

TALKING DRUMS

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"WE NEED LEADERS. WE NEED RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS SUFFICIENTLY DISSATISFIED WITH THINGS AS THEY ARE AND IMPATIENT ENOUGH TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT, INTELLIGENTLY, QUIETLY, WISELY. WE NEED CRITICS TOO, FOR DISSENTING IS A SERIOUS, WORTHY AND HONEST PURSUIT."

VOL 1 NUMBER 13

DECEMBER 19/26, 1983

CONTENTS

COMMENT	4
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	5
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF 31st DECEMBER REVOLUTION — (Part 2)	6
<i>Akwasi Brown concludes his review of the two years' old government of Rawlings. The first part was published last week.</i>	
A COUP D'ETAT MANIFESTO?	7
<i>The article on an alternative government to Rawlings published recently has elicited this searing counterblast to the suggestion of an open debate.</i>	
"IT'S NICE TO BE BACK" — GOWON	8
<i>Nigeria has been lifted from the group of barbaric countries in Africa which resort to force as a means of changing their leaders — Ben Mensah reviews Gowon's return to Nigeria.</i>	
NIGERIA, OUR MOTHERLAND	10
<i>"Why is it so difficult to get anything done through the right channels in Nigeria," asks Tunde Amusa.</i>	
FEEDING THE PLANTS TO FEED THE MILLIONS	12
<i>Our correspondent looks into the use of fertilizers in Third World agriculture.</i>	
GOVERNMENT THROUGH MOB ACTION	14
WHAT THE PAPERS SAY	17
THE ANTI-RAWLINGS DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK	18
<i>For the first time in the history of New York, docile Ghanaians have plucked up courage to protest about happenings at home.</i>	
TOUCH OF NOKOKO	20
<i>Tarzan, John Wayne and Cornflakes.</i>	
PEOPLE, PLACES AND EVENTS	21
SPORTS	26

A DIFFICULT YEAR ENDS

'PEACE on earth, goodwill to all men'. Very few West Africans will be saying that over Christmas and an even fewer number of those who will say so, will mean it.

It is not an easy thing having good will towards all men, nor wishing for peace on earth when one is hungry and one's little corner of the earth is in turmoil.

It has not been an easy year for the region, but that is stating the obvious, when has it ever been an easy year for countries in West Africa and it could be said that this year has been no different, so why state what has been a normal occurrence?

Coups, counter coups, rumours of coups have played their traditional role but then political instability has been the mark of West Africa for almost two decades.

Economic problems have bedeviled the region, again that is normal occurrence, even if some of the countries have had more than their fair share of the problems. The single natural phenomenon that affected the region more acutely than anything else, is the continuing drought and the bush fires that ravaged most of the forests and farms.

The drought meant hunger, famine on an unprecedented scale for those in the countries whose economic problems were already acute and Ghana especially, experienced famine on a frightening scale.

Even the once proud Akosombo hydro-electric power supply has been humbled with grave consequences not only for Ghana but also for Togo and Benin who depend on Ghana for a major percentage of their power needs. The effects of the drought are being felt keenly now in Northern Nigeria.

It has also been the year of the great exodus from Nigeria. The mass expulsion of illegal aliens from the country attracted world-wide attention on an unprecedented scale. The suffering and hardships faced especially by the over one million Ghanaians involved in the incident captured the imagination of the world as few other events have done.

Nigeria felt she was not given a fair hearing by the international community and was harshly judged. Severe strains were brought to bear on the regional organisation of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Many commentators openly expressed doubts about the continued existence of the group. Somehow ECOWAS survived, but many will agree that it was a near thing.

The expulsion might have been spectacular in its effect and produced the more sensational headlines but easily the most important event in the region this year was the successful organisation of elections in Nigeria.

At certain stages, it appeared as though the country will not be able to emerge in one piece from the experience, and at other times it seemed that a mass death-wish had gripped the entire nation; so determined were some that victory should be theirs even if it meant the destruction of the country.

But in spite of all the trials and tribulations, Nigeria managed to conduct elections and made history in Africa, a sitting government that went before the country with other political parties to seek a fresh mandate.

The allegations of rigging and irregularities have been

so widespread that it is quite easy to state that the results of the elections were as close to the truth as can be possible. Even though the Federal Government remained in the hands of the ruling National Party of Nigeria, on the State level, fundamental and wide-ranging changes took place to merit an assertion that a revolution had taken place without the intervention of the military. As many as eight sitting Governors lost their seats, a phenomenon that many had despaired would ever happen in Africa.

On a quieter but equally far-reaching scale, Cameroon has undergone big changes this year. Ex-President Ahidjo's successor, President Paul Biya has excelled himself and to the incredulity of friends and foes alike, has been introducing liberal reforms making Cameroon one of the exciting areas in the region today.

Luckily for the Cameroons, the economic problems of the other countries in the region have not been as acute and the country can still boast of growth.

Animosity between the French and English speaking areas of the country continue and President Biya still has to find an acceptable solution to this problem if the country is to unite behind him. Compared to the turmoil in the other parts of course, Cameroon is the oasis in an area of arid desert and dry heat.

Next door in Chad, definitely there has been no respite this year, the civil war has continued with savage intensity and the attention of the super powers have been directed to this miserable country threatening at many stages to escalate the war to international proportions. The current stalemate and uneasy quiet appear to many observers as the calm before the renewed storm.

For the majority of people in our region, life still means a struggle for the basic necessities of existence. Many will count themselves lucky if on Christmas Day, they have enough food for their children.

It would all be bearable if the people could look forward to a 1984 that would be an improvement on 1983. The tragedy is that the majority have no reason to expect any such improvement and no reason for optimism that their lot in life will be any better than before.

Many people will argue that much of the blame for the avoidable problems of the region should be laid at the door of the apathy of those in a position to do something to improve the general situation.

This has also been the year that saw the start of the 'Talking Drums' adventure, instituted to show that it does not need big scale enterprises to make a difference to any state of affairs.

We are glad we have seen the end of the year and that so many people have taken the trouble to take an interest in our progress.

For those of our readers outside the West African region, we would say it is important to make your voices heard and 'Talking Drums' remains committed to providing a forum for the airing of all shades of opinion.

Those of our readers inside the region, we extend the same pledge and an even more earnest invitation to tell their point of view from the perspective of those who are on the spot.

With something to look forward to it should be possible to say a very Merry Christmas to all our readers.

LETTERS



View from the Castle, Osu — a rejoinder

Dear Mrs Sackey,

As a Ghanaian, I have some few questions to ask you and your colleague Mrs Ababio. Both of you are foreigners and your only connection with Ghana is that either you are married or happened to have been married at one time to Ghanaians. But the basic fact remains — you are foreigners, Europeans to be precise.

What then is your business in the political administration of my country as to warrant you to state categorically and even threaten Ghanaians that you have initiated a process and that any Ghanaian who dares to deviate from that chosen path will surely realize that you are determined not to tolerate the disruption of your efforts. Is it the case of the white man's burden towards the natives? Who told you and your friends that Ghanaians like your 'rescue' operation?

Maybe, Mrs Sackey, you have forgotten that Ghanaians started fighting tyranny and domination as far back as the 1830s when the Aborigines Rights Protection Council was formed? You may go to the National Archives to refresh your memories.

You also claim that you do not get extra remuneration for the great job you are doing for the people of Ghana, except that: You get your pay as a teacher, an allowance, free transport, free accommodation with all services paid by the Ghanaian taxpayer.

I want to assure you, Mrs Sackey, that less than 0.1% of the Ghanaian population receive such generous conditions of service. Most of the Ghanaian diaspora who love their country more than you, as a foreigner do and are better educated will readily return home if they were offered half of what you are receiving having got yourself installed in the Castle.

As for Mrs Ababio, she just moved from her little house on Sola Loop to one of the government's comfortable bungalows at the Cantoments and changed her rickety VW car for a government Stanza! Sacrifice indeed! Who would not sacrifice for such perks?

For people like you, Mrs Sackey, things have changed for the better — no corruption, no mad rush for riches etc. To us the masses of Ghana, of course, there has been a change — a change for the worst. Vagabonds and inexperienced people have found their way to the Castle, thanks to the Ghana Armed Forces, so that today we cannot have a meal a day. We cannot talk, we have to go to bed when the Mrs Sackeys deem it appropriate, you go to prison when the super brains in the Castle wish.

But as for corruption, it continues unabated.

Mrs Sackey, are you not aware that just before the killer budget of May, the then Secretary for Rural Development and a member of the Economic Review Committee issued a cheque (Co-op Bank cheque) to Crocodile Matchets, Tema for 15,000 cartons of cutlasses at ₵14.50 per cutlass only to resell the cutlasses to the 'masses' at ₵50 per cutlass after the budget and pocketed the 'kalabule' profit of over ₵2 million? The Secretary has lost his job but the other person is still around.

And as for the Secretary whose children are attending private schools here in England, it is no secret. Ask the Ghana High Commission in London.

Mrs Sackey, the people of Ghana are watching. They are quiet but not subdued. They see the changes taking place in personalities. They see Kojo Tsikata having discarded his Renault 4 junk for a brand new Mazda 929 coupe. They sweat for a few gallons of petrol whilst revolutionaries at the Castle fill their tanks free of charge to roam the streets of Accra. They will react and when that happens the Mrs Sackeys and Mrs Ababios will definitely not find their way back to Europe.

Osei-Mensah, London

Co-operation and understanding

ALLOW ME space to comment on an article in the *Talking Drums* of December 5th, 1983. "Two Years of Suffering" by Mr Benjamin Otoo of Bunkenstiege, W. Germany.

I quote: "Has Rawlings and his team of strange bed-fellows comprising Socialists/Marxists, capitalists, young so-called revolutionaries and intellectuals of all shades of political persuasion managed to improve the situation in Ghana?"

Flt-Lt Jerry Rawlings is not a topic for discussion in Ghana's present situation. The co-operation and understanding of the people in Ghana is the main topic for discussion. I am sure that Mr Otoo knows as much as myself that many Ghanaians are too greedy and that, unless gold is channelled

through their homes, to the Banks, they will never be satisfied.

To rule a country like Ghana is not an easy task. Ghanaians are too sensitive and therefore are very difficult to satisfy.

Rawlings and his fellows as you described them, are not the cause for the high cost of living in Ghana. They are only trying to rectify the situation like any other government, civilian or military. And since they are not magicians, let us not be so impatient. Have Ghanaians got any particular person in mind who can solve the present situation overnight? Take over from Jerry John and hand it over to John Smith and the whole situation would be worse than anticipated.

Let us give words of encouragement to Rawlings and to any future ruler of Ghana. Co-operation, understanding and satisfaction are what we need in Ghana today.

A.A. Boaten, Thornton Heath, Surrey

The Delhi communique

THE COMMONWEALTH Heads of government meeting held in the Indian capital New Delhi from November 23rd to 29th has clearly demonstrated how the spirit of compromise can help steer such international gatherings from the brinks of irreparable rift into "a consensus on the issues covered".

Judging from the reports of the acrimonious attacks on the Caribbean supporters of the Grenada issue and the strong reposit from Mrs Ghandi and President Nyerere when the Prime Minister of Barbados compared the Grenada invasion with that of India in Bangladesh and Tanzania in Uganda, one would have feared a break-down of the meeting.

The best piece of diplomatic sleight of hand (or was it footwork?) was achieved in the communique which did not condemn either the US or the Caribbean states involved in the invasion and succeeded in drawing attention to the needs of small states.

To me the meeting was as usual, an occasion for letting off steam. Nothing much has been achieved. With the leaders safely back into their countries, their problems would continue to stare them in their faces.

Sonny Kambia, Birmingham

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Political economy of the "31st December Revolution"

Continuity or change? (Part 2)

In the concluding part of the article first published last week, Akwasi Brown argues that socio-political changes that the PNDC have introduced necessarily imply the displacement and alienation of a section of the population — a situation in which the government has to constantly justify why it thinks it is more capable to govern the country.

On the political front, the PNDC policy hinges on the national democratic struggle. This strategy has two main objectives. First, it is aimed at strengthening and consolidating the power base of the less articulate segments of society in order to "ensure their genuine participation in the decision-making process."

Second, the strategy aims at mobilizing all national forces for economic reconstruction and self-reliance. This aspect of the national democratic struggle aims at the achievement of national consensus. It seeks to bring together the "patriotic elements" of society to tackle the socio-economic paralysis of the country.

The objectives underlined in the national democratic struggle are laudable. However, there are certain ambiguities in this strategy which make its application in the present Ghanaian context impracticable.

To ensure the participation of the masses in the political process, the PNDC introduced People's Defence Committees (PDCs), Workers Defence Committees (WDCs) and a number of other similar Committees. These organizations have been quite active. For instance, members of the PDCs and WDCs have been encouraged to participate in the distribution of essential commodities, to expose mismanagement and corruption, and more important, to check the activities of petty commodity traders. In concrete terms, however, these organizations are yet to wield real political power.

Although the masses are being mobilized into PDCs, WDCs, etc., there is no indication that these Committees

are capable of influencing national policies. Thus, the PNDC still initiates and approves major policies without the consultation or participation of the masses. Political power still emanates from the top to the bottom of society. For instance, the political impotence and the lack of influence of the masses came to the fore when the 1983 PNDC budget was introduced. The budget was prepared in total secrecy without any consultation with or any input from the masses.

The mobilization of all national forces, especially the most articulate segments of society such as doctors, lecturers, managers, lawyers, students and so on, has been encouraged by the PNDC. For the PNDC, the achievement of national consensus will facilitate rapid socio-economic reconstruction. This strategy is not really innovative except that it is couched in radical rhetoric. The same strategy was presented to Ghana by the Acheampong administration in the form of so-called Union government.

Now the real question however is whether this strategy can achieve its objective (i.e. a national consensus which will facilitate socio-economic reconstruction). This is unlikely since, ironically, by precipitating a coup, the PNDC has itself made it difficult to have a government that truly articulates the interests of all political groupings. This is because the 31st of December armed insurrection merely led to the dislocation of the governing class in power at the time (PNP government) and also the displacement of other classes (the opposition parties). These classes were not completely decimated. They are now re-organizing themselves in order

to throw challenges to the PNDC.

The activities of the Association of Recognized Professional Bodies (ARPB), the Bar Association, the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), the Ghana Democratic Movement (GDM) to name a few, confirm the determination of displaced political forces to recapture the reins of power. These forces still consider themselves as having been unjustly overthrown by the PNDC.

As class struggles and challenges to the PNDC rule intensify, it will be difficult for the government to gain support from all segments of society. This implies that the PNDC would have to constantly justify why it thinks it is more capable than the alienated political forces to govern the country. In other words, the PNDC is yet to legitimize itself in power. It cannot do so by simply appealing to "patriotic elements" of society.

In my opinion, the national democratic struggle does not provide a viable political alternative for Ghana, because the assumptions underpinning the strategy are confused.

It is clear from the above discussion that the PNDC is yet to introduce policies that will radically transform the existing socio-economic and political institutions. What therefore does the "31st of December Revolution" represent for the future of the country and the people of Ghana? This is a vexed question. In my view, the "31st of December Revolution" reinforces the status quo. Frankly, it is politically and economically impossible to successfully transform literally a coup d'état such as the 31st of December insurrection into a broad based "revolutionary" government. Indeed, the assumptions that propelled the PNDC into power on the 31st of December, 1981 may have been wrong.

Whilst the ideological confusion lingers on the majority of Ghanaians continue to face socio-economic and political hardships. Clearly, there are no easy answers or quick solutions to the problems of underdevelopment that confront the country.

In fact it appears the PNDC may have understood that and this might explain why the government has been cautious and has refused to adopt policies that would have resulted in a complete restructuring of the existing socio-economic and political

A coup d'etat manifesto?

In an article on an alternative government to Rawlings, it was argued that it is not a crime to disagree with the PNDC methods and having disagreed, it is the duty of a citizen of Ghana to state his alternative and be ready to defend it in public debate. The writer of the article below offers reasons why it is not wise to follow that procedure.

by Kwabena Kankam

MS OHENE'S article 'What's the alternative to Rawlings' in the Talking Drums, December 5, 1983 requires comment because the writer misses the point. She has my sympathy, because she does not appreciate the situation we here in Ghana find ourselves.

It is true that there are lots of Ghanaians both inside and outside the country who are strongly opposed to the chaotic regime of J. J. Rawlings. It is also true that a lot more Ghanaians wish to see this irresponsible government go than wish to see it continue in office. To be blunt, the Rawlings cabal scores the highest marks in unpopularity among governments of Ghana. No government since independence, has had so many people and so many groups working for its violent overthrow.

Ms Ohene should have demanded her coup d'etat manifesto against the background of these and other facts.

The writer suggests that those who want to kick Rawlings out must not aim at replacing him with their circle of friends, but must 'demonstrate that they will rule' Ghana only with the consent of the people'. At this point, Ms Ohene calls for '... plans and programmes they have for governing Ghana' to be brought out (WHERE?) and in her words '... be subject to public debate'.

In effect, Ms Ohene is calling on all who are working for the overthrow of the Rawlings regime to publish their manifesto to be debated publicly.

The Peoples Decision — An Obsession: I cannot help but think that Ms Ohene left Ghana too long ago, and so, writing from the relative peace, security and comfort of London, she has no conception and understanding of the society she is writing about.

For instance, it would be the height of naivety to expect any group inside

Ghana working for the overthrow of Rawlings to publish its plans and programmes for public debate.

I do not know if Ms Ohene seriously expects Ghanaians in the country to participate in any such public debates. Let Ms Ohene be informed the Rawlings killers have murdered many — some of them in full view of Rawlings, the Tsikatas, the Ahwois, and the other 'progressives' for far less serious 'offences'.

If this point is taken by Ms Ohene, suppose she would expect only those groups outside Ghana working for the overthrow of Rawlings to publish their manifestos, and of course only those half a million Ghanaians outside the country scattered all over the world can take part in the public debate. It may be true that there are large concentrations of Ghanaians in the U.S.A., U.K. and Nigeria and these can be organised to debate these plans and programmes, but can Ms Ohene who appears to be obsessed with 'the peoples decision' seriously expect half a million Ghanaians to decide for the 13.5 million population now taken captive by the armed regime in Ghana?

Meaningful Suggestions From Media: The overthrow of the Rawlings regime is a must — and it will be sudden and swift, so Ms Ohene should use her paper to make meaningful suggestions as to how best to re-organise the badly battered country when Rawlings is safely out of the way. It is unpleasantly destructive on the part of Ms Ohene to suggest that if those seeking to overthrow Rawlings do not place their programmes before the public, '... they should leave Ghana be, the poor country has been abused enough as it is' because, there is no difference between them and Rawlings. Of course, there is a lot of difference between Rawlings and everybody. Even between Rawlings and his fellow military adventurers, there is a lot of difference. Every

school boy in Ghana knows, that no group of people could do as much damage to Ghana as Rawlings and his gang.

No group of rulers have shed one — hundredth as much innocent blood in Ghana as Rawlings and his 'progressive' friends. Oh yes, Ms Ohene must note that there is a whole world of difference, and indeed there is no basis to compare any past or future Ghana government with Rawlings PNDC.

Serious Planning Not Done With Fanfare: I do not think that those patriotic Ghanaians outside the country who are working round the clock to free us from the claws of communist oppression would be attracted by Ms Ohene's idea of publishing their 'manifesto'. No serious coup maker operates in pageantry and fanfare. Perhaps Boakye Djan, Kofi Batsa and J. H. Mensah would for a time keep quiet if they mean business. The noise should be made by organisations and not themselves. It is their inability to play the proper role at the proper time that has always made Ms Ohene hard on politicians.

But even so, her criticisms of politicians cannot be justified because if one has to judge by results, one can, with ample evidence prove that 'soldier rulers' have done more harm to the country than politicians; and these 'soldier rulers' have always had as their closest associates and partners-in-crime, members of the inky fraternity.

It was the press in Ghana which gave Rawlings a platform to stage the first part of his scenario — the good actor and trickster that he has always been — during his treason trial for plotting to May 1979.

The question is why was Ofori Amaa not given the same publicity during his treason trial for plotting to overthrow Acheampong?

Come Down To Earth: Ms Ohene's conclusion is very interesting indeed — she suggests that after the coup makers have published their programmes and plans, and after these have been publicly debated, '... the people of Ghana will then decide if it is a programme they care to be associated with.'

I do admire the idealism of Ms Ohene, but perhaps she has to be informed with due respect, that the world is organised differently. Ms Ohene may perhaps care to answer this question: HOW CAN THE CAPTIVES IN GHANA, SURROUNDED WITH LIBYAN DEADLY WEAPONS AND DEPRIVED OF FOOD AND DRUGS, AND WHO LIVE IN FEAR take this decision?

'It's nice to be back' - Gowon

Nigeria has been lifted from the group of barbaric countries in Africa which resort to force as a means of changing their leaders, who are then either killed or left to die prematurely in exile, in disgrace away from their homes.

by Ben Mensah

A NOSTALGIC RETURN to Nigeria by the country's former Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon was reflected in his appreciation for the crowd that welcomed him. He said to them "it's nice to be back home".

And with that, another chapter spanning eight years of exile for another African leader in Britain ended and signalled another historic development in Nigeria's political record, with far reaching implications for the rest of West Africa.

Yet despite the hero's welcome accorded General Gowon, reminiscent of a similar one that also greeted the return of the General's adversary in the bitter civil war, Colonel Odumegwu

Ojukwu, the visit of the ex-Head of State has invoked some bitterness among a section of the Nigerian community.

They are those who have never been satisfied by General Gowon's protestations of innocence in the Murtala Muhammed murder.

General Gowon was subsequently declared a wanted person and his extradition was demanded by General Obasanjo's government. This request was, however, turned down by the British government.

The General does not readily admit that he was ever in exile, as he is reported to have told a press conference in Lagos, he was never in exile, he had only been held back for so long in Britain by his academic work.

But the fact that he could set foot on Nigerian soil only after he had been pardoned by President Shehu Shagari testifies to the limitations on his movements and also to the fact that he was a wanted man in his own country for his suspected involvement in the assassination of General Murtala Muhammed, the man who succeeded him.

These reservations notwithstanding, it is a dramatic coincidence that as General Gowon, former Head of State returned to an enthusiastic welcome from Nigerians, not very far away in another black African country, Central African Republic, Jean Bedel Bokassa who in his time crowned himself an emperor, is pleading for permission to return to the country he once ruled.

COMPARISON

Esconced in France after his expulsion from his sanctuary in the Ivory Coast by President Houphouët Boigny, Emperor Bokassa presented a ready topic for discussion on the occasion of the 23rd independent anniversary of the Central African Republic when its President Kolingba warned of the danger posed by the imminent return of 'mad and blood-thirsty adventurers'.

The French authorities who feel embarrassed by his presence have initiated diplomatic steps to ensure his departure to another country.

Comparison between ex-Emperor Bokassa's plight and General Gowon's triumphant return to his country is relevant only for the timing of the two cases. For there are many West African countries where due to the violent nature of change of governments, there are no surviving elder statesmen.

Ghana, the first country in the region to attain independence in 1957, stands out with the highest number of military coups and therefore the best example of violent elimination of her leaders. The best known leader Dr Kwame Nkrumah died in exile in Guinea after his overthrow by the military in 1966. The second civilian leader, Professor Kofi Busia, similarly died in exile in England. Three military Heads of State, Generals Afrifa, Akyeampong and Akuffo were also executed by Flt-Lt Rawlings' Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in 1979.

To date, General J.A. Ankrah who was forced out of office as Head of State in disgrace remains as the country's only surviving ex-Head of

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State, together with Dr Hilla Limann who was overthrown by Flt-Lt Rawlings' second coming two years ago and who is now free on bail. Perhaps it is Rawlings' own phobia for what could possibly happen to him as an ex-Head of State which might have propelled him into the December 31st 1981 coup d'état in which he overthrew the man who succeeded him.

EXPERIENCE

There are other gruesome instances of violent elimination of leaders in several West African countries, including Nigeria whose first Prime Minister, Sir Tafawa Balewa was murdered and a number of his ministers castrated in the January 1966 military coup. However, General Gowon's return to his country to be received by President Shagari who was the General's Minister for Economic Affairs, has lifted Nigeria from the group of barbaric countries which resort to force as a means of changing their leaders who are then either killed or left to die prematurely in exile.

This assessment of General Gowon's return is reinforced by other developments. These are the peaceful transition of power first from General Obasanjo's military regime to the civilian administration of President Shehu Shagari in 1979 followed by the conduct of general elections in 1983 in which President Shagari was returned to power.

Above all these was the similar pardon granted to ex-leader of Biafra's secessionist attempt, Colonel Ojukwu which enabled him not only to return from his exile in the Ivory Coast, but also to contest a senatorial seat in the last elections.

Then also is the joy of having around, past leaders such as ex-President Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, former Heads of State Generals Obasanjo and Gowon and also of Col Ojukwu to add to Nigeria's treasure of political maturity and sophistication.

The enormous fund of experience possessed by these former leaders must serve as a useful source of reference not only for President Shagari and his ministers but also for a society that is eager to improve upon its past through evolution rather than a violent break

with the past through revolution.

General Gowon has ruled himself out of partisan politics but has indicated his willingness to participate in the meetings of the Council of State. He told reporters in Lagos, "I will participate in the meetings of the Council of State if and when I am invited and I know I will be able to play my role as honourably as others, without being partisan."

This is the hallmark of an elder statesman whose knowledge and experience must not only be utilised to benefit his countrymen, but that his presence in the country he once ruled should be an eye-opener to other West African nations.

"Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom, it is the argument of tyrants, it is the creed of slaves"

*(William Pitt Speech
18th November 1783)*

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Nigeria our motherland — we hail thee!

Why is it so difficult to get anything done through the "right channels" in our country and yet so easy through the backdoor? . . . I know corruption occurs in all countries, but why is it so big in Nigeria?

by Tunde Amusa

'GOD punish your mama! The devil bend your neck'

I turned round in consternation. What in the good name of heaven could make anyone 'fire' such 'expletives' at his brother? And if you're wondering where all this was taking place, it was in busy traffic in Supele — a town in Bendel State Nigeria.

As George Will the columnist wrote in *Newsweek* magazine after the shooting down of the South Korean Airliner, the surprising thing was not

the shooting down itself (for as he argued the total number of people killed that day was less than the average daily total of the Soviet government since Stalin's days) it was the shocked reaction of people in the Western world.

In this case I guess the strange thing, to me, was not so much what the driver had said but the non-reaction of anyone else except myself on the bus. All for a minor traffic offence.

In case you're wondering who I am, feeling shocked and surprised in my own country — well I am a full-blooded Nigerian — the only problem

with me was that I had been born and bred outside Nigeria, in Ghana specifically, and had arrived back home only days earlier. That was in 1978, of course since then I have become used to all that and I feel ashamed to admit I actually swear that way daily now but on reflection I ask myself — is it necessary? Why are we Nigerians always in a hurry, so quick to condemn and yet so complaining?

Why is it so difficult to get anything done through the 'right channels' in our country and yet so easy through the backdoor?

Sometime last year the *Wall Street Journal* awarded us the dubious title of the 'most corrupt country' in the world. Remember they gave comparative data to show that contracts in Nigeria cost between 200-300% more than say, Kenya which is also a third world country and maybe just as corrupt. Or are they?

Why have we institutionalised corruption in Nigeria? Sometimes it seems to me that we, as a people, have come to believe that it is un-Nigerian to be straight. It is 'wrong' to know a fraudulent method of making money and not use it — maybe even foolish! The other day someone said 'who am I to refuse a bribe when Shagari can rig himself into power?

I have no doubt that man was probably U.P.N. but can he justify his corruption by pointing fingers at others? Would it have been any different if any other party or person was in power?

When N.E.T. got burnt in January 1983, I remember arguing with some friends that absolutely nothing would happen to whoever the culprits were. My prophecy appears to have turned out true. Unless my memory has failed — six people were being investigated for squandering about N54 million a few months earlier. Rumours of the fire threat were in the air and fire truck was stationed near the building. Someone bribed the Chief Fire Officer or some such official (that's what we were told by the NSO and police soon after the fire) to remove the truck about two days before the fire. Other experts told us the fire was caused by bombs planted along the electrical duct system in the building etc.

Okay, some people have been interdicted but it is almost a year now and it appears the case is dead! It does not matter that some people died, nor does it matter that the building itself cost millions, which the country can ill

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The same thing happened to the Indian Hemp smuggling case involving the Foreign Service.

I know corruption occurs in all countries — but why is it to such extremes in Nigeria. Everything about us is big, I agree. We have a big land mass, extremes of temperature — compare Jos in January and maybe Kano in April or so.

Our population is between 80 million to 150 million depending on what you want to believe, either way, not a small figure. So, I suppose having the greatest amount of corruption in the world is just in keeping with our character.

That reminds me, sometime ago we also got the equally dubious distinction of having the dirtiest capital city in the world — Lagos. Again, why are we so dirty? I remember in Accra there is a place called 'Lagos town' and I know it is one of the dirtiest places in that town, which is quite clean you know.

Anyone who knows anything about Lagos is aware that heaps of rubbish are a fact of life whether in the markets or at the doorsteps of homes. The same is true for most of the Southern states especially. I have heard some argue the dirty habits are even tribally linked. Maybe he has a point, for Governor Jakande of Lagos State has put in a lot

of effort yet what do we see? But watch it, I don't think it is quite so simple. Owerri in Imo State is perhaps the cleanest city in the South if not all Nigeria. Rubbish is collected twice a day but what about Onitsha? Both are Ibo — right? And in Benin City any gutters built alongside roads are guaranteed to disappear in 3 months flat overcome by the rubbish that we pour into them. Come the rains and we complain — no drainage system!

That reminds me of another wonderful thing that could only happen in Nigeria. Remember how about six people shared 15 or was it N50 million in Abuja? And a 'bush fire' promptly engulfed the accounts building alone in the Federal Capital Territory. The messenger had about N2.5 million under his bed! Don't ask me how much was in his bank account or how much the Chief Accountant had. Again it is not so much the stealing that worries me — it happens often enough, but after we find out what do we do about it?

In Modakeke, we recorded more votes than the total population of the town during the elections and all the Electoral Commissioner could say was the he 'had never been there' and the elections were successful!

Nigeria our motherland, we hail thee! I certainly love my country — but can we go on this way, forever?

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Feeding the crops to feed the millions

Fertilizers are by far the most important inputs in the efforts by developing countries to raise agricultural productivity to meet the food needs of their populations. POKU ADAA reviews the use and consumption of fertilizers in Africa.

by Poku Adaya

ONE OF THE basic and essential needs of developing countries in Africa is how to raise agricultural productivity to provide enough food to feed their increasing populations and also to provide raw materials for industrial processing. To meet these needs, it is not only necessary to expand the size of farms but also to ensure that higher yields of crops can be attained per acre of land cultivated.

Scientific evidence has established that a plant requires at least sixteen chemical elements to ensure normal nutrition, growth and higher yield. Of these elements, there are considered highly essential, *Nitrogen, Phosphorous and Potassium*. However, these are hardly ever adequate and when taken from the soil, are not renewable so rapidly by nature. Hence the need for artificial supply of these nutrients in the form of fertilizers which may be products manufactured for the purpose or they may be natural products such as compost, humus or manure.

Fertilization has assumed a central role in modern farming practices since the world has reached a stage where it is no longer possible to produce enough without fertilization. There are many parts of the world today where hunger may have been averted due to the benefits of fertilization. In recognising the role of fertilization in agriculture, André Voisin made an apt comment in his book 'Fertilizer Application' that:

'The use of fertilisers is one of the greatest discoveries of modern times and perhaps the greatest. It plays a decisive part in the destiny of our civilisation. It has considerably increased the production and lowered the cost price of our food. In this way they have made enormous contribution towards improving living standards and have thus had a profound effect on the life of the individual'.

Chemical products manufactured for the purpose of feeding crops has become a major occupation of the world's chemical industry and a central pivot in international trade in agriculture. The production, marketing, storage and distribution of fertilizers have become big business, often creating huge problems for the ultimate users. Fertilizers may be labelled as Nitrogen (N), Phosphate (P) or Potash (K) or a mixture of these depending on which of the three essential plant nutrients it is made of. Thus in international trade in fertilizers, one often comes across the term NPK fertilizers, the letters in parenthesis being the symbolic abbreviations designated by chemical science.

World consumption of fertilizers has been increasing steadily over the past decade, especially from developing countries where agriculture remains a mainstay of economic development. During this period, there has been rapid technological developments in the fertilizer industry which has allowed some developing countries to produce part of their requirements themselves, although the rate of transfer of the technology has been very slow, perhaps for reasons of economic or political nature. According to FAO estimates, in 1969/70, the developing countries produced 7 million tonnes of fertilizers and consumed 12.3 million tonnes, while it was estimated that 33 million tonnes would be required for 1980/81 and about 40 million tonnes by 1986.

Fertilizers which contain the chemical element, nitrogen, account for about fifty percent of all consumption of fertilizers in developing countries. In international trade, these fertilizers appear in many forms, the principal ones being: *Urea, Diammonium Phosphate (DAP), Ammonium Sulphate (AS), Liquid or Gas Ammonia*, etc., plants take up this essential element nitrogen in different

forms dictated by the type of soil, method of cultivation, the type of crop and season, hot or cool, dry or wet and so on. Urea contains the highest component of nitrogen about 45% and can be easily stored and transported.

Besides, it is the cheapest of all nitrogen-based fertilizers. AS is particularly useful in areas where too much rainfall or over-irrigated land has turned the soil more caustic but it is not a popular brand because it contains comparatively low nitrogen content of about 20%. DAP is a high-grade fertilizer considered useful for areas with low water supplies or arid regions such as is found in many parts of Africa.

Most developing countries import large quantities of fertilizers and in this sphere there are a number of problems that need to be highlighted. The market is polarised often favourable towards the producers in that smaller countries have little or no choice in the quality of fertilizers that come their way, the freight charges are very high, imports are not time-tabled correctly to coincide with seasonal demands and there is always the risk of shortages or unsold stocks to deal with. As a result, there are ill-defined and operated distribution channels.

But the greatest problem of all is the low level of technical knowledge of the use of fertilizers in the field. Usually the job of teaching farmers the type of combination of nutrients required for a particular type of soil in a particular season falls into the ambit of a Ministry of agriculture official or extension officer maybe, where bureaucracy often stifles the useful dissemination of technical information in the practical use of fertilizers. In the international dealing in fertilizers, there is a practice of 'compounding', that is the way manufacturers and dealers produce mixture and blends of fertilizers to beat competition in the market. This results in a variegated assortment of brands and special cocktails such that a farmer or technician with inadequate expertise is the ultimate loser.

Thus apart from the sheer cost of financing regular imports of fertilizers to sustain agricultural productivity, many developing countries have often lacked the back-up technical services that can ensure efficient distribution and application of fertilizers. There is also the logistics of fertilizer procurement which involve central government planning, identification of type of

fertilizer suitable, transportation or shipping, handling and storage. All these handicaps tend to justify the need to have the fertilizer manufactured locally. Fortunately, many African countries, for that matter, have or are likely to have natural gas deposits which can favour the local manufacturing of nitrogen fertilizers.

In the continent of Africa, the consumption of nitrogen fertilizers is quite staggering. In 1981, about 1,917,000 tonnes were consumed on the continent, of which Egypt alone took 650,000 tonnes followed by South Africa with 530,000 tonnes and Nigeria coming third with 130,000 tonnes. Nigeria consumption in 1971 was about 10,000 tonnes thus the increase after 10 years is huge. The general increase in demand across the continent has been the driving force in the current efforts by many countries to set up and operate manufacturing plants, and to date, several plants are operating while others are in the planning stage.

The continent's capacity to produce urea was 841,000 tonnes per annum in 1981/82, expected to reach about 1,600,000 tonnes per annum by 1985 and up to 2,000,000 tonnes per annum by the end of 1988. The continent's capacity in total complex fertilizer production is expected to reach 5,500,000 tonnes per annum by the end

of the decade.

Inside West Africa, Nigeria, Senegal, Gabon and Togo are currently involved in nitrogen fertilizer programmes. In Nigeria, Port Harcourt has been chosen as the site of the fertilizer complex which is to be constructed by a consortium of foreign companies and when it starts to operate in 1984, it is scheduled to produce 272,000 tonnes per annum as ammonia, 228,000 tonnes per annum as urea, about 340,000 tonnes per annum as ammonium nitrate.

It is hoped that the complex will be able to satisfy domestic demand and curtail imports which cost the government there something in the region of 10 million naira in 1982. In Imo state also, a relatively smaller fertilizer plant is under construction and expected to produce over 30,000 tonnes per annum of DAP and operation may begin in 1985. The growth in Nigerian demand has been due to large scale mechanised farming ventures being developed by the World Bank in the northern states of the country.

In Senegal, a complex fertilizer plant is being set up at M'bao and scheduled to come on stream in 1984 with a capacity to produce about 17,000 tonnes per annum of DAP, however the country might continue to import urea for sometime until her gas refinery becomes functional. In Gabon, a

fertilizer project capable of producing about 120,000 tonnes per annum of fertilizer products are still in the planning stage while in Lome, a complex plant with an expected capacity of about 300,000 tonnes per annum is expected to become operational in five years' time.

Elsewhere in Africa, countries which already have fertilizer producing plants include Libya, Zambia, Algeria, and Egypt. Countries which plan to commence production in a year or two include Malagasy, Somalia, Sudan and Tanzania.

It is fair to say then that by the end of the current decade, nitrogen fertilizer production shall have become established in the continent, making allowances of course for financial and operational setbacks which are inevitable at times. There is the likelihood that most of the countries might look for export markets on the continent which is a way of stimulating intra-African trade in this field. Boosting agricultural productivity on the continent will result from the active encouragement of fertilization practices among small-scale and subsistent farmers and consolidation of domestic markets.

It is a pity though to think that the advent of chemical fertilizers has displaced traditional humus and compost to gardening and horticulture.

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Government by mob action?

The great miracle that had been wrought in Ghana's political history is that the present government claims that for the first time there is no difference between "government" and the people/the workers.

by Elizabeth Ohene

IT IS difficult to explain to a non-Ghanaian what an ANANSE story is, of course, it helps to explain that 'Ananse' means a spider and this creature is the folk hero of all traditional Ghanaian stories. Ananse is crafty, wily and even though he manages to get himself into many impossible positions, he usually comes out clean at the end of the story. Hate Ananse, curse him but there is always a sneaky admiration — the type of admiration people have for Train Robber Ron Biggs.

Some people have even suggested that some of the blame for the 'Ghana disease' ought to be put at the door of Kweku Ananse. A culture based on a folk hero whose main attributes are cheating, craftiness and shirking responsibility and always leaving his friends in the lurch, must surely explain some of the problems in the society.

Some Ananse stories carry a moral at the end, some of them seek to give an explanation to a baffling natural phenomenon, for example, a story might end "that is why dogs bark at full moon" some others simply end by stating "well, that's the way life is..." but many of the stories show the folk hero outsmarting them all.

It is usually a good guide of how baffled a Ghanaian is when he resorts to an Ananse story to explain away something, generations of young Ghanaian children have been kept quiet every evening by Ananse stories and harassed mothers have sometimes been known to make up the stories as they run out of their repertoire — that is all allowed in the Ananse folklore.

I am reduced to recounting an Ananse story of my childhood to explain a very serious situation in Ghana now.

One day, there was great famine in the animal kingdom, things were so bad that many of the animals were dying through starvation. The King of the animals therefore called a general meeting to try and find ways to tackle

the problem. After a lot of animated discussion, they all agreed that the only solution was to make whatever food that could be found in the animal kingdom into a centrally-owned property, just so the little that there was, could be shared equitably between all the animals. That way, some animals wouldn't die while some other grew fat.

Everybody agreed that this was a wise decision and all the animals went back home and started bringing in their carefully hoarded stores.

Kweku Ananse who had never been one to go to the farm and who would do anything to avoid hard work, of course, did not have one grain of corn put by for a rainy day. He pondered his situation until he happened upon a bright idea — he went quietly and changed his name 'Kweku Ananse' by deed poll to "ALL OF US" and came back home.

TREACHERY

Come the time to eat, and after everybody had renounced any individual rights to the foods they had brought, the King tried to share what was available, "this bag of corn is for all of us," out stepped Kweku Ananse, took the bag of corn, "thank you very much" and stepped back, "this leg of beef is for all of us", "thank you very much" Ananse said, "and this basket of vegetables is also for all of us" and you guessed right, Mr ALL OF US stepped forward and grabbed that too...

In a recent published interview with the Ghana Secretary for Information, Miss Joyce Aryee, she was asked about what the situation was with the privately-owned press of Mr Tommy Thompson that had been closed down.

I will have to quote that portion of her answer as published in 'West Africa' magazine, "The position with that press also is that it was the workers who said they closed it down. The government has not said it had closed down the press. I think there is a dis-

tinction between when the workers out of their own demands do something and when the government, as a matter of policy, does something. Drawing the distinction is very useful..."

Very useful indeed. *The great miracle that had been wrought in Ghana political history is that the present government in the country claims that for the first time, there is no difference between 'government' and the people/the workers.* 'Government' has been 'demystified'; there is in fact, no difference between the government and the people as there had been in the old bankrupt system that was overthrown on December 31st, 1981.

And yet when the workers take a major step like closing down somebody's press, a distinction has to be drawn — that is an action by the workers, it had nothing to do with the government, they also have brains you know.

In other words, since the workers also have brains, they should not only be given credit for their own actions, they are free to do whatsoever they please, it has nothing to do with the government. Supposing 'the workers', after due consideration of their brains, decide that Elizabeth Ohene should no longer be the proud owner of her jalopy, a distinction will have to be drawn between an action taken by the workers and when, as a matter of policy, the government does something.

Will Elizabeth Ohene, in such a scenario, have any remedies at all? What protection will she have against the workers, and supposing she also feels so attached to her jalopy that she would rather not be dispossessed of it, does she have to take up arms against the workers before she can retain what is rightfully hers?

Or could it be that the government, like crafty old Kweku Ananse, has changed its name by deed poll into 'The People/The Workers' and relies on The People/The Workers to do its dirty work for it?

When somebody's privately owned

property is appropriated, it is an action taken by 'The Workers', when the courts of Judicature are invaded and judges and lawyers chased out, it is an action by 'The People', when private clubs and lodges are forcibly taken over, it is an action taken by 'The People', nothing to do with the government, the people also have brains you know.

So, what is the Provisional National Defence Council? If these actions do not have the blessing of the PNDC and were definitely not inspired by the government, then how come nothing has been done to reverse them?

CONCLUSION

Is the suggestion that the government is powerless before an action taken independently by the workers?

But then there have been instances when the workers have said things and demanded certain measures which have been roundly rejected by the PNDC. When the workers called for the sacking of Prof. Mawuse Dake, at that time, the Secretary for Works and Housing, the Chairman of the PNDC, Flt-Lt Rawlings, turned on them roundly and told them off in carefully chosen words.

In much the same way, the judicious

speech is regularly made, condemning some actions by certain "elements" that give a bad name to the revolution. Of course, Amartey Kwei, even Amartey Kwei, the life-long friend of the Chairman, was executed to demonstrate the revulsion against the murder of the judges and to show that the murders were an action taken by a member of the government in his "private capacity?"

A fat lot of good that does to Mrs Justice Koranteng-Addow and her fellow victims and their families.

It is not enough for the PNDC to disclaim responsibility for irresponsible actions and blame them on the workers or the people, unless of course the PNDC is claiming that they have no control over the country. The fundamental responsibility of any government is to be able to guarantee the safety of its citizens, and if such a basic thing cannot be assured, how can the PNDC call itself a 'government'?

Since the PNDC has demonstrated that it can ignore some demands by the people and reverse some actions by the workers, the inevitable conclusion has to be drawn that the PNDC has assumed the role of crafty old Kweku Ananse and has changed its name to The People/The Workers and hides behind such a facade to commit fraud and rape on Ghana.

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WHAT THE PAPERS SAY

Our finest hour

THE SUCCESS of the recent donors' conference in Paris has been acknowledged not only in Ghana but also in international circles.

The success which is manifested in pledges totalling some \$150 million for the 1983/84 year has come to confirm that the PNDC decided on economic policies which were REALISTIC in the face of our seemingly unsurmountable economic problems. The success has also come to confirm that the PNDC did not draw up an Economic Recovery Programme which formed the basis of the April 1983 budget because it was indifferent to the plight of the people. It must be clear to all by now that the PNDC did so with the sole aim of reinvigorating the economy which will eventually give the people a better deal in the long run.

To this paper, it is an over-statement to say that this is what we all hope for: conditions that will make the people smile at the end of the day.

IMPLEMENTATION

What is left is how Ghanaians in whose interest the Economic Recovery Programme was drawn up will make the programme work.

This calls for nothing less than hard work, perseverance and devotion to duty. Anyone or group of people, especially civil servants who are directly involved in the implementation of government policies must therefore give of their best. One thing is clear: that if any official sabotages any government policy through unnecessary bureaucracy and indifferent attitude to work, it is not the PNDC that he is harming but also his kith and kin, the nation and the citizenry as a whole.

Such saboteurs, we believe, can only be found among people who erroneously think that government comprises Chairman Rawlings and other members of the PNDC. Such unfortunate thinkers should rethink their stand because all that the PNDC is doing is to represent the people and therefore its policies are for the people, including the saboteurs, and in their interest.

COURAGE

The 'People's Daily Graphic' will like to state clearly that this is the finest hour of the people of Ghana. After all the previous trial and errors, the people now have a government which has the political will and courage that will put things that have gone wrong for so long a time right.

We would like to caution the PNDC not to take kindly to any acts that go to undermine and inhibit the smooth implementation of its policies. It shouldn't because it is the people that it is representing and therefore any acts that are detrimental to the welfare of the prosperity of the people and the nation as a whole should not be countenanced in any way.

Ghanaians should remember that it is not for nothing that the President of the World Bank is here on a five-day visit. It took realistic, thorough and consistent economic policies to get him to accept and honour an invitation to this country. The visit alone, we believe, is something that must urge Ghanaians on, irrespective of their stations in society, to give of their best.

With hardwork and determination, we shall build a better Ghana not only for ourselves but also for posterity.

Daily Graphic — Ghana

Expatriate staff and national interest

IN THE WAKE of the economic recession many firms, especially the multinationals, have found the tailor-made excuse to get rid of unwanted staff who may not necessarily be redundant, but whose faces the firms simply do not want around.

This is especially hurtful when it is employed as a means of ridding such firms of Nigerian personnel while expensive expatriate staff flourish to siphon off badly needed foreign exchange.

The latest addition to this league is Taylor Woodrow Nigeria Limited. This company has been sacking lowly Nigerian staff at a time when it is enlarging its expatriate list. In the wake of such unsavoury developments, it is time for the Ministry of Internal Affairs to re-examine the issue of expatriate quota and its guiding principles.

When the Indigenisation Decree was first implemented, certain areas of commerce and industry were exclusively scheduled for Nigerians. However, we find that today, aliens are engaged in all sectors of our industrial and commercial life.

Furthermore, many of these foreigners, Asiatics especially, are imported to fill in roles for which there are numerous competent Nigerians. This further exacerbates the unemployment crisis and runs contrary to the provisions of the Indigenisation Act.

It is most galling that a great many of such 'imports' are often not as qualified for these jobs as the Nigerians whom they are made to boss.

The Nigerian Medical Council notably has had occasions in the recent past, to complain about the quality of foreign medical staff employed in some government parastatals. In view of the fact that the government of Nigeria does not recognise some of the educational institutions in their home countries, it is ironic that the same authorities, especially in certain states and institutions still prefer to cram their job openings with expatriates and in the process, edge out qualified indigenous manpower. Unqualified expatriates demoralise the better qualified Nigerians on whom they are foisted, guaranteeing that shoddy jobs are done. What is more, the unrealistically high wages which such expatriates command constitute an unjustified avenue of exchange drain.

We call upon the Minister of Internal Affairs, Dr Ibrahim Tahir, to face up to the enormity of the challenge. In the past, that department has proved to be a fertile ground for all manner of official corruption. Officials in the Immigration Department have been known to look the other way, have actively connived with unscrupulous aliens to enter the country illegally to defraud the nation, especially since some highly placed Nigerians use them as fronts for their nefarious activities.

In fact, there is almost no dubious deal in the country in which aliens are not involved, particularly the Asians who are internationally famed for corrupting the system. The repatriation of aliens should not stop with illegal entrants only. It should necessarily extend to 'undesirable' aliens as well. We charge Dr Tahir to satisfy himself before approving the expatriate quota for any firm or institution, that such a body is not inviting expatriates to man areas exclusively reserved for nationals and furthermore, that such quotas are not for areas which can be competently filled by home grown expertise. Waiving of indigenisation rules should be employed only in conditions of dire necessity to the nation, considering the foreign exchange involved.

National Concord — Nigeria

The march against Rawlings

For the first time, a substantial number of Ghanaians were showing open courage, demonstrating against the government at home without fear of retribution; the first of its kind in Ghanaian history in New York. A coalition of different political philosophies, remnants of prescribed parties and the plain apathetic had come together to say "never again".

by A Correspondent, New York

ON SATURDAY, December 3rd, a group of Ghanaians staged a protest against their government in New York City. At issue was not the case of 'government' itself, but that of the Rawlings' regime which the group claimed was 'illegal and masquerading as government'.

So on that December morning, the group gathered at the Dag Hammarskjöld Park, close to the United Nations' headquarters in New York. The weather forecast for the day had promised an inclement weather, but at 10.30 am, when the procession was to start, the sun was shining.

Spearheading the protests was the organisation of the United Front for the Liberation of Ghana USA, (UFLG), which operates from New York City and the surrounding metropolitan areas. This body was aided by fellow members of the Ghana Congress of U.S. and Canada, (GCUC), an umbrella organization for assorted groups of civic conscious associations of Ghanaians in the United States and Canada, whose common cause is the ouster of the present regime in Ghana.

Thus, present were the American Friendship Association of Baltimore; The Ghana Citizens Organizations of the U.S. and Canada, from Chicago; National Club of San Francisco, and Ghanaians for Freedom and Justice Organization of Los Angeles. An oversight in planning almost caused problems for the protestors at the start. They had obtained permit to protest at the right site, but had alerted the press to the wrong site, the 'Isaiah Wall'.

The 'Isaiah Wall' is a well-known spot for international protest of this sort in New York. Its proximity to the U.N. assures maximum exposure for grievances. And its stature as a symbol of peace also helps. For, emblazoned on the wall in the verse from the Prophet which reads '... and nations

shall beat their swords into plowshares

It is a daily ritual to find cause activists, ranging from the sublime to the most ridiculous, airing their grievances in front of this wall.

As common as this site may be for protest, frankly, it's a bit unusual to find Ghanaians protesting there. An added irony was also the fact that the group protesting in front of the wall on that morning of December was not the group which had invited the press to the location.

For some strange reason, a pro-Rawlings' group had the permit for the site. Could it have been a subterfuge? Were these ordinary citizens so good in political chicanery all by themselves? It looked like the primary advantage was theirs because of the wall. But it was not to be, as they were plainly outnumbered by the anti-group, parading a few blocks away. Whatever forces were at work, the fact remained that the demonstration was a first in Ghanaian history in New York City.

APATHY

And, knowledgeable Ghanaians were quick to render observations: As a group of Ghanaians were timid, and those in North America represented the worst end of this timidity spectrum. Good life in America had rendered them apathetic to political issues at home. Never would they have expressed their opinion in the manner as was seen this last Saturday. Boilerplate excuse would have been the norm: 'well, let's give them a chance and see what they can do too'. 'They' always meant the government in power. Contentment would follow rationalization, then peaceful co-existence until the next coup.

But underlying the rationalization was always creative pragmatism, and the moral lesson of 'one doesn't know when one will go home, does one?'

This march was different. The anti-Rawlings' group had thrown caution to the wind. It could be because Jerry J. was really precipitating matters and making things worse at home, to the point of desperation.

Exactly two years ago, Jerry came to power through a coup, his third. The first one was a failure. Before the last coup, the nation had gone through a major exercise to return to civilian rule and constitutional government after the debacle of General Acheampong, another soldier. It was pitiful that Limann, the President Rawlings ousted, had to be foisted on the nation at this critical time. But this latter point, it appeared, was not the issue.

For the first time, a substantial number of Ghanaians were showing open courage, demonstrating against the government at home, without fear of retribution. But for the token presence of the pro-Rawlings group, there was an apparent sense of unity. A coalition of different political philosophies, remnants of proscribed parties, tribal affiliates, and the plain apathetic had come together to say 'never again'.

The voice of consensus was: The Rawlings' regime is an illegal one. It has subverted a constitutionally elected government. Those who run it, aid and abet it, are guilty of the highest of treasons. One could sense Rawlings planning the same charges against them, if and when they returned to Ghana.

But these protestors seemed unaware of the inherent danger of their position, or did seem to care. Rather, it was the pro-group that showed fear. Witness this amusing incident.

An individual, a Ghanaian, went to the pro-Rawlings site to take pictures. At the sight of this single amateur photographer, they panicked, and called on the police to remove the cause of their fear, while covering their faces with the placards. One wondered what they were afraid of. They numbered only six, but this was New York City, not Accra. And, after all they were supporting the government at home, with all the powers of coercion on their side?

But so much for the expression of confidence in their government at home.

They also had a placard which read 'Home Is Where The Fight Is'. Of course, home is the area of their strength, but the 'Isaiah Wall' is not exactly in Ghana. And none, all well-known in the Ghanaian community in New York, has been heard to express

the wish to return home soon. It is an accepted assumption that the same conditions that brought these men to the U.S. drove everybody out. Some said they would be glad to see them go home, but, perhaps, they would not because the plight of Amartey Kwei could still be vivid in their memory; and its lesson not lost to them. For, loyalty to the revolution was and still is dependent upon the use one can be put to.

But for a mild incidence of heckling when a tardy protestor from the pro-group wandered to the wrong site, nothing of any significance happened to mar the occasion. For close to four hours, the anti-group aired its feelings. Placards proclaimed their opposition to the political concepts at work in Ghana. 'Go Home Castro'; 'No Libyans Needed in Ghana'; 'Down with Communism' were a few of them, displayed with the sound of gong-gongs and drumming.

By securing the 'Isaiah Wall' first, the pro-group had gained the initial advantage. But by sheer size, six against some two hundred people, and impressive energy, the anti-group were able to offset this advantage. All agreed that they had succeeded in moving national issues beyond the confines of Ghana.

For the first time, members of a third world country were openly demonstrating against communism, especially the Castro brand, on the streets of the U.S.A. It would not require much intelligence to appreciate how comfortable such anti-communist expressions would be for the present U.S. administration.

For, in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, a number of third world countries had roundly condemned the act. Notable among these was Ghana. A mute point at this U.N. session was the matter of Grenada being within the sphere of U.S. influence, a high consideration point in super power politics these days; which consideration also leads us to something called geo-politics, as explained in the same face-off between Cuba and the U.S. in Grenada.

In the game of geo-politics, like in the game of chess, there are kings and there are pawns. Even midget powers like Libya perceive themselves as kings. To the anti-group, Rawlings has managed to drag Ghana into this game of geo-politics by turning Ghana into a proxy nation, and a probing finger for Libyan hegemony. They claimed Ghana was deeply involved in the recent overthrow of the Upper Volta government, playing proxy for the Libyans. Understandably, Rawlings has to pay his dues, for, it was Libya's support that brought him to power.

And it is what is keeping him there with the help of a coterie of Cuban and Libyan soldiers. Were it left to the sole effort of the patch of Ghanaian soldiery, they claimed, Rawlings could have been ousted long time ago.

The role of proxy has given Rawlings a feeling of rebirth of political significance for Ghana on the continent. It should be remembered that it was the independence of Ghana that ushered in the independence and liberation movements in the rest of Africa. Unless this manifest destiny of Ghana ended with the attainment of just independence, which is doubtful, then it would be safe to expect another domino effect shaping up because of this new found sense of significance.

A letter from the anti-group to the Secretary General of the U.N.; prompted by a key note address to the 38th session of the U.N. by Dr. Obed Asamoah, Ghana's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, drew attention to the lofty ideals and views of the regime's role in Africa and world politics, which contrasted sadly with the realities of life in Ghana. To the anti-group, Rawlings rule in Ghana is tyranny in fast track, which for want of better name is called the Tsikata-Rawlings regime.

MANDATE

Simply stated, this regime has uprooted the rule of law and order from Ghana, and has replaced it with thuggery of all kinds. It was chilling to hear the anti-group recall the spate of killings that have occurred in the country to date; corpses that are routinely discovered in the manner of those of the three high court judges and that of the former military officer. The tribunals and the stampeding death sentences. Never, they say, has Ghana witnessed this type of inhuman administration. For the pro-group, it was a matter of giving Rawlings a chance to continue: After all he once enjoyed a large public support, and still thinks he does. Besides, Rawlings has good intentions.

But, Rawlings must understand now that matters have gone out of hand. The argument of good intentions and the self-acclaimed mandate to rule is canard in the face of this raw determination to hang on to power. One may ask of what use it is for Ghana to substitute democratic rule, with its attendant evils, for a repressive government devoid of a constitutional and political mandate other than that provided by thugs, misbegotten soldiers, and members of similar fraternity?

Though it took two long years for

the anti-group to come forward in North America to demand an end to the horror show in Ghana, when they did, as was seen in the demonstration, the message was clear: Rawlings must go. And they are willing to educate the world about the difference between legitimate rule and illegitimate one.

The immediate target of the attack in education was CBS. Some six months ago this network had aired a segment of 'Sixty Minutes' in favour of Rawlings. Leaflets distributed by the anti-group during the march said that despite the acclaimed journalistic excellence of this network station, the broadcast did not see the forest from the trees. And that the programme showed a complete disdain for current event and undercurrent moods in Ghana. From the view-point of American journalism, where plurality of opinions is the norm, the presentation was a disservice to the profession.

FREEDOM

Again, some five months later, 'Sixty Minutes' had visited Lagos, Nigeria, and had come back with a painting of life in Lagos as corrupt, filthy and unlivable. In Lagos, the programme could not see the rule of democracy and freedom of choice for political systems, and in Ghana they could not see the absence of these same concepts which the west profess to hold in high esteem.

One is tempted to ask CBS about the relative importance of the two trends of life in these two African countries; filth or democracy? Perhaps, after a malcontent, like Rawlings, stages a coup because of this programme CBS will move its staff and headquarters to Lagos.

The protestors moved on from the Dag Hammarskjöld Park, with stops at the Libyan, Cuban, Russian and Ghana missions, where they burnt an effigy of Rawlings.

At each stop, the crowd and by-passers were addressed by key members of the anti-group. The theme evolved on the illegitimacy of the Rawlings regime.

They were not asking much as they sang 'All we are saying is give freedom a chance'. It is a simpler request, and the west should understand. No double standards. Do not live and prosper under the rule of law and order and expect the African to acquiesce to the rule of repression by the morally and intellectually obtuse. If the feelings expressed that day are halfway true, one can sense that there is a definite change on the horizon.

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

LIBERIA

Testimony of a plotter

One of the principal suspects in the alleged coup plot to overthrow the People's Redemption Council (PRC) Government has come out with another development. Maj Kalonko Luo, speaking to members of the Liberian press at the National Security Agency, confessed that if the coup had been successful, three top Government officials would have been executed immediately.

He named the three officials as the Minister of State for Presidential Affairs, Maj John G. Rancy, Defence Minister Maj Gray D. Allison, and the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia, Lt-Gen Henry Dubar. Maj Luo said the three were to be executed because they were instrumental in the confusion which continued between the Head of State and former commanding general Thomas G. Quiwonkpa.

The former Assistant Agriculture Minister said that the major motive of the November coup plot was to immediately return the country to civilian rule. Maj Luo said the former commanding general had been against the continuation of military rule in Liberia and that was his very reason for engaging in the alleged coup plot. In his allegation he further said Head of State Samuel Kanyon Doe was to be tried along with other top PRC members on charges of nepotism, tribalism, cuts and delay of government salaries, secret killings and mismanagement of the economy.

Maj Luo continued in his confession that during a meeting held at Mr Quiwonkpa's late father's farm, it was discussed that a raid would be carried out on the Liberian-American-Swedish Minerals Company mines in Nimba County . . . and that two highways were to be blocked and the electricity cut off in the Monrovia area in order to successfully launch the coup plot.

He also revealed that a speech was prepared to be read by General Quiwonkpa on the national radio and television following the alleged coup plot success.

New appointments

Head of State, Dr Samuel Doe has made two new appointments within the Defence Ministry. Those appointed with the advice and consent of the Peoples Redemption Council include

Assistant Defence Minister for Civil Works, Col Jackson Tay who now becomes Deputy Minister for Operations in place of Capt Charles Harris who is leaving on account of ill health.

Also appointed was Col Steven Blahie to succeed Col Tay as Assistant Minister for operations.

Suspects released

Five persons who were arrested in connection with the alleged coup plot last month to topple the PRC (People's Redemption Council) Government have been released, according to Liberia's 'Daily Observer'. Those released include the mother of former Armed Forces Commanding General, Thomas Quiwonkpa, Madam Menko Gay, Miss Richard Miller, the alleged girlfriend of Col John Nuah. Others released are the aunt of Thomas Quiwonkpa, Mrs Namomi Davis, Madam Kuman, driver of the one of the taxis used in the Yekekpa raid and Solo Fofana, the driver of the wife of former Nimba County Superintendent, Joseph Fongalo.

GUINEA

No grudge against opponents

President Sekou Toure has invited his opponents to reconvert themselves, reintegrate into the Guinean society and contribute to its development.

In an interview with a Canadian journalist after addressing the people of Dalaba, President Toure told his opponents who are mainly exiled in France that he has no grudges against any of them. He said he only has pity for them for fleeing from their country, adding that he would give them courage to return and present themselves in the participation of the building of the nation.

The President compared the situation with that of Algeria during their struggle for independence when the Algerians living in France demonstrated the harmony between them and those at home instead of distributing insulting tracts against their motherland.

NIGERIA

Extension of ban

The Niger State Police Command had extended the ban on public meetings

and assemblies throughout the state for a further 14 days.

A police spokesman said the extension was necessary to enable the peaceful atmosphere in the state to continue.

He disclosed that no permit would be issued by the police for any type of meeting or assembly within the 14 days. He pointed out, however, that the ban did not affect meetings in private houses and student meetings if confined to their campus.

The selling or displaying of firearms during the Christmas and New Year was also prohibited and any persons found with firearms would be arrested and prosecuted, a Nigerian News Agency quoted the police spokesman as saying.

Shagari's book launched

A 64 page English translation of a book, 'Songs of Nigeria' originally written in Hausa by President Shehu Shagari has been launched in Lagos.

The book, written by the President between 1944 and 1952, was translated by Major-General Mamman Vasta.

Launching the book, the President of the Manufacturer's Association of Nigeria, Chief Jerome Udoji, said that the book portrayed the author's deep and abiding concern for the unity of the country.

He observed that the book was produced in Nigeria and called on the country's entrepreneurs to emulate the Northern Nigeria Publishing Company which produced the book entirely within the country.

Among those present at the launching were the speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr Benjamin Chaha, the Minister of National Guidance, Alhaji Maitama Sule, Transport and Aviation Minister, Dr Umaru Dikko and the Minister of Works and Housing, Dr Ishmael Igban.

Party suspends former minister

The national secretariat of the NPN (National Party of Nigeria) has announced the suspension of three members of the Kano branch of the party, Alhaji Uba Ahmed, said that Minister, Alhaji Bello Maitoma Yusufu, for anti-party activities. Addressing a news conference in Lagos, the National Secretary of the party, Alhaji Uba Ahmed, said that the two other members suspended in the branch were Alhaji Mohammed

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

Maude and Alhaji Tanko Yakasai, adding that the decision was based on the reports of the committees which investigated disputes within the party in the state.

Alhaji Uba said that although the suspension was for six months, it could be reviewed subject to good conduct. The national secretariat, he said, had declared the state congress of the party recently held in Hadejia as unconstitutional, null and void.

The NPN Secretary said that the decision of the Kano executive committee to suspend Alhaji A. D. Garba, Alhaji Mahmud Gashash, Alhaji Inuwa Tangaza and Alhaji Adamu Danakbo had however been rescinded by the NPN national caucus and the secretariat. "The party wishes our supporters to know that the only legal state executive committee in Kano is the one constitutionally elected in 1982 which is being led by Alhaji Nuru Alkali as chairman and Alhaji Bashir Alhatu as its secretary", he said.

Alhaji Uba said that the deputy state chairman of the party in Imo, Chief B. B. Apugo, had been suspended for 12 months for anti-party activities. Also suspended are the party's state secretary, Chief S. Iwuchukwu, and financial secretary in Ogun, Francis Aguma. He said that the decisions were taken to infuse discipline into the party and ensure respect for law and order.

Commitment to peace in Chad

President Shahu Sahagari has reaffirmed Nigeria's commitment to find a lasting solution to the conflict in Chad and the Western Sahara.

Receiving a delegation sent by the chairman of the O.A.U., Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam in Lagos, President Shagari emphasised that only talks between the warring factions would lead to a cessation of hostilities in the two areas and again offered to host such a conference on Chad.

He expressed happiness that the O.A.U. chairman had kept alive those burning issues.

The delegation, which delivered a special message from the Ethiopian leader, had briefed the president on the progress so far made by the O.A.U. at resolving the conflict in Chad and the Western Sahara.

The O.A.U. chairman also commended President Shagari for his efforts in bringing peace in the two areas of conflict.

The delegation, which was led by the

Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Mr Goshu Wolde, also included the Acting Secretary-General of the organisation, Dr Peter Onu of Nigeria.

Commonwealth exhibition

Nigeria will participate in the Commonwealth Africa Year Exhibition in London next year.

Towards this end, the Federal Government has approved of the updating of the permanent Nigeria Pavilion at the Commonwealth Institute which was mounted in 1962.

Welcoming the Chief Exhibition Officer of the Commonwealth Institute in London on behalf of the Minister of National Guidance, Alhaji Maitama Sule, the Permanent Secretary for Social Development, Youth and Culture in the Ministry of National Guidance, Mr Imafidon Akade, said that Nigeria would spend about £220,000 to update her pavilion.

Mr Akade said that Nigeria's participation would centre on Nigerian contemporary arts and textiles, drama, architectural display of some aspects of Abuja, The Federal Capital Territory, films and traditional puppetry.

The Chief Exhibition Officer, Mr Allen Cobbold, who is the co-ordinator of the exhibition, was in Nigeria to consult with Nigerian experts in the Federal Department of Culture, The National Commission for Museums and Monuments, The Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation and The National Council for Arts and Culture.

Review austerity measures

The Governor of Imo State Mr Sam Mbakwe has appealed to the Federal Government to re-appraise the current austerity measures and relax the aspects that adversely affect development.

Speaking at the commissioning of the N2.5 million Hotel Terminus, at Aba, Chief Mbakwe pledged his government's readiness to assist genuine industrialists through the provision of necessary incentives.

He praised the management of the new hotel complex for its policy of using local raw materials and called on other industrialists to emulate "this noble example."

Fedeco renews papers

Four political parties have had their certificates of registration renewed by

the Federal Electoral Commission.

The parties included the Nigerian Advance Party (NAP) which own no seat in the last general elections and the Great Nigeria Peoples' Party (GNPP) which got only one senatorial seat in the election.

The two others are the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and the Nigerian Peoples' Party (NPP).

Officials meet the Queen

Two officials of the Nigerian High Commission in London, Mr J. O. Oche, Deputy High Commissioner in Liverpool and Mr Moses Ekpo, Zonal Director of Information in charge of Western Europe, have been introduced to the Queen at a Buckingham Palace Reception in London.

The presentation of the officials and their wives to the Queen was made by Nigeria's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom and Ireland, Alhaji Shehu Awak.

The two officials also met the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Phillip; Princess Anne as well as Prince Charles and Princess Diana.

More than 400 diplomats and other government officials attended the reception which is an annual event.

Shagari on economic measures

All Federal Government projects involving high foreign exchange have been shelved. President Shahu Shagari, announced that State Governments will have to pursue pruning in management of finances and insure that the basic requirements, especially staff salaries, cheap food, and affordable shelter were their priorities.

President Shagari stated that despite the dwindling financial resources, the Federal Government will endeavour to provide relief to areas affected by natural disasters such as drought, floods and erosion. He said that as a result of the current worldwide economic recession, his administration had taken courageous and decisive steps to cope with the scarcity of essential commodities. But he noted that such measures had achieved a limited degree of success due largely to the unpatriotic actions and attitudes of some Nigerians in collusion with dubious aliens. President Shagari gave the assurance that such characters, whom he described as enemies of the country, will be tracked down and dealt with appropriately within the limits of the law.

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

He said that the emphasis of his Government had now shifted to the productive sector of the economy, especially agricultural and industrial development. New emphasis, the President said, will be placed on rural development and in an effort to diversify the sources of the income, greater efforts will be made towards mineral exploitation. President Shagari reaffirmed his commitment for the establishment of a liquified natural gas plant and stated that petrochemical and steel project will also be implemented according to plan.

Ban on meetings

The police in Plateau has explained that its two week ban on public meetings and processions in the State was aimed at preventing political parties from holding rallies during General Yakubu Gowon's visit and causing a breach of the peace. Speaking to the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) the deputy police public relations office in the State, Mr Peter Onwubuya said the individuals who wished to welcome the former head of state were free to do so.

Ghanaian mercenaries for Chad

The 'Punch' newspaper in Nigeria has reported that for the past two months Libyan agents have set up a base in Nigeria to train mercenaries and terrorists.

Among their recruits are Ghanaians who have returned to the country illegally after their expulsion a year ago by the Federal Nigerian government.

The paper which strongly condemned the Libyan government for its overt infringement of the country's security and sovereignty also expressed shock at the laxity of the Nigerian security agencies.

It regretted that the Libyan agents were acting in collusion with some unpatriotic Nigerians.

UPPER VOLTA

Soviet educational equipment

The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African countries has presented a consignment of educa-

tional materials worth 1,000,000 CFA francs to the national secretary general of the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR). The materials include projectors, 20,000 schoolbags, 20,000 exercise books, 20,000 ballpoint pens and refills, and 10,000 pencils. The ceremony took place at the headquarters of the CDR National Secretariat in the presence of the USSR Ambassador to Upper Volta, Yevgeniy Melnikov; the CDR National Secretary General, Lt Pierre Ouedraogo, and his deputy, Lt Yep Tinemite; and the secretary general of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, Vladimir Tsvetkov. Also present was the chairman of Upper Volta's Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Tal Sekou.

No celebrations

The National Council of the Revolution and the revolutionary government of Upper Volta decided not to celebrate the country's Republic Day normally observed on December 11th.

An announcement said the date of December 11th neither marked an event in the history of Upper Volta nor the history of its people.

The statement said the date of December 11th was a fancy choice by the colonial power and its Upper Volta valets. "On December 11th, 1958, French colonialism proclaimed Upper Volta's independence and made the Upper Volta legislative assembly proclaim the country a Republic on December 11th of the same year."

The statement called on Upper Volta nationals to make December 11th a day of reflection on 23 years of formal independence, 22 years of neo-colonial domination.

The statement concluded that it is on the August 4th revolution that is a true independence day for Upper Volta and will be celebrated as such.

Mengistu's message to Upper Volta

The Ethiopian leader Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam sent a congratulatory message to President Thomas Sankara of Upper Volta on the occasion of the country's 23rd independence anniversary.

There were no celebrations of the day in Upper Volta.

C.A.R.

Ex-Emperor Bokassa's Wish

The former ruler of the Central African Republic, Jean-Bedel Bokassa is reported to have asked to be repatriated to his country. The former emperor wants to be tried in Bangui if the French authorities refuse him permission to remain in France.

Meanwhile 'members of ex-Emperor Bokassa's network' have been arrested in Bangui on suspicion of circulating false reports in recent weeks about the possible return of Bokassa.

GHANA

Speeches of Dr Limann

A compilation of the speeches of President Hilla Limann, entitled Democracy in Ghana will be launched at the Africa Centre on December 19th.

It is being organised by the Friends of Dr Hilla Limann with Mr Francis Badgie, former Ghana High Commissioner in London as the guest speaker.

Jones Mensah removed

Mr Justice E.K. Jones-Mensah, a High Court Judge, has been removed from the Bench following the PNDC's acceptance of recommendations by a three man body which enquired into allegations of misconduct preferred against him.

The enquiry was conducted by Mr Justice George Francois, Mr Justice P.V. Osei-Hwere and Mr B.A. Wilberforce, Chairman of the Public Services Commission.

Democratic lawyers

A new Democratic Lawyers Association has been launched to erase the erroneous public impression which always associates the lawyer with protection of private property and power and as someone working with the establishment against the interests of the majority of the people.

The Secretary General of the association is Mr Kweku Gyan, a Kumasi barrister.

Revo has ideology

Mr Kwamina Ahwoi, Co-ordinator for Tribunals vetting and Investigations

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

has maintained that the Revolution had a positive ideological content. He therefore dismissed the belief in certain quarters that the revolution was ideologically bankrupt and had therefore, lost its bearings.

He explained that this false impression was being circulated by those who did not understand the current process.

Mr Ahwoi said the revolutionary leadership was aware that it was holding the destiny of more than 14 million people and would, therefore, not falter in its aim of ensuring that the people's aspirations were achieved.

Flt-Lt Lee faces death

The Public Tribunal in Accra has sentenced Flt-Lt Robert Kojo Lee to death by firing squad.

The Tribunal found him guilty of murdering Peter Atsu Bleboo at Labadi, a suburb of Accra, on October 28th this year, and the Chairman of the Tribunal, Mr George Agyekum said that the evidence before the Tribunal showed beyond any reasonable doubt that Flt-Lt Lee was guilty of the charge.

Earlier, while giving evidence in his own defence, Flt-Lt Lee had told the Tribunal that Bleboo had been killed by a stray bullet released from his gun by accident and that he had no intention of killing him. "My intention was to arrest. I never meant to wound, let alone kill anybody, Flt-Lt Lee told the Tribunal, "if the deceased had obeyed the order to halt, this trouble would not have come."

He told the Tribunal further that the behaviour of late Bleboo and his twin brother led him to believe that they were impersonating soldiers by harassing people and attempting to hi-jack his car.

Flt-Lt Lee's counsel was Mr Johnny Hansen the former PNDC Secretary for Interior and he led his client in his defence to narrate his version of the events of the ninth of October 28th when Bleboo died.

Lee said that he had seen the twin brothers engaged in an argument with about four men in the middle of the road near a place that appeared to be a drinking bar, he suspected them to be intoxicated, he stopped the car and advised them to disperse because it was curfew time.

According to Flt-Lt Lee, the twin brothers rather than dispersing, insisted that he gave them a lift in his car, he therefore fired some warning shots and drove off.

When the twins tried to stop his car for the second time that same night, he concluded they had been "up to something else" and decided to get them arrested.

He therefore went and got two soldiers and came back to the scene to arrest the two men. They were on their way back after a fruitless search when the deceased person saw them and called out to them "I am the one," and as far as Flt-Lt Lee was concerned, the entire matter would have been forgotten if Atsu hadn't called out to them.

Flt-Lt Lee agreed under cross examination that the deceased was not armed, but claimed he ignored his order to halt as a result of which, he mounted his weapon, slapped the trigger, aiming to hit the deceased between the hip and knee, but two rounds of ammunition came out instead of one.

Flt-Lt Lee said he only reported the incident to a senior Air Force Officer at his home some four days later because, he was stunned immediately after the incident and "his brain ceased to function".

After the verdict of the Tribunal was announced, Flt-Lt Lee indicated that he intended to appeal the verdict.

No appeals are normally allowed in cases tried by the Public Tribunals under the PNDC.

PDC man on seduction charge jailed

The Chairman of the Peoples Defence Committee in Kete-Krachi who has been on trial before the Public Tribunal charged with seducing the daughter of a woman involved in a smuggling case, has been sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

Two policemen who had been on trial with the PDC Chairman, charged with collecting a bribe of C50,000 from the same woman were sentenced to three years imprisonment each.

Chief Inspector A.K. Davor and Detective Corporal Peter Yayah were in addition ordered by the Tribunal to pay to the State C20,000 and C80,000 respectively within 48 hours of the passing of the sentence or in default serve a further prison term of five years each.

The two police officers had been charged with collecting the amounts as bribes from Madam Felicia Cobbina while investigating a smuggling case against her.

Yayah not only collected an amount of C40,000 from Madam Cobbina but

also spent two nights with her in a hotel as man and wife while investigating the affair.

The PDC Chairman, Mark Dogbe, who had caused the seizure of the smuggled goods from Madam Cobbina not only demanded an amount of C40,000 from her, but also demanded and got Madam Cobbina's 18-year-old daughter Serwah Akoto and had an "affair" with her for a period of two weeks.

Refinery resumes

The GHAIPOil Refinery at Tema has resumed full operations after it was closed for repair works.

Mr T.T. Fabyan, Chief of Petroleum at the Petroleum Department of the Ministry of Fuel and Power, who disclosed this to newsmen said the closure was a normal thing done every year to repair machinery at the refinery.

Ghana Briefing

A new publication, 'Ghana Briefing' has made its debut as a newsletter for the Campaign for Democracy in Ghana.

In a foreword message the Chairman of the Campaign, Major Boakye-Djan restated his organisation's commitment to multi-party politics in Ghana on the basis of free, open and democratic elections.

He announced the completion of a comprehensive re-organisation of the Campaign for Democracy and added that the past eighteen months had taught a lesson to be applied in the next phase of the campaign.

There was, however, no mention of Justice Hayfron Benjamin, the eminent jurist who had been reported to be the Chairman of the organisation.

Don't renew smuggling

The chairman of the Ghana-Togo border demarcation commission, Mr Kwame Agyir, has emphasized that the commission is determined to work hard to find a permanent solution to the border dispute between the two countries and to ensure peace and good neighbourliness.

Mr Agyir was speaking at a ceremony at which the Volta Regional Secretary, Dr Asamoah Tutu, settled a border dispute between the people of Ashanti Kpoeta and Achim, both on the Ghana side of the border. He blamed the present border disputes on

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

the work of the colonial master and called for restraint and discipline.

The Regional Secretary explained that the move is a step towards making peace with their immediate neighbours on the Togo side. Several people were injured, some of them seriously, in a recent clash over land between the two factions on the opposite side of the border. Dr Asamoah Tutu warned that the reconciliatory move should not be used to renew smuggling activities in the area.

Two soldiers acquitted

The Special Military Tribunal sitting at the Burma Hall in Accra has acquitted and discharged two soldiers after finding them not guilty of charges of assault and molestation.

The tribunal said the soldiers were on duty at the time of the incident and were not the original aggressors.

The case against the two soldiers, Warrant Office II Daniel Boison and Staff Sergeant Oliver Bedu, was that on May 29 this year, they were on duty at a post in the Volta Region when a farmer and a student arrived in a car.

The soldiers ordered the two men to move their car because it had been parked in a 'No Parking' area. The two men demanded to know where they should park their car.

The soldiers, according to the prosecution, became offended, molested the two men and kept them in a guard-room for a night.

SENEGAL

Unauthorised meeting

Three gendarmes were killed and four others along with a policeman were injured when security forces tried to disperse an unauthorized public meeting in Kabil. The meeting was dispersed and the situation has since returned to normal.

Agreement with Cuba

A delegation of the Independence and Labour Party of Senegal has signed a co-operation agreement with the Communist Party of Cuba.

The Senegalese Party was led by its Secretary General Seydon Gissokho who signed the agreement in the Cuban capital while Jesus Montane Oropesa, alternate member of the Politburo and member of the party secretariat signed on behalf of his country.

TOGO

Former Minister arrested

Togo Radio has reported the arrest of a gang of five persons said to belong to a network of criminals and the confiscation of a weapon and ammunition, used to carry out hold-ups in Togo and elsewhere.

The five are Eby Codjo Divor and Koffi Modive Save De Tove, Togolese nationals, Hasan Timah, a Ghanaian, Dieng Moustapha, a Senegalese, and Komlar Fahad, a Lebanese.

The weapon and ammunition belong to Bibi Yao Save De Tove, the former Minister of Justice and father of Koffi Modive Savi a member of the gang.

Mr De Tove and members of the gang are being held in detention by the security agencies because a second weapon also belonging to Mr De Tove has not yet been found.

VISITS

Guy Penne, adviser to the French President has paid a visit to Togo during which he delivered a verbal message from President Francois Mitterrand to president Gnassingbe Eyadema.

Matters discussed included bilateral co-operation and the coming visit of the French Minister of Defence to Togo.

Guy Penne said before his departure that French-Togolese relations were excellent.

President Kountche of Niger has returned to Niamey after a visit to Saudia Arabia.

The special adviser to the French President on African Affairs, Guy Penne has delivered a message from President Mitterrand to President Omar Bongo of Gabon. On leaving Gabon after a short stay the special adviser continued to Angola on December 8 for a two day visit during which he had talks with the Angolan Foreign Affairs Minister, Paulo Jorge.

Prince Albert of Belgium has paid a visit to Gabon during which he took part in a foundation stone laying ceremony connected with the Trans-Gabon railway.

A Chinese delegation to Gaon was received by President Bongo. The delegation was led by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, Lu Xuejian.

A Soviet trade delegation was also in Zimbabwe last week to discuss possible areas for cooperation.

An Upper Volta delegation led by the Foreign Minister, Arba Diallo has ended a visit to Algeria during which it held meetings with state and party officials.

The Information Minister of Chad, Somaila Mahamat has carried a message to Kenyan President Daniel Moi from President Hissene Habre. Accompanied by Habre's personal adviser, Bravo, the Information Minister also attended the Kenyan independence anniversary celebrations.

*WE WISH OUR READERS A
MERRY CHRISTMAS
AND A
HAPPY NEW YEAR
LOOK OUT FOR OUR JANUARY 3rd,
1984 SPECIAL ISSUE —
IT'S FULL OF SURPRISES.*



KOTOKO SAVE GHANA SOCCER

Congratulations go to Fabulous Asante Kotoko, champion club of Ghana who found the 'Golden Fleece' after 13 years' difficult chase. They beat defending champions El-Ahly of Egypt 1-0 to crown themselves champions of Africa and conferred the honour "best club footballing nation on the continent" on Ghana.

More than 100,000 fans watched the match played at Kumasi sports stadium. African Football Federation (AFC) President, Yidne Katchew Tessema of Ethiopia presented the cup, which has eluded Kotoko since 1971 when they first won it by beating Zaire's Englebert club 2-1 in Kinshasa, to Kotoko's captain Papa Arko.

The final, the sixth time Kotoko has played, was won by a goal scored by inside forward Opoku Nti in the 22nd minute.

Kotoko who lost last year's final to the Egyptian's went on the offensive from the start forcing the Egyptians on the defensive.

In spite of their sustained pressure, Kotoko were unable to score until the 22nd minute when Nti shot the ball into the goal from an obscure position.

The Egyptians hit back in the second half, but were soon forced back by Kotoko who bombarded their goal with many shots. Try as Kotoko did, El-Ahly's goalkeeper, Ekramy, stood between their forwards and the goal. He brought off several brilliant saves to deny Kotoko any more goals.

El-Ahly won the trophy last year when they beat Kotoko 3-0 in Cairo and drew in Kumasi.

The two teams played a goalless draw in the first leg of this year's final in Cairo three weeks ago.

Kotoko is thus the first Ghanaian soccer team to win the African cup twice.

The hysteria following the victory that made nonsense of the curfew in Kumasi and other Ghanaian cities and towns must give enough indication to the military junta that Ghanaians as a people are prepared to give the right recognition to whoever would help soothe their pain.

No praise is too much for the sacrificial work players, officials and technical men put in pushing Kotoko to the top. The victory is a reward for years of planning and execution.

One man who will feature prominently in this moment of triumph is club chairman Ernest Ofori Yaw Bawuah,

who has demonstrated by his method so far as somebody who believes in the saying "the end justifies the means".

Mr Bawuah began his four-year term as the boss of the most popular club in Africa in crisis. Differences of opinion and approach drove a wedge between him and his predecessor Mr Sims Kofi-Mensah, the man who rebuilt Asante Kotoko after the degeneration of the 1970's.

Peace came with the chairman and his team more determined than ever. And like the saying goes, success has crowned a struggle that drew tears from men at critical stages in the club's history.

That Kotoko has won the cup in the second year of his term is a credit nobody can deny Mr Bawuah. Victory they say is sweet. Yes it is, but it also goes with responsibilities that are even more difficult to fulfill.

A friend remarked to me the other day that since Robert Mensah was the main pillar behind Kotoko's success of 1970, Joseph Carr, who took over from Robert Mensah in Cape Coast Dwarfs was likely to play a leading role in the Cup's second visit to Kumasi.

He was right. Carr was the man who guarded the post in the triumph of 1983. All players particularly Skipper Papa Arko, Opoku Nti, Addae Kyekyehene, J.S. Bannerman and the rest who had to live with the smell of linement throughout the year for the glory of last Sunday, must feel proud.

Everything aside, Kotoko's triumph has re-awakened Ghana Football which virtually went to the hospital bed after the Green Eagles of Nigeria's incursion of last month.

Congrats Kotoko, "the club over whose popularity the sun never sets" my apologies to Ohene Djan, Ghana's first director of sports.

Upper Volta President Thomas Sankara has said African Sports were threatened by chauvinism and commercial interest.

Opening a four-day meeting of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA), the continent's ruling sports body, the 34-year-old radical leader said African sports in the last few years had suffered from the ills of highly industrialised nations.

Commercial interest, exaggerated chauvinism and "gigantism" were

over-emphasised, affecting quality, he lamented.

President Sankara called on delegates from 50 countries to make a genuine financial effort in order to revive the organisation.

SCSA chairman Abraham Ordia of Nigeria said the future of Africa Sports would depend on the success of the meeting.

New Nigeria Bank Football club are the new Kings of West African soccer. They defeated defending champions Sekondi Hasaacas 2-0 on aggregate in the WAFU Cup final.

New Nigeria Bank won the first leg matching in Lagos 2-0 and held Hasaacas to a goalless draw at the Accra Sports Stadium.

Accra Great Olympics won the Ghana Football Association Cup with a 3-0 defeat of Sunyani based Tano Bofokwa in a one-sided cup final in Accra.

Olympics who defeated rivals Accra Hearts of Oak in the semi-finals have qualified to represent Ghana in the African Cup Winners competition next year.

African heavyweight champion Proud Kilmanjaro of Zimbabwe was too high for Nigeria's Ekwelum when the two met in Lagos for the African Boxing Union championship.

The Nigerian gave up in the 12th round.

Ghana's aspiring world featherweight champion Azuma Nelson has moved camp to the United States.

According to a 'Ghanaian Times' report, Azuma's hurried departure from Accra, has something to do with a world title fight.

Kenya will host the fourth All African Games only if a Chinese-funded national stadium being built near Nairobi is ready on time, President Daniel Arop Moi said at the week-end.

After thanking Chinese officials at a foundation stone laying ceremony at the stadium site President Moi said Kenya would do what it could to meet the deadline for the long postponed event.

A TOUCH OF NOKOKO

by Kofi Akumanyi

Every morning at wake-up time of seven o'clock my four-year son who has a problem getting up from bed unleashes a series of piercing noises which on a quiet day can be heard several blocks away. This primordial noise has given us all in the home plenty to laugh about in the initial stages but lately I have been considering whether to do something about it as it is beginning to go beyond a joke and causing a lot of embarrassing moments when the neighbours want to know what it's all about.

In case you have not guessed what that noise is I can tell you that it is the famous jungle-call of TARZAN and I can assure you that the jungle-man himself cannot do it better. Since arriving in the U.K. a few months ago, the four fixations that my boy has acquired are John Wayne, Boy George, Kellogg's Cornflakes and of course, Tarzan.

ADVERTS

Oh, for a way to stop the onslaught of television and advertisements! The only chance open to me to stem this 'unhealthy' addiction is, as far as I can determine, not possess a television set in the house — a proposition I must immediately admit I cannot enforce in my home; not a chance. I once tried it and nearly precipitated a major crisis.

Against this backdrop I could not agree more with the writer of a letter in one of the national dailies in which he complained about what he described as 'a bit of a joke' practised by food manufacturers (and I must add advertisers in general) on unsuspecting consumers at whom their goods are aimed.

The issue at stake concerns an advertisement by the manufacturers of Mars chocolate and I quote: If the authorities, fumes the irate writer, allow the manufacturers to have a joke on the unsuspecting public where does that leave the innocent consumer? On the sidelines, trying to work out the rules of the game, without adequate information. It is high time that the odds were swung in favour of the

Tarzan, John Wayne and cornflakes

authorities, we hope they play the game with the interests of the consumer in mind.

'Mars chocolate gives you strength' What does the manufacturer mean by these words? Generally, such reference is to food of high calorific value usually in the form of sugar. It is unfortunate that this highly refined food provides no other vital nutrients at all, thus a body fed on energy as sugar is liable to become depleted of essential vitamins and nutrients.

ADDICTION

The chocolate bar has only two things to offer: an addiction to sugar and dental cavities. Why should manufacturers be allowed to make any greater claims? Mars (the planet) is the best place for them. End of quote.

Considering the fact that cocoa is the mainstay of the economy of my home country — the production of which has fallen dramatically over the years, notwithstanding — I suppose I should be praising the advertisers for their sales promotion efforts but I am tempted to add a broadside of my own for emphasis.

The other day right in front of my friends Tarzan — John Wayne — Boy George — fan offered a free demonstration of the power the television has over him. Immediately the Kellogg's Cornflakes advertisement came on he rushed to the kitchen and grabbed a box of cornflakes and shook it rhythmically with the little boy in the advertisement — all pure child's play, you may say. What was missing was the cornflakes. His anguished crying on realising that there was no cornflakes in the house was such that I had to rush to the corner shop to replenish the stock.

Now, when a boy of four wants cornflakes for breakfast, lunch and dinner it becomes quite obvious that I need urgent help to sort out this strange behaviour. My friends, some of whom have been in this country for many years (and by necessary implication know what they are talking about as far as these things are concerned) suggested that I take the kid to see a child psychologist.

"Not bloody likely," I said suddenly, getting very angry. "Just because the boy loves Tarzan, John

Wayne, Boy George and Kellogg's Cornflakes doesn't necessarily make him a candidate for the psychologist's couch."

"Well, calm down. Nobody is saying that he is behaving abnormally, but..."

"Don't ever let me hear you use those words again..."

"What I mean is that most children go through this phase when they first arrive here. My son got hooked onto computer games. It got so bad that he used to spend whole days fighting asteroids and other space invaders."

"So what happened, eventually?" I asked.

"He gave up."

"Just gave up the fight?" I asked. I couldn't believe my ears.

"Exactly, when the television packed up and I refused to replace it. My wife and I had endless quarrels over it. You don't know what is peace until you've been without that electronic contraption."

"I'm beginning to see your point. I either get rid of the television or get rid of my son. That's a very helpful suggestion, thank you very much"

INTERVIEW

"Check this one out with your local G.P., you won't regret it." My friend advised. But before doing that I decided to conduct a little interview with the boy. To find out why he likes John Wayne, Boy George, Tarzan and Kellogg's Cornflakes.

"It's because John Wayne has pistols and shoots all the bad guys," he said.

"What about Boy George? He doesn't shoot anybody, does he?"

"Oh no," he exclaimed with surprise "Silly; he sings nice songs and dresses like a girl."

"I see, but Tarzan?"

"Tarzan loves animals and swings in the trees like a monkey. He is wonderful isn't he?"

"Yes," I agreed "But tell me, what do all these people mean to you?" I asked. He was quiet for a moment.

"What do they mean? I think they all eat Kellogg's Cornflakes, don't they, daddy? Isn't that why they can do what they do? Isn't that so?"

I mean, after such a brilliant explanation who needs Mars bar chocolates or psychologists?