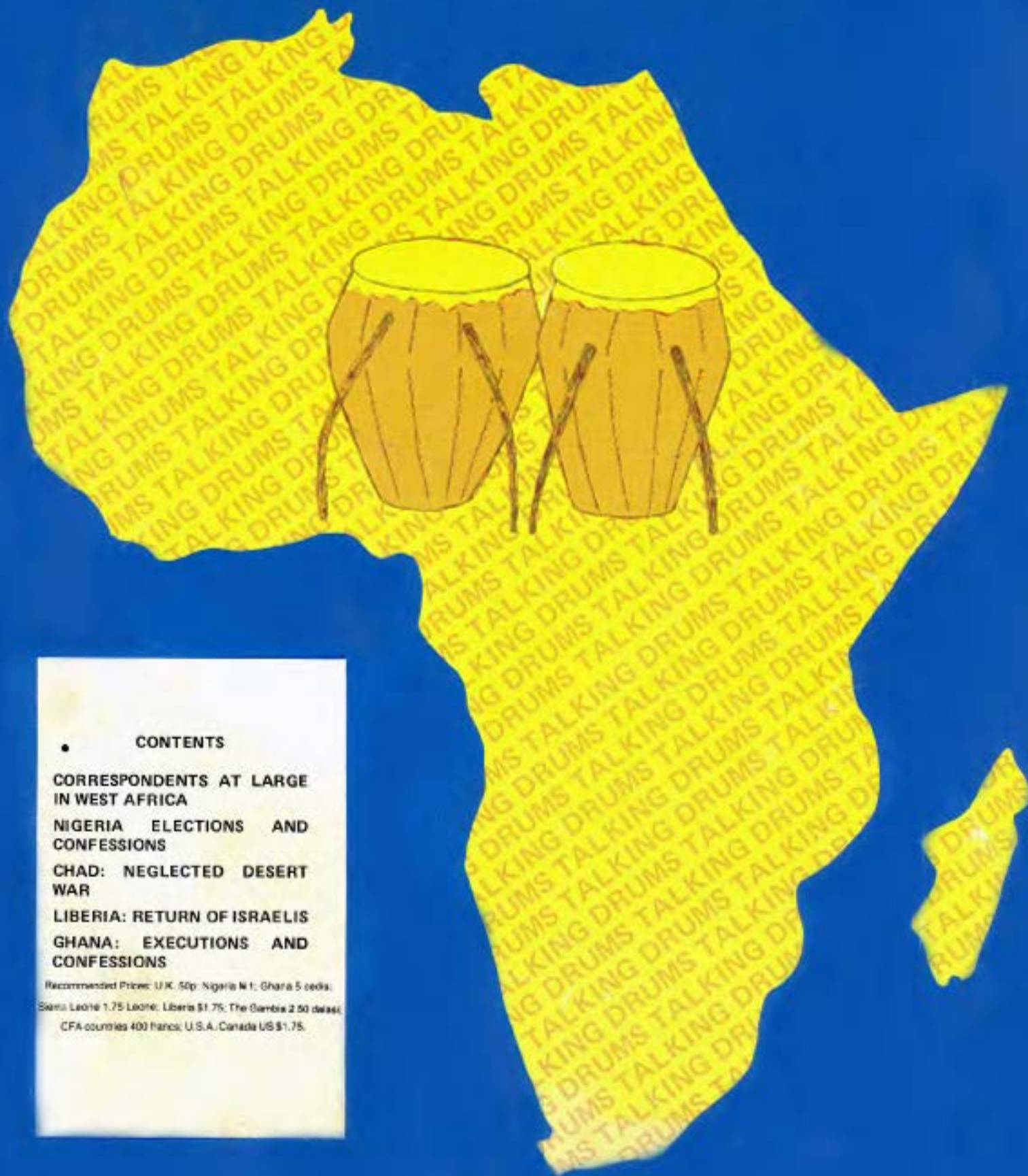


TALKING DRUMS

Published Weekly Sep: 12, 1983 Price 50p



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**CORRESPONDENTS AT LARGE
IN WEST AFRICA**

**NIGERIA ELECTIONS AND
CONFESSIONS**

**CHAD: NEGLECTED DESERT
WAR**

LIBERIA: RETURN OF ISRAELIS

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TALKING DRUMS

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"We need leaders. We need responsible citizens sufficiently dissatisfied with things as they are and impatient enough to do something about it, intelligently, quietly, wisely. We need critics too, for dissenting is a serious, worthy and honest pursuit"

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Published weekly by Talking Drums Publications, Post Office Box 888,
London W2 1XY
Telephone: 01-267 7720

Editor:- ELIZABETH OHENE
Photo Type-Setting — G. BAKAY
Printing — MADHAW ALLWIN LTD
Cover art-work by Eyeris Colour Graphics

THEY ALSO SERVE WHO MAKE THEIR VOICES HEARD

In this age of the computer and instant communications, some would wonder if there is still a place for talking drums.

The significance of these drums lies not only as a medium of communications, but as proof that things are not always what they seem to be.

To some ears, the sounds are repetitive noises and yet to the initiated and those who have taken the trouble to learn, the sound of the talking drums carries a message.

Judging from the amount of heat that is generated and the general dissatisfaction expressed about the coverage of events in the Third World in general, and in Africa in particular, it is safe to assert that everybody is agreed that there is something fundamentally wrong with the telling of the story.

Many people put the blame on the Western media which controls virtually all the airwaves and the major newspapers of the world. They neither understand nor sympathise with Africa and her aspirations, it is asserted, and as a result they interpret all events from their own point of view.

The obvious antidote to this problem should be with the press in Africa, they not only know and understand what is happening to and around them, their sympathies should lie with Africa.

The tragedy, however, is that very few places on the continent can lay claims to the existence of a free press and after years of futile and sometimes bloody fights, many people who practise the trade in Africa have discovered or decided that they should either give up or amend the rules so that they play comfortably beside oppressive regimes.

It is an equal pity that even in those parts of the continent where it is legally safe for a free press to exist, the practitioners have not been able to resist the temptation to align themselves to various factions; the result being that one needs to read about six different newspapers and listen to about three different radio stations before one can pick out the truth in any matter.

In other parts of the continent, it is deemed a treasonable offence to hold and/or state opinions which differ from the current official line. This means that the governments run the very real danger of coming to believe their own propaganda, and the efforts at communicating with the people become counter-productive.

Most people simply tune off from whatever is being said because they have decided that it is all official propaganda ending in the creation of a wide credibility gap between government and the people. It is not surprising therefore that day by day, the Western media assumes even greater credibility to the fury of many Africans and friends of Africa.

We believe, in undertaking the adventure of "Talking Drums", that there is an urgent need to discuss the

events that have convulsed the continent in a sober and calm manner. We believe that there are many voices that have not been heard and many sides to the arguments that have not been stated. Simply because of the limitation of resources we are focussing attention on the West African sub-region now.

It is quite possible that removed from the tensions and disasters of the region, the problems of the region can be discussed in a more reasonable atmosphere.

"Talking Drums" aims at providing the forum for such discussions and debate of the matters that affect the sub-region, we believe that all the many and varied voices of the area deserve to be heard and we extend an invitation to all who care about the area and its peoples to contribute to these debates.

We pledge ourselves to create room for all shades of opinion in the belief that it is only through such discussions that answers can be found to these problems. In those countries in the regions where only official positions are allowed to be publicised, we offer the opportunity for alternative opinions to be heard. The governments in these places are, of course, also free to present their views, with the only proviso that since they have the advantage of the whole government controlled media houses behind them, they would keep their arguments devoid of all rhetoric and ideological propaganda. To those countries that have a free press but where everybody is screaming his own story so loudly that nobody can hear anybody else, we offer the opportunity to make their points without hysteria.

Some might ask, how can you play the Talking Drums, an essentially African phenomenon, in London, the capital of colonialism? How, indeed, can you sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

Our only answer will be to cite the Ghanaian proverb which states that when a farmer is clearing a path in the forest, it is only somebody else who stands behind who can tell that the path is veering to the left or right.

We are under no illusions whatsoever about the enormity of the task we have set ourselves, but we are counting on the support of all those who believe that human problems can be solved through dignified debate, to join us in this adventure.

We are well aware that there are many newspapers and periodicals already in existence that have been telling the story for many years and doing a good job at it; but we are sure that there is room for more views to be heard.

Above all we believe that it is important for human beings to resolve their differences through the power of persuasion by reasoned arguments.

Welcome to the 'TALKING DRUMS'.

Balance is essential

Dear Editor,

It is refreshing to read about another new magazine on West Africa. Even though there are quite a few weeklies and monthly magazines covering the West African sub-region and the whole of Africa the bias of news towards some countries makes it imperative that as far as possible a balance is maintained.

I hope your magazine would correct this. Send me your subscription rates as soon as you can.

Mrs. Sally Balogun
Cardiff

Fight for press freedom

Dear Editor,

Congratulations for the publication of the "Talking Drums". It was, in fact, long overdue. Some of us who have followed your progress and misfortunes in the Ghanaian press, first as a columnist, Literary Editor and then Editor of the "Daily Graphic" and then the constitutional controversy with the Limann government over the interpretation of the Article on the Press in 1980 believe that you would continue to expose the campaign of lies that the supine Ghanaian press is dishing out to the public.

It has been said that no government hands over press freedom on a silver platter; it is journalists who must fight for it.

"Talking Drums" should live up to its advertised objectives. — analyse and interpret correctly the political, social and economic events unfolding in West Africa with the same fearless approach which has won the Editor the admiration of people both at home and abroad.

Kodjo Agyin
Surrey

Welcome, Talking Drums

Dear Sir,

I have just received my copy of "West Africa" and I was delighted to see the advertisement announcing the birth of "Talking Drums" magazine on September 9, 1983.



I was happy especially because Elizabeth Chene is the Editor of this new magazine. If her record in the field of journalism is anything to go by as evidenced during her days as a writer of the "Thinking Allowed" column in the "Daily Graphic" and later as the Editor of the paper in the heady days of Jerry Rawlings' Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) in 1979, then I sincerely hope that the magazine would continue to crusade of maintaining high journalistic standards.

I look forward to reading this magazine in the coming weeks. Would you please let me know your subscription rate?

Joe Anquandah
Birmingham

You have our support

Dear Editor,

I was very much enthused to read that you are coming out with a new magazine called "Talking Drums".

I hope you are going to keep up as you did during your period as Editor of the "Daily Graphic" of Ghana during the AFRC era and sometime in the Limann administration.

You have admirers not in any one particular group of people but in any reasonable being who is eager to read the truth and know both sides of all issues.

I wish you good luck and encouragement in your enterprise.

Rita Vanderpuije
Ilford

Some said "John, print it," others said, "Not so", some said "It might do good," others said "No" (Pilgrims' Progress — Apology for his Book).

Don't whisper in frustration,

Get it off your chest!

Write to TALKING DRUMS

Your message will go

far and wide

Telling the West African story

CORRESPONDENTS AND EXPERTS AT LARGE

Some of them are still innocents abroad — in spite of their reputations at home as hard-nosed cynics that no-body can hoodwink.

Such foreign correspondents in Africa are usually irritating but you can forgive them. Their copies invariably tend to answer the type of questions that the earnest British or American citizen would ask a Ghanaian, Nigerian or Ivorian citizen at a cocktail party in Oxford or Harvard. 'Hmm, Ghana that was a British colony wasn't it, no wonder you speak such fluent English, does everybody speak English in your country; oh how very clever'.

They march into countries in Africa with mentalities only marginally different from the missionaries and explorers of 150 years ago. Invariably they bring out excellent copy if they happen to be writing about starving children, shanty towns and shoeless teenage boys playing an animated game of football on a crowded and dirty Lagos street, except of course their 'football' was an orange!

A picturesque description of intricate and elaborate headgears, multi-coloured "wraps" and huge robes is regarded as absolutely essential to give an atmosphere of the country the correspondent has visited.

Gradually but ever so gradually it is seeping through that there are many different countries and peoples in Africa and correspondents are no longer trying to sound as though Nairobi were a Sunday afternoon's ride from Ouagadougou!

And then, of course, there are the correspondents who are indignant if the first taxi driver they meet at the airport doesn't appreciate their importance — he is, after all, the correspondent for the *Times* you know and the *Washington Post* is not used to waiting for anybody, this is the paper which single-handedly drove the most powerful man in the world out of office, why should the almighty's representative in Sierra Leone wait for a junior Minister?

Their copies are equally predictable; the left-wing regime, the Soviet-backed government, the Western-oriented leader, they want to know whether the regime agreed with the United States on Afghanistan or was being swayed by Soviet propaganda. They tend to be rather partial to statistics, 75 percent of the population of this West African country is illiterate, 90 percent of the marriages are polygamous and 60 percent of all children under five suffer from malnutrition and are likely to die before their twentieth birthday. Where they got these figures from remains a mystery, the important thing is that they have a ring of authority to them and fits into the house-style of their quality papers.

They are annoying but on a good day one can see the amusing part of their pompous prose and one can even play the part of the savage native for them so that they can keep up their illusions.

It is when they get back and are desk-bound and start editorialising that they become decidedly unfunny. "Nigerians are very tolerant of their rulers; 'It is a backwater war between two desert warlords, it is not worth getting western nations involved in and possibly getting killed over'." "If there is anybody in Ghana that can turn that country around, it is young Jerry Rawlings."

Quite unbelievable how when it comes to commenting on events in the developed world they are so unwilling to be forthright in their views and every opinion is hedged with "maybes", "probablys" and "observers believe" and yet feel no qualms at all about offering as fact quite preposterous ideas about a country they spent a week in.

Even these, one can tolerate, after all one only needs to remember that when they were going to school, the dark continent was as impenetrable to their teachers' minds as the jungles in which the continents peoples were supposed to live in.

"They are annoying but on a good day one can see the amusing part of their pompous prose and one can even play the part of the savage native for them so that they can keep up their illusions".

Elizabeth Ohene unscrambles the foreign correspondents' reporting of events in Third World countries.

It is those of them who go out to countries in Africa to play out their own fantasies that cause the greatest harm. They are eager to lend their support to any cause, the weirder the better, for as long as they have the security of their own countries to return to, they would enthusiastically support "revolution" in Ghana or Liberia or Ivory Coast. Every spurious theory is called an original and dynamic to suit a country's special needs. They bend over backwards to give excuses for any failings their adopted regimes might have.

Thus *The Guardian's* Victoria Brittain has not found it in her to condemn the abduction and murder of three Ghanaian High Court judges and a retired major — her energies have been better spent demonstrating to the world how those opposed to the Rawlings regime have been exploiting the murders to bring down her pet regime.

Reading her articles on Ghana and the class struggle, the rich and the poor working class, one gets quite baffled about how she made her divisions and what measure she used.

If it were not a whole country at stake, she could be funny, but her enthusiasm sometimes outshines that of her pets especially in the proxy war she has been waging with the United States. While she claimed to have the evidence of American involvement in the coup attempt of June 16, from Ghana, the Ghanaian press was quoting *The Guardian* as the source of the evidence of American guilt.

It came as something of a surprise the other day, to read a story on the front page of *The Guardian*, entitled "FO pays boot money to Ghana," never mind that it had been cited as an example of the silly season stories. The story which was under the headline of the paper's political correspondent said that the Foreign Office had provided £100,000 to buy boots, berrets and mess tins for the Ghanaian Army to help improve its morale.

The FO was also quoted as saying that this will have "a useful side-effect for consular protection" which according to the paper, is the Foreign Office's way of saying that it will reduce the risk of undisciplined soldiers threatening the British community in Ghana.

It also emerged in the story that the FO had acceded to the request because the civilian population in Ghana — including 1,500 Britons — was at risk from the Ghanaian Armed Forces.

Now, anybody who had been reading the *Guardian's* coverage of events in Ghana for the past year and a half must have been surprised by this story for nowhere in all the stories about Ghana in the paper and the many broadcasts on Ghana by Ms. Brittain over the BBC World Service where she is described as "The *Guardian's* Africa expert", had there ever been a suggestion that the Armed Forces in Ghana was undisciplined or posed any danger to the civilian population.

It was quite amazing that the constant line of the paper that the regime in Ghana was a popular peoples' revolution beset by opposition from conservatives, professionals, students, disgruntled politicians and rich crooks who had settled in the UK, supported by the Israeli and American secret services, it was strange that one "silly season" story should have been allowed to ruin the entire image without a word of explanation from the paper's Ghana expert.

It is understandable that some of these correspondents get a little heady somewhat with the red-carpet treatment they are given when they get out to these countries. It is not everyday that their arrival at Heathrow Airport attracts attention from anybody, so when they are met on the tarmac at Accra Airport and whisked away through VIP doors, it is not surprising that they would overlook little things like starvation in the country.

When an insignificant reporter is transformed into a confidant of a Head of State, it does not take very long for the reporter to start seeing himself as a Henry Kissinger, creating history. How many of his colleagues back in London, after all, can claim to have sat up chatting with a Head of State until 2.a.m. and who can ever match your cocktail party story about being escorted by armoured tanks through the deserted streets of Accra at 3 a.m. after spending an evening with the ruler of a country?

The Onassises of this world have their own private islands where they can indulge their every whim, a little patch of West Africa where one can rise above the faceless mass of humanity on commuter trains in London should not be discarded lightly.

If such instant experts can add to the chance of becoming somebodies, a bit of a slap and tickle and financial remuneration, they take to the task of becoming propagandists for petty dictators with an enthusiasm that would have shamed Goebbels.

It would surely help if such experts declared their interest and do not pretend to be giving unbiased reports. They might also attach more weight and credibility to their professed belief in the joys of revolution for their little patches of the earth if they would subject themselves to the medicine they are giving to others.

What about a Peoples Defence Committee of the SWI and Workers Defence Committee for the oppressed workers of *The Guardian* for example. Surely there are rich people and exploiters in these areas and the oppressed people there too need to throw off their yokes!

How would Lord Anthony Gifford Q.C. and a member of the House of Lords react to himself or a member of family going on trial for his life before a Peoples Court whose Chairman's judicial experience consists in two undistinguished years at the bar and this in a court from where there is no appeal.

This Lord Gifford Q.C. is giving lectures in Ghana about how splendid a job Public Tribunals are doing meting out revolutionary justice in Ghana and how the judicial system bequeathed to Ghana by Britain favoured the privileged in the society, sits in the House of Lords, the highest court in the UK and he need never have opened a book in his life nor have half the wit of a court jester, he would still have qualified to sit there simply because he happens to have a father called Lord Gifford.

Why don't these dogoodies and the Lady Giffords of this world try and change the lot of the poor and oppressed in their own backyards before they go to spread the gospel around countries like Ghana. One might ask Lord Gifford if there are some people in Britain who are "too rich, powerful or too chiefly to be subjected to the laws of the state" and if there are why he has not suggested the setting up of Public Tribunals to bring such a reality.

And has Lady Gifford been distributing Books for Development among the under privileged in their country or they been so careful in choosing where they live that they are unaware there are poor and underprivileged people in UK?

Nigeria currently attracts a different sort of expert. Since President Shagari is not a Sergeant turned President, nor a President for life, nor the all-knowing and since he does not claim to be introducing or experimenting with a system undreamt of anywhere else, he does not fit into the mould of your average African leader.

Having oil, of course, helps, since newspaper Editors tend not to forget about the volume of trade that the UK conducts with Nigeria.

The changes are very slim therefore that any one person on the paper would be allowed to hold total and unchecked sway over all things Nigerian that would find their way into the paper.

Copies therefore tend to concentrate on fly-overs springing up overnight and corruption, (not of the correspondent's own knowledge but of allegations by Nigerians themselves).

Outside Nigeria, the emphasis is on the chronic parking tickets of the Nigerian embassy, and how with the help of Arab Sheikhs, Nigerians have sent property prices in London's west end up into the sky.

It was a pleasant change therefore when Nduka Odizor took Wimbeldon by storm earlier this year. Suddenly it was the dirt poor families of Nigeria that were in the headlines. Not a single paper omitted to mention that Odizor, the sensation of Wimbeldon '83 used to walk barefoot in Lagos as a child and each paper went to great pains to point out that the young Duke now makes enough money to look after the whole family back in Lagos.

Odizor does not know that he did more for Nigeria's image through his humble origins than he could have done even if he had emerged victorious at the end of the ceremony.

Between the adventurers, the romantics, the downright hypocrites, the innocents the uninformed, the dogooders and those who go to have a break from civilisation, the West African story by the time the experts tell it comes out unintelligible to all except to those who tell it.

efforts to assume the chairmanship mantle of the Organisation of African Unity without success. Col. Qaddafi may argue that since more than half of the membership of the fifty nation Organisation were in Tripoli, he enjoys the support of the majority of African countries for his policies.

But there is no denying the fact that, the failure of the OAU summit to convene in Libya for lack of the required two-third membership quorum has left a terrible scar on Col. Qaddafi's reputation and forced him to vary his tactics of spreading his influence across Africa. Already not less than five African countries have openly accused Col. Qaddafi of having meddled in their internal affairs.

Before their overthrow Ghana's President Hilla Limann and Upper Volta's President Jean Baptiste Quedrigo accused Libya of threatening their stability and ordered Libyan diplomats out of their respective countries. Sudan's President Memeiry and Gambia's President Jawara accused Libya of active involvement in the abortive attempts to overthrow their governments.

In Nigeria the long arm of Libya was reported to be lurking behind the religious riots in which scores of lives were lost in the northern part of the country. While the Chad situation has been amply authenticated, it is the fears being expressed by President Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast which have given a new dimension to Libya's threats to an otherwise stable area of the West African region.

Not unnaturally, certain countries have reacted to this situation by evoking the Israeli factor as a counterpoint to the Libyan threat. President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire has re-established diplomatic relations with Israel while Chairman Samuel Doe of Liberia did not only dismiss his recalcitrant Foreign Minister on his way to establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, but Chairman Doe has also become the first Black African Head of State to break Africa's diplomatic blockade of Israel by paying a state visit to Jerusalem from August 23-27. Israeli optimism over this development anticipates further show of rapprochement from more African leaders.

In these circumstances, the Organisation of African Unity would have been expected to initiate decisive measures to stem the tide of the aptly called Libyan threat which has manifested itself in a number of West

African countries, and is currently raging ferociously in Chad and has provided a pretext for the involvement of Zairean, American and French forces in Africa. However, several factors account for the lethargy of the African continental Organisation in this area. First, is the lack of cohesiveness among its membership which led to its inability to convene meetings over a long period. Secondly it is the ineffective role it played in the same Chad conflict when international troops sponsored by the Organisation looked on helplessly as Hissene Habre's forces over-run those of Goukhouni Weddeye in 1982.

Significantly, it is Qaddafi's realisation of the impotence of the OAU which has goaded him into attempting to solve Africa's problems his own way. This in turn has necessitated a decisive role for the friends of those countries which feel threatened by Libya.



Goukhouni Weddeye

— rebel or Libyan puppet.

Zaire, United States and the French are currently fulfilling this role in Chad on behalf of Egypt, Sudan and particularly the Ivory Coast whose President Houphouet Boigny has openly voiced concern over Col. Qaddafi's long arm which is threatening to extend to him through neighbouring Ghana and Upper Volta.

The political motivation for Col. Qaddafi's ambition of spreading his influence finds expression in his Green Book which advocates the setting up of revolutionary movements or committees of the masses to exercise authority and do away with governments. This is his Jamahariya philosophy with which he

does not only condemn democracy as a dictatorship of only a few representatives acting on behalf of the masses. He also condemns the socialist system which he describes as a dictatorship of a few spokesmen of workers.

In order to give a practical demonstration of what the Green Book advocates, Col. Qaddafi seeks to overturn the African status quo to provide him with the needed launching pad.

Fortunately for him he has been overlooked, downplayed or totally ignored in the world power politics. Whereas the Soviet Union has found it convenient to ignore Qaddafi's threat to its socialist ideology, the United States of America and other Western countries have paid so little attention to Africa that they could not be bothered about what Qaddafi does to the continent.

France, which traditionally has ensured the stability of its African allies is also faced with the discomfiture of confronting a country which has not only been a major source of oil supply but also a big purchaser of French arms. These factors have influenced the international community to write off Chad as a barren desert and its problems as a conflict between two petty African chiefs and must therefore be ignored.

Surely, the ambitions of two rival African chiefs, Hissene Habre and Goukhouni Weddeye, fanned by external forces such as Libya have wreaked intolerable havoc on the innocent people of Chad for the past nineteen years of civil war in that country.

Secondly the threat to the stability of Africa from the Libyan Jamahariya has become real following the coups in Ghana, Upper Volta, and the war in Chad.

Col. Qaddafi's ambition to present his "GREEN BOOK" as the final solution to the problem of the instrument of governing deserves closer scrutiny and analysis from the international press and community.

"The use of force alone is but temporary it may subdue for a moment but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: and a nation is not governed, which is perpetually to be conquered-Edmund Burke.

Nigeria—Everybody's pet hate

By Akua C'lene

Love her, hate her, but ignore her you cannot. Her middle name, after all is **EXTREMES** and that is why Nigeria would feature, often dominate all discussions about the African continent.

When the rhetoric of the country's politicians gets into full flow, Nigeria is not only the star of Africa, she is the guiding light of the Third World!..

Why any sane person would want to carry the intolerably burden of the Third World on her head is difficult to decipher, especially when the country cannot even seem to be able to carry Lagos successfully. But then Nigeria can't bear to think that she might have a challenger to leadership.

The vexed question of how many Nigerians there are is difficult for non-Nigerians to understand until you realise that it is a question of pride to them to be able to keep something under wraps to shock the world. If there is a successful census in Nigeria, part of the enigma would disappear, the speculation would cease and maybe even the fascination of the foreigner might diminish. It is a more tolerable evil to endure the endless problems that come with not knowing how many of you there are.

How else could Nigeria claim to have added a new and entirely baffling phenomenon to political analysis. In elections everywhere else in the world, voters' registers hardly come up for mention but the voters register alone in Nigeria has attracted more discussion than anything else. Could it all just be part of the leadership syndrome?

If everything worked in Lagos, if you were able to ring next door, the way you can dial Oslo without any difficulty, where would the tension and frustration that is part of the attraction of Lagos be?

The great city would be in danger of becoming any other old city in any part of the world, and that simply won't do.

What ever would everybody talk about if NEPA was transformed into an efficient outfit and electricity supply became something to be taken for granted. The booming trade in stand-by generators would have to end. The unpredictable element would have been

removed. And Nigeriathrives on being unpredictable, the lights must go off just as the party is coming to a climax and speaker gets into high gear, there must always be something to bring a man back to reality you know; if the Governor didn't get locked up in a lift once in a while, he would begin to think he were a god.

Once out of that lift, we treat him as a god, mind you, you prostrate on the floor just to say hello and you praise him to the heavens. There is the danger he would start believing these things, but if the taps should run dry when the wife of the couple he had flown in from the Bahamas, his guests want to go to the bathroom, he is brought down to reality.

Nobody talks about the impossible in Nigeria, Chief Arthur Nzeribe the self-proclaimed millionaire who came to fame in the UK in 1981 with his offer of £1 million to help build up Brixton soon after the riots of that summer typifies the "incroyable mais vrais" in the Nigerian.

As a candidate for the senatorial elections a journalist had the temerity to ask him what he would do in the unlikely event that he should lose the elections—commit suicide, of course, that is what! one suddenly had visions of election night speculators as the returning officer declares the winner, the losing candidates all empty a little vial of cyanide into their mouths, and their supporters — oh well, they will make their peace with the winner at least for the moment.

But in case somebody thought Chief Nzeribe was just bluffing with his threat of suicide, he then did the next best thing — on hearing the news that his party's candidate for the governorship in his state had won the elections, he promptly fainted at the feet of the newly-elected man!

And you thought there was going to be a casualty only if he lost the election, well you reckoned without Chief Nzeribe who when he finally came to jump into his helicopter and proceeded to "spray" Nairas — thousands of them among a most delighted crowd — the electorate to be at his own elections.

But you can relax, Chief Nzeribe is very much alive and well, he won his elections. One got the distinct feeling that his opponents for the Senatorial seat, sent up prayers at the start of the day for Chief Nzeribe to win the elections — they surely did not want to have the dead man on their conscience — you never know, the Nzeribe family might very well take it that a possible winner had been responsible for the death of their son.

You were well aware that he had threatened to kill himself if he should lose and you still went ahead and won, you caused his death!

If you think that is a far-fetched scenario, you should read the letter Governor Mbakwe sent to the administrative Secretary of the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDEC) when he thought the helpless man was going to declare his opponent as winner when the Governor was sure he had won, ". . . if you try and do this, (declare someone else the winner) it is a matter between your family and mine."

And while political pundits and the head offices of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and the other losing parties in the election were bemoaning the size of President Shagari's win and there was talk of the dangers of a one-party state because the NPN had such a big majority, stranger things were happening in Kwara State.

Five candidates in the Ilorin/Asa senatorial constituency, belonging to the UPN NPP, GNPP, PRP and NAP announced three days before the senatorial elections that they were standing down in favour of the NPN candidate — Dr Abubakar Saraki! Well, FEDEC thinks otherwise, so like it or not Dr Saraki's competitors will have to go on the hustings and convince their supporters not to vote for them.

These are not just matters between families, they are very literally life and death matters and when it comes to the death part, they prefer the fire.

If extreme is the middle name for Nigeria then somewhere in the pedigree there must have been ARSON. When in doubt, when it irritates or annoys you, burn it down!

Continued on Page 23

GHANA'S ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS.....Are the hardships necessary?

Ghana's economy is in shambles. It has been so far quite a long time now; and continues unbelievably to deteriorate day by day.

There is an acute shortage of almost everything. Food items, both local and imported, are so scarce that their prices are phenomenal: — a pot of palm soup for the average family lunch costs more than five hundred cedis to prepare; meat has not been eaten in many homes for months because it is not available at prices within the means of the family bread-winners. Fuel for the few vehicles that are left road-worthy can only be obtained after literally days of queuing and even then only four or six gallons a week if not at black market prices of about 200 to 300 cedis a gallon.

The country's currency is not worth the paper it is printed on and there is rampant black exchange which is about forty times the official rate. These and many more factors make life a nightmare in Ghana. The non-availability of drugs gives rise constantly to premature and unnecessary deaths.

This state of affairs was largely in existence when the PNDC government took over power on New Year's eve of 1981, but only less so acute at that time. And when Flight Lt. Rawlings seized power on that day many Ghanaians breathed a sigh of relief. Even some who had voted the PNP into power two years earlier rejoiced at the change because they hoped the change would bring about an improvement in the economic situation. Many hoped that they would soon begin to live decently again or that a movement in that direction would be brought about. "It couldn't be worse" they were heard to say; "it can only improve!". But did it improve?

It is such a shame that today nearly two years after the seizure of power by the PNDC, Ghana's economic situation is far worse than in December 1981. Today there are hardly any jobs for Ghanaians in Ghana. All persons who are "in employment" in any undertaking in Ghana, be it in the public or private sector, are heavily under-employed.

The public sector continues to carry a whole host of redundant labour.

"Scarcity lies at the root of all Ghana's economic problems and hardships. Effort should be directed to fighting and eradicating it" John Abugri analyses the problem facing the reconstruction efforts of the PNDC.

Every now and again numbers of public officers are dismissed and go to swell up the ranks of the unemployed for whom the government does not appear to have any concern. In every other country, government show great concern for the unemployed and noticeable efforts are constantly being made to reduce unemployment.

In Ghana the government appears to glory in creating unemployment. Private sector undertakings are crushed constantly. Entrepreneurs are violently discouraged. Today the food situation is remarkably worse than it was two years ago. People are actually starving. There is hardly any transport on the roads. The drugs situation is a disgrace to the country.



Kwesi Botchway
— an economic miracle?

What went wrong then? A noble aim has gone tragically wrong. Corruption is evil and must be stamped out. However, there is no excuse for throwing the baby out with the bath water. Under the guise of eradicating corruption from the system, thriving businesses have been destroyed by being seized and placed in the hands of incompetents; businessmen have been chased out or molested to the detriment of their businesses.

The result has been terrible deterioration of the economy. The economy it-

self has been the least of the government's worries. Every action of the government goes to cut down some enterprise or so-called "rich" man. Nothing is built up. All we see is cutting down. Consequently, in this attempt to create a corruption-free Ghana, what is being attained is nothing other than shattering the economy and bringing hardship to the people of Ghana.

The people of Ghana who gave such an enthusiastic welcome to Flight Lt. Rawlings in December 1981, the same people are now being afflicted with unnecessary hardships merely because the Flight Lt. has taken a course which, everywhere it has been practised, has led to nothing other than hardship and disaster.

Scarcity lies at the root of all Ghana's economic problems and hardships; and to avoid these hardships, effort should be directed to fighting scarcity and eradicating it. Human effort is naturally geared towards producing the supply of scarce goods to meet the effective demand thereof.

And it behoves managers of the economy to ensure that measures are taken to combat scarcity and short supplies. It is not good enough to merely preach production increases. What is important is to take effective steps which will achieve stated goals. In the Ghana context the following are some of the measures which are sine qua non to the improvement of the company:

1. *Agricultural Output must be increased phenomenally.* To achieve this, present as well as would-be farmers must be given INCENTIVES which would make farming profitable to them. These incentives may include attractive ex-farm prices of products as well as support and advisory services by the Department of Agriculture's Extension Services. Nobody is going to go farming unless it is going to be profitable for him to do so. Most people are going into trading now because it is profitable. Therefore, in order to succeed in luring people into farming and producing essential farm products, it is necessary to dangle the carrot of *gain* in their faces. Successful agricultural activity will be able to offer employment to agricultural labour and management

thus simultaneously contributing to the solution of the unemployment problem.

2. *Industrial Output must be increased appreciably.* Ghana has a network of industrial installations all of which, without exception, are working miserably under capacity. With the lazy-man's excuse of "Ghana has no money" industries are starved of essential inputs, or closed down without adequate alternative arrangements being made for the substitution of their products and the redeployment of their personnel.

Foreign exchange, of course, is what is being referred to in this context. And anybody who has any notion of commerce and business is well aware that there is never ever abundant or even adequate quantity of money available readily for the carrying out of commercial or business activity. Money must be found; proper arrangements must be made for the necessary quantum of money to be raised for use in the effort to resuscitate our industrial installations, build new industries where and when necessary. Money must be found to restructure existing industry, break down improperly founded ones and put new ones in their place where necessary. This brings us to the next measure which must necessarily be taken in the scheme of efforts for the improvement of the economy.

3. *Ensuring a proper value of Ghana's currency vis-a-vis other currencies of the world.* In other words, ensuring a proper exchange rate of the

cedi. Years of economic misadventure, economic mismanagement, excessive and improper control of the market factors of the economy, exchange control inter-alia have resulted in the Ghana cedi getting into a fundamental state of disparity with other currencies of the world.

The cedi is held up at such a ridiculously high level officially i.e. by exchange control that all transactions — cedi versus other currencies — invariably end up to the detriment of Ghana and Ghanaians. The holding up of the cedi artificially has gone on for years; every Government except the current Rawlings regime expressing fear of being thrown out if they should tamper with alterations in the exchange rate of the cedi. The effect of the persistent unreasonably high value of the cedi has been:—

(a) *On the Ghanaian exporter:*— his export proceeds of foreign exchange are

returned to him by the Bank of Ghana in cedis at the official rate thus giving him far fewer cedis than he needs to finance the operations necessary for a repeat export. Thus the exchange rate causes him to make losses especially in times of increasing costs. Nobody can remain in business making losses, hence almost all the export-orientated enterprises have folded up, their staff swelling up the ranks of the unemployed. These people then all tend to turn to *kalabule* and other black market practices since such practices appear to offer easy gain. The governmental marketing agencies also suffer from the inadequate cedi receipts and hence they also incur real losses on their operations. More importantly these agencies are unable to pay the farmers such prices as would attract them to wish to continue to produce their commodities for export.

(b) *On the Ghanaian importer:*— he pays too few cedis for the foreign exchange allotted to him for payment for his imports. He therefore has a primary advantage for making excessive profits where the goods he imports are not subject to price-control. But even when the goods are subject to price control, because they are not imported in large enough quantities to meet the overall demand, the tendency is for the goods to filter out of the price control system and eventually attain proper market prices determined by the interplay of demand and supply.

Thus lots of goods imported into Ghana, where supplies are already short, find their way into neighbouring countries. Even goods imported by and for Governmental agencies fall in this category. The fundamental reason for smuggling, *kalabule* and black market in currency is the disparity in the value of the cedi vis-a-vis other currencies with its attendant scarcity of goods, price control and exchange control. The remedy to smuggling, *kalabule* and black market in currency lies primarily in correcting the disparity in the value of the cedi thus making it possible for funds to be raised for total restructuring of the economy to enable the raising of agricultural output, industrial output and the eradication of scarcity.

What has been done to ensure a proper exchange rate of the cedi? What is being done to ensure that we can raise the necessary funds for the improvement of the economy? What is being done to attain the colossal increases in Agricultural Output? What is being done

to attain phenomenal increases in Industrial Output? What is being done to eradicate want?

The Rawlings Government has had the courage to take some measures towards correcting the disparity in the exchange rate of the cedi, although it has not the guts to say so and to explain to the people why it is the only sensible thing to do. It has, through its import surcharges and export bonuses, effected a massive re-alignment of the cedi exchange rate.

The Cedi has been devalued as it ought to have been long before now. But devaluation per se or any re-alignment for that matter is not a magic wand that puts everything right the moment it is done.

It has to be managed and cared for to have the desired effects. If it is done right, it will put adequate amounts of cedis in the hands of exporters when they export. Therefore reasonable directives and advice have to be given to exporters present and potential to lure them into taking advantage of the incentive of plentiful earnings of cedis when they export.

The operations leading to exports must be made attractive and relatively easy for them. Officialdom must accept the principle of extra gain accruing to the exporter. If therefore the exporter's gains are virtually all eroded by excessive and punitive taxes then no advantage is obtained from the re-alignment measure, and in time, nobody wants to deal in it. If it is done right, it will make all importers pay more cedis for their imports. These costs are usually passed on to the virtual end-user of the import. Costs including wages and salaries will rise and so will prices.

It may, however, be considered imprudent or unwise to allow the prices of selected goods to rise proportionally with the change in the exchange rate. In the cases of those selected goods then, compensatory devices should be introduced to avoid socially undesirable effects of the realignment.

But most of all, the measure must be allowed to work, i.e. to take effect, if not there can be no change. An adjustment of the exchange rate must therefore necessarily be accompanied by some relaxation of the controls that hitherto buoyed up the exchange rate artificially. If £1 had been held as the equivalent of C 5 and now it has been properly calculated that £1 must exchange for C 50. Then anybody who has

AFTER THE ELECTIONS By Elizabeth Ohene

Now that the elections are finally over, and it is a cruel person who says Nigerians are volatile people — and country that asks its citizens to vote for five consecutive Saturdays is asking a lot — it is time to think of what the country can expect in the next four years.

The elections have turned out to have such an energy-sapping exercise and relieved to have emerged in one piece (somewhat) that the real business of governing would be pushed aside.

President Shehu Shagari in winning the endorsement of his people for another and final term of office has a unique opportunity to leave a mark on the history of the world.

During the first term, the novelty of constitutional rule after 13 years of military rule meant that everybody was more pre-occupied with the modalities of setting up the institutions of government.

It is very easy for nations who have had the same form of government for centuries to lose sight of the fact that even the correct form of address of the President is likely to take an entire day of the legislative assembly, thus many Nigerians were ready to accept the groping around atmosphere that characterised the first Shagari years.

As soon as everybody got used to the sound of some people being called Senators, and the public was aware that anybody can go to a Senate committee hearing to listen to Ministers and their civil servants trying to justify government expenditure, it was time to start thinking of elections.

A politician with an eye on an election tends to either ignore the right thing because they invariably are not

vote getters or do the wrong things altogether because that is where the votes are.

A four year term also means that you have hardly had time to pay your political debts to those who supported and helped put you in power nor felt strong enough to assert your independence from them when you have to start needing their services again.

Now President Shagari will have no excuses if he does not start to give the strong leadership that Nigeria so urgently needs.

There can now be no question of feeling his way and after four years, the people have also had an opportunity to see the workings of the institutions that support constitutional government.

Even though the intent of the limitations to a two-year term is primarily to prevent the emergence of the "President-for life" syndrome which seems to afflict all African leaders once safely elected, it should also be used as

an advantage to govern without any fear of treading on political corns.

There will be no need for President Shagari to be hesitant in taking decisions, he is not looking forward to another term, he should seize the opportunity to leave his mark on Nigeria.

The scandals and rumours of scandals must end, Shagari owes it to Nigeria indeed, the whole of Africa to demonstrate to the world that constitutional rule need not mean corruption.

The excuse that African soldiers traditionally give for throwing elected governments out of power is that they are corrupt and inefficient and even though the soldiers themselves regularly turn out to be as corrupt and chaotic as the civilians they have overthrown, the fact that the corruption does exist when the guns are first taken usually means that the promises made by the soldiers sound like music to the ears of the tired and oppressed peoples.



Shehu Shagari

— a second and final term.

£1 must be able to obtain C 50 for it. Likewise anybody who has C 50 must be able within the bounds of legitimate transaction to obtain £1 for it. If, however, the controls persist such that the new exchange rate cannot be given effect, the result is bound to be, where there had been a black market, worsening of such a market. If after realignment, import licensing, price controls and exchange control are not appreciably relaxed, the re-alignment exercise is of no effect whatsoever. On the contrary, it worsens all the mal-effects hitherto known.

What is worrying is that the Rawlings Government does not manifest the inclination to doing the things without which economic recovery is unachievable. They have devalued the cedi, but they have not arranged the wherewithal to put supplies into the system. Massive inputs need to be arranged to enable the productive sectors — agricultural and industrial — to be resuscitated and improved upon.

When sound and workable plans have been drawn up for the re-vamping of

the productive sectors it should not be too difficult to obtain short-term bridging facilities for the financing of essential consumables required during the reconstruction period.

The people of Ghana do not deserve the hardships they are now suffering. Nobody, who has not workable answers to our economic problems, has the right to govern the country.



It will be better for President Shagari to earn the antagonism of a few powerful NPN overlords and lay the foundations for a truly democratic society than to let Nigeria float along in the name of party unity.

Part of the unease during the first term was the speculation by Nigerians and foreigners alike that it might prove impossible to organise and hold elections under civilian rule without the country tearing itself apart irretrievably, the elections have now been held Nigeria has survived more than less and in spite of parts of the country having indeed been burnt down, the point has been made that it is possible for elections to be held and the people pass their judgement on their rulers without armageddon ensuing.

The allegations of irregularities must, indeed, dismay all those who wish Nigeria well, not simply because they show the weakness of constitutional rule but mostly because it means that none of the parties had enough confidence in itself nor in its supporters to

have approached the elections without resorting to rigging.

The point has been made by those who know that the rigging of elections is not an exclusively Nigerian phenomenon. There have been many cases of people who passed on ages ago appearing on the voters' register in the matter of Parliaments and the good people of Chicago in the United States of America would be the first to say that for decades, the size of the winning majority has had nothing to do with how many of them turn up on voting day, least of all, on how they voted.

What is more, all the parties seem to be agreed that even if there hadn't been any rigging, Shagari and the NPN would have won the elections all the same.

The lesson therefore seems to be that the political parties should face the challenge and set to work from now on the business of educating the electorate on what elections mean and they would have to drive the point home to that it is the one undisputed power of the

citizen to pass judgement on his rulers without fear.

The big worry that is agitating the minds of all Nigerians and friends of Nigeria now is the size of the Shagari and NPN victory. It is not a real likelihood that with this size of landslide victory, Shagari and the NPN now have it in their power to override all the fine points of the constitution which had been deliberately inserted to prevent the "absolute power syndrome?"

The NPN surely has not been happy with the situation whereby in four years they have been able to pass only 31 Acts through the Legislative Assembly, now that they have the necessary numbers and do not need the members of the other parties to pass laws, will they still pay any attention to the sensibilities of the people who disagree with them.

Is it not likely that the "Winner takes all" mentality will predominate and the NPN will bulldoze their way through on all matters?



Nnamdi Azikiwe

— grace under fire.

Is the temptation not very great that the Constitution will even be amended to remove the "checks and balances" that have proved so irksome to the radicals among the NPN? What is there to stop them amending the Constitution to enable President Shagari stand for another term or even to be proclaimed a President-for-life, seeing that the NPN now how that they have got in Shagari, the surest vote winner in Nigeria?

It is well known that there are among the top hierarchy of the NPN, people who have no patience for the niceties and fine points of a constitutional democracy and who believe that staying in power is more important than obeying the rules of the game.

This is why President Shagari faces a greater challenge than usually confronts a leader who has won the endorsement of his people for another term.

Undoubtedly he is being told by many people today that he is the best thing that ever happened to Nigeria; the NPN will even try to convince him that he owes it to them and to Nigeria to make it possible for him to stand another term. They know that they need him to ease the path of future NPN victory.

It would be to his eternal credit if President Shagari should withstand all such pressures and keep faith with the people.

He has been good for Nigeria, his quiet and low key approach to events in the face of the noisy and overbearing manner of his people has been a

constant source of reassurance to those who deal with Nigeria, his personal probity and integrity make many people feel that the corruption and conspicuous consumption are aberrations and not the normal.

But President Shagari should never forget that he is only human and Nigeria is big enough to come up with ten more Shagaris if he should be unavailable. More important, he should



Awolowo

— fanatical support.

always remember that his own probity and incorruptibility don't count for much if he presides over a regime that has a reputation for corruption.

He needs to prove to the world, if he is to have a respectable place in the history of the world, if he is to live up

"The big worry that is agitating the minds of all Nigerians and friend of Nigeria now is the size of Shagari and NPN victory. Is it not a real likelihood that with this size of landslide victory, Shagari and the NPN now have it in their power to override all the fine points of the constitution?"

to the claim of his people as the leaders of Africa, that an African country can handle power and give it up simply because the law says so and not when he is forced to give it up by rebellious soldiers or old age and ill health.

The responsibility, of course, does not lie on President Shagari and his NPN alone, the opposition parties have an even greater responsibility. More often than not, opposition and minority parties in African countries have conducted themselves in such an objectionable and obstructionist postures which make it impossible to govern or develop at the rate that is needed.

Invariably it is the opposition parties that go and seek support from the Armed Forces in the misguided opinion that any means is justifiable in removing their opponents from power.

The success of constitutional rule in Nigeria does not depend on Shagari and the NPN alone, it is more important for Africa to prove that it can behave with dignity and responsibly in defeat than it is to prove that it can handle power.

It is, after all, more difficult to conduct oneself properly in defeat and in minority than it is when in power and in the majority.

There cannot be good government unless there is vigorous opposition and old timers Azikiwe and Awolowo know that much better than anybody else in Nigeria.

The election irregularities should be contested in the courts by all means, some members of the NPP, UPN, PRP, GNPP and NAP should disagree with everything the NPN suggests, it is good for the political health of the country, for as long as everybody remembers that the elections are now over and the nation is now faced with the little business of governing the country.

...BUT THE MELODY LINGERS ON...

By Elizabeth Ohene

The song was expected to end when Joachim Amartey Kwei died by firing squad. But it is obvious that it is not only the melody that lingers on loud and clear, fresh stanzas of the song were being composed even at the stakes, and far from the silence, there are now, more questions than answers.

Over a year ago, three prominent Ghanaian High Court judges and a retired officer of the Ghana Army were abducted by armed men from their homes and their murdered and half burnt bodies were discovered two days later.

Within minutes of the announcement of this gruesome deed, the United Kingdom-based spokesmen and apologists for the regime in Ghana were putting it out that forces who want to give the PNDC regime a bad name were responsible for the murders, and they were quite vehement in denouncing those who said they saw the hands of officialdom in the events that had shocked a whole nation. The PNDC themselves suggested it could be the work of counter-revolutionaries.

So spontaneous was the show of the nation's revulsion that the PNDC was forced to set up a Special Investigating Board, (SIB) to find out those who were responsible. Half way through their investigations, names in high places, dreaded names in Ghana were being mentioned and their interim report pointed hands to the very heart of the PNDC!

We believe, the SIB said, that Joachim Amartey Kwei, (the then newly resigned member of the PNDC and, until then, the most vocal and revolutionary member of the ruling group) ex-Capt. Kojo Tsikata (Special Adviser to the PNDC and Head of Security) Sgt Akata-Pore (member of the PNDC who added fire and spice to the speeches) Sgt. Amedeka, the highly visible odd-jobs man for the PNDC, should be arrested for further investigations.

Kwei, Amedeka and three other soldiers, admitted even at that stage to be messenger boys and not to have been "part of the decision-making process" in the murder plot, were arrested, the regime's Attorney General Mr. Aikins was not persuaded that there was enough evidence to arrest Capt. Tsikata and Sgt. Akata-Pore. Cynics said there was nobody in the country who could have given the order for the arrest of



Fit.-Lt. J.J. Rawlings — kept vigil.

those two at that time.

Soon the SIB found itself involved in a battle royal that could have provided a plot for a John Le Carre novel. Capt. Tsikata went on the offensive, the SIB had been infiltrated by the American CIA and other forces who want to overthrow the PNDC and by the Captain's assessment, the surest road to the overthrow of the PNDC was to overthrow the cornerstone of the regime, the good Captain.

The Guardian of London and its Ms. Victoria Brittain said the SIB was composed of members of the very class that the PNDC was fighting and had become one of the many forces trying to overthrow the regime.

The Ghana Press joined in the fray on the side of Capt. Tsikata and a besieged SIB threatened to give up the work it was doing. "Oh no, you don't" Attorney-General said, not after I have



Amartey Kwei — dead men tell no tales.

broken down publicly in tears at the funeral of the four miserable victims, I will not have you rob me of the opportunity to demonstrate to the world that I am part of an honourable process, surely you gentlemen of the SIB ought to be able to take a bit of calumny from the likes of the *Ghanaian Times* and the *People's Daily Graphic*, as for the charges of your having become CIA puppets, well, it's up to you to clear yourselves, if you will.....

In the meantime Sgt. Akata-Pore is arrested, nothing to do with the minor matter of four people being murdered, he was, or was he endeavouring to overthrow his own regime, the country was told.

Confession statements then are made by Amartey Kwei and Amedeka and the irksome chorus wouldn't go away, Capt. Tsikata, Capt. Tsikata... all the way until the final report is submitted to the Attorney-General.

Parts of the report and parts of the recommendations he accepted. Others, well, it was not the business of the SIB to make such finding and he quoted yards of eminent legal opinion to back him up, he did not take his orders from the SIB and anyway it should be clear to anybody who cared to look properly that there was no shred of evidence against Capt Tsikata and Sgt. Akata Pore(?) — nothing that will stand in a court of law — that is.

Those who thought all the mystery will be cleared in court reckoned without Attorney-General Aikins' long and accurate memory — was it not the same Amartey Kwei who as the voice of the workers in the PNDC was always screaming that the normal courts of the land were no good and only the People's court could dispense justice? Well, to the People's Court Kwei shall go, the fact that members of the Bar were boycotting these courts did not make them any less able to dispense the justice of Kwei's dreams.

While the trial is in progress yet another of the now regular attempted coups takes place or was it simply a jail break, anyway at the end of the day, Sgt. Amedeka the field director of operations of June 30 1982, had broken jail and was on the run.

When the Tribunal handed down its sentences, four of the accused got death sentences and one got a jail sentence and since Sgt. Amedeka, one of the four

was unavailable, three people, infact got the sentences.

On August 18, it was announced that two of the three, Joachim Amartey Kwei and L/cpl Johnny Dzandu had been executed by firing squad and the third person L/Cpl Senya was executed on August 31.

But for the fact that Sgt. Amedeka was on the run and still had the power of speech, it could indeed have been as was claimed by Ms. Brittain of *The Guardian* that the trials and sentences had broken the back of the conservatives who had been using the murders and investigations to fight the PNDC.

The discordant note, however, came from a most unexpected source in the person of Mr. Kojo Yankah, Editor of his renamed *People's Daily Graphic* when he published on the front page what must surely rank as one of the most bizarre stories ever in the history of journalism.

The story said that in a tape recorded conversation between Amartey Kwei and Leader of the Revolution Flt. Lt. Rawlings, Kwei told Rawlings, "Tell the Captain to forgive me" This was after the Chairman had asked Kwei whether Special Adviser Capt. Tsikata was involved in the conspiracy to murder the victims. Three times Rawlings asked Kwei: Tell me, was Capt. Tsikata involved in the conspiracy? and for the same number of times, Kwei answered in the negative. "No Sir".

After a brief spell, the command was given and with Kwei's voice audible in the background, the shots rang out....."

The story concluded by stating that the tape was played in the conference room of the Ministry of Information when Editorial Board members of the various media houses met the Leader of the Revolution to exchange ideas on the performance of the press in relation to the on-going revolution.

The next day August 24, the *Graphic* front page carried a terse announcement which said the paper's Editor Kojo Yankah had been suspended indefinitely for professional misconduct, indiscretion and bad taste in publishing the previous day's story.

Ms. Joyce Aryee the Information Secretary said in her statement of censure that by "publishing the last words of Amartey Kwei, Mr. Yankah had reduced to the level of a cheap journalistic scoop, the last words of a penitent man."

The *Ghanaian Times* of the same day waxed poetic in indignation, Mr. Yankah had betrayed the Leader of the Revolution who had opened his innermost heart and feelings to a select group that he felt he could trust on a matter that made the Leader's heart bleed after all it couldn't even be called a scoop, the *Ghanain Times* had been at the meeting after all as had been other media houses this had been a betrayal most foul!

The Ghanaian Times attempt to improve upon the discordant notes introduced by the Kojo Yankah story succeed in making matters even worse.

Flt Lt Rawlings, the Times explains, in interviewing Amartey Kwei at the stakes, was not trying to vindicate the PNCD (had the PNDC ever accepted blame or responsibility for the whole disgraceful affair?). It was an entirely personal affair, Kwei had been a long-standing friend and colleague, the ties of friendship demanded that J.J. Rawlings kept vigil with Amartey Kwei, his only concern was that even if his comrade should die, he would at least die with the truth on his lips".

Obviously the Times is satisfied that Kwei, was a penitent man when he died and the truth was on his lips. This, in spite of the fact that, at no time since June 30, 1982 had he uttered one word of regret in abducting and having murdered innocent Ghanaians, not even during the trial, not even during his vigil with his comrade Head of State.

The comrade Head of State himself has not offered any explanation as to

why he had to tape record the last words of his long-time friend nor why he had to play the sacred words of a personal friend to a group who could not all possibly have been personal friends.

Or could it be that he expects Ghanaians to be impressed that he has been magnanimous enough to have executed his best friend and long-time comrade and therefore we should be satisfied that he has extracted retribution for the murders?

Some of us "not-so-smart-Ghanaians" still find it implausible that one member of the ruling body could have decided by himself and asked Sgt Amedeka to abduct three High Court Judges and a retired major and kill them with the help of three lowly soldiers who nobody has accused of having been part of the decision-making process.

When is an action of a member of the PNDC an individual matter and when is it a matter for the Council?

Since Mr. Yankah has not been accused of fabrication, one can safely assume that his story was true, he erred in betraying a confidence (off the record interview) and therefore questions based on that story must be asked.

Are executions now carried out in the Flt. Lieutenant's backyard or did he accompany the squad to the firing range since his conversation apparently took place seconds before the shots rang out "with Kwei's voice still audible"

Was Flt. Lt. Rawlings serving as a priest confessor for Kwei? Condemned men usually are given priests of whatever faith they believe in to attend them in their last moments before death, and why did he feel a need to record the conversation if not for posterity or is it vindication of the Captain?

Why on earth did Flt. Lt. Rawlings want to ask Kwei such questions? Is it possible he still had some doubts after the exhaustive SIB investigation, Attorney-General Aikins' learned dissertations on the matter and the Captain's own strenuous and consistent denials that he had anything to do with the murders?

Surely the place to resolve such doubts is in the law courts?

Was Rawlings already satisfied in his mind about the reasons the murderers had for killing their victims even if he himself was not involved? Why did he not ask Kwei *WHY* the conspiracy?



Capt. Tsikata — my hands are clean.

The *Guardian* says even though no reasons were given for the murders, all the victims were prominent conservatives. The inference obviously being that being conservative makes you a candidate for murder in present day Ghana.

What was so reprehensible in publishing the last words of a self confessed murderer if those words cleared the name of a public official who had been wrongly accused?

One had started to hope that some of the honourable tradition in the *Daily Graphic* would rub off Mr. Yankah and we would make a journalist of him yet, and one is almost tempted to sympathise with the hapless Yankah that his first act of journalism has landed him with indefinite suspension!

What is difficult to understand is how Joachim Amartey Kwei managed to become a penitent man whose last words deserved to be treated with reverence.

Had he repented because he was asking for Captain Tsikata's forgiveness or did he manage to send some word to the families of the people he had killed also? Obviously it looks like the gates of heaven will open to you no matter how many people you have murdered so long as you manage to whisper into a tape recorder held to your mouth while you are tied to the stakes a message to Captain Tsikata apologising for having taken his name in vain.

The lucky thing in this episode is that the Leader of the Revolution managed to escape from the bullets that killed Kwei, obviously the Leader is still very fast on his feet.

A pity though that he went to all that trouble to get and tape a conversation to silence all whispers and doubts about his mentor Capt. Tsikata only to succeed in raising the chorus louder than before.

"Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field — (Reflections on the Revolution in France — Edmund Burke).

GEN. HAMIDU DENIES LIBERIAN LINK

By a correspondent

Lieutenant General (rtd) Joshua Hamidu, former Ghana's Chief of defence Staff and Liaison Officer of the 1979 Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), headed by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings has affirmed his preparation for a confrontation with the PNDC government of Ghana, headed by Rawlings.

But such confrontation, he assured, is without the assistance of Liberia's military power as stated in the August 18 issue of the London "Guardian" newspaper, by Victoria Brittain.

At a press conference in London's Ritz hotel Gen. Hamidu denied ever writing, meeting or discussing any coup plans against the PNDC, with the Liberian leader, General Samuel Doe.

The "Guardian" story, he described as a wicked and brazen forgery by a typical communist-bloc intelligence operations with its heavy reliance on forgery, thuggery and similar methods to hold down "a people".

Gen. Hamidu expressed profound shock and dismay that the "Guardian" being such a respected newspaper would permit Victoria Brittain to drag it into peddling the outrageous dirty and wicked tricks of the new intelligence service of Tsikata and Jerry Rawlings and be used as their propaganda mouth-piece.

"You will recall that at the height of the public outrage against the abduction and murder of the three Ghanaian High Court Judges and to divert attention from public concern about his role in it, Kojo Tsikata, Ghana's new Security Chief, produced a document purported to have come from the West German Embassy alleging American involvement in efforts to overthrow Rawlings.

"Victoria Brittain presented this story as a fact and said nothing about the firm and vigorous repudiation of the document by both the West German and American Embassies as a forgery. Ultimately the authorities in Accra themselves were compelled to admit that the alleged document was not genuine, although they sought to protect themselves by suggesting that at the time they had it, they had no reason to believe it was not genuine."

The General noted that even after this frank admission that the document on which Tsikata had relied in accusing the Americans of plotting to overthrow Rawlings was a forgery, Victoria Brittain still tried to give her readers the impression that no such denial had been made and that her story about American efforts to "destabilise Ghana" was true.

General Hamidu saw the courage of the Liberian Head of State to take a firm decision to restore diplomatic relations with Israel, which has undoubtedly made him the number one enemy of the Libyan masters of Rawlings, and a possible danger to their conspiracy to turn Ghana into a staging ground for the subversion of neighbouring West African States, as the reason they want to soil his image.

Reflecting on why they should pick on him too, Gen. Hamidu revealed that this was because he cautioned Rawlings in a letter, about such matters as the Libyan intervention in Ghana and also for being an investigator in Tsikata's activities in the 1960's which culminated in his (Tsikata's) forced retirement from the Armed Forces. The other investigator was Major Sam Acquah, who together with the three judges were abducted and killed.

He referred to the Board which investigated the murders and concluded that Capt. Tsikata was the arch planner of the murders and commented "If Major Acquah could be hounded to his death it can only be a matter of little consequence, to enmesh me in the conspiracy with which we are now concerned had I been in Ghana. Needless to say that at that material period I was being lured to Ghana by wicked and anonymous telegrams and telexes reporting my father's death while the old man was still alive".

Asked what he thinks of Capt. Tsikata's aims, the General replied, "Tsikata is playing a game with Rawlings who doesn't realise what is happening and if matters were left as they are, Tsikata will overthrow Rawlings and become Head of State in three month's time. He will dump him as he's done to Amartey Kwei".

Gen. Hamidu regretted that Ghana had toyed with different governing ideas and seen no reason why "desert ideologies" should be imported from Libya, some of which call for training of Militiamen in Ghana's three Universities, to take the place of the real fighting soldiers of the country.

Obviously, he said, Rawlings would heed no caution, controlled as he is by the band of hard core communist activists like Kojo Tsikata who have manipulated him into becoming one of the principal agents of international subversion and terrorism.

The havoc and destruction that has been wreaked upon Ghana since Rawlings usurped power is so overbearing that, Gen. Hamidu cannot believe there will be any Ghanaian patriot who will be indifferent to the need to save the nation. The only monuments of their so-called revolution is destruction.

Concluding Gen. Hamidu said "I am wholly and unalterably opposed to their regime and naturally Rawlings and



Lt.-Gen. Hamidu I'll fight Rawlings. his cohorts must rightly presume that I will not be sitting idly by while the destruction continues.

"Yes, indeed, I am not sitting idly and I do not intend to sit idly by. But I know that the task of saving Ghana belongs to Ghanaians alone who can and must fight to save their country without the involvement of other countries how-

ever well-meaning they may be.

"I don't hide my views and feelings, I have made attempts to persuade Rawlings and Company to change their ways which didn't work so I have to fight my way and will applaud anything which will save Ghana from Rawlings.

The Liberian government has also denied that it is plotting a coup in Ghana.

A Liberian Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement noted that the article is "an absolute fabrication to tarnish the good image of Liberia and to disrupt the traditionally cordial relations existing between the governments and people of Ghana and Liberia".

The statement continued that "It is a source of considerable regret that a national of a friendly country can, at will crudely publish in a newspaper of distinction fake and slanderous allegations in an attempt to sow seeds of disharmony between governments and peoples of Africa".

HURRY

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RETURN OF THE ISRAELIS

The verdict on General Samuel Doe, Head of State of Liberia for daring to pay a four day state visit to Israel is that he has now joined the ranks of Africa's reactionary leaders.

On a continent where all reactionary leaders are under a sustained siege from radicals who are itching to overthrow them and revolutionise the whole of Africa, why did General Doe make his unprecedented visit?

His reasons are there to be analysed but before that could be done a further question needs to be reviewed. Why should a visit to Israel make General Doe reactionary? Is it because Israel is a conservative reactionary country or what?

That Israel has been in a state of perpetual war with its Arab neighbours, has often flouted international opinion and until a week ago was led by one of the world's acknowledged hardliners. Menechem Begin, gives it the attributes of a nation more radical than Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq or even Libya.

A review of General Doe's action therefore thrusts him up as Africa's pace-setter. His country, together with Mobutu Sese Seko's Zaire are the only two African countries to defy the 1973 decision of the Organisation African Unity which called on its members to break off diplomatic relations with the Jewish state. Beyond this, General Doe's latest visit has made him the first African leader to set foot on Israel since the OAU diplomatic blockade in 1973.

Undoubtedly, General Doe qualifies to be classified as a radical leader for having taken these actions which may be described either as bold or foolhardy, depending on how one views their implications. But there should be no doubt that General Doe has stirred the hornets' nest with his historic visit to Jerusalem. The Arab members of the Organisation of African Unity and their non Arab sympathisers can be predicted to sever all forms of relations with Liberia. The indication for this sort of reaction has come from Saudi Arabia which has already threatened to cut off all economic assistance to African countries.

The impact of such measures from the rich Arab countries will definitely not undermine Liberia's economy which has been bolstered ten times more since General Doe, then Master Sergeant



Dr. Samuel Doe — facing reality?

seized power in 1980 and pulled off another unprecedented record for executing Africa's bloodiest coup.

Those who will suffer are countries like Guinea and Sierra Leone which are good neighbours of Liberia and also members of the Mano River Union, who have reaped maximum economic benefit from their close relationship with the Arab League.

President Sekou Toure, who in the past has succeeded in influencing the other members of the Mano River Union to support Morocco in its conflict with the Polisario in return for King Hassan's financial support for Guinea's preparations to host the next summit of the OAU, will be in the greatest dilemma.

He is not only a devout and respected muslim who, last year was nominated to lead a series of delegations to mediate in the conflict between Iraq and Iran but also an elder statesman and one of the few surviving founders of the Organisation of African Unity on whose shoulders has been thrust the task of hosting the Organisation's twenty-first anniversary.

While General Doe's visit to Israel is likely to drive away from Africa the Arab friends of African leaders like Sekou Toure, the OAU is also likely to split in the same way the other members of the Arab League refused to attend meetings with Egypt for signing the Camp David Agreement and establishing diplomatic relations with Israel.

Coincidentally, it was Egypt's

membership of the OAU which warranted the sympathetic diplomatic blockade of Israel for her occupation of Egyptian territory in the Sinai during the 1971 Arab — Israel war. It is therefore significant that General Doe of Liberia, Sese Seko of Zaire and other African leaders are pointing to the restoration of diplomatic relations between Egypt and Israel as one of the reasons for their rapprochement towards Israel.

Another reason for the return of African leaders to Israel relates to the widespread African disenchantment over the policies of the Arab dominated Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) which are held responsible for their economic plights. Arab aid through the Arab African Bank has never been considered a sufficient compensation for the harsh economic measures of OPEC and also the loss of Israeli technology, particularly in agriculture.

But the most convenient and current issue being invoked in favour of re-establishing relations with Israel is the activities and objectives of Libya's Colonel Qaddafi in Africa. In West Africa several African leaders, including President Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast, have expressed deep concern about the threat to the stability of their regimes by Col. Qaddafi. It is to counter this Libyan threat that Israeli assistance is being sought.

In another development the politicians in the just ended elections in Nigeria felt so strongly about relations with Israel that one Presidential candidate, Chief Obafemi Awolowo was reported to have raised it at his campaign rallies. No doubt General Doe's action of establishing diplomatic relations and paying a visit to Israel is expected to open the floodgates to other African leaders to play the Israeli card.

Israeli policies in the Middle East may be abhorrent and certainly her support for apartheid South Africa must be condemned by all who have the interest of black Africans at heart yet the fact of under-hand deals between Israel and a number of African countries cannot be denied.

In this context, General Doe has scored a remarkable feat of shedding off hypocrisy in his dealings with Israel and has re-affirmed his image as a forth right leader and a pace-setter. With regard to

his declared ambition of establishing relations with Israel to enable him to play a mediation role in the Arab-Israeli conflict sounds as puerile and infuriating as it is likely to emanate from a soldier who aspires to become an international diplomat who would soon realise that he can only talk to the Israelis and not to the Arabs.

Both the Israelis and General Doe have used the alleged threatening activities of Libya in Africa to justify their accord and for as long as this threat persists, will continue to receive sympathetic reception and in fact encourage other countries to follow suit but when the Libyan factor vanishes, they will soon realise their real intentions being questioned.

Even more disturbing is the failure of General Doe to alert the Organisation of African Unity about his plans towards Israel. With support from all those countries that are opposed to Colonel Qaddafi's Libya, General Doe could have given notice to the OAU of his intention to follow Egypt to re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel. And since the OAU does not seek to interfere in the internal affairs of a member country Liberia couldn't have been stopped in its track. There is a precedent to have guided General Doe. President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire has re-established diplomatic relations with Israel but that did not stop even Colonel Qaddafi to invite him to attend the OAU summit in Libya.

By his act General Doe has given a doubtful start to the up coming OAU summit in Conakry, Guinea and it will take host President Sekou Toure, current Chairman Mengistu of Ethiopia and the Secretariat of the Organisation a lot of diplomatic skill to save the unity of the continent.

By Ben Mensah

"Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants. Men have a right that these wants should be provided for by this wisdom".
— Burke.

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PEOPLE....PLACES....EVENTS....PEOPLE....PLACES....EVENTS....PEOPLE

TANZANIA

The Prime Minister, Ndugu Edward Sokoine, has directed the Ministry of Home Affairs to implement immediately the new terms of Service for the police and prison services which were approved in July this year.

The Prime Minister issued the directive today while addressing police officers at Oyster Bay police station in Dar es Salaam.

Ndugu Sokoine, who is on a tour of forces camps in Dar es Salaam region, was informed by the police officers that the new terms of service had not yet been implemented.

He directed that the new terms for police and prisons services must be back-dated to July 1, this year. The Prime Minister hailed the police force for its efforts to strengthen security in the city of Dar es Salaam.

He said that since patrols began at the end of last year, incidents of theft and armed robberies had decreased considerably compared to the period between June and October last year when an average of incidents of theft or armed robbery were reported daily.

KENYA

President Jaramo Moi has changed the name of the East Africa Oil Refinery to Kenya Oil Refinery.

He also changed the name of East African Power and Lighting Company Limited to Kenya Power and Lighting Company Limited.

The President announced the changes at Changamwe, Mombasa, where he was the guest of honour at a ceremony to mark the 20th anniversary of the Kenya Oil Refinery Corporation.

On the transportation of oil, President Moi called on the Kenya Pipe Line Company and the Ministry of Energy to be forward planning and extend the oil pipe line from Nairobi to Nakuru, Eldoret, Kitale, Bungoma and Kisumu.

The President pointed out that the money used to repair the road regularly would be used for other development activities.

On the need to strengthen Kenya's relationship with other countries the President said that Tanzanians were their brothers with whom they should cooperate. He said that he had discussions with his counterparts in Tanzania and Uganda and that they

had agreed to work for the prosperity of the region which includes Kenya.

The President also said that he was happy that Kenya provided oil to Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Eastern Zaire and Southern Sudan.

On the reduction of the net cost of importing Crude oil, the President said that the government is actively considering the installation of cracking facilities so that the heavy oil which is re-imported at a loss could be converted into useful products such as kerosene, diesel, cooking gas and jet fuel.

He reassured foreign investors that their investments in this country are fully protected.

On Kenyanization, the President noted with appreciation that 97 per cent of the refinery staff is Kenyan. He said this was an indication that Kenyans have acquired the skills necessary to operate a complex installation.

UGANDA

The Chief of the Ugandan Defence Forces Lt-Gen Tito Okello has praised the work being done by the commonwealth training team in Uganda. At a farewell party for the outgoing head of the team, Col John Holman in Kampala Gen Okello pointed out that the friendly assistance of the commonwealth to Uganda will not be forgotten.

A major priority of the government, he said will be to restructure the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) into an efficient, disciplined force.

At the same function the Chief of Training in the UNLA, Lt - Col Chris Kisebo appealed for further training opportunities from the Commonwealth for the young Ugandan army.

In reply, Col Holman who has since left the country emphasised that the success of the UNLA in its operations will greatly depend on the co-operation and support from civilians and the

government. He expressed satisfaction with the improved discipline of the UNLA soldiers.

GHANA

Under a new law enacted by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) in Accra, on August 30, offences involving the diversion of petroleum products and drugs will carry the sentence of death by a firing squad.

Diversion of goods, including food items, earmarked for educational institutions, hospitals and the general public will also carry the same sentence.

NIGERIA...

EVERYBODY'S

PET HATE

You disagree with the drivel coming out of a particular radio station, why burn it down and see whether they can continue to send out their lies, the little matter of the station being public property notwithstanding.

This love of fire had its most spectacular demonstration early this year when the NET (National External Telecommunications) building was burnt down. This building, variously described as the tallest building in Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa, Africa and probably the Third World was burnt down in spite of the fact that the whole country had been full of the threat to burn it down for months before the event.

Thank God though that Nigeria had the money to restore the building — what else would exasperated girls have to use to dampen the enthusiasm of loud-mouthed men.

"I want to marry you. I will buy you a car, I will build a house for you I will buy a flat for you in London, you can travel by concord wherever you want to go — you know I own 15 buildings in Ikoyi, I have helicopter, I even own controlling shares in the bank you work in"

Mister, do you own NET?

Guaranteed to stop all conversation.

PEOPLE...PLACES...EVENTS...PEOPLE...PLACES...EVENTS...PEOPLE

GABON

Following the increase in the number of audiences which cabinet members have been granting to heads of diplomatic missions of friendly countries accredited to Gabon, the Presidency of the Republic has affirmed that only the Minister of Foreign Affairs and co-operation is qualified to examine, with those concerned, all problems of co-operation between Gabon and their countries.

Ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions in Gabon are therefore urged to submit all their problems regarding co-operation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation.

ANGOLA

Comrade Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, the President of the Party and the Republic said recently that the attack on Cangamba by South Africa troops constituted a new element in the war mounted by South Africa against Angola.

The Head of State said at a news conference given for journalists that a South African Air Force intervention against that town of Moxico Province, about 500 km from the Namibian border, could be the prelude for the unleashing of attacks of this kind on other areas more to the north.

The aim of the South African intervention Comrade dos Santos revealed, was to place UNITA in Cangamba essentially for two reasons.

Firstly, because the UN Secretary General was coming to Southern Africa, and it was important to create a victory for UNITA to help enable South Africa to exert pressure by using those bandits in the negotiations over Namibia, and the second reason was linked purely to destabilization activities and to the implementation of Pretoria's plans for the puppets to occupy the diamond area.

LIBERIA

The Liberian Government would spare no effort to strengthen and expand the ties of friendship and understanding which exist between the governments and peoples of Liberia and Israel Head of State. Dr Samuel Kanyon

Doe made this pledge at the Executive mansion when the new Israeli Ambassador, Gavriel Gavrieli presented him his letters of credence. Dr Doe said he hoped the new chapter recently embarked upon in Liberian-Israeli relations would be equally rewarding and beneficial to their two peoples as the two nations endeavour to give concrete expression to the terms and principles of the joint communique recently signed between them.

CAMEROON

The rift between President Paul Biya and his predecessor Ahmadou Ahidjo is rapidly being accentuated with calls from militants of the Cameroonian National Union to take over the Party's leadership.

President Biya is again being requested by members of the central committee of CNU resident in Yaounde to put in his candidature for party chairman in view of what they described as the conflicting situation over the distribution of power and the massive support enjoyed by him.

The post of party Chairman has been vacant since the abrupt resignation on August 27, of ex-President Ahidjo who accused his successor of suffering from "plot-mania."

Support for President Biya has come from the CNU branch of the Yaounde Commercial Centre, the Bako Cultural Association, the CNU party militants in the South-West and Northern Provinces. They urged the Head of State to convene an extraordinary Congress to proclaim President Biya as Party leader.

ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe and the USA have signed an 8,700,000 dollar education grant agreement.

The accord was signed in Harare between the American Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Keeley, the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning and Development, Comrade Bernard Chidzero, and the Minister of Manpower Planning and Development, Comrade Fredrick Shava. The deal is the first part of a 45,000,000 dollar basic education and skills training grant.

Ghana

An opportunity for convicts of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) to vindicate themselves has been hinted at by the Chairman of the PNDC, Flt Lt Jerry John Rawlings.

In a nationwide radio and TV broadcast to emphasize his government's commitment to real justice Flt Lt Rawlings extended this gesture also to those who left Ghana as a way of escaping decisions of the AFRC and for fear of not being treated fairly.

The reality of Chairman Rawlings' hint is however contingent upon public reaction to an invitation for debates on whether such persons should be given the opportunity.

Further the national investigation committee has been granted the authority to consider whatever suitable suggestions they may make of reparations to wrong or damage they did to the country. This formal and sincere recognition of the harm they have done could then be a basis for considering whether to grant such persons amnesty so they may return to contribute to the development of the nation, Chairman Rawlings concluded.

Other points raised in the broadcast were hardwork, increased productivity, and efficiency which Chairman Rawlings said must be the watchwords of Ghanaians.

He cautioned against the substitution for productive work of defence committee meetings, rallies, attendance at symposia and leadership courses.

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Two Poems

The Death of the Indian

*Jose Perez has died
swaddled in eternal hunger.
He looked in my eyes
I looked at his soul
I spoke in his ear
He cried to my soul
He reached for my hand
And I gave him my soul.*

*Jose Perez has died
Swaddled in eternal hunger.
His body hurt him
My soul hurt me
I had to weep
His soul left him
His body died
And my soul died.*

*When Jose Perez died
Hunger was his shroud.*

Mistical Blaque

*I am proud
I am black
Shout it loud
I am black
My father is black
I am black*

*I am beautiful
I am black
I am not colourful
I am black
The night is black
I am black*

*My features say
I am black
Think what you may
I am black*

*I was born of a woman
She is black
God is my father
Is he black?*

Patricia Stewart - London

World Music Festival

The enormous response to the "World Music Village" organised jointly by the Arts Centre at the Commonwealth Institute and the greater London Council's Arts and Creation Committee, chaired by Tony Banks, has confirmed the universality of music as a common bond for the peoples of the world.

Certainly, this musical event is not the first of its kind in London but the variety and scope of this five week programme (August 8 – September 10) of concerts with a residential "Summer School," open workshops, talks, films and demonstrations is such that all music aficionados would have something to interest them.

The activities in the village are based in two areas of Holland Park, the open-air theatre and the Yucca Lawn, and in the Commonwealth Institute Arts Centre. With the famous Notting Hill Carnival and an official Children's Carnival fitted into the schedule, an unforgettable festive atmosphere was assured.

The artists taking part in The Village include both British – based musicians and a number of musicians from abroad with an impressive array of contemporary musical and traditional instruments.

Featuring on the bill of British-based artists are Abacush, a Women's reggae band, black-jazz musicians, Harry Beckett and Dudu Pukwana who would be playing together for the first time. When the Hemel Hempstead Brass Band and pipers from Northumbria and Scotland put in the British traditional music touch, it would provide an interesting contrast to the breath-taking array of international traditional folk music – rural music from the villages of Jaisalmer and Balmers in Rajasthan; Islamic music from the south of Morocco, Kora and xylophone music performed by members of traditional Griot families from the Ivory Coast, to name a few. Latin American folk and popular music from Mexico and Brazil, traditional African music and dance from Benue State in Western Nigeria, popular and folk music from Cyprus and bagpipe music from Serbia would definitely give musicologists something to chew on.

Classical music from India, Japan, musicians and dancers from the village of Batuan in Bali to perform orchestral music and present a varied programme of Temple and Court Dances, and a performance by a creative music group from the centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies in Zaria under the direction of the distinguished American jazz flautist Yussuf Lateef would provide an illustration of the coming together of the world of jazz and traditional African music and give a complete picture of the richness of the event.

The lecture and workshop programme involving such personalities as Bayo Martins, the African Drummer, author and Journalist; Komal Kothari, Director of the Jajasthan Institute of Folklore; Peggy Harper, eminent choreographer and teacher of African dance, are scheduled to lead discussions on aspects of music.

On August 16, the Commonwealth Arts Centre theatre was the venue for the last performance of Amjad Ali Khan, the virtuoso Sarod (a string instrument) player from India where a

fully-packed house gave a standing ovation to his hauntingly eerie and caressing strains accompanied by an excellent percussionist.

Observed the 32 year old instrumentalist in an interview during the break "Definitely the mood of the audience has a profound effect on my performance but generally the audience here has been wonderful". Coming from a family with centuries of sarod playing experience and a mother who was a dancer, the artistic tradition, he said, is being maintained in the family, and in fact, the expertise being passed on to his students. The Music Village engagement was one of the few he accepted outside the country because he was fully booked in India the year round.

The high standard of Mr. Khan's performance and the mood of the appreciative audience is indicative of the patronage that this unique event is attracting.

"There is no fine investment for any community than putting milk into babies". – Churchill.



Amjad Ali Khan

SPORTS

NIGERIAN SPORTSMEN SHINE

In other areas of international sports, the outstanding performance of Nigerian sportsmen won a tribute from President Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Addressing a contingent of young footballers who arrived from Spain and Mexico where they won in three competitions the President was compelled to promise that his administration would continue to assist sports development in the country.

Nigeria won both the Satellite World Cup in Mexico and the World Cup Winners Cup competition for Youth Clubs in Madrid, Spain.

In addition, the team won a special competition in Mexico and Columbia.

This is the third time that Nigeria has won the World Youths Clubs Championships: in 1980 in Sweden; in 1983 in Sao Paulo, Brazil; and now in Madrid, Spain.

Nigeria's fortunes in recent International sports competitions which were highlighted by "Ione Ambassador" Odizor's impressive performance during this year's Wimbledon tennis Championships continue to brighten.

For while a government probe awaited Africa's reputed athletes from Kenya into their sloppy performance in the just ended first world athletics meet in Helsinki, Nigerian Athletes were effectively registering Africa's presence on the international scene.

This they did through Ajayi Agbebaku whose best of 17.18 metres in the men's triple jump won Africa her lone medal, a bronze, Agbebaku was unfortunate not to have done ever better. The big 26 year old graduate of the University of Texas, EL Paso jumped the same distance as second placed American Willie Banks but lost out to him when the other jumps were considered.

The team fared as follows:

World Youths Club Championship, — Spain:

Nigeria	2	Austria	1
Nigeria	5	Holland	0
Nigeria	0	Spain	0
Nigeria	6	Portugal	0 in the Semi final.
Nigeria	1	Spain	0 in the final

Satelite World Cup — Mexico

Nigeria	3	Agbalez Island	1
Nigeria	2	— batemala	1
Nigeria	1	Mexico(B)	0
Nigeria	2	Mexico (Junior National Team)	1 in the semi-final
Nigeria	1	Mexico (selected)	0 in the final

Four-Nation Special Tournament — Mexico

Nigeria	3	France	1 in the semi-final
Nigeria	6	Mexico	2 in extra time after 2-2 tie at full time, in the final.

And to top these impressive performances, the team also won the "Best conduct on and off the field. It is also recalled that the Nigeria athletics contingent performed brilliantly at the recent World University Games in Canada.



A NIGERIAN Long Jump star
Yussf Ali.

"The highest possible stage in moral culture is when we recognise that we ought to control our thoughts" — Charles Darwin.

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