

TALKING DRUMS

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IMF AND GHANA

A nation with a predominance of passive citizens ends up almost invariably with an unwanted government. In other words, wise men who refuse to exercise their constitutional rights are governed by fools.

On December 31, 1981, when Flt-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings and his band of soldiers took up arms to wrench power from the popularly elected government of President Hilla Limann, the people of Ghana, unarmed as they were, had no other choice than to succumb to their conquerors.

Initial support for the new government, far from being spontaneous and massive, was as subdued as would be expected from a stunned nation.

The latest issue of the London based International Currency Review, a journal of the World Financial Community finds Flt-Lt. Rawlings government one of the most irresponsible and chaotic administrations in the whole of the African continent and therefore takes the International Monetary Fund to task for approving a loan worth \$377 million to it.

It wrote, "financing a brutal, chaotic dictatorship is more than usually a complete waste of time."

The point being made here is that 14 million people of Ghana made up of hardworking farmers, fishermen, teachers, administrators, artisans, housewives and their children deserve a more dignified life than the subjection to abject deprivation by their military rulers for fourteen out of twenty six years of independence from British rule.

Any assistance from the International Monetary Fund to lift them from their gloom is therefore welcome. Besides, Ghana as a member of the Fund is by regulation entitled to draw 150% of her quota as a stand-by facility to support her economy. On current basis the 150% of the quota amounts to \$250 million.

Above all, the peace-loving people of Ghana did not vote Flt-Lt. Rawlings to power, do not deserve a violent blood-thirsty government and therefore should not be tied to the fortunes of this regime.

However, if the International Monetary Fund is willing to grant a loan to a country without ensuring that the country has a responsible government, then it would soon realise that the welfare and interest of the millions of farmers, fishermen, teachers, children etc have been sacrificed for the retention of power by a handful.

This is how we view the concern of the Inter-

national Currency Review over the granting of a loan of \$377 million to what the journal refers to as "Rawlings anarchic government".

Beside the government's irresponsible behaviour, the currency Review is not enthused about the government's Recovery Plan which was outlined in a memorandum to the International Monetary Fund. The journal doubts that the plan has any chance of succeeding when workers are being encouraged to seize their factories, foreign investment is frowned upon, managements have been placed under the control of Workers Defence Committees, and enterprises are forbidden to lay off workers even if they have no raw materials for production.

Given the world wide economic depression, the government's encouragement of the expansion of state institutions and increase in government expenditure as reported lately by the Bank of Ghana make the recovery plan a non starter.

The entire fabric of the Ghanaian society has been diagnosed by the country's super human rulers to be bankrupt and is being restructured.

The Judiciary, Media, Civil Service, Education with the universities still closed and the military overseeing the training of cadres are all being reorganised. And until the restructuring and reorganisation are completed the whole nation is in a state of turmoil which forbids any meaningful recovery plan to be implemented.

In the meantime there is no let up in the imposition of unnecessary hardships on Ghanaians by a heavily armed few.

For nearly two years Ghanaians have lived under a curfew even though the revolution is supposed to be popular with the masses.

Contrary to the governments' condemnation of President Limann for hatching a deal with the IMF the steepest overnight devaluation of the cedi has been slapped on Ghanaians and currently the minds of the people are being prepared to accept intolerably high prices for petrol, through deliberately created shortage of fuel.

Otherwise how would one explain the current acute shortage of fuel in Ghana when it is a well known fact that oil rich Libya which patronises the Ghanaian revolutionaries is in a position to bail the country and ease the hardship of Ghanaians? (We reproduce elsewhere in this magazine excerpts of the view of the "International Currency Review" on IMF loan to Ghana.)

EDUCATING GHANA

Dear Sir,

It is only a hypocrite or, better still a human ostrich who would refuse to admit that there is something seriously wrong with the educational system in Ghana.

I completely fail to see what Elizabeth Ohene was so mad about in her piece on "Educating Ghana - The Cuban Way" published in the "Talking Drums" of September 26. She argued that because members of the present government all benefitted(?) from the same educational system which is the "bastion of reactionary dogmatism" they cannot claim to know that there is something wrong and go on to do something about it.

Quite obviously she does not like the idea that Ghanaian children are being sent to Cuba for education, I wonder what she would have said if the children had been sent to America or Britain.

I could see the point in arguing for re-organising the education system in Ghana instead of shipping them out of the country while the majority remain in the colonial educational system which does not reflect on the needs of the country.

In a fast changing world where ideas are constantly being reviewed according to the economic fortunes of countries, particularly, in the Third World hemmed in by East-West ideological struggle, how can Ms. Ohene say that "The Sir Arko Korsah report of 40 years ago which led to the establishment of the University of Ghana" is still a document - a valid blue-print for higher education in Ghana?

Sending children to Cuba may not be the answer but Ghana's educational system needs serious changes.

Yaw Sampson
Leyton

Dear Editor,

TRAINING OF TERRORISTS?

I was shocked to read in the *Talking Drums* of September 26, that Ghanaian children are being sent to Cuba for secondary and University education.



The whole move, it seems to me, is aimed at training a group of Ghanaians outside the country to return as fully-fledge revolutionaries and hardened experts in guerilla warfare.

If Cuba's vast experience in this department is anything to go by then there is more to the Rawlings regime's motive for Cuban education, than meets the eye.

Emelia Forson
High Wycombe

CHANGES IN THE CIVIL SERVICE MUST SUCCEED

I have read with interest the two articles on the Civil Service entitled: "The Civil Service at Cross-roads" under the series - Restructuring of State Institutions published in the second and third issues of the *"Talking Drums"* and I am at a loss as to what your correspondent was trying to say.

The writer dwelt at length on the fact that the Ghana Civil Service is moribund and wrapped up in the shackles of bureaucracy and that its present failings might have emanated from the colonial legacy at the time of independence.

The point was also emphatically made that the corruption in the system, is gingered up by a horde of eccentrics, megalomaniacs and "jelly back-boned" top officials who cannot take simple decisions on issues and thereby delay important matters".

So the question is: why does the writer think the restructuring exercise which is an attempt to weed these characters out of the system would not solve the problem?

I would like to point out that the top civil servants who are going to be affected by the exercise are deliberately putting impediments in the way of

the government to frustrate and delay the implementation of the programme.

The writer of that article, I suspect may be a top civil servant who obviously does not like the re-structuring. I could feel the sneer and contempt for the involvement of the Workers Defence Committees in the decision-making in the various ministries.

It is my contention that if the Civil Service is torise above its apathy and officialdom which are killing it slowly, then the current exercise must work effectively and it would only happen when the administrative class realise that it is not against them but in the interest of the whole country.

K. Bentil
Surrey

RECONSTRUCTION?

Dear Editor,

The December 31 putsch of Flt-Lt Rawlings which toppled the democratically elected government of Dr. Hilla Limann was welcomed with some jubilation in Ghana.

When the PNDC took over the government many Ghanaians thought it was timely because they hoped the change would bring about an improvement in their life situations and alleviate the suffering from all sorts of socio-economic deprivation. The question now is: has there been any change?

It is an open secret that the economy which he Rawlings promised to improve is, in fact, now in absolute chaos, tribalism is at its apex; hunger has afflicted almost every Ghanaian, industries are at stand still because there are no inputs. While workers are being laid off some are being kept on the pay-roll for doing nothing apart from worker's defence committee activities which are supposed to be the back-bone of the revolution.

It has been said before and I would repeat it - Ghana does not deserve this kind of treatment.

Our resources must be mobilised; our universities must reopen because whether we like it or not we cannot wish away higher education. Ghana has to recapture her past glory.

Kwasi Gveabour, West Germany

One cannot help but simply congratulate the Nigerians for being able to conduct their elections with much calm and tranquillity; though there were some reported isolated cases of violence at Oyo and Ondo in the Western States.

Such were the fear and anxiety in the days before the elections that a lot of Nigerians fled their own motherland to seek shelter outside the country. Within the nation, most of the Southern especially the Ibos and Yuroba's closed their shops and simply left the northern states and trooped down home anticipating a violent reaction from the North in case a lot of negative votes were registered against the NPN which controlled most of the Northern states.

The whole world, to be precise, the western democratic world was much relieved when the elections were carried out with such success and this was well-portrayed by the western media — BBC, VOA, Radio France International and others in the way they trumpeted and showered praises upon Nigeria, the giant of Africa and the bastion of western democracy in Africa.

However questions need to be answered. Were the elections really free and fair and democratically conducted as we have been made to believe? Or is it a fact that western democracy

Elections were fair but...

or the Westminster system of government which was imposed on us by our colonial masters is simply not compatible with the African way of life; our customs, norms and traditions and as a school of thought put it, Africans are not ripe for the western democracy.

I happen to be at Bunza a village in the South-West corner of Sokoto state during the election campaigning days and I had the opportunity to observe how the elections were actually conducted.

I must make it clear that my observations may not be a yard-stick to judge the conduct of the elections in the whole federation.

Sokoto state is a strict moslem state like most of the eight other states. As such women, especially the married ones, hardly come out during the day time. This is a normal moslem custom, I believe.

Thus, during the elections one

could hardly see any women around but it was a very common scene to see boys between the ages of 10-14 well below the eligible voting years holding already stamped ballot papers trooping to the polling stations to cast them out. If they were asked how they came by them they innocently explained that they belonged to their mothers who were at home.

This is a typical case of where people cast their votes without considering any ideals or objectives of the candidates concerned. I believe one of the cardinal principles of western democracy is to cast votes secretly and vote according to one's conscience. Do these principles apply in Nigeria?

Experts might argue that Nigeria is just beginning and as a beginner it has made a very giant leap ahead. However, I believe that Africa has come of age now and it is high time we became creative and innovative and be able to fashion out a system that would suit our environment and tradition. We have enough intellectuals who should be able to adopt a system to bridge the two systems — Democracy and Socialism and create something indigenous for the African.

Which way are we drifting, Africa?

Bobby Benson
Sokoto,

IS JUSTICE COLOUR-CONSCIOUS?

Lord Tony Gifford QC could not be an eminent jurist. Not all who take silk are. In some cases it is merely a sight to wear a silk gown. He is not also one of the Law Lords of England who sit in the House of Lords as the final court of appeal in civil and criminal matters. He is not a peer who has held high judicial office to be invited to constitute the court. He must be a member of the House of Lords for other considerations.

I do not think he has any knowledge of the history of the Ghana Judiciary which has had such eminent judges as Sir Henry Coussey, who was President of the West African Court of Appeal when appeals lay to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; Sir Arku Korsah, the first Ghanaian Chief Justice after Ghana gained Independ-

ence from Britain, Sir Samuel Quarshie-Idun who was a Chief Justice of East Africa and Western Nigeria, Vanlare Acolatse and Akuffo-Addo who became President of Ghana in 1969 —

and many English judges before them dating from 1844.

As has happened in most of the territories to which Britain gave independence, the designated body of



High Court judges

law in Ghana which has been subjected to amendments from time to time in Britain, and that including the Criminal Law and Procedure which has become the local law. This is what Lord Tony Gifford QC, by a letter to the *Guardian* of August 28, 1983 was recommending to be changed and in a scathing attack on the Judiciary stated that the Tribunals set up by Rawlings - Tsikata "was part of the new system which the new government has set up to improve the quality of justice in Ghana. The existing courts had become widely discredited for failing to deal with the appalling corruption and fraudulent practice which had become notorious"

It is known as a fact, that since Ghana attained Independence in 1957, all cases of corruption put before the conventional courts have been dealt with and justice done. Perhaps it might be appropriate for Lady Kate Gifford as Secretary to "Books for Development", to include a set of the Ghana Law Reports to improve and enlighten the knowledge of Lord Tony Gifford. Also he should visit the Library of his Inns of Court to thumb through the Privy Council Reports to see the quality of the judgements that have

emanated from West Africa and on which there is present day improvement.

The Lord Gifford QC must be a fraud or naive, for only people with this description can be blind and fall for the Rawling-Tsikata rhetoric, who blaming years of corruption seized power with Libya backing on 31st December and in similar exercise in political subjugation very familiar in communist systems have set out to introduce through Committees a system alien to the Ghanaian and masquerading them as instruments of people's democracy, but reserving the power to themselves to rule, to pass sentence and execute, to abduct and murder.

I do not think the Lord Gifford QC ever got conversant with the facts and evidence in the trial of the murder of the judges. How could Amartey Kwei who had pleaded not guilty before the People's Tribunal be found guilty without the evidence of Lance Corporal Amedika who, at the time of his trial, had escaped from custody. What will the Lord Gifford say if it turns out one day that L/C Amedika

tells the world that Amartey Kwei only asked him to have the judges arrested but someone else more powerful, Kojo Tsikata who had been implicated by Amartey during the SIB report ordered him to see to the murdering of the judges and retired Army Officer.

I am quite sure if the Lord Gifford were to introduce the Rawlings-Tsikata system of People's Tribunal in Parliament, he would only hear cries of 'shame, shame' ringing in his ears for the rest of his life.

* The Chief Justice of Ghana and such fine Judges as Mrs. Anne Jigge are muzzled, but as a class they have been libelled. If they dare to take action against the Lord, their bodies will be found elsewhere or their courts will be taken over by W.D.C's; and so for decency sake, the Lord Gifford, you had better apologise to them.

By A Correspondent

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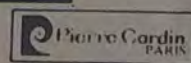
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OAU-WATCHDOG WITH RUBBER TEETH? Part 2

In part one of this article first published last week, Mark Kwesi Gyebi Korang discussed the O.A.U. Charter and its shortcomings. In this final instalment he explains why he thinks the organisation is an important but not an effective tool for solving the numerous problems confronting the continent.

In an article entitled "Human Rights and the three worlds of Power" (Round Table 1978 Vol. LXVIII) Prof. A.A. Mazrui argues that international debate about human rights has to be seen as part of a wider process, of normative change in the world. According to him, there is a demand for a new international economic order based as it is on particular perceptions of what constitutes economic and social justice at the global level.

Secondly, there is the demand for greater respect of human rights — this he says is the reactivation of Liberal concern in relations among nations. Finally, he points out that, there is an attempt to realise a form of detente among normative or ideological adversaries; a striving to consolidate peace in spite of conflict in values between states.

He goes on to break this argument into three distinct classifications namely:

The juridical rights of states

The human rights of individuals, and
The collective rights of groups and races.

It is the third classification which had been referred to as the "peoples rights". Peoples Rights or rather the collective rights of people must not be confined to the rights of inhabitants within a territory as a group but also the rights of an ethnic group within a society. Idi Amin is accused of attempted genocide against the Langi and



Diallo Telli, the first Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity died in Prison in Guinea. The Human and Peoples' Right clauses in the Charter that he helped to set up could not save him.

Acholi which in this context amounts to a total violation of the collective rights of specific ethnic groups. It is submitted therefore that peoples rights exist and must be protected.

The preamble of the charter declares the determination to eliminate Colonialism, Neo-colonialism, Apartheid, Zionism and to dismantle aggressive foreign military bases and all forms of discrimination particularly those based on race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion or political opinion. This has always been the stance of the OAU. What puzzles me is the presence of the word Zionism in an African Charter? Having argued that, the Charter was designed to deal with peculiar human rights problems appertaining to Africa, I now find it difficult if not impossible to justify the inclusion of ZIONISM in the Charter.

Zionism deserves condemnation, but then, this problem is unknown in Africa and therefore cannot possibly be considered as one of the immediate problems of Africa. The word Zionism is out of place in this charter and

could to some extent taint the image of the charter as a legal instrument dealing with specific human rights problems in Africa. On this point, it is submitted that the drafters of the charter over-stepped their mark a bit.

It is not so much what can be included in a charter that matter but rather how it can effectively be implemented. Art. 1 of the charter enjoins member states to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect to the rights and duties enshrined in the charter. It means that the Charter will have the binding force of immediate application when it is ratified by the requisite majority.

This could be an attempt to do the impossible because some of the rights embodied in the Charter can only be of progressive application in that they lay down standards for the future or better still, obligation to do something in the future. Not all the articles embodied in the Charter can be of immediate application although Art. 1 prescribes so.

Distinction must be made between rights that are of progressive applic-

ation and those that are of immediate application. This is a problem that was foreseen and avoided by the architects of the UN Covenants on Human Rights. It may be recalled that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 did not have a binding force of immediate application in that it was promotional in nature.

It was considered that a Covenant on Human Rights was necessary. It was realised that not all human rights issues can receive immediate application hence, the two Covenants of 1964 namely, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights. Whilst the former imposes on member states an obligation of immediate application the latter sets out obligations that must be put into practice in the future.

The difference in the obligations result from the very nature of the right in the Covenants. For instance, the Charter on economic and social rights is based on the premise that contracting parties have different stages of development and therefore need time to do some "spade work" before those obligations can be carried out. This very vital distinction is overlooked in the African Charter, the result would be that, it will make implementation very difficult if not impossible.

Certain articles are worth discussing. There are few examples Article 7 refers to the right of the individual to

have his course heard. This comprises access to a court of Law and the right to appeal. This is a very good proposition but the OAU did not find it expedient to create a court of its own which will serve as an appellate court of regional jurisdiction to which cases can be referred to after exhaustion of Local remedies.

Article 10 & 11 deals with freedom of association and assembly, but there is a proviso that the exercise of their rights must be within the ambit of the domestic Law of a State. It begs the question — How can people of one party state utilise this Law to their advantage? The same is true of countries under military dictatorships.

VOTE

Equally worth mentioning here is Art. 12(5) which prohibits mass expulsion of non-nationals. It appears Nigeria has taken no hint from the grave mistake the Busia's Government of Ghana made and is reported to have expelled thousands of non-Nigerian Africans from Nigeria in the wake of the adoption of this Charter and the establishment of ECOWAS which allows free mobility of labour amongst member states.

Article 13 refers to the right of the individual to take part in government and public office. What is missing here is the right to vote which in certain member countries is just a thing of the past.

Article 18(3) says "the state shall ensure the elimination of discrimination against women. I am tempted to ask, 'what could be the outcome of article 18(3) in Islamic states where their religious believes allow some form of discrimination against women — considering the fact that International Law encourages freedom of religion?"

Article 24 proposes the right to general satisfactory environment favourable to the people's development. Yet nowhere in the Charter is "satisfactory environment" defined. The architects of the Charter failed to say what must constitute a "satisfactory environment" or by what criterion this standard may be measured.

One peculiar aspect of this Charter is the duty imposed on the individual towards his state. Whilst the state parties undertake to guarantee the individual his rights, there is a corollary duty imposed on the individual to render services to his state. There are those who think that a state should not impose a duty on her citizens at least, not as a condition or exchange for human rights. I would like to think that this two-way traffic is most commendable for two reasons. Firstly, I believe that individuals must bear some responsibilities to their states and secondly, it is in-keeping with African tradition. One such example of an African tradition is 'Communal Labour'. Nevertheless, what remain to be seen is how effectively this can be



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enforced.

Unfortunately, all the articles in the charter can not be discussed for want of space. What cannot be left out, however, is the provision made for the enforcement of the Charter. Infact it is the focal point of this essay. The Charter makes provision for the establishment of an African Commission on Human and People Rights composed of 11 members of state parties, chosen by the assembly of Heads of States. It is baffling however, that the commission was only entrusted with investigative powers.

IMPLEMENTATION

Another point is that, the independence of the Commission is whittled down by the right vested in the Secretary General to attend the meetings of the commission. It is true that the Sec-Gen. can neither cast a vote nor participate in the deliberations of the commission, nevertheless his presence alone at the meetings take away a certain amount of independence however minute.

What is more puzzling is the fact that the Commission can only submit their findings to the assembly of Heads of State. When the Commission considers that there is a communication in which there are elements of a serious violations of human and peoples rights, they have to inform the assembly of Heads of State and Governments, who will then authorise them to carry out an in-dept study of the situation.

WATCH-DOG

I have referred to the Charter as a watch-dog with rubber teeth or perhaps no teeth at all because it is meant to be the ultimate custodian of human and peoples right on the continent of Africa, but the drafters have provided it with a set of rubber teeth, as such it can only bark and not bite.

The weakness of the Charter is so glaring it is unbelievable.

You may argue that there is a Commission fair enough, but note that there is no Court of Law to which the Commission can refer its findings to for effective action.

They only have powers of investig-

ation after which they have to refer their findings to a group of politicians majority of whom are self-imposed dictators. They cannot even investigate until they have been granted permission by the Assembly of Heads of State.

Politician will always come out with political decisions which could lead to miscarriage of justice. Infact, looking at the records of some of our political leaders, and the so called military redeemers, it is questionable whether the assembly of Heads of State should be entrusted with decision concerning human rights.

Since governments are more likely to be the offenders of human rights, it is against one of the fundamental principles of natural justice to make them the final arbiters. "No one shall be a judge of his own course.

Article 43(3) empowers the Commission to interpret the provisions of the Charter at the request of a member State. It begs the question whether the commission is a court of Law? If not why should they possess power of interpretation.

The commission cannot give an enforceable verdict.

He who doubts the ability of our leaders to manipulate justice should cast his eyes back to 1975 when Idi Amin was at the peak of his massacre. No one raised a finger, instead they hid behind the curtain of "non-interference in the domestic issues of other states". They even went on and held a summit (meeting) in Kampala and

to crown it all they elected Amin as the Chairman of the OAU for 1975-1976. Bokassa and Macias Nguema had a free hand to commit the most heinous crimes against mankind and the mentioned was made about these atrocities. What happened to Diallo Telli, the first Secretary-General of the OAU - we would like to know?

REMEDIES

Few remedies are recommended for the Charter: The establishment of a court of human and peoples rights is imperative. It could never be premature, as was argued in Banjul. The African Commission of Human & Peoples Rights must be given adequate powers, such as the right to investigate allegations of breaches of human right without first of all seeking permission from the Assembly of Heads of States.

The Commission must have a free hand to do its duty. There must be a method of expelling member states who seriously encroach upon human and peoples rights. So far, despite the enthusiasm with which the Charter was drafted, only seven countries have signed it.

At this point, I cannot but conclude that, inspite of the shortcomings pointed out the Charter remains a very important document designed to advance the course of the silent majority. This is a step in the right direction, but until these suggested amendments have been made, it will remain a "watch-dog with rubber teeth".

New vaccine against malaria

Man is now a step nearer to realising his age-old dream of wiping out the dreaded scourge, malaria, which continues to haunt the tropical countries.

An effective vaccine is soon to emerge to eradicate malaria in much the same way as small-pox was completely wiped out from the face of the earth.

The pioneering efforts of an Indian-born medical researcher, Dr. Wassim Siddiqui, working at the Tropical Medical Research Centre, Hawai University, have borne fruit: The Malaria-vaccine is getting ready for mass use.

The vaccine requires further improvement before it could be an effective preventive for malaria.

In 1977 the vaccine developed by Dr. Siddiqui was tested on monkeys and with subsequent expertise of Japanese bio-medical scientists, the vaccine was refined, eliminating its side effects.

China which has made rapid strides in developing several potent drugs against malaria, has offered to assist Dr. Siddiqui in evolving a final formulation of the vaccine. Dr. Chen Zen Ren, head of the National Vaccine Serum Institute at Beijing, had a detailed discussion with Dr. Siddiqui early this year.

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UPPER VOLTA:

REVOLUTION GOING WELL

The Upper Volta revolution is going well. It is going very well, to the satisfaction of the Upper Voltan people who are fighting against their enemies" This is the view expressed in Niger by visiting Head of State, Captain Thomas Sankara at a news conference in which he also out-lined the objectives of the revolution.

The people of Upper Volta are also busy with the construction of a new, a more responsible, dignified and prosperous Upper Volta. Presently, we are laying emphasis on our independence, our sovereignty, and also the force of democratic values and the force of a mobilized people.

Back home in Ouagadougou Captain Sankara declared:

The Upper Volta revolution is for the popular masses. Therefore, we like all peoples of the world who believe in justice, freedom and democracy. The Upper Volta revolution associates all

the people of Upper Volta with its work provided they toe the line. That is why here in Dori you also have to work together with soldiers. You have an army regiment in Dori; you must work together with that regiment. A revolutionary soldier is one who uses his weapons against the external and internal enemies of the people.

A soldier, a good soldier, is not the one that goes to bars to get drunk; he also does not beat civilians in the streets to assert his strength. A soldier should assert his strength elsewhere and not against the people. A good soldier, a people's soldier, is the one who exposes plots; plots by reactionaries, and those who want the return of past régimes, and he also fights these people.

There are such people in all army units, rotten elements who because yesterday they had power are not happy today about the fact that the

people have a right to free speech and that justice is going to triumph. You must denounce them; you must fight them whatever their rank.

These are the soldiers who have not undergone proper training and who have only succeeded through wheeling and dealing. They are fat and chubby; they cannot carry a bag, they cannot run or walk, and they cannot even hold a gun properly but are intoxicating the other soldiers by telling them that the regime will not stand and that the regime will fall. It is because they are not happy any more, it is because they can no longer steal the cooking oil or the meat and sugar destined for soldiers.

It is because they are not able to wheel and deal any more that they are today discouraged and that they are trying to intoxicate the other soldiers. It is not a crime to shoot these kind of people; is not a crime to take your guns and shoot them — it would be doing service to the people to eliminate the enemies of the people.



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The International Monetary Fund has recently approved a loan of \$ 377 million to the Government of Ghana, led by Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings.

His is one of the most irresponsible and chaotic administrations in the whole of the African continent; indeed, so hopeless are Ghana's economic predicament and prospects perceived to be, that not even the Soviet satellites which Moscow directed to go to Ghana's assistance, have come up with any money. If the Fund had not made finance available, the regime would collapse.

The conditions offered by the Fund were rejected out of hand — because, as our earlier report noted, *'the government was unwilling to accept the massive devaluation of the cedi which, is said, the Fund was going to recommend'*.

'This, according to official sources, would have triggered sharp consumer price increases and would have necessitated substantial reductions in social welfare programmes', we wrote. 'The government preferred, instead, to emulate Nkrumah in the early 1960s.

The former *Osagyefo* is said to have told IMF officials that if they wanted to stop Ghanaian schoolchildren from going to school or from attending hospital as a condition for their granting a loan, then they should take their loan away.

Subsequent leaders, the new Rawlings Government's media stressed, had *'spinelessly yielded to IMF pressures, and the result had been the spate of massive devaluations of the cedi after 1967 by the National Liberation Council; then by Busia in 1971, and by the Supreme Military Council seven years later'*.

Yet it was to be barely two years before the second Rawlings Government itself yielded *'spinelessly to IMF pressures'*, signing a Memorandum of Understanding on 18 February 1983.

February 15, 1983

Memorandum of Understanding

The Ghanaian authorities have indicated that they wish to request a one-year stand-by arrangement for 180% of quota in support of a recovery program, the main features of which are outlined below.

GHANA'S MEMORANDUM OF IT'S THE STEEPEST

Main features of the program

1. A multiple currency system, based on a system of bonuses and surcharges to be applied at the banks, which would effectively result in two exchange rates, namely $\text{C} 23 = \text{US}\$ 1$ and $\text{C} 30 = \text{US}\$ 1$.

The Ghanaian authorities have presented a preliminary list of receipts and payments which would benefit from the two regimes, which needs, however, to be worked out in more detail.

On the payments side (including payments for oil), not more than 80% would be at the less depreciated rate; a similar percentage would prevail on the receipts side.

FORMULA

This represents an average exchange rate of approximately $\text{C} 25 = \text{US}\$ 1$, which we calculate restores the exchange rate in real terms to close to what it was in 1972, which is the last year in which there was reasonable equilibrium in the balance-of-payments).

2. The two rates will be unified at a realistic level during the period of the stand-by-arrangement. We have agreed for monitoring purposes that the weighted average exchange rate should be changed periodically to ensure no subsequent loss of competitiveness.

A formula has been proposed by the Ghanaian delegation which would be acceptable for monitoring purposes. Since for some time to come the budget will rely heavily on taxes from international trade, it has been agreed that the exchange rate would also need to be kept appropriate from the point of view of ensuring adequate revenue.

3. The schedule of tariff rates on imports is to be simplified and essentially reduced to three rates, namely zero (for oil), 25% and 30%.

4. The producer price of cocoa is to be raised not later than May 1983

at least to $\text{C} 600$ per headload. The Ghanaian authorities have agreed that, normally, there would be no erosion of this price in real terms in subsequent years.

5. The Ghanaian Government has argued that it would be essential from their point of view that, initially, there would be a subsidy on oil products.

They have agreed, however, that this subsidy would be phased out at latest by June 1984. It has been agreed that the subsidy for oil, based on an initial exchange rate of $\text{C} 23 = \text{US}\$ 1$, would not exceed $\text{C} 3$ billion for the budget year (calendar year 1983).

6. Owing to the very large change that are envisaged with an exchange rate change of this magnitude, the implication for the Government's finances are difficult to estimate with precision.

The authorities have argued that, in order to redress a situation of exceptionally low pay in relation to living costs, salaries in the civil service would be raised on average by 60% and wages and salaries in the public boards and corporations by no more than 30%.



Some of these vehicles

UNDERSTANDING TO IMF... EVALUATION IN HISTORY

The staff attaches considerable importance to the avoidance of an undermining of the competitiveness of the exchange rate by unduly large wage increases; equal importance attaches to expenditure controls being sufficiently firm so as to ensure that the bank financing requirement of the Government falls within the limits for total credit expansion, which it has been agreed should not exceed C 5 billion, equivalent to 30% of the estimated beginning money stock.

CURRENCY

7. At present interest rates on time deposits are 8%-9%. The staff has impressed on the authorities the need to ensure deposit rates which are positive in real terms.

The authorities have argued that, with their success in reducing inflation, deposit rates are less negative in real terms than a year ago and they have agreed to review interest rates, once prices have settled down after the devaluation, with a view to achieving a

more adequate rate structure.

An essential element in the program is that oil imports in 1983 would be financed on the basis of a noninterest-bearing government-to-government loan from Libya of \$ 340 million.

The program also assumes that the World Bank would be prepared to enter into a program loan of \$ 100 million, of which a substantial part would be disbursed in the calendar year 1983.

We understand that substantial work by World Bank staff has already been done on such a loan. The program would envisage a reduction in arrears by cash payments in the first year of the arrangement and an expectation that other arrears would, if possible, be consolidated or re-scheduled.

Dr. Kwesi Botchwey
PNDC Secretary for
Finance and Planning

OBJECTION

The Executive Board of the Fund unanimously approved the \$ 377 million loan in Washington on 3 August, after a prolonged delay (February/August) during which it became clear that the all-important \$ 340 million contribution which was to have been forthcoming from Libya, would not materialise.

The first serious question concerning this extraordinary IMF loan, therefore, is: *why did IMF staff ever think that Libya would pay up?*

Our second objection is slightly more sensitive, but equally compelling. The Rawlings regime has demonstrated its inability to attract financial support from both the East and the West.

All observers, apart from those with political axes to grind, are agreed that the present government in Accra is an aberration. Its attempt to dragoon the easy-going and good-natured Ghanaian

people into a Leninist mould has exacerbated the country's economic

difficulties.

For the IMF bureaucracy to set about seeking to impose a stabilisation programme on such a thoroughly unstable 'revolutionary' developing country, seems inexplicable, other than in the context of political ignorance or naivete on the part of IMF staff.

Most of the proposed loan — \$250 million worth — takes the form of a stand-by facility, equivalent to 150% of Ghana's quota, which can be drawn down over the 12 months from 3 August 1983 in support of the 'recovery programme'. The remaining \$ 127 million is to be provided immediately, by way of 'compensatory financing', to meet a shortfall on Ghana's 1982 export earnings.

Under the Memorandum of Understanding, the Ghanaian authorities agreed to suffer the humiliation of eating their public words, and to exchange acceptance of an extraordinarily large exchange rate devaluation, for IMF money.

The regime's public stance on the matter of devaluation of the cedi must have been a stumbling block — and may well explain the total silence which has enveloped this matter.

Indeed, the IMF's press release (No 83/51) of 3 August (text given here) *made no mention of the fact that 'the reform of the exchange system introduced earlier this year' was, in fact, the steepest overnight currency devaluation in recorded history.*

BONUSES

Specifically, the exchange rate of the cedi was altered to an average of C 25.00 per US\$ 1 — compared with a previous rate of C 2.15 to the dollar. *No country has ever undertaken such a massive instant devaluation of its currency.*

The new and highly uncertain multiple currency arrangements are based upon a system of bonuses and surcharges, the effect of which has been to create two exchange rates — one of C 23 per US\$ 1 and the other of C 30 per dollar. Essentially, the C 30 rate will apply to oil imports.

However the Ghanaian authorities have agreed that the element of sub-



...queue for weeks.

side implicit in this rate should be phased out by June 1984 — and that the two rates of exchange are to be unified 'at a realistic level', during the stand-by arrangement period.

By the terms of the Memorandum of Understanding, the producer price of cocoa is to be raised to at least C600 per headload, with the Ghanaian authorities agreeing to avoid any erosion of this price in real terms, in subsequent years.

During their negotiations with the International Monetary Fund at the beginning of this year, the Ghanaian authorities argued for increases in salaries of 60% for the civil service and of 30% within the public boards and corporations — in order to redress 'a situation of exceptionally low pay in addition to living cost'.

The Fund, however, stressed the importance of avoiding unduly large wage increases which would undermine the competitiveness of the new exchange rate, but nevertheless sanctioned the Ghanaian authorities' wage increase request. *After all, Accra Government is seeking to abolish the private sector altogether, and uses the public sector both as an instrument of political policy, and also to absorb unemployment.* Such regimes as this, lacking legitimacy, must always seek other means of placating their 'supporters'.

STRUCTURE

The Fund's staff also stressed the need for firm expenditure controls, calling for a review of interest rates — aimed at achieving a more adequate interest rate structure (that is to say, much higher rates, to encourage savings, which are almost non-existent in hyperinflationary environments).

As we have seen, the Ghanaian authorities' programme, set out in the Memorandum, was predicated on the unwise assumption that Libya would grant Ghana a non-interest bearing government-to-government loan worth \$340 million, ostensibly to finance oil imports during 1983.

The Memorandum also assumed that the World Bank would provide a loan worth \$100 million, of which a substantial proportion would be disbursed during calendar 1983.

But the Libyan loan has simply not been forthcoming, in conformity with Tripoli's practice of uttering rash promises without the slightest intention of fulfilling them.

Despite all the Accra regime's pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric, and personal visits to Tripoli by Colonel Qadhafi's protege, Flt-Lt Jerry Rawlings, the Libyans have failed to deliver the single most vital element in the IMF's recovery programme.

Unable to wait any longer, the PNDC Secretary for Finance and Planning, Dr Kwesi Botchwey, who signed the original Memorandum, announced in May that the measures 'agreed' with the Fund were to be implemented.

In his statement, however, Dr Botchwey insisted — despite the evidence of the Memorandum (the text of which, naturally, he suppressed) — that his government had *not* devalued the currency, but had merely introduced *new surcharges on the purchase of foreign currency.*

This, however, was nothing more than a deceitful political ploy to meet the justified fears of a cowed population which has, through bitter experience, become unconvinced that devaluation provides any solution to their economic problems.

The absurd denial was also dictated by the regime's earlier loud public protestations to the effect that, under no circumstances would they devalue the currency, as their ill-advised predecessors has done.

The agreement with the Fund was preceded by intense lobbying, in the course of which Dr. Botchwey and his colleague, Dr Joe Abbey — a former Commissioner for Finance — sought to persuade the West that there was *nothing really of substance in the revolutionary rhetoric being deployed in Ghana, and that, provided the regime was financially supported, it would only be a matter of time before Rawlings could be won over to the West.*

Quite apart from the unpleasant nature of this regime, for which the Washington-based international financial institutions are now providing the sole means of support, it ought surely to have occurred to members of the IMF's staff that the process of 're-

structuring' which is now going on in Ghana is bound to have a deleterious impact on any internationally-sponsored programme for economic recovery and stabilisation.

Given conditions of greater freedom for enterprise, the measures approved under the Memorandum of Understanding might conceivably have had a slight chance of succeeding (although we doubt it).

But the Rawlings regime has embarked upon a Moscow/Libya directed programme of rigid social radicalisation. *Workers are being encouraged to sieze their factories, foreign investment is frowned upon, managements have been placed under the direct control of so-called 'Workers' Defence Committees', modelled along Leninist lines, and enterprises are forbidden to lay off workers even if they have no raw materials for production.*

Nor is it possible to imagine how government expenditure can possibly be contained, at a time when the state institutions are expanding, rather than contracting as would be appropriate in the prevailing conditions of economic depression.

An inordinate amount of time is now routinely spent by workers at all levels in political meetings — 'People's Defence Committees', 'Workers' Defence Committees', the National Defence Committee and its satellite organisations, and now the so-called People's Militia — which, in the tradition of the Soviet empire, is to be armed to 'defend the revolution'.

Conclusion: In short, society and the economy are in chaos. The existing hyperinflation is out of control, and the enforced devaluation — the steepest ever inflicted upon a developing country (or, for that matter, applied anywhere else, in modern history) — will simply make matters worse.

Even the most cynically optimistic IMF official must surely be aware that, given prevailing conditions, their recovery programme is a non-starter.



WHAT THE PAPERS SAY

CODE OF ANARCHY

The somnolent Code of Conduct Bureau, amazingly, appears to have managed a second wind. It wants political appointees in the out-going governments to declare their assets or else..... Or else nothing.

The political appointees in question are in the autumn of the life span of their appointments. In only a matter of two days, they will be out of their jobs but many, no doubt, will not be over anxious about where the next meal will come from even in these days of grumbling, and in many cases, loudly protesting stomachs.

The Code of Conduct Bureau is, of course, a chip off the Nigerian block of administrative asphyxia and inertia. Nigeria is a country without a code of anything, not least that of conduct.

A Code is variously defined as "a collection of laws arranged in a system" and "a system of rules and principles that has been accepted by society."

But which law has ever been respected by the rich and powerful in Nigeria? The constitution forbids Nigerians to operate foreign bank accounts but is it not common knowledge that many public figures who should lead by impeccable behaviour, operate these account in many European and American banks?

Does even the village idiot not know that many political appointees who did not live better than local government clerks in 1978 are now owners of jets and that they employ expensive foreign aviation personnel?

Elections are supposed to be conducted along certain guidelines or code, but did the 1983 general elections satisfy even the most primitive of universally recognised electoral rules?

The sad truth about Nigeria is that the country is in a perpetual state of controlled anarchy. Those who are charged, or change themselves with the responsibility of overseeing the affair of Nigerians, are the country's Job's comforters.

The President has rightly identified moral decadence as the "root cause" of the country's problems but it will take much more than misdirected homilies to re-orientate the country. The President, like all Nigerians, must know those who have brutalized this country's psyche.

Daily Sketch -Nigeria

LAWLESS LAWMAKERS

No institution can be purer than the society from which it emerges. Hence the rationale for the aberrations that have pervaded our public establishments.

Instances of corruption and abuse of office are manifestations of our decaying society.

Based on these realities, it will be utopian to expect our lawmakers to be all Saints and Angels.

But, at least by their very role, lawmakers, are expected to be the custodians of all that is noble in society.

They are to guard and guide societal norms, and formulate laws essential for an organised society. They as the conscience of the people are expected to rise above the level of the ordinary.

But one needs a big mask to cover the face at the shameless acts of some of our lawmakers.

Some small men in this highly respected institution have reduced the exalted position they are occupying to their mean level.

A mere glance at the activities of these men both in their public and private lives will reveal a catalogue of unprintable atrocities unbecoming of even ordinary citizens not to talk of highly respected lawmakers.

All the evils afflicting our public establishments are replicated in the National Assembly.

Barely one year after their inauguration, many members are reported to have been drawing salaries for ghost workers.

A typical example is a Senator said to have caused a voucher to be made in the name of his wife, the ghost confidential secretary and his brother, the ghost legislative aide.

Another group of lawmakers sent to investigate allegations that the SGS company had been playing a fast game on the country was on its own caught up by one of the kick-back scandals in the history of the country.

It is shocking enough that the exalted Senate has during the same period recorded a case of a member convicted for a criminal offence.

A worrisome manifestation of this public eye-sore is the manner with which members of the Assembly have handled cases of impropriety among members.

After raising public expectations about the SGS scandal, the accused members were cleared in circumstances that spoke loudly of our decadence.

The same applies to the Wash Pam panel set up to probe the criminal payment of salaries to non-existent legislative aides. Nothing has come of it since it was set up in 1981.

It is part of the injustices in our society that the police have watched unconcerned why these crimes go on unabated under their nose.

Unless we can punish the powerful affluent for their atrocities, we shall have no moral justification whatsoever to sanction the poor even for a crime as grievous as armed robbery.

Punch -Nigeria

HYPOCRISY BEHIND ETHICAL REVOLUTION

Virtually every Nigerian head of state has at one time or the other declared publicly his intention to fight corruption and other forms of moral decadence. It is a standard inclusion in several public addresses to the nation.

We may, on the first of next month, hear President Shehu Shagari denounce corruption and restate his administration's commitment to combating the evil practice. President Shagari dubbed his crusade against improbity and general moral laxity, 'the ethical revolution'. Unfortunately the revolution has not gone far beyond its naming ceremony.

A year ago, the president set up an ethical re-orientation committee. Its task was to make recommendations on how the nation's moral malaise can be cured. About one year later, the President has now set up a task force to look into the recommendations contained in the report of the ethical re-orientation committee.

We may have to wait for sometime for the result to surface. We hope that by the time an action force gets into gear, the nation shall not have reached a stage of moral bankruptcy.

The Shagari administration has to create an impression of a deep desire to usher in an ethical revolution. That impression is not yet there.

Revolutions are not carried out in committee rooms, but by facing the ugly reality and taking swift action to root out the disease and its carriers. By diddle-dawdling with committees the President gives the impression that he is either incapable of confronting or unwilling to confront, the issue.

THE HYPOCRISY BEHIND ETHICAL REVOLUTION

The Federal Government does not need an ethical re-orientation committee, or a task force, to tell it how to combat corruption. There are laws already in existence which deal with different forms of moral turpitude.

The government only needs to ensure that these laws are implemented in relation to all sections of the society. Punishment for crimes of corruption can be made stiffer,

if need be, so as to act as a deterrent. Such corrupt practices as inflation of contracts should not be too difficult to deal with. The government knows the people who give out government contracts, it does not require a detective agency. It should establish system of checking the award of contracts and dealing ruthlessly with those involved in the nefarious practice of contract loading.

Without doubt the most serious incidents of corruption are those perpetrated by members of the upper echelon of the society. These crimes can only be committed by people in decision-making situations, people whose job description includes the award of contracts.

Whatever happened to the Code of Conduct Bureau? The last we heard of it was its published list of government functionaries who have refused to declare their assets. The list read like Nigeria's who is who. President Shagari surely does not need an ethical revolution committee to guess why top government officials are reluctant to declare their assets. The truth is that those who do not wish to declare their assets have something to hide.

There is a great deal of hypocrisy about government attitude to corruption. Often we hear a sermon from the mount on the evils of the practice, yet when cases of embezzlement, inflated contracts and other acts of economic sabotage are publicly revealed, nothing is done to bring the culprits to book.

Some newspapers, including the *Concord*, have published stories of financial deals and impropriety in government, and if those concerned care to reply at all it is a bland, unconvincing statement of denial in which they leave the substance of the charges and chase the shadow of the motives behind such publications.

Any meaningful clean-up of the society must be seen to start from the top. As soon as the big man who jacks up contracts and dumps the excess in coded bank accounts abroad or in fictitious names in Nigeria sits erect, the traffic policeman who collects fifty kobo illegal 'toll' from motorists will also stand erect.

At that point a true ethical revolution has begun. For now the campaign is simply hypocritical.

-National Concord -Nigeria

MOBUTU'S BITTER MEDICINE

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire has warned that democracy, freedom and human rights in the country should not serve as excuses for anyone to establish anarchy and irresponsibility in the state.

He said that as the constitutional guarantor of peace and unity of the country, he will put an end to any kind of agitation that will arise in Zaire at all costs.

President Mobutu was addressing the closing meeting of the Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution (MPR) Central Committee's seventh ordinary session in Zaire.

"I think the time has come to call on the patriotism and on the revolutionary discipline of all MPR militants taking into consideration our performance in the first half of this year and of the possibility of signing another agreement with IMF, which has led to a series of economic and financial measures being adopted and announced by the executive council meeting early in September."

He acknowledged that the terms of the IMF agreements are tough, although, it is true that the programme is only for 15 months

"In the meantime I acknowledge that the medicine is bitter but there is no alternative."

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"WE PASSED THE TEST"

The 23rd independence anniversary of Nigeria also marked the inauguration of President Shehu Shagari for a second four-year term. We reproduce here excerpts of a speech the President made to mark the occasion.

During the last four years our experiment with the democratic process has been an unqualified success. Our country has enjoyed peace in her pursuit of the policy of self-sufficiency and self-reliance, especially in food production. To this end, we have constituted a green revolution programme, and I know that we are on the right course.

We have started to achieve our target. We are providing houses for the people. Our efforts to develop the new federal capital have progressed steadily. In the education sector, we have pursued the policy of qualitative functional education. We have therefore increased the number of federal universities from 13 to 21, the latest being the National Open University.

To provide a sound basis for our technical development, we have created seven universities of technology. We have completed one steel plant, three rolling mills and at the Ajaokuta complex, whose first phase has already been commissioned, work is continuing on the remaining phases. We have been able to record these achievements, despite the agonizing and harsh economic circumstances during our first term of office as a result of a severe global economic recession, was due to your cooperation and understanding.

We have just emerged from protracted general elections which have put to the test both our new democratic institutions and our will as a nation to support them in circumstances of severe economic condition.

We have passed the test and our electorate has come of age in the sense that it has laid to rest many of the false assumptions about the nature of political loyalties in this country which is supposed to militate against the emergency of a national consensus in our political life.

I must congratulate the electorate for exercising its constitutional obligation in a mature manner. I wish also to place on record my gratitude and that of the entire nation to the Federal Electoral Commission, the law enforcement agencies, and the judiciary for a job well done. These institutions have, in spite of the many difficulties they faced in the performance of their duties, done everything in their power to ensure the success of our new democratic experiment.

PROSPECTS

Although there are brighter prospects in the economic sphere, the situation is still far from normal. The world is still in the throes of the most severe economic recession since the second world war. The Nigerian economy could not be immune to this very adverse effect of this global economic recession. Indeed, our oil export earnings, which reached a peak of 22,400 million dollars in 1980, declined to an estimated 9,600 million in 1983. Moreover, the exportable surplus of oil production is being gradually reduced by the growing domestic consumption of refined petroleum products. With the fall in oil revenues, the country is now faced with a growing shortage of foreign exchange. At the same time, our manufacturing sector, which is unhappily import orientated, continues to weaken.

In the light of this unfortunate economic situation, we intend to re-appraise and reorder our priorities. The Federal Government's annual expenditure will therefore be rationalized to reflect the reordering of the investment priorities with emphasis on consolidating viable ongoing projects in agriculture and industry and the provision of infrastructural facilities.

Government will encourage the private sector to establish service

industries. To revive and stabilize the economy on a long-term basis, it is imperative that the country now begins the structural rearrangement process required for renewed economic buoyancy.

I wish to appeal to all the governors in the 19 states to ensure proper discipline and prudence in their general management of public funds. This is because no matter how well we establish planning discipline on the federal level, imprudent and uncoordinated budgeting at the state level will have an almost equally negative effect on the national economy.

In light of the present economic situation, I have also decided to restructure and rationalize the machinery of government to facilitate improved performance. To reduce cost and make for greater efficiency through better coordination, the number of Federal Ministries and departments will be reduced. Henceforth, renewed emphasis will be placed on a prudent management of men and material.

I wish therefore to stress that under the new dispensation, all Government functionaries, especially Ministers, special advisers, and top Government officials, will be expected to demonstrate not only competence, resourcefulness, and dedication, but also an exemplary standard of probity and integrity. In the spirit of the ongoing ethical revolution, proven cases of abuse of office and corruption will attract immediate sanction.

PUNISHMENT

Indiscipline and inefficiency will similarly be punished, while a system of rewarding competence and efficiency will be evolved. In answer to the demands of the times, only competent and trustworthy men and women able and willing to deliver will be put at the helm of affairs.

In addition to the reduction in the number of Ministries and political appointees, I am convinced that we have now

BUT DISCIPLINE TOP MEN

By Ben Mensah

"A clean-up of the society must be seen to start from the top. As soon as the big man who jacks up contracts and dumps the excess in coded bank accounts abroad or in fictitious names in Nigeria sits erect, the traffic policeman who collects fifty Kobo illegal 'toll' from motorists will also stand erect".

"Unless we can punish the powerful affluent for their atrocities, we shall have no moral justification whatsoever to sanction the poor even for a crime as grievous as armed robbery".

For a President whose first term of office enjoyed the success of the experiment with the democratic process, and has provided peace, houses for the people, developed a new federal capital and pursued a policy of qualitative functional education leading to an increase in the number of federal universities from 13- 21 President Shagari has sufficient cause to proclaim, 'we have passed the test'.

All those who contributed to Nigeria's success in the test during the past four years were congratulated by the President in a speech on October 1st to mark his inauguration for a second four-year term and also the 23rd independence anniversary of the country from British colonial rule.

For the electorate, President Shagari commended their coming of age and for exercising their cons-

titutional obligation in a mature manner. The civil servants were equally commended for their support for the administration.

Of particular interest were the congratulations heaped on the politicians, especially those who lost the elections, the President Shagari advised them not to be dampened by defeat but co-operate and give the best of their services to the fatherland.

The President's delight over the state of affairs in his country and optimism for brighter things to come could not be dampened by the latest World Bank Report which singles out the Congo and Cameroon as the only two West African countries to have had their average per capita income increased.

Indeed the World Bank cited the mess in the Nigerian economy, the largest in sub-saharan Africa to indicate the gravity of the economic crisis in the area.

But all this may be due to the fact that President Shagari is aware of the gloomy state of his country's economy and is taking measures to remedy it. He acknowledged that the country's oil export earnings, which reached a peak of 22,400 million dollars in 1980 declined to an estimated 9,600 million in 1983.

Moreover, the exportable surplus of oil production is being gradually reduced by the growing domestic consumption of refined petroleum

I wish to extend my hearty congratulations to all those who have been elected into the various elective offices in our Constitution. I offer them my hand and fellowship. I ask them to join me in this task of making Nigeria great. To their other opponents as well as mine, I congratulate them on putting up a good fight. I ask them not to allow their spirit to be dampened by defeat but to co-operate with us and give the best of their services to our fatherland.

I wish to appeal to all Nigerians to go about their legitimate business peacefully. I must warn, however, that lawlessness will not be condoned.

products. With the fall in oil revenues, the country is now faced with a growing shortage of foreign exchange. At the same time, the manufacturing sector, which is unhappily import-orientated, continues to weaken, he noted.

Measures to be taken to improve the situation include government agencies taking a lead in waste reduction and unprofitable government ventures being scrapped.

What the President fails to tackle realistically in his speech is how he intends to deal with the picture portrayed at the beginning of this piece and which was the basis of editorial comments in several Nigerian papers on the eve of his second inauguration.

No doubt, President Shagari stated that he expects his top government officials to demonstrate not only competence, resourcefulness and dedication but also an exemplary standard of probity and integrity.

He pledged that in the spirit of the ongoing ethical revolution, proven cases of abuse of office and corruption will attract immediate sanction but as can be seen from the unanimous stand of the country's editorial writers which are published elsewhere in this magazine, the President's handling of the moral decadence among the top echelon of the society, particularly, Senators and other law makers has not been appreciative.

President Shagari therefore needs to be reminded that his pledge to all Nigerians to uphold the nation's constitution does not only entail ensuring abundance of food, peace, houses and schools for the people. As the police and military play their role of ensuring peace, farmers produce enough food and civil servants successfully oil the bureaucracy, the politicians must also play their role by leading exemplary lives.

President Shagari must therefore ensure that the 'we' he used in his 'we have passed the test' includes the top politicians who must be held strictly accountable for their misdeeds. Only by doing this will the President again be ensuring the stability, peace and prosperity of his country for the next four years of his leadership.

of the type of civil service which we require under the presidential system of government which we now operate. Our civil service, which is a product of the parliamentary era, has adapted itself reasonably well to the demands of the new system. I would therefore like to commend the civil service for the support it has given to the outgoing administration. I trust I can count on its continued support during my second term of office.

However, like any other organization, the civil service is not perfect. It has therefore become necessary to re-examine it in terms of texture and organization in order to make it more efficient and responsive to the requirements of the new presidential system.

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

GHANA**AFRC CONVICTS**

The office of the coordinator of investigation, vetting and tribunal has set up a special sub committee of the National investigation committee to which AFRC convicts could vindicate themselves.

Affected persons are those who left the country to escape AFRC decisions, those who were called to appear before AFRC special courts but failed to do so and those convicted in absentia. Another group are the 23 currently in prison and also self imposed exiles.

ASAFO COMPANY STORM OFFICE

Work came to a standstill at the Ministry of Health when an ASAFO company from Ahyiresu Yeboakrom in the Adonten division of Akuapem traditional area stormed in to take away the principal secretary, Mr. W.K. Djan.

The principal secretary was carried out shoulder high by a member of the ASAFO group while others sprayed his body with powder and stuck herbs in his mouth.

At the throbs of drums and the beating of gong-gong, workers rushed out of their offices to watch the merry-making group take away the new chief.

A spokesman for the group said that Mr. Djan has been selected to become Aburi Werenpehene of the Adontenhene of Akuapem.

ASANTE MAMPONG

More than 600 Ghanaians attended the inauguration of the Asante Mampong State Citizens Association at St. Olive Church Hall, Manor House in London. The guest of honour was the Mayor of London Borough of Haringey; Counsellor, Iris Woodter.

Nearly £2000 was raised following appeal for funds launched by Mr. Mark Adu Gyamfi, Managing Director of Roshview Shipping Forwarding Company Limited.

WEIGHT OF BREAD

Bakers in Ashanti region found baking under-weight bread will have their ovens demolished, their names removed from the bakers' list.

Mr. F.A. Jantuah, Ashanti regional secretary, announcing these new measures at a meeting with bakers said a pound weight of bread, could however, continue to sell at 20 cedis throughout the region.

A pound weight of bread in the south sells for 14 cedis. He assured the bakers of adequate supply of flour up to March next year, and urged them to form defence committees to check abuses in the system.

"Such committees should not be seen to serve as protective walls for your illicit deals," he pointed out.

Mr. Jantuah also asked dough-nut and pastry makers to increase sizes of their products or have their flour allocations cancelled.

"It does not matter if you buy your flour from a middleman or from the neighbouring countries. The approved prices must obtain, and we will see to it that the law ensures this," he added.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The Ghana National Association of private schools (GNAPS) has appealed to the Ministry of Education to stop the discriminatory practice of allowing higher intake of pupils with lower marks from public schools into secondary schools.

Mr. P.A. Dowetin, National Chairman of the association who made the appeal said the practice had led most parents whose children are in private schools to register them with public schools in order to gain admission into secondary schools with lower marks.

Mr. Dowetin said the recent national delegates congress of the association in Kumasi took far-reaching decisions which have bearing on the role of private schools in the educational development.

He said the association had learnt with dismay that the ministry of education was still implementing its

previous decision of dividing Ghanaian children into two.

RAWLINGS VISITS UPPER VOLTA

Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, Ghana's Head of State and Chairman of the ruling Provisional National Defence Council has paid a friendly visit to Upper Volta, at the invitation of Captain Sankara, President of the National Revolutionary Council (CRN).

He was accompanied by Captain Kojo Tsikata, Special Adviser to the PNDC, Mr. Kofi Djin, Secretary for the Interior, Dr. Obed Asamoah, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Martin Hamidu, Deputy Secretary of the Upper East, Col. J.M. Ewa., Chief of Staff, PNDC Office, Mr. D.Q. Ocran, Charge d'Affaires of the Ghana Embassy in Upper Volta and Mr. J.A. Ruby, Acting Director of the African Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

QUAINOO PROMOTED

The PNDC Government in Ghana has promoted its Force Commander Brigadier Arnold Quainoo to the rank of Major General.

Brigadier Quainoo, a leading figure in the regime of Flt.-Lt. Rawlings, graduated from the Indian Military Academy in Dehra Dun in 1962. He served in the UN Peace keeping Force in Zaire, until 1963.

MYTH OF ARMS

The Ghana army would be democratised "to kill the myth around the arms they carry."

According to Dr. Austin Asamoah-Tutu, Volta Regional Secretary who stated this in an address to 38 cadres in training in Ho also pledged that Ghana would not discriminate against any country but that any nation that attempts to sabotage the economy would be repulsed.

He warned the cadres to be wary of imperialism which he claimed is at its apogee through monetary capital, especially in the developing nations.

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

FRANCO AFRICAN SUMMIT

Twenty seven African Heads of state have met with President Mitterand in Vittel for the 10th annual Franco-African summit.

Notable participants were Mr. Hissene Habre of Chad, Captain Thomas Sankara of the Upper Volta, who reportedly arrived in Vittel wearing fatigues and a pistol. Other familiar leaders like Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, Oumar Bongo of Gabon, Sekou Toure of Guinea and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, were at the summit.

In an opening speech, President Mitterand stressed the preservation of territorial integrity and the exercise of legitimate sovereignty as the first and paramount principle in solving disputes such as the crises in Chad, Namibia and the Western Sahara.

The French President sought support for his peace plan in Chad by reaffirming support for colonial frontiers which is a cornerstone of the OAU Charter.

Mr. Mitterand announced to his audience that French aid to the developing countries had risen from 0.3 per cent of gross national product in 1981 to 0.5 per cent this year.

He expressed the hope that France would reach the UN target of 0.7 per cent of GNP next year.

Last year's Franco-African summit was hosted by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

CHAD - CAMEROON TIES

The 16th session of the Chad-Cameroon joint commission for co-operation has ended in Yaounde with Chad expressing her gratitude to her neighbour for the hospitality accorded Chadian refugees in Cameroon.

A joint communique emphasising the end of deliberations said the two parties hailed the cooperation ties which result from the fraternal links between the two Heads of State, Paul Biya of Cameroon and Chad's Hissene Habre.

Chad and Cameroon agreed to sign a treaty of friendship, cooperation and good neighbourliness.

A meeting of experts is scheduled

for the Chadian capital Ndjamena to review among other things lists, contingents, and values of exportable products from one country to the other.

The leader of the Chadian delegation, Ali Djalbord Diar, called for a rapid examination of the cultural agreement by Cameroon to pave the way for the admission of Chadian students registered in the various faculties in Cameroonian institutions.

Mr Aminou Oumarou, leader of the Cameroonian side said the nine points on the agenda emphasised the extent of the cooperation possibilities open to Chad and Cameroon.

LIBERIA TO BUY ISRAELI PLANES

A purchase agreement has been signed between the government of Liberia and the Israeli Aircraft Industries following two days of intensive negotiations in Monrovia.

The signing of the agreement brings into fruition the air services stipulation contained in a joint communique signed in Jerusalem between Head of State Samuel Doe and the Israeli Prime Minister during his visit to that state in August.

According to the sales purchase agreement the Israeli Aircraft Industries will supply the Republic of Liberia with four aircraft at the total cost of 10,000,000 dollars.

Three of the aircraft, according to a release from the Foreign Ministry in Monrovia, will be used by Air Liberia while the remaining one will be utilized by the armed forces of Liberia.

NIGERIA

FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

Nigeria will continue to collaborate with friendly countries in order to eradicate racism in apartheid South Africa, and all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination in all parts of Africa.

The Nigerian Deputy High Commissioner in the United Kingdom Mr. E.G. Dimka, said this while addressing a group of women who were attending a workshop on Africa at the Denman College, Abingdon.

Mr. Dimka also emphasized Nigeria's firm belief in the objectives of the United Nations Organisation, the Commonwealth, the Organisation of African Unity and the Economic Community of West African States.

He said that Nigeria believed that the resolutions adopted by these organisations, especially the United Nations, should be respected in order to ensure world peace.

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The Federal Government is prepared to invest in viable tourism projects in co-operation with State Governments and other organisations that are willing to contribute to the development of tourism, the Minister of Commerce, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yussuf, has announced.

This was contained in a message to mark the World Tourism day.

The Minister said that as part of the efforts of the Nigerian government to make tourism attractive, 44 games reserves and 17 major waterfalls, among other attractions, have been identified for development in the country.

ART EXHIBITION

President Shehu Shagari has given assurance that the Federal Government would continue to provide the necessary infrastructure and facilities for training of artists and promoting the arts.

He gave the assurance while declaring open an art exhibition in Lagos as part of the activities marking this year's National day celebrations.

The President said that his administration would continue to sustain the artistic excellence for which Nok, Ife, Benin and Igbo-Ukwu bronzes and terra cottas were known.

President Shagari also said that the government would continue to promote cultural exchanges at the National and International levels to promote unity and to ensure progress and development through reciprocation of ideas and ideals.

Items on display at the exhibition include wood carvings, metal works, fibre weaving and ceramics.

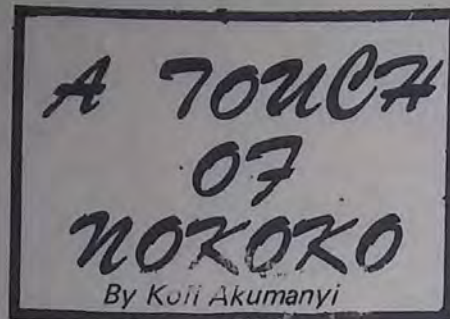
HUMOUR AS FOOD FOR THOUGHT

The slow transition from self-sufficiency to an impecunious, out-of-job man walking the streets of Accra was worrying enough. He had been fighting a serious bout of depression bordering on suicide to end it all. But to collapse in the street so that he had to tell his helpers that a hospital could not help him much in his condition except a quick meal at a chop-bar (restaurant) to alleviate the terrible pangs of hunger gnawing at his innards, was the limit to his humiliation.

His present unfortunate circumstance is a far cry from what he used to be some 30 years ago. If anybody had told James Nkrabea, the chief cook for the white Chief Engineer in the Ashanti Goldfields that a day would come when he would have to beg for a meal, he would have laughed in that person's face. But then, that's life.

As he lay in the dirt with people standing over him he could clearly remember as if it was only yesterday, the day his boss gave him gift of a leather belt with a metal buckle which fastened with vice-like lock. He forgot to ask how to unfasten it. As a cook, he and his family could eat what they liked and lived a lifestyle which was the envy of his friends. How could he ever forget the first day when he put on the belt and had to end up in hospital in similar humiliating circumstances.

After a heavy evening meal, the belt became so excruciatingly tight that he collapsed. As other members of his household gathered around talking about first aid, he only managed to whisper pointing, "Belt... belt... loosen... the... b.b..belt". Those were the days of plenty. Now



things have changed. He and 14 million others face hunger every day.

One thing Victoria Brittain got right in the article published in the *New Socialist* is the fact that in spite of this appalling economic situation Ghanaians are astonishingly full of mirth. Indeed, the Ghanaian's capacity to absorb punishment and adversity and still walk the streets sporting ear-to-ear grin is amazing and unequalled anywhere in the world.

Bob, my friend who recently returned from Ghana on holidays could not contain his surprise at what he saw.

"The food situation is critical, very critical," he lamented.

"That's no news any more. Tell me, did you bring any Rawlings necklaces (collar bone which shows due to malnutrition) along with you?"

"You kidding? I don't have that kind of strength to wear one. Besides it's so bloody expensive," Bob said.

"What about the much talked-about Rawlings Accordion? (visible rib cage). You know Ghanaians love music and in spite of everything the music must go on", I said.

"Do you know how much that accordion costs now?" he asked and I

answered in the negative "As much as it takes to keep one's health - which is priceless."

"How much in your estimation?" I persisted.

"About 20 *Queens*. (pound sterling) or 10 *Reagan* (dollars)"

"What's that? Has the currency been changed?"

"No, but with recent experiences about the cedi people now prefer to deal in foreign exchange on the black market. According to the market women, they have realised that the *Queen* and *Reagan* are more reliable than the cedi," Bob said.

"I can't blame them, though"

"You should not expect that the Ghanaian's problem of joking with everything is getting out of hand," Bob said.

ATTITUDE

"How serious," I asked "I should think that's the best attitude under the circumstances."

"Did you know that because of petrol shortage and endless queues at passenger stations, a gallon of petrol costs between C250 and C400...?"

"You are telling me!"

"Did you also know that the most popular and readily available transport now is articulated trucks?"

"Well, I'll be damned." I exclaimed "How the hell do people ride on that monstrous jack ass?"

"It is a miracle how some survive the journeys at all after those horrible accidents. It cost a fortune to go from Accra to Kumasi. The *aggro* involved in getting on articulated-trucks is enough to make pregnant women, children, and old men and women curse the day they were born". Bob explained.

"Does this form of transportation have a name at all?"

"Yes, it is called predictably - 'We no go sit down'. People sing the song set to music played on accordions."

Typical, very typical.

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By Ebo Quansah

WILL IT HEAL THE WOUND?

Black Stars-Green Eagles Clash:

The cat and mouse game which has characterised football relationship between Ghana and Nigeria for the first half of the year, gives way to a more positive confrontation on Saturday, October 15, when the Black Stars, undoubtedly the most glamorous side in African soccer, perform as guests of the Green Eagles of Nigeria, in Lagos.

It took the glamour of a promised trip to Los Angeles on the wings of the Olympic Games, to end the game of hide and seek that has left the West African Football Union perplexed about what line of action to take to compel these giants of West African soccer to meet in the soccer arena.

It was very early in the year, in January to be precise, when the newly formed WAFU drew a fixture that called for a Ghana-Nigeria confrontation, as a prelude to the determination of the absolute monarchs of West African soccer.

The Ghana Football Association, then directed by Mr. Zac Bentum, Managing Director of BP (Ghana) Limited, rushed the Black Stars to camp in preparation for the two leg matches, the first of which was fixed for Accra.

While the Black Stars were easing muscles for the ordeal, the Nigerian Government ordered what it described as illegal aliens to leave the country. Over 1.2 million Ghanaians were involved. How the expulsion was carried out now belongs to history.

But suffice it to say, that the exercise affected the WAFU championship to the extent that up till the time of writing, almost nine months after the fixtures were drawn, the two nations have avoided each other like a plague.

At first, it was the GFA that raised eye-brows over the match. Placed in an awkward situation the GFA sought government approval and was alleged to have been told by the Provisional National Defence Council not to honour the engagement on the pretext that the government could not guarantee the safety of the Black Stars

in the return match in Lagos.

Meanwhile, there was no word from Nigeria until the dust settled on the expulsion order.

When all seemed set for the first leg match in Accra, the Nigerian Football Association wrote to the Ghanaian football authorities demanding a written guarantee that players, officials and supporters of the Green Eagles would be assured of a safe stay in Ghana.

The GFA treated the letter with contempt and Nigeria failed to assemble in Accra on two occasions.



Papa Arko

Black Stars

Ghana demanded to be given the victory baton to advance to the next stage explaining that everything by way of hosting was laid for the Green Eagles and since the Eagles failed to fly to Accra, the Black Stars ought to be declared winners.

WAFU re-used to buy the idea and consequently arranged a meeting in Lome aimed at resolving the impasse. Nigeria, slighted the West African foot-

ball controllers by refusing to attend the meeting on two occasions.

The GFA was represented at all the two meetings by its vice-chairman Dr. K.O. Quansah.

At these meetings, the WAFU impressed upon Ghana to agree to play the Nigerians on another date because the essence of the competition was not so much the winning, explaining that the competition aims at fostering true friendship and fraternity among ECOWAS countries.

Consequently, the WAFU refixed the first leg in Accra for July 17, with the second encounter scheduled for Lagos on July 31 and undertook to communicate the decision to Lagos.

Back home in Accra, the GFA rejected the settlement deal and accused the WAFU of favouring oil rich Nigeria which, according to informed sources, foot most of the bills of the union.

As a sign of disillusionment, the GFA failed to prepare for the games on the pretext that the July 17 engagement coincided with WAFU's own club championship in which two Ghanaian clubs — defending champions Sekondi Hasaacas and Accra Great Olympics were performing at home.

As a compromise, the WAFU undertook to postpone the club engagements but Ghana went ahead with the clubs programme without provision for the match with Nigeria. In any case Nigeria also failed to turn-up.

Up till the time of writing this article, the impasse had not been resolved. The only consolation is that next Saturday's Olympic Games engagement may create the right atmosphere for the two nations to iron out their differences.

Superficially, at least, the factors recounted above constituted the main obstacle in the way of the two-leg tournament.

Behind the curtain, however, there are more pressing reasons leading to the stalemate. On the side of Ghana, the main reason is that the soccer controlling body believe WAFU was giving Nigeria preferential treatment by insisting on a new date when Lagos had openly slighted the Abidjan-based West African soccer controllers.

It is the opinion of keymen at the GFA Secretariat that Nigeria's finan-

UNION BANK SET TO WIN

Union Bank of Nigeria are taking the green and white flag, representing 23 years of self determination to the rostrums of the United States of America, where the club will stake a bold claim for the giant J.F. Kennedy Cup for supremacy in hockey.

Union Bank, runners-up in two previous engagements for the trophy, are confident of victory in the tournament which was expected to open in October 8 to 12.

Team Coach Andrew Osesiambe, a former Nigerian international, spoke for the club when he told newsmen after a hectic work-out in Lagos. "We will be first this time".

He said his boys have been training twice daily to tune their muscles for this international engagement in which they have to play about three matches a day.

Union Bank were second to Royal Navy of Britain in 1981 and last year, they were runners-up to United States Eagles, a side with most of the materials who will appear for the U.S. in the Olympic Games in Los Angeles next year. Union Bank lost on penalties in the grand finals.

In preparation for the tournament, Union Bank recorded five smashing victories — two draws and two defeats.

They defeated the Nigerian Army 2-1 in Lagos; beat the soldiers by the same margin in Ibadan, whipped Nigeria Railways 3-0 at Oyo, and crushed Nigerian Air Force 3-0 and 1-0 in two matches.

Union Bank drew 1-1 with the national team and Niger State and lost 0-2 to the Armed Forces and 0-1 to Ondo State in Akure.

cial contribution is what is swaying the WAFU into giving the Green Eagles a treatment they do not deserve.

The Ghanaians are of the view that as champions of the West and indeed the whole of Africa, the Black Stars ought to have been the group to receive favours, if any, and hence their uncompromising attitude.

In Nigeria, the motives are entirely different. In almost all disciplines of sports, Nigeria has overpowered Ghana except football, the most glamorous sporting event in the world.

Match after match, the Black Stars of Ghana had trampled on the Eagles with impunity and this has been a source of worry to almost every Nigerian. After the Green Eagles' dismal performance in the 13th African Cup of Nations tournament in Libya, last year, the Green Eagles were dissolved.

The team was re-organised in January this year with the hope that the new group would overcome the 'spell' Ghana soccer had cast over Nigeria.

The squad then called NFA select side, played its first international engagement, incidentally, with Accra Great Olympics of Ghana, then touring Nigeria.

After 90 minutes of hot exchanges, the Nigerian national team failed to beat the Ghanaian club side whose leading players were prevented from accompanying the team because of Black Stars camping.

Nigerian fans were naturally displeased with the performance of the Eagles in its reformatory period. The murmurs became open agitation for change of direction when a second rate Black Stars, (without players of Kotoko then honouring African clubs championship match at home) beat the Green Eagles to lift the giant Economic Commission of Africa, (ECA) championship in Addis Ababa, last May.

After the Addis Ababa disaster, Nigerian football authorities mapped out an unwritten strategy aimed at avoiding the Black Stars as much as possible until the players gained much confidence.

While Nigerians were brooding over how to deal with the situation, top Ghanaian footballers playing professional in foreign countries were back on holidays.

By WAFU statutes, they qualify to participate in the West African Championship. Indications were that Ghana would marshal all forces including

KOTOKO

Champion club of Ghana, Fabulous Asante Kotoko are through to the semi-finals of the prestigious African Clubs championship. They eliminated A.S. Bilima of Zaire 3-2 on aggregate, in the quarter-finals. Kotoko, runners-up in last year's championship coasted to a 3-0 victory at the Kumasi Sports Stadium on September 11 and lost the return leg in Kinshasa 0-2.

Defending champions, El Ahly (National) of Egypt are also through to the semi-finals. They whipped Canon club of Camerouns 5-1 on aggregate winning 5-0 in Cairo and losing 0-1 in Yaounde.

In the cup winners competition, Agaza of Togo and Horoya of Guinea are through to the semi-finals. Agaza defeated A.S. Vita of Zaire 4-3 on penalties after a 2-2 aggregate draw. Horoya lost the second leg match 0-1 to Green Buffaloes of Zambia in Lusaka but a 2-0 victory in the first leg match in Guinea saw them through.

calling these players on duty in any match with Nigeria.

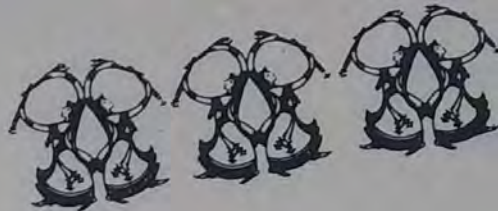
Nigeria replied with a simple strategy. And that was to delay the WAFU engagement until the Ghanaian professional players returned to their bases, while giving members of the Green Eagles enough time to gain confidence.

That confidence is over-flowing following the Eagles brilliant victories over Togo and Morocco in Olympic and African Cup of Nations preliminaries.

Next Saturday's Olympic Games preliminary, strategically, is good for Nigeria. Since it is Olympic Games engagement in which professionals are barred, Nigerian authorities believe the Eagles will face the Black Stars squarely and open the way for the re-scheduling of the often postponed WAFU engagement which is likely to be honoured when Ghanaian professionals are off the West African scene.

Whatever be the case, the October 15 encounter in Lagos opens a new chapter in Ghana-Nigeria soccer rivalry. It is the outcome of the match that will either heal the Nigerian soccer wound or deepen the scar.

TALKING DRUMS



THIS WEEKLY MAGAZINE WHICH HAS BEEN ON
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