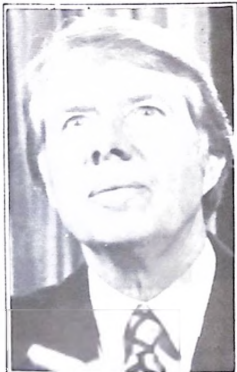
AFRICA AND THE SUPER-POWERS:

# High Stakes in a Stacked Game

\*Lindsay Barrett, Lagos.

The last two years in Africa has unfortunately been marked by increasing infiltration of African political life by the interests and attitudes of the large powers, not as peripheral sources of local power, but rather as direct and vital factors in the shaping of both the internal and external policies of various African nations. The escalation of this trend has two main sources. In the first place as independent nations in Africa have developed their domestic policies and created politically polarised interest groups within the populace, their popular and domestic interests have fallen more and more under the aegis of their particular foreign backers, dependent upon which system has tended to promise more benefits in terms of trade and market preferences for these foreign interests. Secondly, the importance of Africa as a major source of high quality raw material supply for the industrial sectors of foreign economies has been underlined by the instability and continuing flux of the Middle-Eastern situation and the increasing self-sufficiency of the majority of so-called "Third World" nations of Asia and Latin America. Ironically, the ideological confrontation of the major "super powers" that is the U.S.A. and Russia, on the African continent resembles nothing so much as poker game of three hands in which the house (Africa) finds the cards stacked against it and both of the challengers hold trumps and are bidding for the same high stakes.

Although the ideological confrontations that led to post independence conflict in Angola and Mozambique seemed on the surface to be clear-cut conventional confrontations between differing political and economic systems, the manipulation of local nationalist sentiment in both places by both the U.S. and Russia (and, in Angola, China,) was strangely enough marked



President Carter and Leonid Brezhnev... Two for the Cake

by the fact that rhetoric of the conflicting parties often drew upon the same symbolic sources and expressed similar aspirations on both sides of the fence.

## Same Goal Different Language

Both Russia and America have similar benefits to gain from ascendant influence in Africa, and while the Russians have been consistent in supporting the cause of total self-determination. The objective condition for support has not always been total ideological sympathy but actual and direct identification of interests. Thus while Jonas Savimbi in Angola has declared himself a left wing nationalist with socialist theory as the basis of his political appeal to the masses he has at the same time sought aid from the Americans in his struggle against the Angolan Government by promising only to expel Russians influence in the nation if ever he seizes power.

nation in Southern Africa for a longer time, the new American stance outlined by President Carter and his advisers Brezinski and Vance, declares to be seeking the same aim and only differs in the area of method with the Russians. It is not surprising too that while the Americans see Russian inroads in Africa in term of military strategy the Russians themselves see American inroads in terms of economic domination. Both powers have transferred their cold war terminology and evaluations to African situations without really taking the realities of African politics completely into consideration. While the Russian leadership seeks accommodation with various shades of African leadership across the continent in an attempt to consolidate its legitimacy within the continent as an effective trading partner (and not very visibly as the backer of internal ideological revolutionary movements) the

# Lead

Americans now seek to enhance their position as primary buyers of essential raw materials. The fact that such raw materials as gold, uranium, chromium, and oil, are needed more by America than by Russia at this time is partially responsible for this difference in politico-economic thrust on the part of the super-powers in Africa, but even more important is the role that both these powers must play as guardians of the world interests of their own economic partners and military allies who are principal trading partners with African countries, often by virtue of colonial connection.

To a great extent Russia would like to preserve new markets for the products of growing socialist industrial countries in Eastern Europe, in Africa. On the other hand America does not want such European countries as Britain, France, West Germany and others to lose their trade and political contacts with their African ex-colonies. The maintenance of these ties with Africa is of paramount importance in future economic policy if the continued stability of the major industrial communities of the world is to be maintained according to current political principles. This explains the willingness of both sides of the industrialized world to compromise much of their political principles in supporting various African Governments and the major moral and diplomatic attitudes that they have evolved as keynote aspects of their African policies are carefully designed to foster this process.

The keynote of President Carter's world policy in terms of diplomatic rhetoric and attitudes is "human rights" and the U.S. Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance in speaking to NAACP has underlined this aspect of U.S. foreign policy as being of paramount importance in that nation's dealings with Africa. However, a careful reading of the major policy statements of Carter, and others who bear the brunt of explaining American foreign policy in Africa will reveal clearly that it is American trade priorities that will continue to decide to what extent the American policy can be compromised in each area of the continent in order to suit its economic interests, (see box story on Carter in Lagos). The major diplomatic factor in Russian foreign policy in Africa as in the Middle East and Asia is self determination. The major areas of interest for Russia in Africa have been areas where it has not been hard for them to maintain a circumspect adherence to their professed principles of supporting national self-determination and the recent

Somali-Ethiopia conflict gave them their first chance to demonstrate their willingness to insist on the maintenance of this principle regardless of the ideologically sympathetic attitude of local Governments which they have supported for a long time. Of course, it could be argued that gaining a foothold in Ethiopia while losing links with Somalia leaves them in much the same position one way or the other. However it is clear that for Russia it is even more important that they can claim to have been invited in by the Ethiopian Government to defend a clear-cut case of violation of territorial rights when America hesitated. The Russian approach to intervention in African conflicts has been as correct as it has been swift and effective, and the image that they have built up is one of reliability and efficiency as against the American image of hesitancy and ideological bargaining.

## The Economic Weapon

The most important aspect of super-power involvement in Africa today lay in the economic sphere, even though in recent months the question of military and political dependency has been more visible. It is now an important and crucial factor in any diplomatic negotiation between African countries and the larger powers to decide how much technical aid rather than direct financial aid can be gained from contact between the African countries and the European or American blocs. The last decade and a half of African independence has proven that foreign financial aid is more often than not ploughed back into trade with the very source of the aid. Real infrastructural development is dependent upon the technological advances that can be transferred to African



Zaire's Mobutu... Citizen or stooge?

countries and communities themselves. For years now the Chinese have made this a keynote aspect of their low profile role in Africa, especially on the agricultural front. Recently American policy has begun to reflect the awareness of this growing need for real technological transfer but there has been no real and concrete development of a policy of technical aid to the extent that such transfer has taken place in South Africa because so far American policy in Africa is still mainly guided by the principle of the low-cost purchase of African raw material for American industry's use rather than the exportation of American expertise to African countries to enable these countries to use their own raw material as primary products for their own industrial development.

Again it is the desire of the super-powers to expand their sphere of economic influence that underlies this hesitancy on the part of both America and Russia to encourage large-scale technical development through direct aid and transfer to techniques and plants to Africa. In the case of Russia there is a problem of inadequate technological development that is immediately transferable at low cost to Africa. While the industrial development of the Russian and Eastern European blocs are adequate and indeed remarkable in terms of scale and period of development within their own communities it is the political system that they have adopted that have kept down their costs in the domestic market. Exportation of their technology to nations that have hardly yet formulated policies of mass ownership of the means of primary production, much less of industrial expansion would be prohibitive for them. As a result the Russians too are seeking a



Ethiopia's Mengistu... Russian dancer!

market for finished products in the continent rather than a base for technological expansion which will reduce Africa's dependence on imported goods.

Both Russia and America have at various times applauded the principle of unity of economic and political forces in Africa and both powers claim to be staunch supporters of the O.A.U. However within the context of the support of specific policies and programmes established by regional organisations in Africa, the duality of their interests is often emphatically revealed. Neither Russia nor America have been particularly enthusiastic in supporting such economic unions as the defunct East African Community (EAC) nor the yet to be activated Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). For various reasons at this time it would better serve their special interests to deal separately with weak nations rather than collectively with unified regional bodies. On the one hand the chances of being able to manipulate local political forces to ensure continued dependence of

their local supporters on their economic handouts, is obviously much better when the nations are dealt with separately. On the other hand if collective policy-making for industrial and economic development should become the norm in specific regions of Africa within this century it is possible that African raw materials might soon be controlled effectively by the African nations themselves for their own uses since they would be in a better position to share out industrial and agricultural priorities among the nations instead of duplicating their efforts and competing with each other. For reasons which have been already evaluated here such a trend is not in keeping with present super-power policy in Africa regardless of ideological differences. As a result the increased involvement of African nations with the core realities of super-power politics is militating against African unity at this time.

Positive neutrality, which would be the ideal African stance in international affairs, is becoming virtually impossible, because both major forces in the world have escalated their direct interest in

influencing development of local political and economic policy in Africa. As we have observed before, the polarisation of political interests in African countries is providing fertile ground for the injection of conflicting ideas, and economic support from the outside world, and this has made it imperative in some situations that positive partisan interests be declared by the group holding power at a time of crisis in order to maintain that position of power. Both America and Russia have indicated their willingness to support those forces that seek their direct aid provided that their specific interests are guarded and today the continent is becoming increasingly polarised in terms of spheres of influence dictated by the larger interests of the super-powers. Hence in West Africa such countries as the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Liberia, and Gabon are firmly within the American axis and their priority in terms of security fits firmly within the American anti-Communist stance, so that if a military crisis should flare up, in any of these nations (and in Zaire as well) there

## CARTER IN LAGOS

By A Special Correspondent

President Carter's visit to Lagos will be remembered mainly for the display of American Security consciousness and the mobility of its technology rather than for any brilliant revelations of the much touted redirection of American policy towards Africa, which has been the keynote of American commentary on the visit since it ended. President Carter's entourage included such high powered members of the Administration as Cyrus Vance, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Andrew Young but they were notably reticent on the Lagos leg of this tour leaving the President to make a series of predictable utterances mainly on what they must have perceived as the major subject of African interest, the restoration of democracy in Southern Africa, and the encroachment of foreign powers into African conflicts. A careful study however of the major speech made by President Carter under the auspices of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs at the National Theatre leads one to believe that plans and preparations for policy statements in Africa were marked by a determination to avoid controversy rather than

by any decision to state clearly where America's real interests lay politically and economically in Africa today. The deafening silence of the senior officials who accompanied Mr. Carter must have been calculated to avoid any sudden and unexpected utterance that would threaten the carefully planned and securely conceived image of willingness to follow Nigeria's lead in African affairs that Mr. Carter's speeches and the joint communique that emerged from his talks with General Obasanjo indicate as being

the core motivation of the visit.

At the end of the two-day visit observers in Nigeria began to realise that the elaborate preparations and systems deployed for this short visit included some incongruous signs of American uncertainty. The transportation of President Carter's personal bulletproof limousine to Lagos along with a battery of standby plants (obviously NEPA's reputation for blackouts has reached the White House) is not usual procedure for Presidential visits abroad. The Nigerian Security Organisation (NSO) received some well-deserved praise in my hearing from members of the American Secret Service who were themselves deployed in unprecedented numbers for an over-



Nigeria's Obasanjo and Carter... 'but for oil' smiles!

# Lead

can be no doubt that American aid would be fast in coming. In Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Guinea Russia maintains similar ascendancy, but it is interesting that in the nominally neutral countries such as Nigeria and Tanzania (to take examples from both West and East) the Russians seem to prefer a low profile stance and will no longer publicly support their ideological comrades who may be at variance with the existing Governments.

The picture is still one of a tight poker game. Clearly the nature of super-power involvement in Africa has been strongly influenced by the initial developments of the early post-independence period, and even in Ghana where Russia may have been said to have lost an early lead, neither nation seems willing to make an overt bid for ascendant influence until local developments indicate a clear direction.

## Game of Expediency

Having examined the relationship of the super-powers to Africa in the light of our perception of foreign interest demands however, it would be unfair to suggest that there have been

no positive changes. Indeed America has made great strides in recognising her earlier selfishness in regards to African development needs and has to some extent instituted the beginning of new policies which could form a basis for real technical aid. In his speech to the NAACP on American policy towards Africa Cyrus Vance outlined plans for increased aid from America to the African Development Fund and stated boldly that America must find ways to enable Africans to develop their own natural resources.

The truth of course is that while these are commendable sentiments the continuing basis of American industrial power cannot immediately contain swift changes in African self-sufficiency and so America must still attempt to dictate the pace at which such fine sentiments can be put into practice. In this light the continuing American practice in dealing with African political situations, of subtly demanding political concessions based on American principles under the guise of guaranteeing "democratic processes of rule", should be seen as direct attempts

to influence the continued economic policy of African Government in ways that will favour American industry, rather than American political morality. The Russians too, and to a lesser extent the Chinese, often hint at the desire to see their allies in Africa follow the political path of their own leadership, but for the Russians the simple principle of whether a Government is elected or imposed is secondary to whether the Government is prepared to accept technical and economic advice from the Socialist bloc, which will in turn open up new markets for Soviet and East European products. The Chinese have instituted quiet but appropriate trade in cheap essential commodities with most of Africa in the last five years and seem so far to be much more interested in providing direct technical aid in return for diplomatic support (and in some cases with hardly any visible strings attached), as a fellow 'third world' country.

The major powers (including China) deal to greater or lesser degree according to circumstance, with the abstractions of political development in Africa as pragmatic principles in the maintenance of ties, and factors of diplomacy in Africa. Even in Ethiopia and Angola and Mozambique where genuine proletarian revolutions have taken place it is the military factor that has attracted Russian support mainly, and when the establishment of stable socialist progress becomes reality in these countries (provided the ideological conflict does not overturn the progressive trend underlying the brutality of conflict) it is already clear that the leaders in all these nations will still retain the right and the inclination to seek technical and economic aid from a broad spectrum of sources. This level of choice is quite clearly the ideal that Africa must strive for in developing its continuing relationships with the outside world. In both America and Russia (China being still very much a quiet intruder and, so far, sensitive partner) the development of a policy towards Africa that will accommodate and sustain the legitimate interests of the continent's people and still serve their particular interests is a continuing process. At present for these large powers Africa remains a testing ground for their ideological conflicts and their global priorities and they interpret African realities according to their own interests and evaluations which do not always synchronise with the point of view of either African people or leadership.

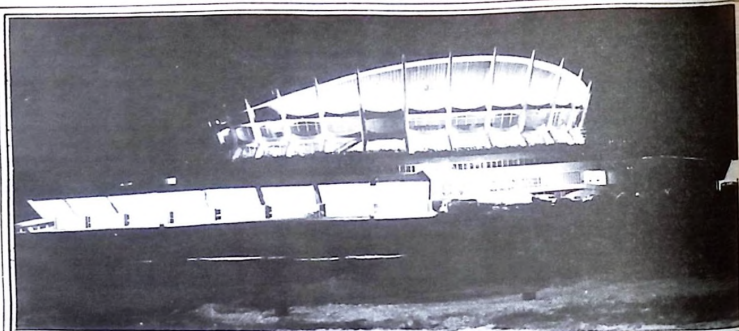
In the world of modern international

*Continued on page 18*

trip. President Carter never forgot to remind Nigerians that the U.S. was Nigeria's major customer (or her oil) and as an adjunct he openly touted the increased cooperation of Nigerian business with American business interests. An embarrassing incident which happened at his Sunday morning press conference for selected journalists, pointed up the American perception of the visit. A tipsy representative of an American network let the cat out of the bag when he stage whispered "Tell them anything they want to hear Jimmy boy as long as the oil keeps flowing." Senior Nigerian journalists who overheard this were shocked not just at the crudeness of the sentiments but also at the boldness of the speaker. That Press Conference was in fact the Nigerian journalists' first experience of the rough and ready impromptu press confrontation with a mighty leader that is commonplace to American journalists, and they seemed reluctant to shout their questions out and to ask direct and blunt questions which may have embarrassed the visitor. The result was that the conference was actually transformed into a foreign journalist's field day and the Nigerian media hardly reported the results of it. This was the only chance Nigerians may have had to probe beneath the surface blandness and predictability of the visit and they lost it.

seas trip of the American President. With this visible official nervousness as background the President's safe utterances and generally bland protestations of American and Nigerian similarity of outlook were nearly hilarious. Even the podium from which he made his keynote address at the National Theatre had been brought from Washington and was bulletproof. However in his inimitable informal style which seen at first hand really does live up to the expectations created by American reporting ever since he began his campaign, President Carter managed to spring a few mild surprises on his trip. He travelled to Tin Can Island port complex in an army Land Rover as a belated concession to the "low profile" stance of his hosts, and his spontaneous reaction after the display of dances at Tafawa Balewa Square eventually became the major photograph of his entire tour.

Although the Carter speeches and exchanges with General Obasanjo were mainly noted for the wild sprinkling of predictable generalisations over such concepts as human rights, free elections, opposition to racial discrimination, and an equitable economic order, there was one tell-tale specific that cropped up in every public statement of President Carter and which may provide the real link to political reality in American terms that can explain the



The National theatre... going strong after the event

## FESTAC: One Year After

By A Special Correspondent

The Festival of Black and African Art and Culture held in Lagos last year was without a doubt the major event of the year in Africa if only because it brought together the greatest number of diverse black peoples ever to celebrate their kinship in one spot in history. In spite of several logistical errors and a number of conceptual mistakes which resulted in a number of inadequate moves on the part of the organisers to remedy the major shortcomings of the conceptualisation of the earlier committees at the last moment, the Festival was basically successful in giving people a chance to articulate the process of black unity and exchanged views concerning the future of the race in the world. In order to consolidate the automatic achievements of this gathering though, it became obvious that post-Festival contacts must be established between groups and people who were able to begin a dialogue of cultural understanding during the Festival and the Nigerian Government undertook to take steps to facilitate this process.

The Federal Ministry of Information's Cultural Division has, in the year since the Festival ended, been engaged in a massive exercise collating material by participant scholars and artists for inclusion in a comprehensive book about the Festival and they have also commissioned a few monographs on particular aspects of the Festival, most notable among these being Professor

Amuda's monograph on the Colloquium, and the question of African Liberation. Most of these publications are scheduled for later this year. They should provide a continuing record of the ideas and forms that were current at the gathering and thus provide a frame of reference for the black community to develop a clear set of cultural principles based on trends and styles revealed at the Festival.

### An Invaluable Outgrowth

The establishment of the Museum of Black and African Art & Culture which is now being housed in the National Theatre is probably the most vital and important outgrowth of the Festival. The Head of State of Nigeria, Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo surprised the participants and visitors to the Festival with the announcement of Nigeria's decision to finance this museum at the closing ceremonies. In response most participating nations left behind a large quantity of their exhibits and documents for inclusion in the Museum and ever since the Festival ended, a small but dynamic and very quiet Committee has been dedicated to establishing the museum in order that it might be open to the public this year. The real heart of the Museum will be its archives to which B.O.N. (the Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria) has donated several hundred hours of video and sound tapes documenting the Festival thoroughly. The Museum is intended to be a living record of the

Festival and a continuing source of study and inspiration for those who do not attend the gathering. It will not be an academic enclave closed to the curiosity of the general public but will attempt to open up the real treasures of the Festival to the community at large and afford people a chance to take in the real impact of Black and African culture in a more relaxed and contemplative manner than was possible in the hustle and bustle of the Festival.

One of the most invaluable of the permanent exhibitions inherited by the Museum from the Festival is David Aradeon's architectural technology exhibition which was the hit of the Festival after the more elaborate and extremely comprehensive Ethiopian



Steve Wander... any festac roots?

# Africa Now



Good old days...

star country exhibition. Aradeon's exhibition was a remarkable eye-opener and showed more than anything else that was included in that Festival, how profound, unique and far reaching are the indigenous technological responses to African man to his environment. It is to be hoped that he will be allowed to expand and modify this exhibition from time to time in his new home. It is part of an ongoing documentation of the renewal of black thought and it is in providing the opportunity for such extensions of academic work into the realm of public display that the Festival offered its greatest justification.

If there is one aspect of the Festival that served as a keynote of its purpose and value, it was the enormous diversity of offerings in all fields. In the visual arts exhibition this was all too obvious in some ways because the method of curation was arbitrary in terms of aesthetic movements and direction, and the principle of exhibiting works according to country of origin regardless of style, quality, or theme was self-defeating. This method led to unevenness in the spirit of the visual impact that this exhibition expressed, but there was so much that was exciting and imaginatively executed that the works often triumphed over the poor method of exhibition and arrested the viewer's attention by sheer power of creative form. It is to be hoped that the curator of visual arts for the new museum will bear this in mind when mounting the permanent exhibition of the visual arts gifts inherited from the Festival so that visitors to the museum will gain a sense of continuity and inter-relation from the works on display and will not be distracted and misled into other less important considerations of nationalistic divisions in the arts.

Although the books exhibitions at the National Museum and in the National Theatre were not comprehensive, one particular exhibition, that of the private collection of books about the black world which was loaned by its owner a black American bibliophile, was an extremely informative indicator of the trends in black literature and philosophical thought in this century. The collection is now housed in Ahmadu Bello University whose librarian, another Black American, Alhaji Khalil Mahmud, was instrumental in setting up some of the more successful sections of the book exhibitions in the Festival. Mr. Mahmud's approach was to display books according to their subjects and themes rather than according to their period of first appearance or place of origin. This was a great help in giving visitors to these exhibitions an idea of the range and nature of black thought in this century and many young people who were seeing most of these books for the first time were kept busy making notes of titles and publishers and selecting area of study that they could return to their homes to pursue in the quest for greater knowledge of the reality of black life in the modern world.

In spite of the fact that there was much that is vital in black music that did not appear at the Festival the musical offerings remained among the richest experiences in the month-long gathering. The American spectrum was remarkable. From gospel through the blues to jazz of varying styles and periods even without some of the big names that had been expected the Americans gave a rousing account of their musical stewardship in black diaspora. Highlights of their contributions were the remarkable solo piano recital, by the masterful Randy Weston as the first person to play on the

mighty Steinway imported at enormous cost by the Festival authorities, and the bold dramatic performance of the Sun Ra Arkestra which so many people did not understand only because they were not prepared to open their minds to the liberating force of his music. There were several lesser known but remarkably innovative and energetic musical groups throughout the Festival, from America and their spontaneous jam sessions incorporating instrumentalists, singers, and dancers from other parts of the world in the Festival village late at night were probably much more effective acts of unification than any stage performance. The large choral ensembles backed by traditional instruments from Guinea, Mali, Ethiopia, and Senegal were also valuable contributions to the musical success of the Festival. These choral groups, all subsidised and maintained by their Governments as important parts of the official cultural policy of their respective countries are world famous and truly brilliant. They point to the possibility of a growth of new styles and values in traditional African music but they remain very much the only such groups in Africa even though the material for others in such nations as Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Cote d'Ivoire etc. is abundant.

Many nations let themselves down musically by attempting to operate on a superficial level of popular music. It was remarkable and most disappointing that such rich traditions as sakara, and apala, with artists like Yusuf Olatunji, and others were not represented. Even the fine Northern ensemble musics that have so much in common with jazz and which could have helped to point the way to a musical fusion of spirits were not represented and the Nigerian musical offerings on a whole were superficial, self-serving and sim-



... when women were women.

# Africa Now

plistic. Dance was pretty much the same from Nigeria with Demas Nwoko's Children Of Paradise struggling manfully with concepts that were neither fully conceptualised nor effectively executed so that an enormous visual effort ended up being an essentially boring treatise on neo-colonialism, but was as representative of the faults it wished to criticise as anything that it sought to depict. Apart from the Aradeon exhibition Nigeria's most important contributions to the overall Festival should have come in the field of drama. Sadly this was not so. While Wale Ogunyemi's play Langbodo attempted to treat a major theme it was marred by an excess of melodramatic acting, and multiple climaxes that may have been the fault of the directing. However it was still one of the more popular dramatic offerings in the Festival because it was only in that play that overseas blacks were really afforded a chance to hear some superb Yoruba drum music and choral chanting and in this aspect it remains a memorable experience.

## The Cinema

Among the most important and successful surprises of the Festival was the range and quality of the cinema of the black world. It was possible at last to see the general trend of cinema development in Africa in perspective and looking back now it is clear that many young cinema directors are still developing techniques and styles that will effectively express the life experience of the African communities of the world in their own peculiar cinematic vocabulary. If there is one thing that this Festival established once and for all though, it is the superiority and sophisticated consistency of Africa's film pioneer, Sembene Ousmane of Senegal. His satire XALA was without a doubt the most popular film in the festival, and this is a commentary not just on the quality of his work, but also on the fact that his critical viewpoint touched a particularly sensitive cord in the general audience. Already there is evidence that among the young film-makers who were present at the Festival the realisation that they were not alone in their efforts and that many of their technical themes and innovations are being tried by their colleagues in other countries has led them to attempt to keep in touch more with trends and developments in other black communities in terms of cinema. There were a number of meetings held during the Festival to attempt to establish a kind of Black Cinema Makers Guild and it is still being pursued but with

less enthusiasm. The new Museum should do all it can to encourage this trend.

Looking back now one can see that probably the best run section of the Festival was the drama section. The logistic effort required to provide space and facilities for more than fifty play performances of nearly thirty plays involving more than a thousand people was unbelievable but one particular Nigerian, Mr. Bayo Oduneye of the University of Ibadan proved himself more than capable and against all odds and facing mighty temperamental forces kept the theatres running smoothly even though backstage all seemed confusion on the verge of deteriorating into pure chaos. Mr. Oduneye had assembled his team for a good six months prior to the Festival and although for some time during the chaotic planning of the Festival his very position seemed uncertain it was remarkable to what extent and in what time he managed to work out an effective rehearsal timetable and performance formulas for the most diversified area of the entire Festival. We cannot really say that any particular trends were revealed in dramatic development but some of the works were individually outstanding. The native-language drama from Uganda which was touched by the great tragedy of the festival (the death Colloquium director Pio Zirimu whose wife Elviana was to have directed it) was without a doubt one of the most accomplished plays performed here. It proved to us that drama in a local language could be as richly universal as any drama in the modern colonial languages of Africa. High marks for spontaneity must also go to the National Black Theatre of the U.S.A. under Barbara Ann Teer whose performances drew standing ovations and the one-woman show of Vinnie Burrows overawed audiences who had never believed that one tiny woman could express so much control and energy by herself on a vast stage.

## The Colloquium

The core of the Festival was the Colloquium and the shadow of the brilliant and sincere director Pio Zirimu hung over all its deliberations producing an air of loss and solemnity that even the most heated debates failed to dispel. Zirimu died seven days before the Festival under mysterious circumstances. He had indicated clearly that he was under pressure from various quarters to control the inclusion of dissenting views and radical attitudes in the Colloquium but he made it quite clear that he would allow

such views to intrude as soon as he could be assured of the support of objective and sincere scholars who wished to have the realities of African politics aired as a vital part of the function of the Festival. To some extent his wishes were realised when the Brazilian dissenter Abdias do Nascimento managed to read his maverick paper at the colloquium from the floor to the great discomfiture of the official Brazilian delegation and a standing ovation from a part of the audience and participants.

One year later, though, this thrust for radical expression seems to have been expunged from the documentation of the colloquium and what we hear is that the final report will be a bland and compromising document which will read more like the report of an annual general meeting of discussants whose subject was the intellectualisation of African educational roles rather than anything else. We can only wait and see. The publication of the Colloquium papers and the report will certainly generate reactions from participants and in these reactions we may then be able to discern continuity of thought as well as evaluation of the direction of cultural and political growth. If this happens then the entire exercise will have been worthwhile.

So far the Nigerian Government has been silent on the cost of the Festival. There had been a promise made to publish the accounts shortly after the Festival ended but for one reason or the other this promise has been silently shelved. The common man's perception of the Festival unfortunately is inextricably tied up with the cost because it was treated like an elitist jamboree and kept above the heads of the people. It does not really matter to the man in the street that in fact the material and the thematic thrust of the entire Festival had more to do with the enhancement of the spirit of his life than with the establishment and maintenance of glamorous and decorative entertainments for the elite; his view of the Festival from this vantage point of a year past is mainly the latter. The ongoing process of documentation and consultation which is being carried out by the Federal Ministry and the new Museum is expected to change that and to encourage general ongoing evaluation of the impact of the Festival in the entire black world so that the ordinary man will grow to understand the real worth and meaning of that gathering of black peoples in the name of a unified culture and political harmony.



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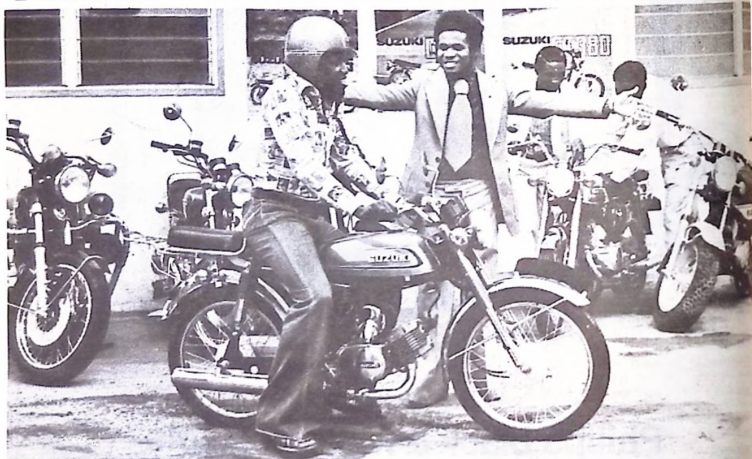
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CAMEROUN

## Fiscal Time Bomb

\*Henry Atenaga

There is a Time Bomb in today's Cameroun that may or may not explode in the near future—debts! The past years have seen such a massive accumulation of debts that when the time comes for debt servicing and repayment to go hand in hand; President Ahidjo's Cameroun might find herself in the present shoes of Zaire. Will there be enough foreign exchange to comfortably repay these loans when they fall due? Or like Zaire, will Cameroun have to cling to life-jackets designed by the IMF and consortium of foreign Banks after the explosion? Present indicators point either way.

In last year alone, Cameroun signed nothing less than nine loan agreements with various Governments and Organisations, with France and French establishments taking the lead. Under four different conventions, France undertook to provide 735m CFA francs; the World Bank and IDA agreed to loan \$11.1m, while a 7,500m CFA debt was contracted with Saudi Arabia. Others were two French Banks (about 876.5m CFA); France's Central Fund for Economic Co-operation (2750m CFA under two separate agreements); African Development Bank (5m units of account) and 2,000m CFA to be provided by West African Investment Bank, and three other institutions.

### Necessary Loans

These borrowings seemed to be necessary as unavoidable pole-vaults required to scale the constraints of inadequate resources. Being a very small country (April '76 census put the population at 7.7m) and rather poor, finance posed one of the greatest constraints to growth even extending to the Governments Annual recurrent expenditures. One good thing however, is that unlike Zaire, Cameroun has applied these borrowed funds neither in quelling internal rebellion nor in prestige projects, but mainly in the industrial and agricultural Sectors. This is why some observers hold the view that she can repay these loans when they fall due without cutting her own nose.

For example, the World Bank and IDA loan was procured for the construction of feeder roads aimed at

improving the lot of 600,000 low-income farmers. On the other hand, the Saudi Arabian and Islamic Bank contributions were provided for the construction of hydroelectric power station at Song Loulou in a bid to ensure that Cameroun retained her leading position, electrical energy-wise, in the whole of Africa South of the Sahara. The calculation of the planners is that, despite the oil threat to her electricity generation; this dam and 35 other small dams to be constructed in the Mandara Mountains, will ensure that the present annual output of 1,100m KW is increased in the years ahead. Another project too, this time to increase Cement output from 350,000 tonnes per annum to 550,000 tonnes is springing up with the aid of a 2m units of account loan from European Investment Bank; and should satisfy the need of not only Cameroun but that of Chad as well. Douala port is also to be expanded with a couple of these loans—ADB's 5m units of account and France's 735m CFA.

These observers broaden their smiles when they take a look at Cameroun's 5 year Development (1976-81) and performance so far. In the plan, emphasis is on crop diversification intended solely to reduce her dependence on Cocoa exports. Although Cocoa is still expected to top 100,000 tonnes per year by 1981. Coffee should beat it to second place with 160,000 tonnes (Arabica 60,000 and Robusta 100,000) while Sugar (80,000 tonnes); tea and Cotton (125,000 tonnes) should come next in the output scale. In all, out of the 725,232m CFA expected to be invested; 123,059m will be on energy; Industry (78,000m plus) and 156,000m on infrastructure. At Edea a wood pulp plant is to be established to produce 110,000 tons of dry pulp for export annually and despite world-class output of aluminium from the same Edea, an electric cable and wire production Company is to be set up.

Fishing too will receive its own boost with the establishment late last year of a Maritime artisanal fisheries Development Mission responsible for the construction and equipment of fishing infrastructure; supply and up-



President Ahidjo...sitting on time bomb

improving the lot of 600,000 low-income farmers. On the other hand, keep of Equipment; and Package and distribution of catches.

As for performance so far, results are encouraging. Cocoa output reached the 1981 planned level (100,000 tonnes) last year and now officials are expecting it to jump to 200,000 tonnes after the August 1977 46 per cent increase in producer prices to 220 CFA per kilo for Grades (I) and (II) and 90 CFA per kilo for substandards. Also, according to records, 65,000 tonnes of fish were now being caught annually, Last December President Ahidjo commissioned the Cameroun Sugar factory in Hante Snaga region and by this year end should be producing 18,000 tonnes or refined sugar and employing 2,500 people. This is her second sugar company, the first already produces 30,000 tonnes compared to sugar demand put at 45,000 tonnes per annum. At the ports too, activity increased. Traffic through Camerounian ports topped 2.4m tonnes in 1976 comparing favourably with 1975's 2.2m.

### Doubts

Despite these, however, other observers still remain sceptical. To them, another Zaire is around the corner, They don't fail to notice the rate at which Cameroun's debt-servicing requirements is mounting (11.6 per cent in 1976) and the fact that 9.6bn CFA was set aside in last year's budget to pay public debts. Although, it could be agreed that the increase in level of debts reflects World Market's Confidence in Cameroun and her plans, these observers find it hard to forget the effect of drought early last year and the fact that this is a natural phenomenon that warns no one. What

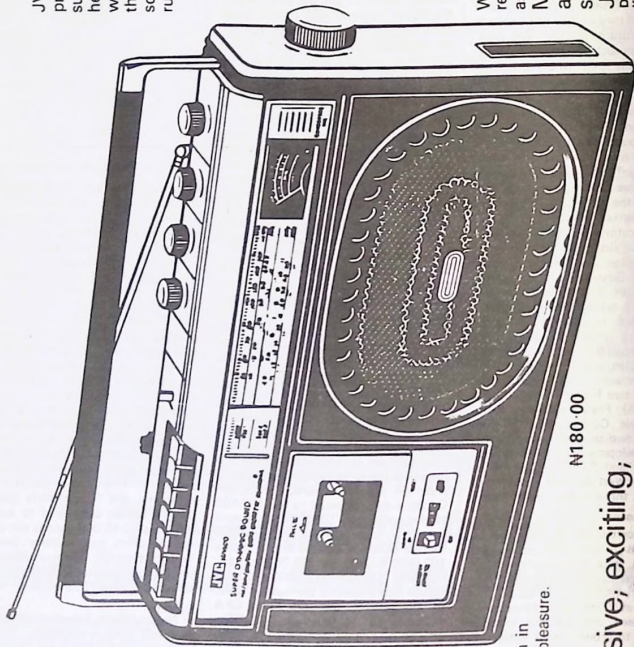
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# Panorama

if the Cocoa, Coffee, Tea and cotton projects fail to materialise? Is it likely, reasons these sceptics, that Cameroon's exports 921,000 tonnes and 1m plus in 1975 and 76) will overtake imports (1,346,881 tonnes and 1,398,894 tonnes respectively) before the debts fall due? Even if it does, can the surplus be huge enough to support a heavy drain?

These sceptics become much more comfortable when they review the local scene. In 1976 a wave of industrial strikes overtook the whole country mainly because of the effect of 42 per cent annual inflation on fixed salaries. Since then not less than three wage increases have been announced and leaders of the strikes rounded up by Ahidjo's gestapo—Gendarmierie (Cameroon's omnipresent para-military police).

The Government's tight control over the central labour union—Union Nationale des travailleurs du Cameroun—continues to make many wonder if in this superficially quiet state of affairs, storm is not lurking in the background. If there is and it later

blows open, can't it reverse the slow movement forward and hence prepare the ground for future debt default?

Yet in the mix of these, Cocoa revenue has been declining, no thanks to trends in the world market. EEC's stabex, in its 2nd instalment, had to pay 463,558 European Units of account to Cameroon last year in respect of a shortfall in her Cocoa export earnings.

To your Correspondent, however, the chances of Cameroon sailing through and paying up her debts when they fall due is very high. Despite her being a client state to France like other Francophone Countries; indications are that should she realise her projected outputs, as hopefully she will, ECOWAS, and the Central African Economic and Customs Union (two organisations to which she belongs) will ensure for her a wider market for her commodities especially her energy exports. The same cannot be said for President Ahidjo's Police rule though, with his censorship of the press and city to city road blocks and checks!

## Little Care For Refugees

Katangole Kyalo, Nairobi.

A few months back, there was the beginning of a public outcry against the influx of refugees into Kenya from her neighbours—Ethiopia in the North, Uganda to the West, and Somalia to the North-eastern and from Rwanda and Burundi. A leading figure in the Trade Union movement of Kenya, the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) made a public statement expressing concern at the influx of refugees and claiming that they were taking up jobs which should have gone to the Kenyans.

Members of parliament expressed concern about refugees from Somalia charging that since Somalia had territorial claims on Kenya, some of the "so-called refugees" could be spies. Letters in the press expressed concern that some of the refugees, particularly from Uganda and Somalia were wealthy people and were even buying up houses and business concerns in Kenya. The public outcry seemed far from hospitable for the refugees. And it was in this light that the Kenya Department of Immigration released figures indicating that there were just roughly less than 10,000 refugees in the country.

According to the Department there are 2,390 Ugandans, 605 Ethiopians; 546 Rwandese and Burundi; 76 Namibians, 73 South Africans, 22 Somalis; and 23 Zimbabweans (Rhodesians) in the country registered as refugees and all totalled 3,734 adults. The number of children below the age of eighteen is estimated at 6,000, thus giving a grand total of refugees in the country of 9,734, as of last October.

One of the public grievances is the allegation that some of these refugees particularly those from Uganda were taking up jobs which should be going to unemployed Kenyans. Asked about this, the executive Secretary of the Joint Refugee Services of Kenya (JRSK) Mr Kinga Wamwendia said that his organisation had helped place only about 150 refugees into jobs in this country. Wamwendia said local press reports that some of the refugees were rich and with living standards well above those of the average Kenyan were homeless. Such reports, he added, did not distinguish between a refugee and a registered alien. He pointed out that as far as Ugandans are concerned, there has always been a Ugandan element in the Kenyan capital, long even

before the present regime came to power in Uganda.

In addition, there are those who have recently come to Nairobi and registered as aliens but also for the same purpose of transacting business for apparently such Ugandans come loaded with money. These are the people buying property. Then there is the group of Ugandans who frequently come to Kenya on holidays and shopping sprees because of the great shortage of essential commodities back home.

Furthermore the collapse of the East African Community left a number of Ugandans who were working in Nairobi stranded and they opted to stay on rather than go back to their country. All these swell the population of Ugandans in Nairobi to what some sources believe to be something in excess of ten thousand. And, according to well placed sources there are those who come in under cover of some private business concerns or Uganda's parastatal organisations but are in effect spies for the Kampala regime on the political exiles here who are considered dangerous.

But according to Wamwendia the refugees for whom his organisation caters and who are registered with the department of immigration are genuine refugees for the government screens them to ensure that only genuine cases are given the status. Wamwendia also said that he saw no sense in professionals like doctors, teachers, engineers, accountants, and others, some of whom



The forgotten runners

were quite highly placed persons in their home countries, opting to come out to Kenya to get a refugee's pittance unless it was for fear of their lives.

The JRSK was set up in 1971 to co-ordinate the refugee activities in the country in conjunction with other agencies both local and international and with individuals. An adult refugee draws a monthly allowance of shs 150 while a couple gets shs 350.

Organisations involved in this exercise in Kenya include the All Africa Conference of Churches, the National Christian Council of Kenya, the Kenya Catholic Secretariat, and the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees. The number of refugees in Africa is currently estimated at about 2 million and observers point out that the single major cause for this is intolerant regimes and the non-observance of human rights.

A lot of people have fled and are still fleeing Ethiopia for their lives every day because of both their government's uncertain gravitation towards communism. Also the outbreak of war in the Ogaden and the perennial Eritrean War have added to the atmosphere of domestic uncertainty.

Kenya has been a centre for refugees for quite some time. In 1965 there was the influx of refugees from Burundi because of the tribal wars between Tutsi and Hutu which ousted the Mwami of Burundi, King Mwambusa IV, the overlord of Tutsi supremacy in Burundi who fled his country during the turmoil which resulted in unsuccessful army revolt in Bujumbura. He fled to Geneva and was deposed by his son in 1966. His tribesmen were scattered all over Africa mainly in East Africa as refugees. The son who became King Charles Ntare V didn't last long, for in 1967 Col. Micombero took over and declared the Kingdom a republic.

Again, the 1972 tribal war claimed the life of King Charles Ntare V in Burundi and sparked off similar events in the neighbouring Rwanda, with the result that there is a two way movement of refugees between the two countries. The instability was too much strain on their already weak economies and an escalation of refugee exodus followed.

### OAU's Irresponsibility

The Organisation of African Unity has never proved effective in the treatment of the refugee problem. This is due to its inert observance of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states. Yet again, the refugee problem by its real nature straddles borders and affects

other countries. The Organisation of African Unity passed its convention on refugees in 1969 but till now only 18 out of 49 member states have ratified the convention. Some of these are Algeria, Central African Empire, Congo, Senegal, Botswana (the only country in Africa that has given citizenship to about 4,000 refugees from Rhodesia and Angola at a settlement founded in a village called Etsha), Sudan, Togo, Zaire (the only country with the biggest refugee population of about 600,000 in Africa, three quarters of them are from Angola. The second largest concentration of refugees is Uganda—refugees from Zaire!). Nigeria, Africa's giant, and others like Uganda and Tanzania who have been such good hosts to hundreds of thousands of refugees for years have not ratified the convention.

The AACC's annual programme is about 1½ million but of that only 5% comes from Africa. Due to the influx of refugees, in 1977 up to September the refugee department of the AACC had over spent the 1977 budget of US\$1.5 million. Expenses will further rise this year to US\$2.0 million. The spiral will continue—more refugees, higher cost, and more desperate quest for more money. Besides the huge money from abroad, the Churches need the support of African governments. The secretary of the AACC Refugee Department Mr. Ato Melaku Kiffle says that Africa has got about 250 million people and if every person in Africa contributed Shs. 1/- every year in Africa alone the department would be getting almost Shs. 350/- million which could help much.

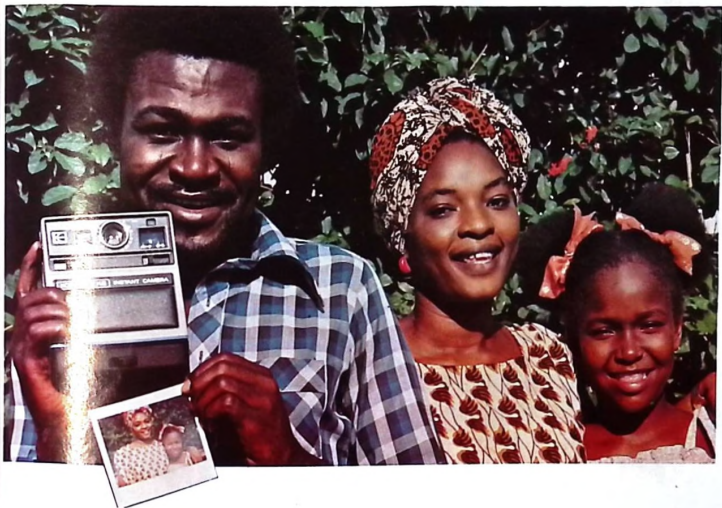
The Organisation of African Unity set up a Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR). Early 1975, BPEAR admitted it still found that employment for the Bureau's nominees within Africa had continued to be as difficult as ever before.

It is quite apparent that the refugee problem in Africa has been left to the churches. The churches appeared to have been aware of the urgency of the situation soon after the All Africa Conference of Churches was organised in 1965. A special appeal for US\$10,000,000 was launched and the greater part of that money has gone into resettlement, education, relief and rehabilitation of refugees. Churches in the countries of Zaire, Ethiopia, Burundi, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia were helped to create structures and appoint personnel to care for refugees.

## AFRICA AND THE SUPER-POWERS *Continued from page 18*

relations the links between Africa and the rest of the world can be classified according to three principles. First there is the area of mutual disability being a bond of mutual hope. The classification alludes to the relationship between Africa, and the Caribbean and some parts of Latin America, and some parts of Asia. Then there is the principle of relative disability and mutual ignorance. Much of Asia such as the Indian sub-continent, a large part of Latin America, and some parts of the Middle East relate to African countries through this principle represented of course by the fact trade between these areas is usually in goods manufactured by the larger power, and the relationship is really that of middlemen to each other. And then there is the principle of technological imbalance leading to economic domination. Such countries as Japan, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, France and Britain and West Germany, enjoy great benefits under this principle of trade with Africa, but at every step of the way the countries that relate to Africa under these principles are manipulated in turn by the overall interests of the super-powers.

The large umbrella of the major powers shelters the weak and strong alike and does not always discriminate on the fact of whether it is protecting its clients from the sun or depriving them of much needed light. African nations must strengthen the unity of their policies through a clear definition of regional goals. They must present the major powers with well defined goals for regional development that will supercede imposed solutions that only aggravate their domestic problems. So far super-power intrusion into African politics on the regional level have seemed more like confrontations between the powers which use African interests as starting points. Under this reality the African nation's own priorities are being smothered and ineffective methods of political stabilisation continue to proliferate. It is not merely the fault of the super-powers. Their inbuilt arrogance is an occupational failing of those who wield global influence and power. The strength of Africa to make the super-powers themselves reach an understanding of real and mutually beneficial involvement in African affairs, lay in their ability to find and sustain effective indigenous needs and principles to which they will adhere collectively against all odds.



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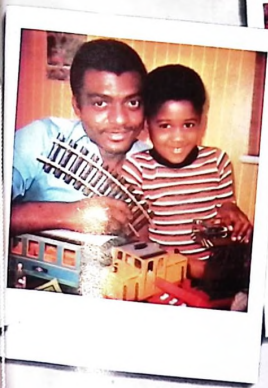
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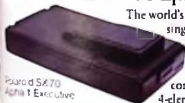
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## Sadat's African Policy

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

When Anwar El Sadat assumed power as Egypt's president in 1970 after the sudden death of President Nasser, Africa occupied only a peripheral place in Sadat's policy calculation. His main pre-occupation was centred on finding solutions to Egypt's pressing domestic problems and the recovery of the territory which Israel seized from Egypt during the 1967 war. On the whole, Africa did not receive more than the routine attention based on maintaining Egypt's attendance at the OAU conferences and giving the traditional diplomatic, moral and other support to OAU's decolonisation efforts.

### Dramatic Change

The position changed considerably after the October 1973 Arab/Israeli war. Since then, President Sadat has shown increasing interest in events taking place in Africa. The change in Sadat's posture towards Africa is not to be taken that the situation has ceased at home or that the Arab/Israeli dispute is in any way nearing solution. Perhaps the main factor responsible for Sadat's increasing interest in Africa could be traced to the support the OAU gave to the Arab cause during the October 1973 war. The Pay-off of this support was quite impressive and came to re-emphasise the need for greater Afro-Arab co-operation. It demonstrated that much could be achieved if the two groups joined hands and act together.

After that war, a number of intra-Arab and Afro-Arab conferences were held between November 1973 and March 1977 at which various ways of strengthening Afro-Arab unity were looked into. Even though some of the conferences were not initiated by Egypt, she did play a notable part. It is remarkable that the conferences were actually consummated in Cairo with a grand Afro-Arab Summit in March 1977. During the Cairo summit, President Sadat reaffirmed Egypt's commitment to the total liberation of Africa from the yoke of colonialism,



*Clinging to Khaid's anticommunist tails (bottom right), Sadat (right above) . . . .*



*. . . . aids Said Barre and Chad's Malloum (bottom left).*

exploitation and racism. He made it clear that Egypt had, and still, opened her doors and arsenal to all African liberation movements. As a practical demonstration of this commitment, he made a grant of one million dollars as Egypt's contribution to African liberation movements. Of course other Arab States also contributed various sums.

Sadat's commitment to the attainment of total freedom in Africa is not in doubt. Even though Egypt's policy in this respect has not been as assertive under Sadat as it was under his predecessor, it is fair to say that there has not been any basic departure from Nasser's policy. To Sadat, freedom means more than political independence. It should incorporate economic independence. He sees the winning of economic independence as the hardest struggle which the African people should strive to achieve. He observed that "although the banners of independence flew over most of the Conti-

ment heralding the birth of freedom, this freedom has encountered challenges . . . because those who have plundered the Continent's wealth have masqueraded behind false masks to resume their plunder and exploitation." (See 66/694 of May 1977, Africa—The Continent of the Future, Ministry of Information Publication, Cairo).

While Sadat has been quite consistent in his support for OAU's decolonisation efforts, his manner of involvement in intra-African disputes has been inconsistent and quite incomprehensible. For instance, President Sadat admitted in February, 1978 that his government has been aiding the government of General Felix Malloum of Chad in its fight against separatist forces in that country. He maintained that Egypt would continue with that policy. (See Daily Times, Lagos, 14 February 1978). Also in May 1977, Sadat aided President Mobutu of Zaire with Egyptian pilots to put an end to the revolt in the Shaba Province of

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# Essay

that country. In the Horn of Africa, however, Sadat made a basic departure from his earlier interventionist policy by supporting and sustaining separatist forces trying to dismember Ethiopia.

If Sadat's interventionist policy in Africa is to be understood it must be seen under the background of the Russo-Egyptian estrangement which reached its peak after the October 1973 war. This crisis had its root on the failure of the Soviet Union to meet in full Egypt's demand for a replacement of all her military losses during that war. Because the Soviets were not quite happy with the way they were quietly ebbed out of the peace negotiations which were masterminded by the former American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, they were not enthusiastic about meeting Egypt's demand. During the peace negotiations, President Sadat relied so heavily on Kissinger's ability to squeeze out a few concessions from Israel that he seemed to have virtually neglected Egypt's former ally, the Soviet Union. By the time Egypt's diplomatic offensive through the United States against Israel misfired, it became difficult to win the Soviet confidence. In the end, the Soviet Union failed to supply the needed weapons, and Egypt had to fall back on a joint diplomatic pressure with the United States to see what further concession could be got from Israel.

The gulf between Egypt and the Soviet Union was further widened by the intervention of King Khalid of Saudi Arabia who offered Egypt financial assistance in return for the expulsion of Soviet technical experts from Egypt. As a further step to have Egypt permanently placed in the anti-Soviet camp, Saudi Arabia in conjunction with the United States is now aiding Egypt's programme to convert her Soviet-made equipment with the aid of Western technology so that they could be made serviceable by using spare parts from Western sources. It is understood that Saudi Arabia is providing two-thirds of the money for this project while the United States is providing the rest. The involvement of the Carter administration in the project is seen by some experts as a way of by-passing Congressional opposition to supplying Egypt with Western hardware. (See Foreign Report, 1511, 9 Nov. 1977).

## Western Front In Africa

As a result of these developments, Egypt has now joined Saudi Arabia as the bastion of anti-Soviet rally in Africa.

It is in the light of this one has to see Sadat's double standard in his interventionist policy in Africa. The main purpose of these interventions, whether in Chad, in Zaire or in the Horn of Africa, is to defend anti-Communist interests. Otherwise, it is inexplicable why he should intervene in Chad and Zaire to defend the territorial integrity of these countries, and should fail to do so in Ethiopia, and not only that but actually aided forces which wanted to dismember that country. In fact, the only plausible explanation for Sadat's action is that his anti-Soviet posture coincided with the anti-separatist struggle of General Mollooum of Chad and President Mobutu of Zaire since it was Egypt's belief that the dissidents against whom the two leaders were fighting were aided by the Soviet Union: in the case of Chad, through Libya while in the case of Shaba, through Angola. The pattern of Egypt's intervention had to be reversed in the case of Ethiopia because the regime fighting against separatist forces is aided by the hated Russians and the Cubans.

May be it is in Egypt's best interest to play her present role since recent moves to settle the rift between her and the Soviet Union have not yielded any result, and Egypt must either get military supplies or rely on America's diplomatic pressure on Israel. No doubt, President Sadat needs Saudi financial support to build up his country's military power; and the indirect, even though small, contribution of the Carter administration is also helpful. May be all these are sufficient reasons for the Egyptian President to serve as the shield against Communist expansion in Africa. Nonetheless, the implication for Africa should also be taken into consideration.

The important thing to note is that if Sadat should carry his present role too far he might find himself opposing progressive forces in Africa who, with the aid of the Soviet Union, are fighting either to liberate their countries from racist domination, to consolidate their independence, or preserve their territorial integrity. In most of these areas, like Southern Africa for instance, the West might not be reliable partners if it comes to military struggle because of their entrenched economic interest. Africa's only willing ally when it comes to fighting, for instance, to defend Zambia and Mozambique from racist violation, might be Sadat's detested Communist States. This is the reason why President Sadat should know where to draw a line in his anti-Soviet policy in order not to sacrifice the overall interest of the OAU.

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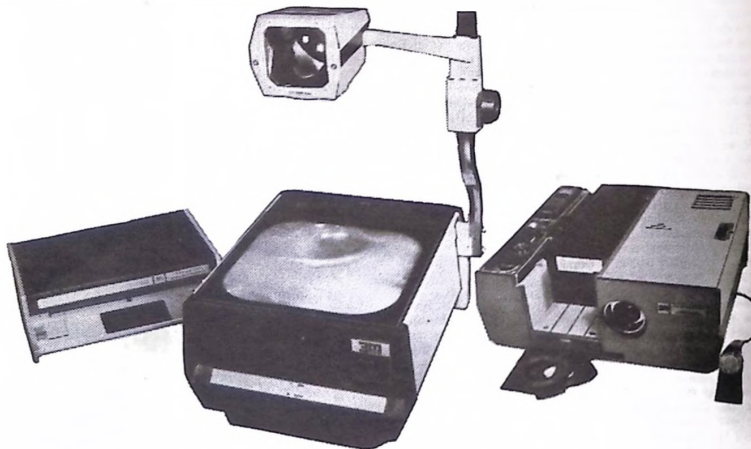
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AMERICAN CORPORATIONS UNDER FIRE:

## South African Investments

By Tami Hultman and Reed Kramer

Late in March some 30 top executives of major American corporations visited Africa as part of a "newstour" organized by Time, Inc., the publishers of Time magazine. This year's seminar is the first since the tours began in 1963 to include African nations on its itinerary, and took place just before Jimmy Carter became the first U.S. President to visit sub-Saharan Africa while in office.

Both trips are examples of Americans' growing interest in African affairs—a concern which is most often focused on the troubled white ruled nations of the sub-continent. Time says the business leaders, many of whose companies have South African investments, are studying "the dominant political and social controversies" of the areas they tour. In South Africa that over-riding issue will be the role of U.S. investments, a subject which has already stirred unprecedented controversy here at home in the first months of this year.

For nearly a decade critics of apartheid have disagreed over whether American firms should withdraw from South Africa or use their influence there to encourage change. Now there is evidence that the advocates of decreased involvement—long a vocal minority—are enlarging their ranks.

Last month in a little reported but potentially significant move, the AFL-CIO executive council called upon American companies to divest themselves immediately of their South African affiliates and to sever all ties with South African companies. Also in February the Michigan state legislature passed, with no dissenting votes, a resolution calling on Congress and the President to impose sanctions against South Africa.

This year for the first time the NAACP has called for total withdrawal as have a number of previously uncommitted or unconvinced black leaders such as Chicago University historian John Hope Franklin. Senator Dick Clark (D-Iowa), who as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa has pressed companies to move away from discrimination, has now appealed to President Carter to alter U.S. policy "to actively

discourage American foreign investment in South Africa."

A broad coalition of national church agencies, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, is filing shareholder resolutions asking 23 companies to withdraw investments, stop making loans or to restrict their South African activities. On campuses around the country students are demanding that their schools sell stocks in firms with South African links, while a dozen local communities have taken actions ranging from city council resolutions to the referendum passed by Davis, California residents on March 7, favouring withdrawal of municipal funds from banks with South African operations.

And a campaign against U.S. Export-Import Bank financing of South African projects, launched in January by the Washington Office on Africa, has picked up surprising momentum with endorsements from the United Auto Workers, the AFL-CIO, the National Council of Churches, the NAACP, Americans for Democratic Action and the American Committee on Africa.

This growing protest movement is likely to have a tangible impact. Already, stockholder campaigns coupled with the rising level of unrest in South Africa have affected the long-range

planning of U.S. companies.

For the American investor, South Africa is no longer—as Fortune magazine saw it in 1972—"one of those rare and refreshing places where profits are great and problems small," where annual earnings of 22% in the previous decade were more than double the worldwide average. For 1975 and '76 profits from South African operations declined to 10.5% while the world average remained about the same. And rather than reinvesting 60% of their earnings as in the past, U.S. firms are now choosing to bring home 65%. Total American investment there grew only 5.5% in 1976, down from an average 24% in the preceding three years.

Of particular concern to the South African government is the ripple effect of even small-scale American actions, due to the dominant role of the United States in the world economy. When British builder Neil Wates decided not to invest in South Africa in 1970, his strong moral stand had little economic impact, although black South Africans welcomed it as an encouraging sign. But last November when Polaroid announced that it would no longer supply its South African distributor with products to sell, the Financial Mail mourned that the Boston firm's "dramatic decision to quit South Africa bodes ill for overseas confidence in this country." This despite the fact that Polaroid had no direct investment or employees there.

Public pressure and declining profitability are also affecting the investments of South Africa's other leading



Henry Ford (left) and John Vorster... "Thank You Mr. Ford!"

trading partners—Great Britain, France, Canada, West Germany and Japan. In recent months West Germany and Canada have limited government loan guarantees for exports to South Africa and France has cancelled arms sales contracts. The European Economic Community, prodded by the Dutch, in September adopted a code of ethics for companies with South African ties. The code is already stronger than a similar manifesto initiated by black American cleric and businessman Leon Sullivan six months earlier—which pledges firms which sign it to end discrimination but makes no mention of trade union rights—and EEC members such as Belgium, Denmark and Ireland are pressing for stronger action in the future.

Critics argue, accurately enough, that there is more public relations than actual political clout to the measures. Sullivan manifesto signers, for example, have made little progress towards implementing their stated goals, and Canadian restrictions have proved much less far-reaching than originally expected.

Nevertheless, many investors have grown wary, and South Africa has had to rely heavily on foreign borrowing to meet its capital needs. Between 1974 and 1976 the country's indebtedness tripled, and foreign debts as a proportion of foreign investment rose from 15% to 32%.<sup>2</sup> Last year the situation worsened and the economy suffered an unprecedented net loss of \$1.2 billion in foreign capital,<sup>3</sup> a trend which will have serious consequences if it continues.

### Economy Built On Foreign Links

Without help from abroad over the past thirty years, the nation would not be the economic and military giant of the African continent it is today, accounting for 30% of Africa's industrial production with only 5-6% of its land area and population. While the economy was expanding at 4.9% annually in real terms (adjusted for inflation)—making South Africa's post-war boom second only to Japan's—foreign investment increased 10% each year.

The net inflow of foreign funds during the same period was large enough to offset sizeable trade imbalances while also increasing vital foreign exchange reserves by \$370 million. Or, to look at it another way, net capital inflow during the decade preceding 1977 was large enough to cover at least 80% of South Africa's escalating purchases of oil and military equipment.<sup>4</sup>

U.S. direct investment has grown

even faster—from \$105 million in 1947 to \$1.7 billion today. More than 300 American firms employing 100,000 people account for an influential 17% of foreign capital and a much larger percentage of outside technology. Manufacturing concerns are heavily concentrated in the strategic oil, automotive, computer, electronic, rubber and heavy equipment sectors. Other U.S./South African ties include \$2.2 billion in loans from American banks, a volume of trade which makes the U.S. South Africa's number one supplier, and a variety of official links such as \$200 million in U.S. Export-Import Bank guarantees, American support for \$472 million in International Monetary Fund assistance to South Africa, and an extensive nuclear cooperation programme.

This steady stream of foreign money and know-how has helped convert a mining and agricultural export economy into a diversified industrial dynamo. The result is a nation which is powerfully dominant in the Africa sub-continent, but which remains dependent on Western finance and expertise for continued economic growth.

The role of technology is a prime example of how foreign-led expansion, while strengthening the South African economy, has not freed it from overseas dependence. A 1977 survey of 282 local and foreign-owned firms by the University of Natal found that most use mainly imported production techniques. British economist John Suckling's study of the 1957 to 1972 period suggests that foreign technology accounted for an astonishing 60% of the country's economic growth. "We're entirely dependent on the U.S.," said Burroughs Corporation's South African managing Director C. Cotton in a 1971 interview. "The economy would grind to a halt without access to the computer technology of the West."

It is this partnership between Pretoria and the industrialized West which forces South Africa's black-ruled neighbours to look to the white south for many of their capital and import needs. Trade between South Africa and other African states is worth some \$500 million, and a half million citizens of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Mozambique, whose economies are too poor to employ their entire populations, subject themselves to South Africa's racial laws to take jobs in the South African mines. In addition, the militarily weak nations of Southern Africa live with the knowledge that South African forces can invade their territories at will, as they did in Angola in 1975.

While the Western connection may help South Africa whether both external and domestic pressures, the corporations involved reason that their ultimate impact is beneficial. "We think the best approach is to try to help people get jobs," says Control Data Corporation's William Morris, reiterating a common corporate argument that American investments provide employment—and therefore the means for advancement in life—for black South Africans who would otherwise remain mired in poverty. But postwar history suggests that in several ways the reverse is true.

Because most foreign investment in South Africa is capital rather than labour intensive—that is, more dependent on equipment than human productivity—South Africa has been able to achieve booming economic growth while leaving unemployed and untrained a vast reservoir of potential African labour.

One study estimates that from 1970 to 1974, when the economy was expanding rapidly and foreign capital was pouring in, the number of people without work increased by at least 475,000.<sup>5</sup> The first government survey of black unemployment, released late January, says 12.4% of the economically active black population is currently unemployed, but academic studies such as a recent one by the University of Natal estimate that the true figure is twice that high.

One important result of this pool of untapped black labour is that the South African government has been able to expedite its plans for shipping what it calls "redundant" Africans to Bantustans, the rural reserves eventually scheduled for independence under apartheid's grand design. Resettlement programmes, such as those near Capetown which recently received international publicity when whites lay in front of government bulldozers sent to demolish shantytowns, have proceeded without interruption for more than a decade. Nearly half the country's Africans, who comprise 70% of the population, are now residing in the 13% of South Africa defined as Bantustans. The population density in those impoverished areas is already almost three-and-a-half times as great as in the areas reserved for whites. "Shipping more out-of-works to the Bantustans," says the Financial Mail "could rapidly turn them into rust slums."

Many would argue that that point was reached long ago. There is a convincing evidence that investment and the growth it helped stimulate

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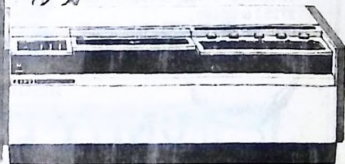
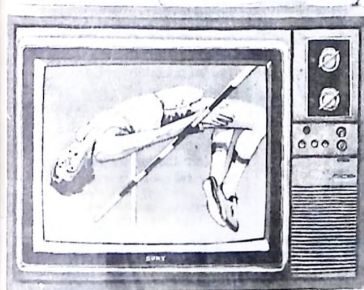
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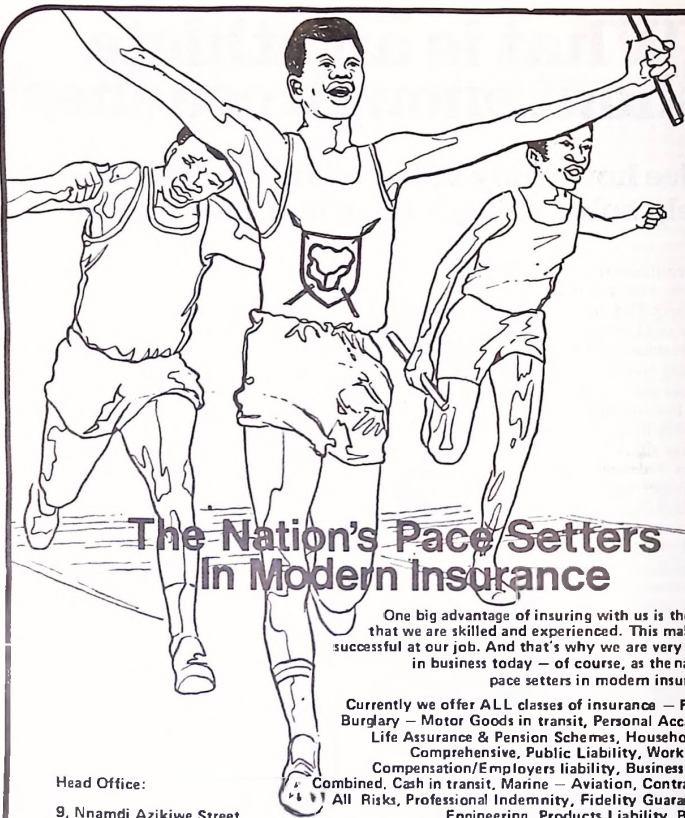
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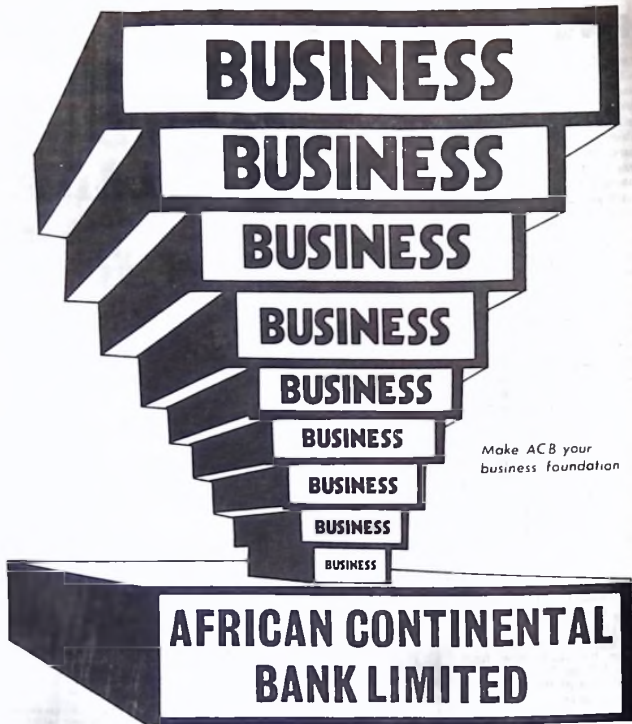
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**BRANCHES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY**

# Forum

reporting of African population growth.

Most importantly, critics point out that the wage gap widened during a long period of rapid industrialization, and began to narrow only after the wave of illegal African strikes started in 1973—and the improving trend has continued even during the recent recessionary years when new foreign investment has slowed to trickle. This, they say, suggests that there is little to credit economic growth with bettering working conditions for blacks, but much evidence linking the slightly better wages to worker militancy, supported by pressure on investors from abroad.

There is also evidence that even long-term intentional actions by American companies to upgrade their blackworkers would have minimal practical effect. The 61 U.S. firms who have signed the Sullivan manifesto employ only 30,000 Africans, a small number considering the immensity of African poverty. The Financial Mail, arguing in favour of increased foreign investment, reports that even with a 4% growth rate—and South Africa's last year was just 1.6%—it would take more than a century for the South African standard of living to reach the level of that in Great Britain today. And Africans presumably would still be below the overall average.

## Who Would Withdraw Hurt?

The often-heard view that corporate withdrawal would hurt blacks most is usually countered with the argument that a broad spectrum of Africans have endorsed the economic boycott call of Nobel peace prize winner Albert Lutuli: "if it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay."

The factor both sides tend to ignore is that, in reality, it is white life rather than black living conditions which will likely be most affected by a significant loss of foreign capital. Without the shot-in-the-arm provided by overseas capital and technology, the government would have to boost domestic savings through taxes and curbs on consumer spending to finance defence, import, and investment needs.

In fact, the need to rationalize the economy could mean increased training and more highly-skilled jobs for black workers. While some growth in unemployment among Africans would also occur, the dramatic standard of living decline would take place among whites—the only racial group affluent enough to reduce consumption.

Whether this would lead to greater

intransigence or to support for racial reforms among whites is an open question. Those who see white South Africans, particularly Afrikaaners, as a fanatic and unified bloc, ready to fight to the death for the idea of white supremacy, naturally argue that outside pressures will only intensify their defiance.

But there is also the view that intransigence is the result not of too great pressures but of too few. "If Americans are worried and confused about the counterproductive effects of their rhetoric against South Africa," the moderate South African Institute of Race Relations said recently, "perhaps the lack of visible significant change in the employment practices of US firms operating in South Africa may be one reason." And it is demonstrably true that many of the reforms of the last two years, however token they may be, are directly traceable to foreign pressure.

What is not debatable in all this is the attitude of the South African government and its militant black opponents, who are in rare agreement about the role of foreign capital in bolstering white rule.

Whether they are right or wrong, most black South Africans are convinced from their experiences during a century of protest that change will not come to South Africa peacefully, particularly while foreign support keeps the government strong enough to resist domestic pressures. Many share the belief articulated by black consciousness groups and banned liberation movements that only an economic, political and cultural isolation offers any hope at all for substantive change without a long bloody war.

To the government and its supporters any sign that American companies will maintain their stake in the economy is a definite morale booster, an encouragement to press ahead with current policy. "We should learn to treat with due disregard the sound and fury of the activists—the way America's businessmen have done," commented the South African Broadcasting Corporation when Henry Ford II announced during a January visit that the Ford Motor Company would remain in South Africa.

"THANK YOU MR. FORD!" is the way the government-supporting newspaper *The Citizen* expressed it, in a banner headline across page one.

As long as verbal condemnations of apartheid are accompanied by continued infusions of money and technology, there will be broad agreement with James Moriel of the Fund for

Peace's Centre for International Policy that the American approach towards South Africa is one of "slapping the wrist while greasing the palm."

## FOOTNOTES

1. They include the United Auto Workers, the National Council of Churches, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the American Friends Service Committee, the Phelps Stokes Fund, Americans for Democratic Action and the American Committee on Africa.

2. A detailed analysis of "International Credit and South Africa" prepared by Library of Congress analyst William Raiford has been published by the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa in a report entitled *U.S. Corporate Interests in South Africa* (January, 1978). The move towards liquidity appears to reflect investors' perceptions that, in the long term, South Africa is less secure investment in 1976 than it was in 1974.

3. The large outflow is primarily a result of short-term funds leaving the country and the heavy debt service payments. Although no public Eurocurrency credits for 1977 are recorded, South Africa managed to borrow what was urgently needed through privately-placed bond issues and loans—and most importantly, through short-term loans, which are more costly and require the borrower to return to market more often.

4. South Africa spends about two-thirds of its defence budget overseas. Its current annual oil bill is about \$1500 million, up from \$1000 million in 1975, \$250 million in the early 1970's, and \$200 million in the late 1960's.

5. Data compiled from Table B, page 5, *South African Labour Bulletin*, Oct., 1976.

6. Merle Lipton, "British Investment in South Africa: Is 'Constructive Engagement' Possible?" *SA Labour Bulletin*, Oct., 1976.

7. *Optima*, January, 1978.

8. "The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already."

9. That South Africa has grown more rather than less dependent on foreign capital recently is shown by examination of import figures. In 1976, capital goods made up 62% of the import bill, compared with only 30% in the late 1950's and 1960's. Between 1946 and 1976, net inflow of capital accounted for 12% of total domestic fixed investment. From 1974 until mid-1976 (when political turmoil sparked capital outflow), incoming foreign investment made up 19% of gross domestic fixed investment. Raiford states that the economy "is becoming more capital intensive and clearly more reliant on international credit." He shows that new bank lending was equivalent to 62% of capital goods imports in 1976, compared with 31% in 1974.

MODERN EAST  
AFRICAN LITERATURE:

## A Japanese Reaction

—From *Uhuru To Harambee—*  
By Satoru Tsuchiya

In the 1930's, with such men as Senegalese poet (and later president) Senghor in the forefront, modern African literature began to flower first in French-Speaking areas, in the form of the Negritude movement. The aim of this movement was to restore the rights of blacks, and especially in the area of poetry a great body of verse singing the beauty, freshness, vitality, and dignity of blackness was born, thus bringing to Africans a self-awakening and sense of pride the meaning of which cannot be overestimated. But in the fifties the centre of this literary activity shifted from French-

speaking countries to English, and Nigeria and South Africa became the new centres. In the case of East Africa, however, it took ten years longer, until the sixties, for creative writing to become enlivened.

Even if from our immediate discussion we exempt South Africa with its abnormal situation of apartheid, we still find the interesting fact that literary themes vary widely from East to West Africa. The Negritude movement, for example, seems to have taken full root in West Africa, and its appeal there is much more compelling than in the East. As can be seen even in this example, it is natural that the first flowering of modern African literature occurs in the West; then, a little later, sparked by occurrences in the West, things begin to move in the East.

Now drawing on literary climate and social organization, I would like to present here some of the special features of the literature of East Africa. (First, I must tell you that by "East Africa" I here refer to Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, which together make up the East African Community.) The former centre of East African culture was Kampala, Uganda, but under the severe restrictions put on speech and publication by successive Obote and Amin regimes, the brain-flow out of Uganda has been fast and furious; at present the centre of activity is Nairobi, Kenya.

This article's focus, consequently, is on Kenya, and I hope this article should be understood in this context.

Ngugi

Let us first examine *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), a representative novel by Ngugi Wa Thiongo (1938- ), one of the leading writers in East Africa. This novel deals with the period just before Kenya's independence, when the absolute colonial rule of the whites was finally beginning to shake under the stinging persistence of the Mau Mau Liberation struggle. The work treats breaches of interreliance among the Gikuyu tribe (there are those who became puppets of the whites, turncoats, those who communicated secretly with the whites, and a man who carried on an affair with the wife of a captured comrade) and portrays various reactions blacks showed to white authority. Ngugi's aim in daring to lay bare his own tribal shame, in daring to gouge out the old wounds left by the betrayals of the Mau-Mau war, is of course to reveal human weakness, but we must also see, in addition, the curse he places on the old white establishment for changing good grains of wheat (Kenyans) into tares.

The novel "The River Between" (1965) and the short story "A Meeting in the Dark" deal with the anguish of converted members of the Gikuyu tribe caught between the tribal custom of circumcision and the tenets of Calvinist Christianity forbidding it. And in the "The Martyr", he deals with that most classical and typical theme of all colonial countries, master-servant relations, against the background of the White Highland; and thus appears the last of the three characteristic themes of East African—and especially Kenyan—literature: the Mau-Mau war, circumcision, and White Highland. (As the name suggests, this refers to an area of high, level, and fertile ground in the northern sector

of Nairobi which had been appropriated and settled by whites.) We must bear in mind that in the natural flow of Kenyan history, circumcision on the spiritual front and White Highland on the material front were the two particularly strong elements which served as triggers to set off Gikuyu wrath against the whites and ultimately roused into hatred and hostility to such a fever pitch that it plunged the natives into the Mau-Mau conflict. As a matter of fact, the Mau-Mau affair is virtually the only theme to be found in the Kenyan literature of the sixties, and in some form or another it casts a long shadow on all literary works in that country.

The whites, of course, insisted that the Mau-Mau were nothing more than a group of destructive terrorist elements; the Kenyans argued back with naked emotion that they were freedom fighters. But recently, whether it be because the "freedom fighter" image has taken firm hold among the Kenyan people, or because a new generation which does not experience the war has grown to adulthood, the Kenyan 'Mau-Mau complex' seems to have disappeared. This can be clearly seen, for example, just by looking at the objectivism of Meja Mwangi's creative technique with which in *Mwari* (1948- ) treats the Mau-Mau liberation struggle in his novel "Caesars For Hounds" (1974). Now this novel deals from the inside with the indomitable fighting spirit of the Mau-Mau soldiers, who, although pushed into the Aberdare Range by government troops, maintain rigid iron-discipline and finally, ablaze with love for their comrades and a sense of mission, give their lives in battle. The pursued and the pursuers (puppets of the whites) were former comrades who had once shared same food and friendship; as we read we are reminded of Che Guevara, and the conflict of Vietnam flickers through our mind. The tragedy of such quarrels between brothers is pathological, distressing. But in this Mwangi's novel there is no glaring trace of the meanness and sense of humiliation seen in Ngugi's "A Grain of Wheat". What one finds here is simply a refreshing, mechanical, light dryness, which amounts to one kind of sublimity. In this sense the title of the book, taken from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, can also be read as biting satire aimed at the insensibility and unashamed egotism of humans who fabricate a grand and glorious cause.

Mwangi

Recently I asked Mr. Mwangi, one



Mwangi . . . Unfinished Talent?

## SELECTIVE VERSUS QUOTA ADMISSION:

# A Nigeria's Dilemma

\*Adeyemo Aderinto  
University of Lagos, Nigeria

Much of the controversy about quota admission, designed to assist the disadvantaged states, has been unproductive, because the adversaries have tended to talk past each other. Whereas the proponents of quota admissions typically speak of the need for equalizing educational opportunities and aiding the disadvantaged states, the opponents usually speak of the need for maintaining academic standards and for conserving our dwindling institutional resources. Whether such arguments are indeed incompatible will be difficult to determine as long as there is no common basis for discussion. This article aims at setting up a basis for such discussions.

### The Goals of Higher Education

One possible approach to resolving the controversy is first to reach some agreement on what the basic goals of higher education ought to be. Implicit in the controversy over university admissions are at least three basically different types of goals or plans for the higher education system. These could be conveniently labelled, (i) the elitist (ii) the egalitarian and (iii) the remedial policies. Those who subscribe to an elitist conception of the system, maintain that only the ablest and brightest should receive higher education. Those who believe in an egalitarian system advocate that everyone should have an opportunity to go to higher institutions and that the investment of resources should be about equal across the spectrum of ability. Finally advocates of a remedial or social welfare plan feel that special attention should be devoted to the lowest-performing and most disadvantaged members of the society. It should be noted that the allocation of resources in this remedial policy would be precisely the reverse of what it would be under the elitist system.

The elitist plan has been implicit in the Nigerian higher educational system in the past. In this type of system, there is relatively little concern with improving performance on the lowest of the ability spectrum. Thus it would



Colonel Ahmadu Ali... the man at the centre

not be necessary or even desirable to admit to higher institution people at the lowest end of the distribution in order to implement the elitist plan.

In order to implement the egalitarian plan; however, it would probably be necessary to admit all members of the potential population to some form of higher education or at least to provide some sort of opportunities for everyone.

Implementation of the remedial plan, would, of course, also require that the low performers be admitted into some form of post-secondary education. However, it would probably be necessary in addition to invest a disproportionate amount of the higher education resources in the education of these low performers. This type of resource allocation is of course precisely the reverse of what is done.

Some advocates of the elitist plan for higher education would argue that it is essential to invest most of our resources in the education of the exceptionally bright in order to promote scientific and technological progress. Advocates of the remedial or social welfare plan, on the other hand, might argue that the lowest performing members of the society represent the

biggest drain on the society and in the long-run the biggest threat to the general welfare and unity of the society. According to this argument, substantially improving the competence of these lowest performers might ultimately have enormous societal benefits by alleviating poverty, ignorance and diseases.

In short, the three alternative models pose some interesting questions of value for educational planner. Does a given Naira investment on a high performer have the same pay off (the same value to society) as an equal investment on a low performer? And what about investment in the average student? Of what personal value to the individuals themselves are given investments? Although this is not the place to debate such issues, one thing is clear that the education system cannot hope to enhance performance of the individuals at any point on the ability spectrum if it excludes them from the system altogether. Nor can it hope to recruit, retrain and influence the performance of individuals not currently in the system unless it provides sufficient financial support and develops programmes appropriately geared to their initial level of performance.

Even if it were possible to achieve some degree of agreement on the desired outcome of higher education, there remains the unresolved question as to what sort of system is needed to bring about any particular outcome. There are at least two aspects to this question. The first is to understand what kind of system we already have, and the second is to determine whether there are certain changes which could be introduced to make the system more effective in achieving the desired outcome.

One of the most important attributes of our universities is the high degree of selectivity among the students who apply for admissions. This is done in the effort of maintaining international standard and preserving the institutions' prestige and recognition. It is probably safe to assume that the system is perpetuated not for educational reasons but for reasons of prestige and status. Professors support selective admissions because they feel that bright

Continued on Page 41

# Literary Scene

of the most promising writer of younger generation, who had returned home only a few days earlier from study in Iowa State University's Creative Writing Course, why a young author like himself did choose to write a novel with such old hackneyed material as the Mau-Mau War as the theme. His answer was that in so far as we are Kenyans, we wanted to write, and should write, of the Mau-Mau affair at least once, and that to Kenyans it was such an important matter that we could not by-pass it. Referring to the differences between his method of writing and Ngugi's, he explained, "Whereas in his work Ngugi wrote personal tragedies of a number of people who were active in Mau-Mau from the social viewpoint, focussing rather on the effects on them of the changes brought about in themselves by the bloody Mau-Mau War, what I wanted to write was the impersonal mechanism of the struggle itself." And he added, "What I want to write now is not the Mau-Mau but the various social problems at present having arisen from the process of modernizing post-independence Kenya, such as social crimes, unemployment and economic crises. By dealing with those problems I want to find out African background of them."

Mwangi's approach, in his works, of trying to describe the mechanism of the internal contradictions of contemporary Kenyan society in the process of modernization clearly sets him apart from the older generation of writers in two ways. The first is that while Ngugi's main interest is in the fate of individual human beings, Mwangi has pinpointed his interest on social mechanisms. Secondly—and this is a phenomenon common to West and South Africa as well—whereas such writers as Ngugi and Achebe turned their attention to the outside by focussing on the struggle against Western white culture at the time of independence, now, in the seventies, it is on their inside that they are fixing their eyes. (Incidentally, when I suggested to Ngugi, who is only 39, that he and men like Achebe belong to the older generation among African writers, my reward was a wry laugh.)

This tendency to portray the internal contradictions peculiar to African society is also proof positive that this inner-directed younger generation has grown up soundly. While talking with Mwangi, I got the feeling from the grandness of his conceptions, the strength of his embrace, and his flexibility that he is a man of great talent unfinished. In order to explain his

promise more fully, I would like next to take up his novel "Kill Me Quick" (1973), which won the 1974 Kenyatta Prize for literature. And at the same time this will also help to reveal the society-oriented side of Mwangi's writing more clearly.

In this story, two young men, Meja and Maina, manage to graduate from middle school through the sacrifices of their families. Shouldering the expectations of their relatives, they dream of wreathing their homes in glory, and, with hearts full of hope for success, they set out for the capital Nairobi in search of good jobs. But with the high unemployment rate in Kenya it proves to be impossible to find work, so they are forced into living as drifting back-alley beggars. Finally they find employment on a white man's plantation with half-pay, that is one man's wages for them two. Then one day suspected of thievery, they are given the sack once more. After finding their way once again to the back streets of Nairobi they commit theft at a super-market and in the resulting chase get separated. Maina then joins a gang which, with the slums on the outskirts of the city as its headquarters, plagues the busy sectors in Nairobi with pick-pocketing and thievery. He thus commits one crime after another on the main streets, and in the meantime falls in love with a beautiful but impoverished girl of the slums; this love, however, does not bear fruit and comes to nothing. Finally he is caught by the police and thrown into solitary confinement cell. It is in prison that he again meets Meja. Maina is accused of murder, but Meja, knowing him, tries desperately to convince the other inmates of Maina's innocence. In the mutual trust and friendship of comrades even in such wretched circumstances there is an overflow of human warmth. But what Mwangi wanted to write of in this novel was the social mechanism which twists the lives of innocent young men who want to live honestly, which drives them into ill-doing, and which can produce only tares, but no good wheat. Here the internal contradictions of Kenyan modernization are exposed and at the same time, certain characteristics peculiar to East Africa are revealed.

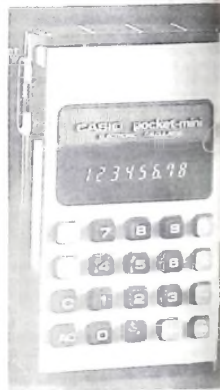
At the beginning of the novel Mwangi has placed this poem:

Days run out for me,  
Life goes from bad to worse,  
Very soon, very much soon,  
Time will lead me to the end.  
Very well. So be it.

## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

### PRODUCT NEWS MEMORY POCKET CALCULATOR

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an 8-digit unit that can, because of the memory, add, subtract; Multiply or divide complicated sets of figures and mathematical problems. Despite its mini-size however the readout display is bright green and easy to read.

### COMPACT TELEPHONE

Daily, the attempt at perfecting existin



students are much easier to teach. Indeed even within a given institution or within a given classroom, professors probably favour their brightest students. Alumni, faculty, administrators and probably a great many students themselves support selective admissions because having only bright students enhances the prestige of the institution. Many university administrators probably support selective admissions because having a good input of highly motivated and talented students will almost guarantee a good output of distinguished and probably wealthy alumni in years to come. The secondary schools support selective admissions because they see it as a reward or incentive system for motivating their students. Teachers and guidance counsellors can frequently be heard telling their students something like "study hard so you can get into a good university".

But what are the educational justification for the selective admission? Is there any validity of the idea that a selective admission will yield a better over-all educational outcome than some other forms of arrangements?

Perhaps the most common educational justification for ability tracking is the assumption that the student will develop better academically if he grouped with students of similar ability. There are, in addition several important corollary assumptions, namely, that the brighter student needs the stimulation and the competition of other bright students if he is to realize his full potential; that the brighter student will become bored and less motivated if he is grouped with students of lesser ability, and that the less able student will become intimidated and discouraged if he is forced to compete with students of higher ability. Although there has been embarrassingly little research which has attempted to test these assumptions, the available evidence suggest that for students there is little or no greater intellectual "value added" from a highly selective colleges than from quota system. By the same token the bright student does not appear to suffer intellectually by attending a college of average or even below average. Although these studies based on standardized tests of achievement and which were not done in Nigeria cannot be regarded as the final word on the effect of selective admission on intellectual development, they do suggest that some of our cherished assumptions about the effect of selective admissions need be re-examined.

Dr. Falayan Ojo has also looked at the effect of selectivity on the grades that the student receives. In order to

explore the validity of the grades students obtained in the General Certificate of Education as a predictor of the expected final Grade in the University, a national sample of 1413 students was taken. He used the Students' High School Grades and Scores as predictors of their performance in final degrees utilizing a multiple regression equation. His findings did not support that grades obtained in High Schools are good predictors of the students performance at the University level. He remarked—"there is no reliability in predicting the performance for agriculture, arts and law students on the basis of entry scores." With this type of finding one finds it difficult to accept the hypothesis of a general positive correlation between entry grades and the university performance. Such a correlation exist for some faculties but the association is not clear for some others.

Many similar studies have questioned the reliance on student grades as a predictor of university achievement. Kelsall (1963) and Majasan and Bakare (1974) have questioned the efficacy of entry qualifications as predictors of students university performance. Peil (1970) also observed that 'A' level examination, though useful but not by any means infallible measure of the university potential of university entrants.

Thus the claim that selective admissions have inherent superiority over quota admissions or any other arrangements has no empirical evidence.

One other argument for selective admissions in contrast to quota admissions, is that the students who enrol at the Institution will not form "ability dichotomies" related to geography. On the contrary a substantial number people of equal ability and performance will enrol. In this sense, then a policy of selective admission has less potential threat for racial conflict and national disunity once the students are admitted, than does a policy of double standards which is implemented solely in order to increase the proportion of the disadvantaged students enrolling at the institutions.

One other carefully considered argument against quota admission or double standards of admission, revolves around the question of academic performance. Perhaps the most persuasive promoter of such argument is Julian Stanley of Johns Hopkins University. Stanley presented an extensive treatise on this subject in a recent issue of *Science Magazine*. His arguments could be summarized as follows: Since high school grades predict College Grades

equally well for both the more able and the less able students, the less able students who are admitted under special criteria will tend to perform below the regularly admitted students. Under these circumstances, the argument goes, why subject such students needlessly to the humiliation and frustration and disappointment that will accompany their academic failure?

In examining such arguments however some points should be noted. Since high school advanced level grades are far from perfect predictors of academic performance, only a few of the specially admitted students are likely to fail completely and a few will perform outstandingly.

Stanley cites a good deal of evidence which suggests that test scores of academic ability predict as well for the lower performing students as for the better performing students. If anything, they seem to over predict slightly for the poorly prepared students. While Ojo's finding would support these same conclusions, I do not feel that the predictive validity of admission criteria is necessarily relevant to the issue at hand?

Even assuming a predictive validity of admission criteria, to defend selective admissions, on the ground that Higher School and Advanced Level grades predict performance is perhaps to miss the main point of education. The point here is that the predictive validity of University admissions tests and high school grades may be, to a large extent, irrelevant to the educational objective of a nation. To be sure, if it could be demonstrated that the "Value-added" by virtue of university attendance is greater for the high scoring than for the low scoring student, one might argue more cogently that school certificate/GCE scores are appropriate criteria for selecting university students, but the available evidence clearly does not support such an assumption.

Perhaps the most important hidden assumption underlying the prediction argument is that the student's grade is a reflexion of what he has learnt. Indeed the concept of "flunking out" students is based on the assumption that students who get low grades are not "Profiting" from their educational experience. There is, however little evidence to support this assumption and some recent evidence actually contradicts it. One of the most provocative studies I have run across in recent years was reported by John Harris of the Institute of Higher Education at the University of Georgia. This study involves the administration of

freshmen when they first entered college. In order to measure gains in intellectual performance, the same battery was administered after the student had completed their first six quarters of academic work. Students were then sorted into several comparison groups on the basis of academic grades they had received in the previous courses. The groups were then compared to determine whether grades were related to differential scores on the test.

The results were inconclusive. Virtually all groups showed significant positive gains on the Test, indicating that some learning was taking place regardless of the students' initial scores.

Although Harris's study may not be accepted as universally valid, his findings however, could have profound implications both for admissions and grading practices in higher institutions. Is it possible that grades are a poor reflexion of a student's progress? Is it possible that university grades simply rank the students in the same relative manner as their high school grades do and fail to reflect what they are actually learning? Is it possible that many students who are "flunked out" are in fact showing significant progress, although at a lower relative level or performance than students who receive high grades?

It is probably a serious mistake to assume that by admitting students who would previously have been excluded from the system they will all ultimately catch up with the other students. This is a matter of individual's capacity and motivation. The criterion for determining whether an educational programme is effective however, should be that the student continues to show progress and to acquire skills and knowledge that are of value either to himself or to the society. In other words, the decision to retain a student in an educational programme should not be based only on his ability to reach an arbitrary performance standard within some specific period of time, but rather on whether he continues to show significant progress and growth. This is where we can learn a lot from American practice of course system.

It is sometimes argued that a policy of quota admission will inflict new educational burdens on colleges and universities that they are not equipped to handle. Such arguments ignore the fact that many of the Nigerian Universities and other high institutions have for many years been operating what is essentially a policy of quota system of admission. Moreover there are several institutions abroad that have

enrolled students in the lower ability range; students who, in many respects, would have been excluded under the selective system of our admissions. For that matter, many of the great state universities in the United States have been able to accommodate students at all level of ability without any apparent ill effects. Such institutions have, to be sure, instituted a kind of track system within their curricular programmes. But the fact that the programmes have operated within a single institution has blunted many of the criticisms that standards would be lowered. Accommodating a wide range of student ability within a single institution can be accomplished by establishing curricular programmes which will ensure that students can proceed at their own rate. This speaks in favour of course systems of instruction. No doubt, converting to a programme of quota admissions imposes certain new responsibilities on the institutions. One obvious responsibility is that the institution must develop educational programmes that are geared to students in the lower ability ranges.

The form of opposition to quota system of admission is perhaps dearest to the hearts of administrators, concerned the costs of developing special programmes for less prepared students. It is sometimes argued that the limited resources—Physical and Manpower—will be overstressed if less well prepared students are admitted. There seems to be little question that educational resources will be required if colleges and universities are to develop programmes appropriately geared to such students. However certain practices could be instituted which might free up funds to invest in programmes for the lower performing students. For example, it is really not necessary for each of the highly able and highly motivated students to spend three or four years in undergraduate studies to complete the bachelors degree. It seems likely that many of these students could, with judicious placement and counselling, greatly accelerate their progress, thereby freeing institutional resources to be devoted to those students whose undergraduate education should be more protracted. This type of plan is admittedly both remedial and egalitarian rather than elitist in concept, although I do not believe that accelerating the progress of the brightest undergraduate would necessarily conflict with elitist goals.

One possible way of introducing greater flexibility in the time spent by each undergraduate would be to employ course system. The course system

would make it possible for each student to progress at his own rate, and to a large extent would obviate the compelling need to rely on high school grades as the sole criteria for admission into higher institutions of learning.

## Summary

I have argued that the issue of selective admission and quota system cannot be resolved without a more careful consideration of the desired objectives of the higher education system. Should we strive for outcomes that are egalitarian, elitist, remedial or what? What are the longterm implications of these various types of objective for the society?

Arguments have been produced that in terms of educational performance and predicability, selective admissions systems has no inherent superiority over quota system of admissions hence the public outcries against quota system of admissions has no empirical support.

I have raised questions about the relevance of current grading practices primarily because there is evidence that grades may be reflecting not what students are learning but merely how they are performing relative to one another at some point in time. Under these circumstances, we may be well advised to consider replacing our current grading system with some other forms of assessment which will reveal changes in the student's performances. As long as the student continues to show evidence of progress and growth one can make a case for retaining him in the system, regardless of how he performs relative to others.

Finally, I have argued for greater flexibility in the matter of credits and certification of students. If institutions can be made sufficiently flexible in their programmes and their requirements, it will be possible to permit the new students to enter at his current level of performance and to progress at his own rate. Educational resources which would be conserved by accelerating the progress of the more able and advanced students could thus be used to support the more protracted education of those students who might enter under a programme of quota admission. In this way, we free the high performer from the three-year lockstep of traditional undergraduate education and relieve the less well prepared student of the burden of unrealistic and unreasonable expectations. Since Nigerian social policy is towards the establishment of an egalitarian society, adopting an egalitarian policy of higher education is a movement in the right direction.

## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

mechanism and design springs out scientific surprises for the layman. The "JEWEL BOX" is one of them. Very light and compact, it's a telephone that doesn't look like one at first glance with the harsh buzzing sounds of conventional phone units is absent. In its place comes a gentle 1200-2400 cycles per second sound that can be adjusted to individual levels. It is made from thermoplastic material and shock-resistant, with an illuminated dial gear that can be supplied for easier dialing in the dark.

### CURVY TRAINS

From Italy's Ercolani Marelli comes electric train sets designed mainly for long distance and very curvy runs in the mountains and plains. It has a controlled tilt which allows the train to negotiate curves at a speed of "20-30 per cent higher than normal trains without subjecting passengers to increase in centrifugal force". Each train comes in a four-car set with a "streamlined cab at each end" and in three models—automatic ones with then pre-set speeds. Semi-automatic with manual choice speed and others with manual control of the electric resistance variation unit.

### INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY:

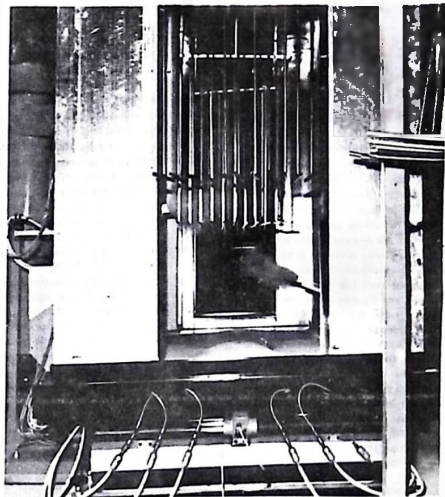
#### POWDER COATING PLANT (II)

Sequel to our last month's write-up on the components of this plant, the emphasis this month is on the process as promised.

The first stage of the coating process involves the cleaning of the parts to be coated. "Inside the spray booth, this part is later sprayed with electrostatically charged powders—normally charged with the aid of a DC current generator. Static forces of electricity ensure that the powder particles are evenly distributed and bound along the surface resulting in an even coating. Where the dimension of the coated surface is rather small, the forces of the electric field are strong enough to pull powder particles to the rear surface of the coated surface and hence, coat there too.

Powder coating wouldn't have been what it is now but for the discovery by the Americans of the possibility of using synthetic polymers containing oxygen without solvents. It was this, ITEX developed to the present level.

The powder recovery device is normally situated at the bottom of the spray booth and consists of a series of circular vibrating exhausters (sieves) through which the resins



(polymers) pass to a fluid container below. These are later delivered to the spray-gun by suction tubes.

The main difference between the automatic and manual coating models is in the position of the recovery box. In the case of the automatic ones, the device is positioned

as described above but the manual series has a spray booth with suction pores on its walls. Both, however, have the same process but the automatic series has more modernized units like the wet scrubber to dispose of powder particles that can't anymore be recycled, and the automatic spray gun.

### FOCUS

#### SOLAR HOUSE TECHNOLOGY

Years from now the solar house will be a common sight in developed countries as the last barrels of oil prepare to leave the ground. The technology is rather simple though expensive.

Like the one developed by Japan, which is presently at the commercialisation stage, the heat from the sun is trapped by a collector preferably at the top of the house. This trapped heat is stored in an accumulating tank. The major process involves the heating of pipe water across the roof by the sun's rays and the warm water is in turn directed into an underground storage tank made of heat-absorbent material. From this trapped heat, enough is extracted to heat home water or cool the house.

One basic drawback of the system, indeed of solar energy trapping, is the effect of clouds and rains on the sun's rays. On these days, no heat from the sun can be collected. Japan is planning to solve this problem by installing heavy duty storage

tanks that can store enough heat in one day to last two days supplemented by gas in days when the non-availability of the sun's rays stretches to three days or more.

However, as is normal with forms of technology, solar house technology is yet to be perfected. Heat collection units can not be said to be highly efficient apart from the shortcomings of present storage tanks. But the real mitigating factor as far as developing countries are concerned ironically they enjoy the sun more! Is the cost of the system (in Japan \$11,000 is the estimate for a system meant for a 99-sq. metre house!).

#### BLOCK-MAKING AFRICAN WAY

Housing remains one of the major problems in Africa especially as one of the areas where foreign technology and tastes have established strong roots. Cement, the major material used here, remains scarce and finding substitutes hasn't been too easy but something encouraging is happening in some of our institutes.

In Nigeria's FIRO the possibility of

## COMMERCIAL AND TECHNICAL REVIEW

using local clay in place of cement has been examined and from the conclusion arrived at, the future of clay blocks looks promising. The process involves the mixing of clay with grog (waste from clay works) through the aid of a roll crusher and a puging machine (in which the mixture is grind with water).

From Togo, however, comes a much interesting development, block making using groundnut shell and rice husks! At the Housing and Building centre this system has been perfected and found as durable as the normal concrete blocks. These wastes from agriculture (shells and husks) are mixed with Cement and later dried in kilns to form semi-concrete bricks. The centre has also perfected the use of Wood chips and bamboo and the bricks produced from them have been used in building low cost houses in Togo with potentials for export to other African countries.

The only sad constraint, in the case of the FIRO system, is that Machines being used are imported from abroad. Togo's Building Centre has done better in that small Kilns used in the drying process are constructed in the centre.



## FINANCE & COMMERCE EXPO AFRICA '78

Nigeria has a barometer for its change in economic status—international activities. Just some few months after 1st Lagos International Trade Fair, Lagosians and Businessmen once again played host to a group of international businessmen in search of connections. The show was New AFRICAN Development Magazines' Expo Africa '78—the African first in its world wide trade expositions. More than fifteen companies took part, mostly from Italy and for some of them it was a first showing in Lagos.

Declaring the show open Lagos State's Commissioner for Trade, Industry and Cooperatives observed . . . "To the organisers of this . . . there is . . . need to sound a note of caution. Whilst the declared objective to the transfer of Technology remains laudable, there is need to assume that these expositions do not become routine meeting places where developing countries are for ever learning from more advanced countries . . . leaving us merely with the finished products to admire or copy from."

### BERGER PAINTS

#### EXPANSION FOR BETTER SERVICE

With an eye on better and quicker service, Berger Paints of Nigeria is constructing an ultra-modern 3-storey building in its Ikeja factory. To cost about ₦9,000,000, the first floor will accommodate staff Clinic and personnel office's while the second floor will be for Canteen and Kitchen. The third will house sales and marketing offices and an executive dining/conference facility.

Meanwhile, its marketing strategy developed last year to boost sales has finally paved the way for trips to Kenya for some of its distributors. Qualified for one week paid holiday in Kenya's Country for recording highest sales in their regions were: Mr. Ojelabi of Ojelabi & Sons for West;



Berger's Mr. Okwechime and Wright

Mr. Mallah for Lagos; Omenaka Trading Company for East and Alhaji Ajibule for North region. Consolation prizes were awarded to runners-up from all the regions.

### NIGERIA

#### SALT PACT REVOKED

Atlantic Salt and Chemical Company of the United States has lost its management contract with the government-owned National Salt Company Limited at Ijoko, Ogun State. Their services have been dispensed with, to be replaced by G.A. Ollivant of the U.A.C. group.

According to official statement on the issue, the revocation, which came few days before the expiring date of the contract, became necessary because of glaring shoddy performance. Last year, only 20,000 tonnes of salt were produced, a figure which is no up to one-third of projected output at the start of operation. In spite of this, claiming the statement, the company authorities maintained throughout the year that faced with strong competition from abroad, it could not sell up to 13,000 tonnes in the stock. The result was last year's placing of salt under import licence to give more room for the company's growth.

By year end, however, it was discovered that National Salt Company Limited wasn't suffering under competition but from frequent breakdown of plant and inadequate spare parts supply—the two major areas it tended to be covered by the U.S. firm under the now revoked agreement put into operation in 1973.



#### WHY NO FEEDBACK?

##### Henry Atenaga

The recent cancellation of contract between the Nigerian Government and United States Atlantic Salt Company (see above) removes the dust from one of Africa's long forgotten files. We are in a hurry to develop and in the process plan and commit ourselves without attempts at establishing feedback systems to monitor the performance of our officials and partners. Why is it that from 1973 to 1977 there was no way to discover that machines have been suffering "from lack of maintenance" in this Salt Company?

Yet, this Nigerian case is but one of daily incidents in this Black Continent. Ghana didn't realise early enough that inadequate transportation facilities were checking the progress of its OFY. Neither does anyone realise now that these industries springing up every other day affect, in no small measure, the African environment. Finally, why no adequate feedback?

