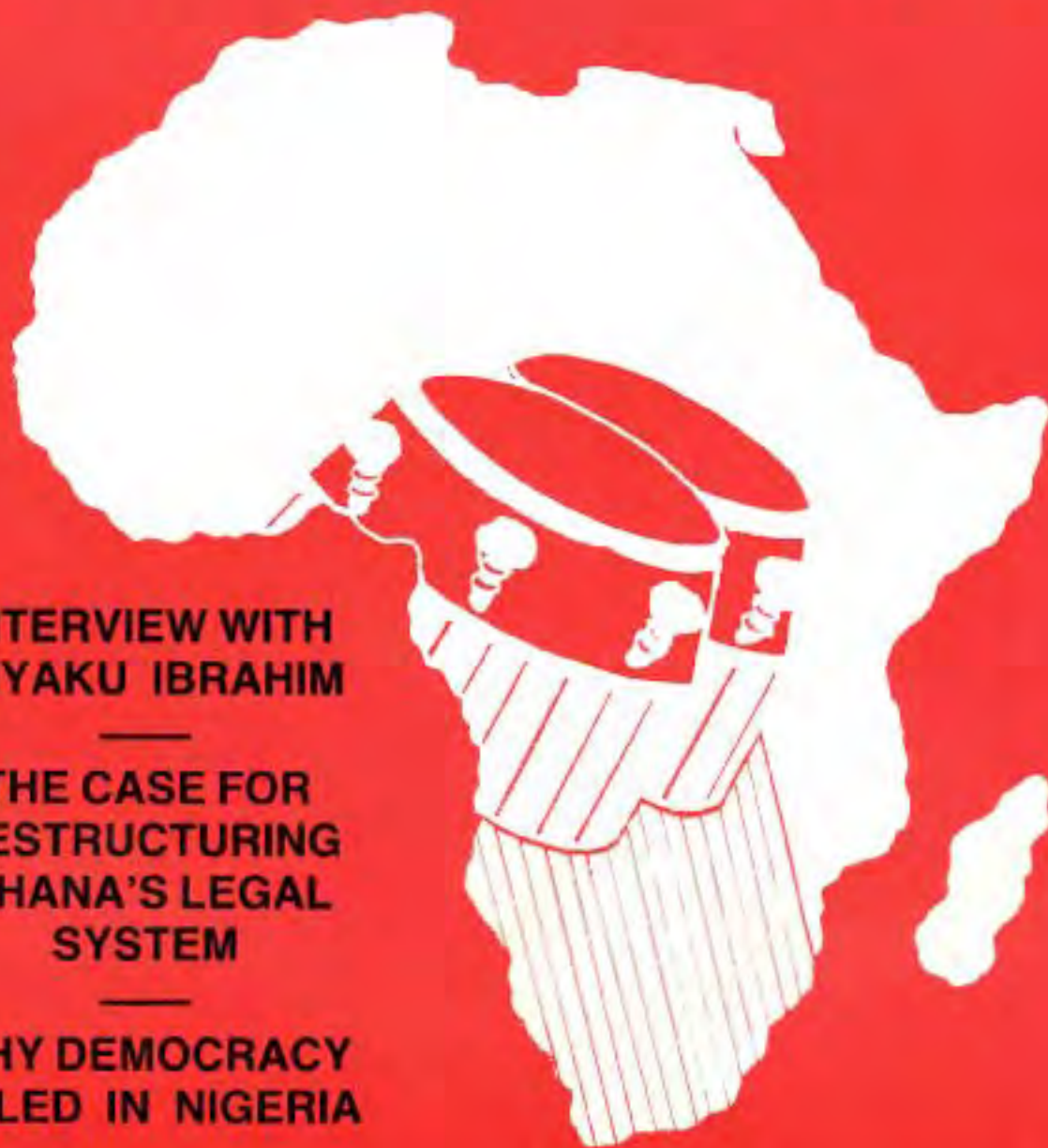


TALKING DRUMS

THE WEST AFRICAN NEWS MAGAZINE

Published Weekly

January 30th, 1984



**INTERVIEW WITH
ISIIYAKU IBRAHIM**

**THE CASE FOR
RESTRUCTURING
GHANA'S LEGAL
SYSTEM**

**WHY DEMOCRACY
FAILED IN NIGERIA**

"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 18

JANUARY 30, 1984

CONTENTS

COMMENT	4
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	5
AMERICAN STYLE DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA — A FAILED EXPERIMENT?	6
WHY GHANA'S LEGAL SYSTEM MUST BE RESTRUCTURED <i>Frank Kwaw Codjoe of Hamburg concludes his analysis on the so-called conservation of the Ghana Legal institution and argues that restructuring it is a must for the ruling PNDC if it is to avoid political suicide.</i>	7
MINI-HYDRO ELECTRIC POWER POTENTIAL FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT <i>Poku Adaa, our industrial correspondent reports on the deliberation of the conference on mini-hydro electric power held in New Delhi, India late last year.</i>	9
ZIMBABWE AND U.S. AID <i>"Zimbabwe officials have been displeased by what they interpret as heavy-handed Reaganite efforts to dictate foreign policy to them. They view the cut back in aid as blackmail" — Anis Haffer, Los Angeles.</i>	11
TRIBALISM, CIVIL WAR, CORRUPTION... <i>Ben Mensah continues his analysis of the Nigerian coup d'état of December 31st, 1983.</i>	13
CONVERSATION WITH A "WANTED" BUSINESSMAN <i>A defiant Isiyaku Ibrahim said in an interview with Elizabeth Ohene that his faith in the constitutional rule and eventual restoration of democracy was unshaken.</i>	16
DILEMMA AND PROBLEMS OF A HI-LIFE MUSICIAN (Part 2) <i>In this concluding article, Kwabena Asamoah writes on issues which would enhance the marketability of hi-life music.</i>	17
TOUCH OF NOKOKO <i>Kofi Akumanyi shares the agony of a Ghanaian family with newly-born quadruplets.</i>	19
WHAT THE PAPER SAY	20
PEOPLE, PLACES AND EVENTS	21
SPORTS	26

COMMENT

AN UNEQUAL EQUATION

THE ARGUMENT has been resurrected all over again about the merits and demerits of civilian rule as compared with military rule. With the failure of another civilian regime, it is no wonder that the topic has been brought up again and in the atmosphere that usually follows military take overs, not many points will be found in favour of the civilians and until the eventual disenchantment sets in, military rule will be advocated as the answer for African problems.

But surely the basis for the comparison is faulty? The question of government bureaucracy needs to be examined first.

The new military government in Nigeria has said that the country will save N88.8 million a year as the salary that would have been paid to members of the disbanded National Assembly and this without reckoning the salaries of their aides and other perks of office; that is a lot of money to come into the national treasury.

Elected officials in Africa do tend to be over generous when it comes to voting money for themselves.

They were guilty of that in Ghana and they were guilty in Nigeria. But supposing that the salaries of National Assembly members had been half what they were receiving and thus not likely to have attracted public resentment, that would still mean at least N44.4 million left for the military government to spend, and such "savings" can be found in a wide range of places.

The laws under which civilians govern require them to have parliaments, National Assemblies, etc and committees cannot function without researchers and secretaries.

It is not for nothing that the first thing that the military does on assuming power is to throw out the constitutions that in many cases had been fashioned and handed over to the civilians by the military and out with the constitutions go a lot of institutions which civilian rule cannot function without and whose absence then are proclaimed as thrift and money saving policies by the military.

Even more important than the "savings" that can be made is the absolute power that comes with military rule. With one wave of an officer's walking stick, a law — decree as they become — comes into being and with one radio announcement an entire community can be transformed from fishermen to farmers.

Without constitutions to guarantee individual freedoms, the citizen has no defence against violations to his rights and as has been stated in these columns before, people also have tendencies not to be as brave or courageous in standing for their rights when there are guns on the streets.

For the military to demonstrate convincingly that they are indeed better at ruling than the civilians, why don't they try ruling under the same conditions and regulations that the inept civilians do?

It is of course very easy to be popular with the citizenry when you can break into warehouses and enter markets to force prices down, the sense of euphoria that comes with buying a bag of rice for N20 when it had been on offer for N90 and when the recommended price is N30, is unimaginable. The military might

how laws can be made under constitution by a radio announcement or in a speech to enthusiastic students. They might also want to educate future aspirants to political power how to clamp an entire country under curfew for whatever length of period they decide to be necessary.

Much education will be required for example on the whole subject of the protection and upholding of basic freedoms while moving with enough speed in decision taking to satisfy the aspirations of a population in a hurry, in much the same way as it will be helpful to show how suspects of any and every imaginable crime can be kept in jail for whatever length of period without charge nor access to counsel and the government will still not fall foul of the constitution or some brave lawyer would not slap a writ of habeas corpus and an equally courageous court tell the government to jump off into the sea.

Democracy has never come cheap to any society and while it should be said that extravagance is unforgivable in countries where the greater majority are steeped in poverty, there is a certain basic structure that cannot be avoided and it is hardly fair that part of the charges to damn civilian rule with should be the money that can be "saved" by demolishing these structures.

It is not unthinkable that an impressive sum will be saved by the country if the position of "batman" were abolished in the military, and to the uninitiated, "batmen" look like an extravagant perk to senior military officers even if it is possible that a persuasive case can be made for their existence.

The London *Financial Times* last week carried a wide range survey on Nigeria and part of it was an interview with the Head of State Major General Muhamadu Buhari. The reporter asked the General: "Don't you think it is one of the strengths of Nigeria, that you have such a vigorous Press, even if you sometimes feel they are a bit of a nuisance?" He answered: "I think it is a weakness."

It is not unlikely that this brief exchange provided a clearer insight into the psyche of military officers and their attitude to government than anything else.

One of the basic principles of constitutional rule is the presence and encouragement of a free and vigorous press. The military in Africa will have to end their priceless lesson in the art of government by demonstrating that they can and will rule with a critical, cynical and questioning press.

When they have been able to do all these for even a six month period, they can tell the world and the shamed civilians — there you are, go ye forth and do likewise.

The checks and balances that are built into constitutions tend to slow governments down and are doubtless irksome to rulers but at the end of the day, they are the only protection the individual has against arbitrariness and capriciousness by government.

The "savings" that become headlines today only mean that power recedes even further from the people. Until the day that the military are able to govern under the same conditions as the civilians, there is no hope.

LETTERS



Military interventions in Africa?

THE EASE with which elected governments in Africa are ousted by the military leaves much to be desired. In the foregoing, an attempt would be made to highlight some of the causes which make their interventions inevitable.

The root cause, as far as I can determine, is that the military in Africa is not adequately represented in government. Gone are the days when the military were relegated to the barracks and kept out of politics.

They are now highly politicised and each time, they are left out of the decision making process an attempt to register their disapproval gives them a chance to stage a coup d'état.

For example, in the United States the Pentagon, a powerful organ of the US Army, has links with the Administration. Of what use would it be for the US Army to take over the reins of government, when its interests are provided for?

Democracy thrives in places where the majority of the citizens can read and write. In Africa where the opposite is the case, how can the ruled understand what the government is doing when its policies are not understood by a majority of the people? Illiteracy, they say is a disease.

It is my contention that much of the problems could have been avoided if the African had been allowed to develop a national language, in the running of their day-to-day affairs.

News broadcast on radios, television and in newspapers are in languages beyond the comprehension of the illiterates, thereby keeping them miles away from reality. The spontaneous action of the people to demonstrate in the streets in favour of a military take-over dwindles in a short time when aspirations are not satisfied.

Similarly, in most of the Western democracies its citizens are by law made to enlist in the Army for a period of two years. During this period, they receive military training. The inference is that since most of the people are equipped to fight, any attempt to forcibly take over the government could be challenged. In Poland, even though solidarity by workers to effect

changes has not, to a large extent reserved the old order, much has been achieved by way of exposing the system to public debate.

The right to possess firearms is of paramount importance in the United States. In spite of its inherent danger, no-one has planned or is planning to pass a law to abrogate it. In Africa, possession of firearms remains the exclusive right of the army and military. The number of people who own firearms is negligible.

In view of this fact, anytime the military decides to attack, there is little or no resistance. Were it not for this fact, what mandate has the military to rule? Why not farmers, teachers, fishermen, workers etc, but nearly always the men in uniform?

In conclusion, until and unless Africans have the right to possess firearms, in order to fight back, the idea of democracy whereby unpopular governments are voted out of power by the people expressed through the ballot box and NOT by the barrel of guns, would for ever be a tantalising mirage.

Joseph Asare Mensah,
Hamburg, West Germany

Release the Bishop

I HAVE just read the Catholic newspaper, *The New Bildpost* of January 8th, 1984 published in West Germany in which it was reported that the Catholic Bishop of Accra, Bishop Dominic Andoh and his secretary, Peter Agbenu have been arrested and placed in custody for preaching about democracy to his congregation.

I am imploring the PNDC to release the two men of God immediately for in these difficult times that Ghanaians are going through, we need the church as a source of hope and spiritual strength. I would like to remind the men in power of the fact that brutal force has never worked in promoting or bending people towards the government's will. If this were not so the killing of Acheampong, Afrifa, Yaw Boakye, Utuka, Akuffo, Kotei and Felli should have laid all Ghana's problems to rest.

No doubt, our problems as a country are legion and it would take years of dedicated and determined efforts to straighten things out. But for heaven's sake, leave the church alone!

Joe Manu,
Hamburg, West Germany

Business as usual

I MUST congratulate you on the editorial of January 16th, 1984 entitled 'Waiting for Confusion in Nigeria?' which set a scenario for a seemingly inevitable confusion in Nigeria following the December 31st coup d'état last year.

As usual you exhibited a deep insight

into the mechanics of African politics and the cycle of events which have always led to confusion and economic degeneration.

I particularly liked your argument about the Western businessmen's rationale for supporting military regimes in developing countries; that while they appear to frown on corruption and other vices they at the same time condone and connive with the people in power to the detriment of the masses.

To put it crisply, it has always been "business as usual" with the people in power. This is hypocrisy at the highest level.

Kofi Asempa, Middlesex

Issiyaku's bold example

COULD this be the beginning in Africa of what has been happening in other parts of the world?

The reaction of Alhaji Ibrahim Issiyaku to the coup in Nigeria will not only surprise but also anger all those who wish to see Africans remain docile in servitude, oppression and injustice.

But just imagine soldiers who under normal circumstances are cast away behind walls in barracks to perfect their methods of maintaining peace, law and order turning their guns against their own governments and yet expect the people not to resist them.

Perhaps it is foolhardy for unarmed civilians attempting to confront armed soldiers which has always prevented our people from standing up against military coups.

The soldiers, after taking power then accuse the civilian politicians of corruption and all sorts of crimes even though they themselves may be worse than the devil.

Let the soldiers who have felt unchallenged in their disruptive crusades now be made to realise the determination of the civilians to fight them not with guns but with every available weapon they possess.

If Alhaji Ibrahim has more facts about the soldiers let him come out with them. But let others cast away their docility and emulate his bold step to expose the short coming of the military. For in this way will Africans prove their maturity and dedication to a cause they believe in.

Miranda Anyomi, Surrey UK.

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American-style democracy in Nigeria - a failed experiment?

By Emmanuel A. Annor, Los Angeles

TO MANY AFRICANS who admire the workings of Western Democracies, and who hoped, albeit with unease, that the Nigerian experiment with American-style democracy would provide a model to be emulated, the 31st December 1983 military takeover came as a rude shock, and probably put a temporary seal on the ballot box as an instrument for leadership change in Africa. For many western observers of the African scene, the event may have been *deja-vu*. The cynic might well echo Rene Dumont and affirm that *Afrique noire est mal partie!* And for the opponents of the obnoxious Apartheid policy in South Africa, the setback is even more painful, since Nigeria is the only African nation with the potential to stand up to Apartheid.

Whichever way you look at it, little purpose will be served if we wring our hands and bemoan the demise of democracy in Africa. Rather, the change should be considered as a challenge and an opportunity: a challenge not to give up the experiment with democracy, and an opportunity to re-examine critically the basic ingredients that are essential for democracy to take root in Africa.

Nigeria's adoption of American-style democracy — from the constitution to the expansion in the institutions of higher education — was almost total. Unfortunately, the adoption of American institutional forms came without the adoption papers. The social infrastructure had not gone through the same evolutionary process as had that of the United States. It was, therefore, not surprising that by the end of the first term of the democratic experiment, many cracks had appeared at the seams.

True, Nigeria had a vibrant and free press: the freest in Africa. Indeed, if the present military junta picked on corruption among public officials as the prime motivation for the intervention, it was mainly because of the wide press coverage of such excesses. But unlike the journalistic coups which often occur in America (the most dramatic of which resulted in the resignation of President Nixon), the Shagari administration appeared to have made the concept of freedom of the press meaningless. Not only was it helpless in the face of public outcry against the blanket plundering of the

country's resources, it did nothing to bring known culprits to justice.

This apparent insensitivity to press criticisms aside, the brazenly manner in which the *nouveaux riches* carried themselves about in public view (a recent craze was to own private jets!), in a society where changes in personal fortunes become easily noticeable, seriously undermined public confidence in elected officials.

And as if to mimic the era of the land-grant colleges of the United States in the nineteenth century, institutions of higher education proliferated in Nigeria. But again, unlike the land-grant colleges these new institutions lacked clearly defined goals. When oil revenues started to dwindle, a heavy strain was put on both state and federal government resources.

DICTATORSHIP

These are but a few of the institutional forms which appeared to have worked in the United States, but which apparently made less than significant impact in Nigeria.

Nigeria's case then is that of a painful irony of wealth. The oil boom enabled her to purchase whatever was available on the world market for rapid modernization, but apparently she lacked the infrastructure to absorb all the new products with their imported values!

This is, of course, not to argue that the military can provide any credible solution to the hydra-headed problems of that country. If anything, past military dictatorships have tended to be more corrupt and incompetent than the civilians they overthrow. And wasn't the current wave of corruption started by the military which ruled for thirteen years in Nigeria?

Nevertheless, the New Year's Eve coup should awaken Nigerian intellectuals and those interested in democracy in Nigeria to evaluate the fundamental issues which underlie so much of the political instability in that region. A critical question is the role of the military in national development. Clearly, no definitive role had been carved for Nigeria's well-armed, 250,000-strong army. A much larger question, of course, is how rapid modernization can take

environment of motley traditional forms and foreign influences.

Rather than lamenting the demise of democracy in Nigeria, the optimist can take consolation in the fact that it took numerous wars, court intrigues, decapitations, and for sure, coups d'etat, before Western Democracies evolved to their present shape and form. Perhaps what happened in Nigeria is part of the teething pains in the evolutionary process, and painful as the process may be, the experiment should never cease. What Nigerians probably expect from western observers at this point in their history is neither sympathy nor an attitude of I-told-you-so, but an appreciation of the inevitable growing pains which experience alone can teach. Viewed this way, we can still look to the future with hope.

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Why Ghana's legal system must be restructured (Part 2)

— A rejoinder to Mr Kojo Smith

In the first part of this article published in the last issue FRANK KWAU KODJOE, of Hamburg argued that lack of confidence in the existing traditional courts necessitated the establishment of new legal institutions. In this final part he concludes that the restructuring of the legal system is necessary to counteract the inherent conservatism of the existing courts and avoid political suicide by the revolutionary regime.

WITH REGARD to the Public Tribunals and how they are constituted, the lawyers and judges seem to lack full understanding of what a Public Tribunal really is. A tribunal, sometimes called special court, plays mainly a political function. It is a court which has the function of defending and protecting the rights and interests of the common man against encroachment by the established, conservative and dominant classes. Tribunals are set up mainly during revolutionary periods or when the leader in power wants certain vital cases that go either against the interests of the state or against those of the public, to be tried and be disposed of with despatch.

Ghana with Flt-Lt Rawlings in power is involved in a revolution and that calls for the changing of some of the structures already in existence which have proved to be inadequate to deal with the problems of the day or to innovate those which appear to be still sprightly and adjust them to tackle existing problems positively. No lawyer, judge or any other person in Ghana would expect that a revolutionary government would use the existing courts which are mainly the den of conservatism. Doing such a thing would be to commit political suicide and to betray the aims of the revolution.

This is because those on the bench who actually disagree with the revolutionary process would use legal technicalities and procedures, and even un-

necessary postponements of certain cases, to let the criminals who the government want to punish as the revolution demands, go scot free. And thereby frustrate the plans of the government. If the probity and integrity of the existing courts had not been eclipsed, the setting up of the Public Tribunals would not have been necessary.

The Public Tribunals are legally instituted and there is no reason why they cannot become constituent parts of the legal system of the country. They are already part and parcel of the judicial system, an important innovation to the system.

The French set up tribunals in the course of the French Revolution. They still remain part and parcel of the French legal system. There is no reason why those set up in Ghana should be scrapped off all because, according to the lawyers, there exists already 'traditional' or 'ordinary' courts. But how traditional and ordinary are they?

As concerns the law establishing the Public Tribunals which make their decisions final, there is no provision in it which makes this situation permanent, unamendable. At the moment, it is deemed its decisions should be final. But, if with time, the situation in Ghana changes and people begin to acquit themselves of their civic responsibilities correctly; and if confidence and trust among Ghanaians improve, the law can be amended to allow appeals to be made to the higher courts.

Mr Kojo Smith analysed the constitutional character of the PNDC Law 42 and emphasised that law constitutionally creates a dictator, a tyrant, indeed, in the person of Flt-Lt Rawlings. But, again, there is nothing in Law 42 which abrogated the 1979 constitution, — there are still the 1960 and 1969 constitutions which are theoretically valid since they were not formally abrogated — which prevent any future amendment.

If we consider that, the first proclamation establishing the PNDC did not give absolute powers in the form of the executive, legislative, administrative and judicial powers to the PNDC, and by that fact to Flt-Lt Rawlings, then it must be understood that the counter-productive behaviour of most people well-placed in the society, made the assumption of those powers, absolute power unavoidable later on.

Law 42 was promulgated in February 1983, more than a year after the PNDC had assumed the reins of power. Whether or not Flt-Lt Rawlings will misuse those powers will depend on the behaviour of the people who matter in Ghana.

People should take their time and contemplate what power really means in politics. Power in any form involves command and obedience. By its very nature, it is dictatorial, whether people perceive it to be so or not. The dictatorial aspect of power sleeps or it is held in check when the person or people wielding power have not been bruised or threatened. Power involves force or the use of it. If a Head of State or Government finds himself or his government threatened, he would not hesitate to use power, or force to put down the challenge because a challenge that seeks to usurp the constituted order is trying to destroy an established power. And not only that, the challenge thrown to a government by its opponents, especially in a country where social, political and economic problems are acute and sensitive, easily lead to power changing hands.

This is the more reason why governments in the developing countries become dictatorial. Any idea of the separation of powers among the Executive, Legislature and the

elary will remain a mere theory fiction in the Third World countries unless those involved in creating the three areas of power take their jobs very seriously and show a sense of uprightness and an unqualified probity. This means that the needs of the majority of the people living in Third World countries must be accorded a religious attention if stability and order are expected to prevail.

Ghanaians seem to be obsessed with concepts like dictatorship, democracy and freedom. This obsession appears to derive from the fact that these concepts seem to be working in the developed countries relatively. But fewer Ghanaians or even Africans have taken the trouble to examine the historical development of the developed countries. There has been unprecedented and horrible oppression, economic, social and political of the European peoples up to, the 1940s. Human Rights and equality before the law were concepts that were thrown overboard by the French revolution.

The European peoples longstanding heroic fight to achieve freedom from oppression, human dignity and welfare, made their governments institute those social horrors in the colonies. Thus, while the socio-economic and political conditions of the European peoples were improving, those in the former colonies were made worse through oppression and intensive exploitation.

When independence was finally achieved, there were no indigenous people with enough private capital to invest and turn industrialists. The civil service, that is the government, became the biggest provider of employment. But people who assumed senior positions in the administration and the judiciary and the politicians, now monopolising state resources, became even the worse exploiters. The European and American factories churning out the sophisticated and coveted consumer goods which the new African bosses wanted made them forget about their countries' development and future welfare.

Serious embezzlement of state resources and a complicated network of bribery, as well as complicated system of contact, developed. There resulted terrible socio-economic problems for the common people, especially the farmers and the ordinary workers, who found it really difficult to make ends meet. Yet, in the developing countries, the farmers are the main sources of government revenue. Their welfare should have been the paramount thing for the new men wielding power in all spheres of life. But that was no

to loot and a greater part of the resources so looted were sent to Europe and America, into their various accounts.

The industrialised nations then used those monies from the Third World to create credits for their industries. And used part of that as aid to those same countries, involving them in debt. This debt increases as the rate of debt-servicing increases, leaving Third Countries in a vicious circle. So that these countries have become poorer and their problems have increased. This is the background which help to understand the situation in Ghana.

In this situation, the interpretation of the concepts of democracy and freedom as well as the condemnation of dictatorship are different from the interpretation done in the developed countries. In Ghana, for instance, following the various arguments connected with freedom, one gets the impression that, for those wielding power at all levels of the society, freedom means freedom to embezzle funds, evade taxation and to cheat.

Any power invoked by a leader in order to stop these happenings is interpreted to be dictatorial. For the common people, freedom means freedom to go hungry, to suffer and to die. Democracy as related to freedom, is for the powerful people to enable them remain secure in their positions

and to continue with their activities as before with no let or hindrance from any power.

In the developed countries, on the other hand, freedom is not categorised as it used to be in times past. The meaning given to it is that people should be free from hunger, suffering and diseases. It means freedom to have access to work. Democracy means the ability of governments to provide general welfare and social security for a greater section of the population. Thus, both democracy and freedom create propitious conditions for individual welfare and contentment. It means a society of plenty.

To change this unacceptable situation of squalor in Ghana for the common people, Flt-Lt Rawlings has initiated a revolution. And as Mao Zedung correctly wrote, a revolution is a process where one class takes over from another. It cannot be a tea party. It involves power struggle, the use of absolute power to force it through to its expected end. The PNDC has retrospectively taken those absolute powers.

Perhaps, when the socio-economic conditions change in the future for the betterment of the common people, new arrangements would be made, where constitutionally, there will prevail the sharing of powers by the main organs of the state and the government. And

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there will be true democracy and freedom ensuring welfare and maximum security for all in Ghana. These are the nagging aims of the PNDC.

On the whole, I appreciate Mr Kojo Smith's article. He made criticisms but he did not leave them at that. He also made vital suggestions for the government to consider. I fully support the

four points he made in his suggestion and I must urge the government to implement them immediately. I also want to add that the government should consider establishing a Labour Court and also examine the possibilities of creating a social court in the future. The problems Ghana has been facing are all pangs of development. The society is changing and new insti-

tutions should be established to cope with the problems generated by the change. And existing ones should be remodelled to match new situations. For, as a commentator said in 'The World Today' of the BBC devoted to the Nigerian coup d'état: "If any two countries are going to work in Africa, they are certainly Ghana and Nigeria".

Mini-hydroelectric power — potential for rural development

The 12th Congress of the World Energy Conference (WEC) was held in the Indian city of New Delhi in September 1983 and called for expansion in small-scale water power schemes in developing countries. POKU ADAA, reports on the deliberations of the conference and assesses the potential for mini-hydro power development in Ghana and other West African countries

THE 12TH CONGRESS of the World Energy Conference took place in New Delhi, India from 19th-23rd September, last year. For many developing countries, the theme of the conference, *Energy Development and Quality of Life*, was particularly relevant as it deliberated extensively on the development of mini-hydro schemes as the only viable alternative now to fossil fuel.

In Ghana, apart from the giant hydro-electric project at Akosombo and the 160MW Kpong project, several sites have been identified by the Volta River Authority as suitable for development of mini-hydro schemes. In June 1981, the Electricity Corporation of Ghana hosted an American fact-finding team in Accra to study, select and evaluate potential sites on small rivers for possible development of mini-hydro projects to back up the national efforts in rural electrification.

For some time now, Ghana, Ivory Coast and Upper Volta have been negotiating for the construction of dams on the Black Volta. In May 1978, it was agreed at a meeting in Ouagadougou that a joint commission be set up to carry out feasibility studies at Nounbiel/Koulbi on the river. At Bui

also on the Black Volta, 200 kilometres north of the Lake Volta, a study conducted by the Australian Snowy Mountain Engineering Company (SMEC) in 1976, confirmed the dam site location and pronounced the project economically feasible. A total of 450MW power capacity from three generation units and a 161KV transmission grid are envisaged to serve the northern and upper-regions of the country. The same company, SMEC, anticipated a possible dam site at Juale on the River Oti.

On the White Volta near Pwalugu, a 36MW power-cum-irrigation site has been identified by the study team from Nippon-Koei of Japan. Further south, there are two smaller rivers, the Pra and the Tano which have been studied extensively by HydroProject of Prague and Nippon-Koei of Japan, and identified sites on four points along the course of each of the two rivers, offering a combined total capacity of 229.5MW and 137MW respectively, with a major one identified at Awisam on the Pra capable of an output of 88MW.

Elsewhere in West Africa, mini-hydro projects have become integral parts of many national development programmes of the region. Upper

Volta is planning a second scheme estimated to cost about \$127 million on the Kompienga river lying to the south of Ouagadougou. In Senegal, the Dama dam at the mouth of the Senegal river is one of two projects being developed by the Senegal River Development Commission. The other one is the Manatali dam on the river Bafing in Mali. On the Gambia river, a hydro electric scheme has been earmarked for Kekriti and Mako in collaboration with Gambia. Several schemes are in operation in Nigeria, notably the Kiri dam in Gongola State planned to serve the Savannah Sugar company.

Thus the Twelfth Congress of the World Energy Conference provided a concrete forum for developing countries to assess their energy needs and potential. Delegates from over sixty countries and from several international organisations and engineering companies, attended the five day conference. The whole proceedings were organised under four main categories: Exploitation of resources, Equipment and Processes particularly for transmission and transfer of energy, Management of Energy, and International collaboration and Finance.

The area which tended to command patronage and exciting discussions was the concept of small scale hydro schemes which repeatedly came up in all four sections of the proceedings. Hydropower schemes which have outputs of between 10 and 1500 kilowatts are usually classified as small-scale or mini, and because they are always easily available for consumption by the local communities in which they are generated, they allow dispersion of power to isolated corners and remote areas which have no connection to existing national grids. Thus small scale hydropower offers real impetus and attractive scope for rural power supply development schemes.

In many countries which have water resources, i.e. rivers, streams and their tributaries, delegates learnt that, there is great potential for several independent small scale hydropower stations. The Congress was told that running costs tend to be usually low and only middle level skilled manpower are required for operation and routine maintenance, although it was emphasised that the capital costs are high and actually depend on the location of the scheme due to costs of transportation of construction materials, type of landscape and length of access roads. Thus one could not set a definite range of costs for such schemes based solely on

power capacity.

In considering the reasons why there have been such slow progress in the development of hydropower, the case studies and experiences of several countries revealed the lack of funds was the greatest limiting factor. There was also the problem of rivers and waterways which formed the boundary between two or more countries which often involved protracted negotiations sometimes extending over many years regarding resources allocation and environmental impacts. It is a problem which hinders co-ordination and communication between all parties concerned. As regards the cost of installation, there was an example from Malaysia where plastic and wood were used for pipes, and several other equipments like turbines and generators were standardised, as a way to reduce cost. It was felt though among participants that such cost reduction would be comparatively minimal and could not be adopted universally.

The session on International finance and collaboration was very interesting indeed as it appeared to hold the key to practical realisation of all the congress discussions. Interregional co-operation in harnessing waters within a particular region and sharing of the power generated was recommended and examples were given of that of the Kariba dam between Zambia and Zimbabwe,

Ghana and Togo and of the potential distribution of the power from the Owen Falls in Uganda to neighbouring Kenya, for instance.

It came out towards the end of the five days meeting that for the next seventeen to twenty years, financial aid to developing countries would have to increase by an annual rate of at least 10 per cent, if the immense potential hydropower in the developing world are to be exploited. The Congress was told that about £200 million per annum will be required to allow increase in total power output by about 500 MW per year.

In concluding, the Congress reaffirmed optimistically that development in the energy field was the key to open the world through to the next phase of advancement when today's recession finally wears off. The unanimous conclusion was that small scale hydropower is of crucial importance for developing countries in the sense of its flexibility for local design, manufacture and operation and that, in general, hydropower has a definite role to play as a technically tested and feasible substitute for oil.

Finally, the Congress called for substantial financial aid and co-operation in transfer of technology from developed countries to meet the expected population explosion and increases in energy uses of the future.

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The case of a broken promise

... Zimbabwe and U.S. aid

"Zimbabwe officials have been displeased by what they interpret as heavy handed Reaganite efforts to dictate foreign policy to them. They view the cutback in aid as blackmail".

By Anis Haffar

FOR ABOUT two decades, Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) was the object of more international attention than most African nations: First, as the domain of a white minority fighting against the historical wave of African self-determination, and more recently, as a new nation burdened with the hopes and questions frequently attending such births.


Quite a bit can be learned from a study of Zimbabwe's recent past. What this nation has to teach relates to how the African nations, and also the US, can best deal with seemingly endless crises which confront the community of nations.

On November 11, 1965, Prime Minister, Ian Smith announced Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence from Britain. Smith's move represented a defiant reaction on the part of Rhodesia's whites — about 3 percent of the population — to the process of African decolonization. The British government of Harold Wilson instituted oil and trade embargoes which were internationalized by the United Nations security council resolution in 1966 (for selective mandatory sanctions), and in 1968 (for comprehensive mandatory sanctions).

An international effort to isolate the rebel Rhodesians was very much the intention. The US closed its library in Salisbury (now Harare) and also re-

fused to recognize Rhodesian passports. In 1970, all the remaining US consulate officials were withdrawn. Smith's regime was forced into serious negotiations which led to majority rule.

However, from 1971 to 1977, the Byrd amendment enabled the US to import Rhodesian chrome and other minerals in violation of the UN sanctions resolutions which the US had supported. (The US imports all of its chrome from Southern Africa). The administration of Jimmy Carter, however, did not share in the urging of the majority of Congress to lift sanctions completely as a prelude to diplomatic recognition. The President and his advisors were aware that any settle-

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ment which did not afford the Patriotic Front leaders — Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo — a fair opportunity to gain power through the ballot box would not last long; and would attract greater prospects of increased internationalization of the conflict with the possibility of direct Cuban and Soviet involvement.

In the last years of the search for a settlement to the Rhodesian crisis, success would have been far less assured if it were not for the firm leadership of the US under Carter. Since then, US aid to Zimbabwe has focused on rehabilitating the war-torn country.

DEVELOPMENTS

Zimbabwe under Mugabe has moved cautiously to redirect the course of the largely white-run economy it inherited at independence in April 1980. It continues to depend on a mixed economy with private industry and farmers working alongside an expanding public sector.

The US is one of Zimbabwe's largest aid donors providing more than \$200 million (source: Washington Post) to assist in post independence efforts at reconstruction. The aid program has been used to help make US capital equipment available to support Zimbabwe's infrastructure development and its manufacturing industries and commercial agriculture. In 1982, \$50 million was channelled through a commodity import program to make foreign exchange available for purchases of machinery and raw materials, (source: US Dept. of Commerce).

In turn, Zimbabwe represents one of Africa's most promising and stable markets. It has immense requirements for capital equipment. Large public sector investments are planned to revamp its power, transport and communications networks. Some estimates put spending over the last three years at nearly \$1.5 billion on major projects including the Hwange coal-fired power station, an earth satellite station, airport improvements and farm marketing systems.

There are other opportunities for joint economic ventures with the US, as far as agricultural machinery, earth-movers, computers and the peripherals, well-drilling equipment, pharmaceuticals, and textile manufacturing. In addition to its mineral riches, Zimbabwe offers an advantage as a site for positive economic and political cooperation in southern Africa.

Recent events have created mutual chills. For one, according to US officials, Zimbabwe has been

American interests in the UN security council by the abstention on a resolution deploring the Soviet downing of the South Korean airliner. Then came the US invasion of Grenada which the US condemned as "an act of wanton aggression carried out in complete defiance of the UN charter and the sovereign right of the people of Grenada".

The US officials further accused Harare of shunning a memorial service in that capital for US marines and French soldiers killed in Lebanon. To sum all these, US secretary of state Schultz headed off a recent move to halve aid to Zimbabwe. The Congress hitherto had voted to grant the full \$75 million request for the African nation.

Zimbabwe officials likewise have been displeased by what they interpret as heavyhanded Reaganite efforts to dictate foreign policy to them. They view the cutback in aid as blackmail. "Robert Mugabe is a very proud man and he will never allow himself to be seen as anyone's stooge," they said.

The issues that caused the strain are not directly related to the two nations' differences on the southern African question: such as American insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a prelude to Namibia's independence, and the blatant support of the apartheid regime. The rationale here is that Zimbabwe and the US needed each other on a pragmatic basis.

AID: A BROKEN PROMISE

The current impasse has arisen over international matters that suggest an inevitable conflict between a rightist Republican administration inclined to view such matters amid the east-west animosity, and a young African nation that called itself socialist. "We are non-aligned and we shape our own direction," said Deputy Prime Minister Simon Muzenda. The Americans saw it differently. "(Mugabe) was a guest in the United States and we are asking for his help, which he refused".

The reduction in American assistance to Zimbabwe could be subject to varied interpretations. Is economic assistance a reward for "good behaviour": the faithful support and execution of American policy? The Zimbabweans see US aid as a fulfillment of commitments made during 1979 talks that led to independence and one is never quite sure how seriously the Reagan administration

World. Nonetheless, Zimbabwe has flung its doors quite open to the US.

There is at the same time a slight suspicion that size has something to do with it. Absolutely no change in relations with China has been proposed even though the Chinese joined the Zimbabweans in opposition to the US at the UN. Nor has the refusal by Israel and Egypt — the largest beneficiaries of American assistance — to toe Washington's line on some select issues led to reductions of aid. A better example: the Russians are still beneficiaries of American grain though both have nuclear missiles pointed at each other's throat with intense reciprocity. The inconsistencies are just alarming.

Those who see economic aid as a means for creating a more stable and peaceful world will have to think differently. Zimbabwe ranks with the most important targets for aid among the young nations with good prospects for growth. Zimbabwe was promised \$75 million a year from the US for its first three years. That promise is being broken not by the Congress, but by the Reagan administration.

CONCLUSION

To many in the US it was such a joy when the southern peanut farmer, Jimmy Carter, was inaugurated as President and he chose to walk along the street of Washington waving to the crowd. It was an expression of hope — one that Zimbabwe cherished at the dawn of its birth.

How times have changed. Now in Washington, things have become a little different. Concrete barriers are being erected at the entrances to the White House. And for good reason: not long ago, a force ripped congressional doors from their hinges. Many expressed fear. Have the times changed so much in so short a time or is it a world expressing itself out of paranoia? What radical changes.

It is fair to say Zimbabwe is doing much better than Lebanon, Grenada or Afghanistan and Poland. A halving of aid can be a breeze.

Yes, 1984 is the election year in the American political structure. Fortunately, since 1776, Americans have learned how to select leaders in an orderly systematic way. And when new leaders came, the old exited gracefully in the smoothest of transitions. Zimbabwe, Ghana, Nigeria can benefit more from this American experience than sheer aid — which exhausts itself.

If Reagan is voted in for another four

Tribalism, civil war, corruption...

BEN MENSAH continues his analysis on the Nigerian military take-over of December 31st

MAJOR-GENERAL Muhammadu Buhari's motives for toppling Alhaji Shagari's civilian administration on December 31st, 1983 have been shrouded in the usually convenient charge of ineptitude on the part of the civilians.

But in spite of such accusations the declared desire of the Governor of Lagos State, Group Captain Gbolahan Mudashiru to pursue the former government's policy on education, health, housing and other schemes aimed at alleviating the suffering of the down-trodden masses demonstrate the fact that Shagari cannot be totally denigrated, how hard the military tries.

The fact that other governors who find themselves in similar circumstances have not made their views public may be due to mere reticence on their part as against Group Captain Gbolahan's exuberance as reflected in his declaration to permanent secretaries in the state civil service that the Jakande administration had a good plan which he endorses.

Even though a UPN governor, Mr Lateef Jakande formed part of the ousted civilian administration of Alhaji Shagari. The pity of it is that while he is currently being held in custody against his wishes his plans are going to be implemented by another group of people.

Without attempting to bore readers with the *raison d'être* of military coups I dare question the competence of soldiers who take over power from civilians in West Africa.

On October 1st, 1981 Alhaji Shehu Shagari, as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, on the occasion of the twenty first anniversary of independence and second year anniversary of the Executive Presidency made a national day broadcast to review the country's history.

He said, "the first six years of post-independence rule and even more so, the last six years of pre-independence rule, were characterised by ignorance and unfamiliarity, and therefore fear and mistrust among the various ethnic groups.

These pre-independence apprehensions and suspicions were carried out to our post-independence parliamentary democratic era. These facts persisted, indeed grew, despite the best efforts of many of the leaders of the government.

"The Federal government of which I was at that time a member and the regional governments finally came to grief with varying degrees of bloodshed, basically because of their fear and mistrust.

"During military rule, we witnessed the attempt at secession which culminated in a tragic civil war. Many lives were lost and much blood was shed."

That was the saga of the first republic and the military involvement to 'correct' what the civilians had done wrong, as told by ex-President Shehu Shagari who was appreciatively candid in his acknowledgement of their own human failures.

In 1983 however, it looks like the military themselves have too soon conceded their false move as can be concluded, again from the assertion of Group Captain Mudashiru, the new military governor for Lagos state that *he considered his administration lucky in the sense that a very good founda-*

tion had been laid by ex-governor Jakande.

Even Head of State Gen. Buhari has revealed his other reasons for overthrowing Alhaji Shagari's government by admitting his ignorance of the State of Nigeria's economy and the lack of any realistic plan to remedy the situation. For in an address to his military governors he only told them to review the 1984 budget prepared by the ousted Shagari government and ensure that their reports contain more efficient management of resources. General Buhari expects these reports to be ready by the end of April.

However, having already disrupted a civilian administration Gen. Buhari has to plod on with charges of corruption, ineptitude, etc against the civilians. But again if history is a guide to the future then as varying degrees of bloodshed during the civilian era was transformed into a tragic civil war during the military era so will corruption and ineptitude of the Shagari regime degenerate into superlative proportions under Buhari's regime, thereby making the future bleak indeed for all Nigerians.

CDG - GDM - WEST GERMANY ANNOUNCEMENT

The Executive Committee of the CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN GHANA (CDG) - WEST GERMANY, in consultation with the Area Representatives and registered members, wish to announce that, following a communique signed between the Executive Committee and Delegates of GHANA DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (GDM) on the 18th of December 1983 in Hamburg, the independent CDG-WEST GERMANY, has AFFILIATED with the GHANA DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (DGM) under the chairmanship of Mr J.H. MENSAH, the Former Minister of Finance in the 2nd Republic of Ghana.

Accordingly, the name of our organisation CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN GHANA - WEST GERMANY has been changed to GHANA DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (GDM) -WEST GERMANY. All former documents are still valid.

This important step was taken to strengthen the existing unity among concerned Ghanaians in Europe and to intensify our activities towards re-establishment of democratic rule in Ghana.

We appeal to all interested persons, groups and sympathizers, to send all enquiries, letters of sympathy, donations and contributions to:

THE HEAD OFFICE,
GHANA DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, (DGM) - WEST GERMANY,
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GHANA DEMOCRACY

Ghana Must Be Saved

A second year in Ghana's darkest era has drawn to a close. It has been like a long night filled with the most horrible nightmares for the people of Ghana. Yet the horror has been real enough. The land is polluted with blood: the tale continues, unbroken since 1979, of senseless murder, maiming and torture inflicted upon our people by Rawlings' closest associates and friends. Cpl. 'Azaa' executes a woman in a petrol queue. Flt. Lt. Lee, an alien previously cashiered from the Armed Forces but reinstated by his friend Rawlings, drives around Accra carrying a fearsome armoury in his car and casually discharging A.K.47s and machine pistols into the air or into human beings at will. As in the past, the more notorious outrages are investigated. But the majority of the victims of uncontrolled violence in our towns and villages go unnoticed by the government and unrevenged.

Bribery and corruption were allegedly the cardinal sins of politicians which the 'holy war' was going to wipe out. Today bribery and corruption are raging out of control among the apostles of the revolution, from the top of the PNDC, NDC, CVC etc where gold smuggling and deals on purchases of essential commodities are being organised to the local PDCs and WDCs who are seizing every opportunity to cheat and steal from the working people, the farmers and the government, while shouting the praises of their benefactor Rawlings.

Meanwhile the people of Ghana face starvation and the most severe deprivation in living memory in every aspect of their existence. Long before Christmas, maize is already more than C6,000 a bag and the C20 ball of kenkey cannot feed a three-year old child. A loaf of bread — when it is available — costs more than a day's wages. Everybody is thin and worn out from walking daily such long distances on a complaining stomach. The minimum wage of a worker is less than one dollar a day.

This Christmas was very bleak. And sending the children back to school in January will be a harrowing thought in so many homes up and down the country.

THE ECONOMY

Earlier this year, when the government started the process of devaluing the cedi and pushing even further down the standards of living of our people, they started on a huge campaign of propaganda and deception. These people, who had railed

so vehemently against Busia and Limann for 'selling out to the imperialists' had, as far back as February 1983, signed a specific undertaking to carry out the most drastic devaluation that had been conducted by any nation in the world since the IMF was founded.

Having failed to hide their intentions under the much-touted system of export bonuses and import surcharges, which could not deal with the desperate state of the economy, they surreptitiously announced their record-breaking devaluation through a Bank of Ghana notice. But the consequential increase in the prices of all goods and services could not be hidden. Rawlings' government has made a firm promise to the IMF that in 1984 petrol will go up again to a target figure of C50 per gallon as against the C35 announced in November.

Ghanaians have been told that in return for all these hardships the economy will begin to improve soon. But the government knows that this is a blatant lie. Having spent so many months abusing and condemning the Western world, Rawlings suddenly burst out with endearing letters to Reagan and invitations to British diplomats and World Bank representatives to give approving testimonials to his government. But his mentor, Kodzo Tsikata, should know that the Western governments are not deceived by these childish ploys. For instance, in Jamaica where there is a serious, Western-backed programme, the IMF has loaned \$680 million plus \$180 million in stand-by credits to a population of less than 4 million souls.

In Ghana, with nearly 14 million people to cater for, the IMF has provided barely \$380 million plus \$80-100 million of readily available money from the World Bank. Everybody knows that IMF arrangements are principally designed to call forth much larger amounts of bilateral and private investments. The US government has been pouring some \$200 million a year into Jamaica. In the case of Brazil the IMF was lending \$1.2 billion out of a total package of \$12 billion, i.e. only one-tenth of the money, with the rest to come from private and bilateral sources.

Yet the Rawlings government

through Kwesi Botchway has been presenting to the people of Ghana as a triumph of its international economic success, a donors' meeting which only yielded \$150 million, much of it not new aid at all. In the meantime, Barclays Bank estimated that Ghana's arrears on short-term payment for letters of credit etc. amounted to more than \$900 million by September.

In the crucial area of food supplies, the US government has promised 6,000 tons of grains as aid. But every informed person knows that Ghana's shortage of grains this year is well above 100,000 tons. So Rawlings just keeps on with his present propaganda about the economy, maize could well be selling at more than C20,000 per bag by the next March-June quarter. And nobody can stop its upward climb — or the desperate hunger and domestic distress that it will spread to all Ghanaians.

Our people are justifiably sceptical of the sudden transformation of the PNDC from its radical hostility towards Ghana's traditional partners in trade, finance and development to the new-found posture of now justifying its economic performance on the grounds that Western governments and institutions have lent Ghana a total of \$700 million under Rawlings — that is, about \$50 for each one of us over the two years. The money itself is of course welcome in our dire straits. But Ghanaians also know:

- that our own domestic production rather than foreign assistance must provide the solution to our economic crisis;
- that private savings and investment, both Ghanaian and foreign, which must support the growth of domestic production will not pick up again until stable and attractive political conditions return to Ghana; and
- that whatever the amount of financial and other resources that comes into our hands it will be dissipated and disappear instead of working and multiplying as long as management remains in the state of collapse into which it has been driven by Rawlings and his political supporters.

The people of Ghana have paid a heavy price in hunger and economic

ANNOUNCEMENT

FRATRICIDAL MOVEMENT

Ghana Must Be Free

distress for the economic education of Rawlings and his friends in the last two years. But clearly, it has all been in vain: the PNDC has fought hard and ruthlessly to hang onto power, but Rawlings knows little and does even less about reviving the economy.

Early in 1982, with the support of university students and professors, they produced an elaborate 'plan' to rehabilitate the transport system. Today, after two years of talk, the transport situation is infinitely worse than it was under Limann. The daily trek on foot to work is a seemingly endless punishment for hundreds of thousands of Ghanaian workers.

Rawlings' contribution has been to encourage the disintegration by WDCs of production at the country's only tyre factory even though lack of tyres accounts for two-thirds of all the vehicles laid off the road in Ghana. Meanwhile the Planning Ministry was announcing elaborate committees, corporations and other administrative 'reforms' which had little to do with the reality — which is that everything was coming to a standstill.

A second example has been in the all-important cocoa sector. The government ostensibly attached the highest priority to its rehabilitation. But by November 1983 less than 1/2 per cent of the 56,000 target acreage in Ashanti has been replanted. Rawlings and Tsikata know little, and care even less, about cocoa and cocoa farmers.

It is vain to hope that the PNDC will ever seriously address the economic problems of Ghana simply because so-called new 'plans' and 'programmes' are announced from time to time. Politically it is absolutely unacceptable that the people of Ghana should be asked to continue to bear the terrible privations of the last two years in the forlorn hope that somehow, sometime, the regime of Rawlings and Tsikata will be able effectively to repair the economy.

Beginning with the expropriation of private bank balances and C50 notes in early 1982 through the inquisition and extortions of the CVCs and the direct assault on major private enterprise such as Valco, GTP, Lever Brothers, Firestone, Juapong Textiles etc etc, Rawlings

and his political supporters have demonstrated their ideological hostility to private enterprise and capital, both Ghanaian and foreign. The banking system is moribund and savings have largely been wiped out.

Whatever support Rawlings and his gang may claim to have received from foreign governments and institutions, the unkempt cocoa farms, the laid-up vehicles and half-finished buildings, and the painful selling off of private assets down to radios and our women's clothes, all point to the collapse of private savings and production investment. The government's new rhetoric and pretensions cannot coax investors into vigorous action until it is matched by a radical change towards a liberal and open economy — and that means a liberal and democratic regime in the political sphere.

While private capital has simply stagnated or run down under the assaults and abuses of the past two years, management and administration has actually fled into retirement and immobility or completely out of the country. There is no possibility of reversing the terrible brain drain out of Ghana while government remains in the hands of a bunch of armed terrorists. And no amount of foreign aid can get Ghana going again as long as the government lacks the managerial capacity to implement its programmes whether in agriculture, education, mining, energy, transportation or public utilities.

For months, the apologists of the government claimed that it was the so-called privileged classes that were undermining the 'revolution'. But finally they have had to admit nobody wants this dictatorship, regardless of 'class'. Speaking of the much-touted Economic Recovery Programme the government's own 'People's Daily Graphic' was forced to write:

"What we tried to portray is the entrenched apathy which is being demonstrated by a majority of the citizenry to the whole process of recovery."

(Thursday, December 22, 1983).

Surely it is a mirage to imagine that the PNDC can ever galvanise the economy of Ghana into recovery when the majority simply do not want to work with it in the terrible conditions of their day-to-day life.

THE POLITICAL SOLUTION

The soldiers who helped Rawlings to seize power a second time are thoroughly disillusioned. They know that they have been manipulated by a bunch of power-hungry anarchists who can only drive Ghana into ever-deepening hunger and misery. They are poised to overthrow the Rawlings regime, because they can now lay hands on the arms and ammunition that the government imported for its own protection. This fratricidal conflict will bring further suffering upon many innocent people, especially as the Rawlings government has been so blatantly tribalistic.

The Ghana Democratic Movement recommends an alternative solution. Let Rawlings and Tsikata hand over power immediately to a group of responsible representatives and respected civilians. There are even now many people in Ghana who could bail them out in this way. But the Ghana Democratic Movement insists that their gang of murderous terrorists must eventually answer to the people of Ghana for their heinous crimes.

This, then is the message of the Ghana Democratic Movement to the people as we enter the second anniversary of the Rawlings-Tsikata dictatorship.

- After the 31st of December, strike out and reclaim the proud heritage of Ghana. Let us recover our civic and human rights: no more lawlessness and armed robberies in the guise of military operations; no more trial or imprisonment of Ghanaians without the right of appeal.

- Let us set up liberal and democratic institutions of government and of social management so that Ghanaians can regain the freedom and prosperity which we have known before and which we need to galvanise the nation into a glorious new era of rebirth and reconstruction.

We say to Rawlings and Tsikata "Go away now and take your troubles with you. Leave the people of Ghana to rebuild the nation you have ruined. This is your last chance; soon it will be too late. You can either leave now through a voluntary hand-over or a few weeks later as the casualties of violent upheaval."

And to the people of Ghana: "Take heart. The night is darkest before the dawn of a new day. Ghana shall be free. Ghana shall once more know peace and prosperity. Salvation is at hand. God bless us all in 1984."

Conversation with a "wanted" businessman

A defiant Isiyaku Ibrahim said in the interview with Elizabeth Ohene that his faith in the constitutional rule and eventual restoration of democracy was unshaken and "I believe the best thing that happened to Nigeria was Alhaji Shehu Shagari."

ONE WAS a little curious because businessmen normally don't behave that way — definitely not during political upheavals.

The usual ritual goes more like this: there is a coup d'etat, businessman go underground or at least assume very low profiles, put as much distance as possible between themselves and the overthrown politicians and then when the dust settles, they emerge and continue their business as usual.

So why had Isiyaku Ibrahim chosen to speak out, I asked him recently in London.

He has a right as a citizen of Nigeria to talk about the events in Nigeria, surely, that cannot be taken from him and then of course, the new rulers had attacked him personally and placed him on a 'wanted' list without any justifiable basis was his heated answer. What would have been strange would be for me to have kept quiet and hide away like a criminal when all I have to do is play my part first as businessman and then as a member of one of the political parties in Nigeria."

One could see the need for trying to clear his name as a businessman but when it comes to speaking for the government of ex-President Shehu Shagari, surely he cannot be that son. Here you have explained quite clearly that you held no public office under the Shagari Administration — would it not be proper for the ex-attorney, President Dr Joe Abacha to speak out on behalf of the overthrown government?

Both the President and Vice-President have been arrested and are in custody and cannot speak in their own defence nor of their administration. According to the Constitution, in the absence or incapacitation of both the President and the Vice-President, the President assumes responsibility and he happens to be outside Nigeria out of the power of the soldiers, does he not speak out on behalf of the

his much publicised role as "the number three man"?

"It will be up to the members of the NPN currently outside Nigeria to decide who their leader should be and as for the prospect of a government in exile, I am not personally enthusiastic about it because such an action might jeopardise the safety and lives of President Shagari and all the many people being held by the soldiers, but that is something to be decided later."

AUTHORITY

As for the position of the Senate President, he was after all elected only by a senatorial district in Cross River State and was elected to his position only by members of the Senate as a constitutional convenience — he did not seek elections on a federal basis and it is not unlikely that if he should try to assume such a leadership position today, some people will question the source of his authority.

When I speak out, it is in my position as a citizen of Nigeria which every Nigerian citizen is entitled to do."

Mr Isiyaku Ibrahim was totally unimpressed by the charges of corruption being levelled against the Shagari Administration. "I will not accept such charges and definitely not from this batch of soldiers. They have been in power before, after all, and if Shagari had probed their activities after they handed over they would have been exposed and the people would have known them for what they are."

What is more, it is not as though Shagari was not doing something

only 8 out of the 46 survived and the budget that he had presented two days before the soldiers seized power will in the end be seen as the only answer to the economic problems.

Thirteen years of military rule earlier had not been able to eradicate corruption in Nigerian society, so on what basis can it be claimed that military intervention now will cure corruption?

So what are his plans now? He will continue his life as a businessman, there is a whole world outside Nigeria where he can conduct his business which is not to suggest that he is giving up on Nigeria. He will fight the new regime in Nigeria until its members are exposed and democracy has been restored to Nigeria.

He was not forthcoming on what forms his fight with the new regime will take — "why expose all my ammunition at the same time?"

But what does he make of the popular support that the coup is enjoying from the people of Nigeria? Again he was unimpressed. If the soldiers want to test their popularity really, they should remove the guns and soldiers from the streets and organise a referendum and then everybody will really know who is popular. As for so-called messages of congratulations and newspaper editorials, Shagari had more.

As for corruption, a test might be to expose the worst ones of the civilians and put them side by side with the worst ones of the military and then leave the people of Nigeria to choose which set they find more reprehensible.

As a starting point, he said, it might be interesting to find out which military leaders' children go to school in Switzerland and England.

A defiant Isiyaku Ibrahim said that his faith in the constitutional rule and eventual restoration of democracy

MUSIC AND ARTS SCENE

The dilemma and problems of the 'Hi-Life' musician (Part 2)

In this concluding article KWABENA ASAMOAH ventures into details which would enhance the marketability of hi-life music and improve the financial resources of the musician and Ghana.

It would sometimes appear unreasonable to expect products from poorer countries to be of a quality as high as in the richer ones but musicians of the poorer countries must understand that the average music fan in the richer countries is either unaware of problems elsewhere or has no duty to be sympathetic; like a typical consumer irrespective of national background he is looking for a product equal or less in value to the amount of money which he is spending. With this in mind the hi-life musician must pay attention to technical details.

Ghana is blessed with many fine musicians but due to lack of adequate recording facilities and modern instruments and equipment the musicians have had to travel abroad sometimes to record and sometimes to settle almost permanently. It is said that the only fairly well equipped studio in Ghana at the moment — the Ghana Films Studio — is almost always fully booked. This is obviously likely to frustrate the musician and some good compositions may never see daylight at a time when the world is eager to listen to hi-life.

The quality of recording, mixing and mastering greatly enhances the marketability of the record especially on the competitive market.

Sleeve design is also part of the public relations of the record. One of my friends once told me that whenever he went to see a football match between teams unknown to him he usually chose to support the team clad in the more appealing jersey. This goes for records as well; one can be tempted to buy a record for the beauty of the design on the sleeve. One is relieved to see that many hi-life musicians are paying attention to such technical details as sleeve design and concept.

MANAGEMENT AND PROMOTION

Just like any commercial activity,

and managed to produce good results. More often than not the musician himself assumes a role in management. It stands to reason that if football teams and boxers in Ghana and elsewhere have coaches and managers, hi-life musicians too should seriously consider engaging the services of music managers well versed in the music trade activity. Such calibre of people may be difficult to come by but the music industry can either consider training or encouraging people with such potential to develop.

George Darko & 'Bus Stop' already have an excellent impresario in the person of B. B. Ossei who granted me an interview (to be published soon in this magazine) when he was recently in London to finalize arrangements in connection with the group's dances in the U.K. and France in April this year. It is expected that with almost 25 years experience in the music and advertising industry behind him, B. B. will pave the way for other African and Ghanaian music managers and impresarios to follow.

The prestigious Ghanaian singer — Pat Thomas — brought out a beauty of an album — 'Pat Thomas 1980' — but it was never backed by any promotion. The album consequently never reached its rightful place on the charts. The lesson is clear for all musicians of Africa. No doubt, money is involved but hardwork, planning and sustained effort are essential.

DISCIPLINE

The music industry is profusely demanding but the rewards are great. Self-discipline is one of the keys to musical success. Life-styles of some musicians in some parts of the world tend to discourage parents from encouraging their children to take up music seriously even though it is a profession like any others. Smoking of whatever, excessive drinking and sexual promiscuity are not uncommon

of life tend to shorten the musical career of most musicians. The temptation is great but African musicians are not obliged to ape foreign habits which are detrimental to the progress of their career.

ATTENTION TO LEGAL ASPECTS

The hi-life musician cannot hope to tackle all the various facets of the music activity, hence the need for a manager or management team to advise him on matters concerning copyrights, royalties, commercial law, company law and investment in the music industry. Financial planning too is an important part of the music activity which cannot be ignored, especially in the competitive market of the 'West'. In short, the musician needs full education and training.

Partly out of adventure and partly due to economic, material and even sometimes political reasons, some hi-life musicians have left Ghana in pursuit of their career. Some have been disappointed abroad, others have achieved greatness. Hi-life bands have been formed in the U.K., Germany, Switzerland, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria and other countries. France is yet to speak with hi-life sounds.

The place of residence has an influence on the type of hi-life produced especially when it comes to the lyrics. Observers believe that the atmosphere and ideas prompting the lyrics contribute better if the musician is ordinarily resident in Ghana. This is highly contentious but stands to logic in certain respects. However, will logic work in music?

It is said that some hi-life musicians living abroad take occasional trips to their 'roots' to pick up ideas and 'traditional' inspiration. 'Osibisa' are one example but appear now to invite the remnants of their 'roots' to travel overseas to join and educate them.

Don't be surprised if you see the Hi-Life Stars again in London this summer.

These exchanges between the 'roots' and the 'branches' have obvious advantages; the 'roots' may have tradition and the 'branches', technology and sophistication.

THE MUSIC INDUSTRY IN GHANA

The music industry has known several upheavals but with the thirst among fans in Europe for hi-life, Ghana music will see more somersaults perhaps in the right direction.

The nation has seen a music brain drain since the mid-seventies due primarily to frustration in the industry. The international music scene has benefitted most from this because one can count at least one Ghanaian in most bands abroad, not talking of some which are one hundred per cent Ghanaian.

Shortage of spare parts and essential materials such as vinyl and matrixes have driven some important figures out of the music industry. Others have settled in other countries. The discos have had their turn and piracy has not completely stopped. Gospel hi-life has not yet died down and traditional music is too powerful to yield even in the face of problems. However, efforts are likely to come to nothing if heavy investment and concrete commitment from the Government are not made now.

It is said that the Ghana Ministry of Culture is planning to build a modern 24-track studio for recording and it is hoped that it would not be one of the usual bureaucratic promises. The international music market is anxiously waiting for hi-life records otherwise it is producing its own from the hi-life bands abroad. The Government cannot hope to receive any returns if it does not invest now as a matter of urgency.

Critics also believe that the Government must not overlook the importance of the contribution of the private recording and producing businesses; they must be allocated reasonable amount of foreign exchange (of course, with the necessary checks and balances) to import their essential needs to rehabilitate their infrastructure in order to sustain the music industry; after all, the private sector has got recording contracts with most of the good musicians. They would not have to hold the Ministry to ransom in spite of everything. Discussion is necessary. The world is waiting for hi-life music and records and it is hoped that Ghana as a nation will take advantage of that.

AFRICA BEYOND AFRICA

A NINE-MONTH long programme will be launched on May 1st at the Commonwealth Institute in London to focus on African culture and heritage.

Under the title 'Africa Africa' the programme will involve visual and performing arts and education elements from many of the African commonwealth countries.

In announcing the programme James Porter, Director of the Commonwealth Institute said: "'Africa, Africa' is a natural development in the way in which the Institute has been working in recent years with the festivals of Sri Lanka and India. We are very enthusiastic about the possibilities of mounting a wide variety of exhibitions, performances, debates and discussions with our African partners, including Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zimbabwe and to exposing in many other ways throughout this period the contemporary issues which concern Africa as a continent".

Opening the programme in May a comprehensive book exhibition with the title 'Africa beyond Africa' and an accompanying contextual seminar explore the influence of African culture throughout the world and are followed in July by an exhibition on the literature of Zimbabwe and one in the autumn on Nigeria.

A conference 'New Directions in African Literature' is scheduled to take place in November to which critics and writers from many Commonwealth countries have been invited. This is being organised in conjunction with the Africa Centre, where the second 'Bookweek Africa', a book fair bringing together publications from all over Africa, will be taking place at the same time.

Film and television are featured with a Nigerian film week and an African Television Workshop which will combine showing of programmes with intensive seminars providing an opportunity for participants to meet with producers and directors.

Highlights amongst the visual and performing arts programme include an African Music Village taking place from 20th July-4th August, largely in the open air setting of Holland Park with traditional musicians from many different African cultures giving concerts and workshops.

In the early part of the programme

Kwag-hir story-tellers and puppeteers from Benue State in Nigeria. Later in the year the Art Gallery will be filled with an exhibition of West African woven textiles combining brilliant colour with flawless technique to achieve many visually stimulating effects.

The programme as a whole takes place in the context of the total renovation and up-dating of the permanent African exhibits in the Institute's Main Galleries. Previously presented on a country by country basis, there will now be a continental exhibit, and an emphasis on a regional story, expressing the progress of individual countries towards independence in the context historically, geographically and culturally of their region. Work is currently under way on this major reconstruction, entailing temporary closure of some parts of the Galleries; the finished result is scheduled for unveiling to coincide with the opening of the programme on 1st May.

It is expected that all the exhibitions will be updated before the gallery is re-opened because almost all the exhibitions have not been touched since they were first put up more than twenty years ago.

The Deputy Director of the Institute explained to a group of "African media" people that the Institute had been in active consultation with individual African Commonwealth nations through their High Commissions in London.

The new look exhibition is expected to attract more people to the Institute's Galleries.

AFRICAN FOOD AT AFRICA CENTRE

●The Africa Centre, under the auspices of the African Women's Confederation, is hosting a discussion on African food by African women on Saturday February 4th, 1984 at the Africa Centre in London.

The other topic to be discussed is "can there be communication between literate and illiterate African women?"

A release from the centre says the discussions will begin at noon and end

A TOUCH OF NOKOKO

by Kofi Akumanyi

I HAD not heard from my very good friend Yaw Beeko for quite some time. The last time he wrote to me was some four months ago and blamed it all on the disgraceful postal system and promised that he would rather ring and report if anything urgent cropped up. Therefore, the long silence meant good news. That was so until I got a call one night.

He casually announced that his wife Mary was expecting another child. Now that piece of news, I can assure you, was very disturbing for many reasons. You see, Yaw, like many Ghanaians in his position, has fallen into bad times. As a respectable middle class civil servant he had led quite a comfortable life and before marrying his wife had planned to have four children — a number he had calculated he could accommodate without strain on his circumstances.

Then the past few years saw the gradual deterioration in the economy and the living standards of almost everybody. That was the time he revised his babies production programme and agreed with his wife that they could afford only two.

Even though Mary was not exactly over the moon with this change of mind, she perfectly understood the reason behind the action and took her family planning seriously.

You can imagine my shock, therefore, when I got this cablegram last week that Mr and Mrs Beeko have four brand new additional mouths to feed. Even though the expletives had been politely deleted from the message, I immediately sensed that there would be a crisis in the Beeko family — why not in these circumstances?

If you come to think of the fact that with the new techniques being used to help childless couples have babies with the result that multiple births are making front page news and grabbing prime time radio and television spots, with the parents smiling from ear to ear and offers of help pouring in from all over the place, it is paradoxical that in Africa, and Ghana in particular families would wring their hands in despair.

For crying out loud!

Oh well, Yaw Beeko is a man of steel and would therefore not do any silly thing like committing suicide over this and leave his poor quadruplets destitute. But then whether he liked it or not I thought some sort of congratulations would be perfectly in order.

I gave him a buzz. I could hear the four siblings yelling their lungs out in the background.

"I got your message. How wonderful! Congratulations to you and Mary. What a way to begin 1984!" I said.

"What a way, indeed! I'm going out of my mind with worry, Kofi. How in the name of all the gods at once can I cope with four new healthy mouths on my salary which has been eroded by inflation and buffeted with shortages?" he asked. I had no answer to that so I tried to steer the conversation from that area and look on the bright side.

"Surely, in situations like this, our external families come in very handy to help take care of the children — at least feed, change and wash nappies..."

"Kofi, you have no idea the side effect of this whole affair. The families have come alright."

"Good, so what's your problem?" I wanted to know.

"They are helping, except that they are eating more than the babies they are looking after. Imagine feeding three more grown-ups in addition in this situation" he lamented and the din of babies crying grew louder threatening to drown the long distance telephone conversation.

"That's not charity. It's an appreciation for your... for your... well, for being able to produce quadruplets at one go. Not everybody can do that!" I said.

"Rubbish!"

"Well, you could, at least, appeal to the government for supplementary benefit or some sort of aid."

"Nobody does that in this country. There are no such facilities, if you've forgotten so soon. Besides, the latest indications from government sources confirm that this country is in for another bad year of food shortages. There is nothing to spare for my four additional mouths." I wasn't sure but I thought I heard him sniffing six thousand miles away. Tears filled my eyes.

"So what can we do about this?"

"Very little but you can give a helping hand."

"You can rely on me" I said but I really didn't expect what came next.

"Thank you very much, you're a pal. Whatever could I have done without you. Can you send by Ghana Airways at the earliest possible time four dozen nappies, 8 feeding bottles, 2 dozen baby's soap, 2 sterilising units, one dozen large size lactogen..."

As the shopping list grew longer and longer I began to wonder whether Yaw Beeko would agree with Oliver Goldsmith when he wrote about the virtues of having a big family in "The Vicar of Wakefield".

CHARITY

"That's sad, I must say."

"You will be sadder to hear that my mother, a strong believer in tradition is also pressuring us to perform the customary rites associated with twins and such multiple births." I could feel his misery seeping through the line.

"You wouldn't do any such thing! Think of the expenditure! Slaughtering of goats and all those bottles of Schnapps!"

"You're telling me sitting 6,000 miles away from where the action is."

"Oh come out of it. You know that Ghanaians exhibit their best side at such occasions. I know friends and relatives would offer all sorts of help to make you get by — eventually," I consoled him.

"Over my dead body! I'm not going to let my children..."

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WHAT THE PAPERS SAY

The military and fundamental rights

REVOLUTIONS, it is said, beget their own legitimacy. The widespread announcement of the new government and a corresponding wholesale repudiation of Shagari's administration theoretically confer legitimacy on the new military regime.

Traditionally, military governments do not harbour a great deal of respect for constitutions and laws. They often make their own in the form of decrees, edicts and such other instruments that have all the characteristics of dictatorial proclamations.

The new Head of State, Major-General Buhari in his nationwide address, did suspend those provisions of the constitution dealing with the executive and legislative branches of government in the 1979 Second Republican Constitution. This is hardly surprising.

Indeed, it was imperative that having subverted the constitution by wallowing in corruption and criminal mismanagement of the country, members of the legislative and executive arms of government had forfeited their rights to be protected by the constitution and deserved nothing more than to be sacked with ignominy.

It has never been a point of argument that the 1979 constitution, as drafted by the founding fathers of the Second Republic, was at fault. The blame has been at the feet of the operators and actors. Conceivably, the new administration took this into account and seems disposed to operate within the constitutional provisions it has spared.

We have no doubt whatsoever that sooner or later issues will arise which would force the administration to resort to decrees. This is perfectly in order and it would never lack the support of Nigerians if such decrees are conceived of, and perceived to be in the country's interests. No one would grudge the administration such powers.

But in devising and exercising those powers, certain institutions, constitutional provisions and other laws must be respected at all costs. The judiciary, for example, is an institution which, in spite of its imperfections and proven mistakes in the last government, must be given the benefit of the doubt. This, of course, does not divest the government of powers to make special laws, if it deems fit to contend with some special offences.

But the institution itself and its processes should be permitted to function without undue interference. The temptations to resort frequently to extra-judicial measures should be resisted unless they are absolutely necessary.

Chapter II, that is, section 13 to 22 of the constitution which spells out the Fundamental Objectives and Principles of State Policy should remain the totem pole, a scale on which the administration must weigh its actions, an anchorage to which the ship of state should be steered.

Above all, chapter IV, sections 30 to 42 dealing with fundamental rights should be meticulously observed and respected. Military men often display short temper and disdain for the rigmarole involved in issues dealing with fundamental rights and liberties. Those niggling argumentations and tardiness of action are sometimes the beauty of it all, for they provide safeguards to snappy, hasty and often wrong judgments and actions. They provide room for longer reflection which ensures rational decisions on matters affecting personal liberties.

It is not true that what Nigerians need is an iron-fisted kind of rule. The country has political history; that history does not contain a significant dose of some political culture of torture, detentions, persecution and all kinds of injustices associated with the better known fascist regimes of other

parts of Africa and the world. Surely, there had been many cases of police harassment and occasional high-handedness in the preceding military and civilian regimes, but those were not enough to conclude that draconian measures would benefit the country at large.

What Nigerians need is firmness and fairness. They love their freedom, but they are some of the most law-abiding peoples in the world, especially when their leaders are seen to be setting the right examples, when they do not notice double standards, lip service and hypocrisy in high places.

The fundamental rights, therefore, should remain sacrosanct also because man is basically a lover of freedom. The complexion of any government does not change that basic nature, be it military or civilian, in developed or Third World countries. When those freedoms are proscribed or endangered, human beings have always protested their infringements, and the most fascistic regimes have never been in short supply of challengers who want to make the point that those fundamental freedoms are inalienable, they set man apart from beasts which can be caged, and make the difference between prisoners and free men. Several Nigerians challenged the last administration on human rights not merely because of the constitutional provisions that guarantee them, but because these rights should not be taken away under any circumstances.

A nation with a multiplicity of tongues and cultures as Nigeria would also benefit from a multiplicity of views from which more rational decisions would be made. Criticisms must be accepted in good faith. The Shagari dancers thought they were still dancing well because they did not see their backs and they also chose to hear what they wished to hear. Thus while it is quite easy for the new government to shut off critics, it may not find it easy to gauge national sentiment and public opinion.

The government may, no doubt, be justified in very special cases where the security interests of the nation are involved to tamper with fundamental freedoms. The nation's rights to choose its leader — a most critical right — has been surrendered to the military government for now. That is enough concession.

National Concord, Nigeria

SMC's tardiness

FIFTEEN days in the life of any nation may not be long enough to drastically effect the march of history. But for a military regime that, presumably, sees its mission as corrective and therefore terminal, a week of avoidable inertia can be disastrous...

In the long term, there were, and are, far more important things to do. And in the short term, there were, and are, far more absolutely essential decisions to be made.

How are we going to obtain more food at sensible prices for our people? How might we arrange things so more citizens can have access to clean water to drink? Will there be more, better and cheaper houses in six months from now than there were in the last four years?...

Will NEPA and the postal services and Nigerian Airways and the police perform better next month than they have done so far? Will fewer citizens be killed by armed robbers or be maimed or dispossessed, come Easter, than they were at Christmas? How shall we be saved from the dilemma of a rickety and imprecise educational policy? Will the Central Bank revert to its traditional and proper responsibilities, or will it continue to serve as everyone's ultimate, neighbourhood bank?

The Guardian, Nigeria

GHANA

Students re-apply under protest

Students of the three universities resident in Accra, have agreed to re-apply under protest for re-admission to the universities.

They however demanded an assurance from the government that all their leaders who have either been declared wanted or are being harassed can also re-apply and join them.

They said they were re-applying under protest because they were suspicious of the government's intention regarding the re-application.

According to Mr Ali Masmadi Jehu-Appiah, President of the Students Representative Council (SRC) of the University of Cape Coast (UCC) they have made every effort, possible to ensure a peaceful and smooth re-opening of the universities.

He said they had even gone to the extent of withdrawing the statement that if the government doesn't step down they would not only go to school which was hindering the re-opening of the universities.

Mr E.K. Quainoo, President of the Students Representative Council (SRC) of Legon, called on the government to assure the students, their parents and the whole world to re-open the universities unconditionally if it has no ill-motives behind the re-application.

He said they could not understand why they should be made to re-apply after the closure of the universities but not after the Task Force exercise since both activities equally interrupted academic work.

Minimum wage proposal

The Trades Union Congress has proposed a minimum wage of C300.00 a day and a tax free level of 85 per cent on the minimum wage, for the Ghanaian worker.

These were contained in a memorandum sent by the labour movement to Mr Ebo Tawiah, the workers representative on the PNDC, Mr Ato Austin, Secretary for Labour and Social Welfare, and Dr Kwesi Botchwey, PNDC Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning.

Defending its proposals, the congress argued that "since the adoption of the C25.00 rationalisation wage in June, 1983, the cost of living has been rising steadily and has reached a stage that calls for a review."

On the present cost of living, the Congress gave its assessment of the daily cost of feeding an average family of four (i.e. husband, wife and two children) as C300.00 a day.

Miss Aryee's message to journalists

The PNDC is building a nation and not a government. Contributions by individuals must therefore not be seen as helping the Council to stay in power but as part of a long-term effort to make Ghana what it should be.

In the same vein, whoever criticizes destructively or engages in acts of sabotage must see his action as destroying Ghana, not the PNDC.

The Secretary for Information, Miss Joyce Aryee, made these observations when she addressed the annual general meeting of the Ghana Journalists Association in Accra.

Miss Aryee said it was obligatory for every journalist to utilize his skills and knowledge effectively to analyse and explain issues better to the society.

Student-worker relations

Regular consultation between workers and students in the three universities is necessary to forestal the recurrence of events that led to the closure of the universities last May, Mr F. Sonni-Ali, a trade unionist, has opined.

Mr Sonni-Ali, leader of the 3,500-strong Legon branch of the Teachers and Educational Workers Union (TEWU), said the element of confrontation in the worker-student relationship could be removed by periodic meetings between representative bodies of both groups.

He said workers and students should consider instituting a permanent joint consultative body to discuss matters affecting their common interests. Such a mechanism he said could prevent any actions likely to disrupt academic life.

Population census in Ghana

Accra radio has reported that a census would be conducted on "11th of next March". The Provisional National Defence Council has instructed the Central Bureau of Statistics to make all the necessary preparations. The last census was held in 1970.

Training for fishermen

The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) has organised another extensive training exercise for fishermen in the use of military weapons to defend themselves and the revolution in the event of any attack by dissidents.

This is the second time that fishermen at Osu have learnt how to use the weapons. Last month, the Chairman of the PNDC, Flt-Lt Rawlings spent about two hours teaching fishermen the use of weapons.

Later the fishermen told newsmen that they hoped the training would go on to enable most of their colleagues to know much about the use of the weapons in view of recent reports that the Togolese authorities had intercepted and turned away a ship carrying arms and ammunition to Ghanaian dissidents based in Togo.

MAURITANIA

Expulsion of Libyan diplomats

Mauritan Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth has explained that Libyan diplomats in Port Louis were expelled because they were interfering in the Island's affairs and had tried to destabilise the country.

Mr Junauth in his first comment on the expulsion, told a news conference: "The situation had become so intolerable and our decision was taken so as to safeguard the dignity and sovereignty of our country".

"The moment has come when we cannot tolerate more and we had to expel them and to ask for the closure of their embassy," the Prime Minister said.

He said that Libyan "people's bureau" had issued a document by Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi in the past few days which was an "insult to the Christian religion".

Cereal deficit

There has been a fall in the country's cereal production this year. Only 6% of the country's needs in cereal will be covered by domestic production. This was announced by Maj Cheikh Elahmed Ould Dahamani, the permanent representative of the Military Committee for National Salvation.

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

O.A.U.

Why Chad talks broke down

A Chadian Minister has denied that his government was responsible for the failure of the roundtable conference arranged by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) with the aim of seeking a permanent peace for Chad.

The conference collapsed with the blame put directly on the intransigence of the delegation from Ndjamen.

A communique released by the office of the OAU chairman, Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam, said the Ndjamen government 'delegation had declined' to negotiate with the rival Weddeye alliance unless its right to legitimacy was recognized, and its right to put the national flag in front of it respected.

A member of the Ndjamen delegation, Livestock Minister Adoum Moussa Seif, said the delegation had honoured all the agreements made in advance with the OAU.

Mr Seif added that the petty problems that led to the failure could have been worked out in advance. The communique had said the talks floundered because of the Ndjamen government delegation's emphasis on "marginal and protocol issues".

Mr Seif however praised the efforts of the OAU chairman to reconcile the opposing views of the delegations. He said the Chad delegation hoped that another meeting could be arranged under more auspicious conditions under the aegis of the OAU or other friendly nations.

US must review decision

The Interim Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity Dr Peter Onu has told the American government that its withdrawal from UNESCO would have disastrous consequences.

According to Addis Ababa Radio Dr Onu's view was contained in a letter sent to the charge d'Affaires at the US embassy in Addis Ababa. He referred to the astonishment of OAU members at the decision and had expressed the hope that President Reagan would reconsider his position.

GUINEA

Guinean President postpones visit to Nigeria

Lagos radio said on January 23rd that the proposed visit by President Sekou Toure had been postponed. No reason had been given for the postponement but it was said that the visit would be rescheduled.

Loan for road project

The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development has extended a loan of 20,250,000 dollars to Guinea for a road project estimated to cost 97,170,000 dollars, consisting of civil engineering works on a 132km road from Gueckedou through Macenta to Soundendou, passing through rough mountainous terrain lined with thick forest.

The loan is repayable over 24 years with an interest rate of 1.5% with an extra half per cent to cover administrative costs.

LIBERIA

Leader's New Year message

The Liberian leader Dr Samuel K. Doe has called on Liberians to renew their determination and work committedly for the building of a more vibrant society.

He said peace and prosperity can only be assured if Liberians learned to work in unity and harmony.

The statement was contained in Dr Doe's New Year's message read on New Year's Day by Foreign Minister T. Earnest Eastman at a reception in Monrovia.

"We should not, and indeed, must not, lose sight of our ability to learn from the past nor relent in our determination to march forward until we have fully achieved the objectives we have set for ourselves", Dr Doe said.

He said the realization of the goals and objectives of the Liberian people depended on how quickly they can achieve economic recovery to overcome the critical financial situation confronting the nation.

Dr Doe also noted that the realization of Liberia's goals and objectives also depended on an effective foreign policy and the dedication of those

responsible for the day-to-day implementation of such policy.

He said, in this light, a national foreign policy commission whose members would be drawn from government, institutions of learning, the business community, youth organisations and the media has been constituted to study Liberia's foreign policy.

On Liberia's economy, Dr Doe said in spite of the deterioration in our terms of trade due in part to the collapse in demand for our primary export commodities, the hard debt burden and the worldwide recession, "Liberia was able to maintain its economic stability during the past year."

He said: "In our determination to address the serious economic situation facing the nation, government has sought to institute domestic economic policy reforms, as well as cultivate the support and understanding of the international community."

The Liberian leader said it was in this light that an international conference of donors was convened in Bern, Switzerland for the purpose of mobilizing "much needed assistance for the development of Liberia".

Israel pledges aid

Visiting President Herzog of the State of Israel has pledged his country's unfettered assistance to Liberia's development objectives.

This was contained in a joint communique signed by General Samuel Doe and President Herzog.

The two leaders expressed satisfaction with efforts underway to reactivate co-operation in various fields and reaffirmed full adherence to the principles of the first communique signed last April when Gen. Doe visited Israel.

They also reaffirmed that renewed efforts will be placed in the intensification of co-operation in the medical and agricultural fields.

President Hertzog expressed his governments deepest appreciation for Liberia's bold decision to re-establish diplomatic relations with his country and noted that efforts to isolate Israel will not contribute to finding a lasting solution to problems in the Middle East.

Investigate sinking of ship

Senior Deputy Commissioner of Maritime Affairs Mr Fred Lininger has ordered a preliminary investigation

into the circumstances surrounding the sinking of a Liberian cargo ship, the *Radiant Med* with the loss of sixteen lives.

Meanwhile Capt. K.J. Bruce, officer in charge of Liberian Marine safety office in London has been appointed the investigation officer and will proceed to Guernsey to interview survivors.

NIGERIA

Buhari not a millionaire

The Federal Military Government intends to mount propaganda campaigns to counter the "vicious" campaigns abroad by those declared "wanted".

Brigadier Idiagbon, Chief of Staff was reacting to recent press statements made in London by Alhaji Isiyaku Ibrahim making allegations of corruption against members of the new military regime.

"I don't expect any compliments from the likes of Isiyaku Ibrahim" the Chief of Staff said, but he assured reporters that General Buhari was not a millionaire.

Congress calls for support

The Nigerian Labour Congress has called for support of the Federal Military Government. The President of the congress, Alhaji Hassan Sunmonu, at a news conference in Lagos asked the Government to pursue vigorously a progressive, self-reliant and patriotic programme aimed at saving the nation's economy.

Nigerian borders reopened

The Military Government has ordered the reopening of all borders, Lagos radio reported. All officials at border posts have been directed to maintain the highest vigilance. Nigeria's borders had been closed on December 31st following the military takeover.

Lofty contracts to go

Federal Ministry of Works and Housing is to review or cancel "all lofty and flamboyant contracts", the Minister in charge of the Ministry, Dr E.A. Nsan has said in Lagos. Addressing officials of the Ministry, Dr Nsan said that the Government was in a hurry to rescue the nation from economic ruins and urged them to be dedicated and efficient.

He warned the officials not to think of "10 per cent kickbacks" when

awarding contracts, but to be prudent in all their undertakings. Dr Nsan advised the officials to adopt an open-door policy in order to achieve good results.

Warning against IMF

The President of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Alhaji Hassan Sunmonu, has again warned against the IMF loan, saying that it was a danger to the country's sovereignty. Speaking at a seminar organized by the Oyo State branch of the NLC, Alhaji Sunmonu described some of the measures the country was required to adopt to get the loan as a "bitter pill", which, he said, Nigeria could ill afford.

He urged the Federal Military Government to ask former members of the National Assembly to declare their assets publicly so that members of the public could verify them, adding that the NLC had workers all over the Federation who had access to vital information.

He said the Federal Government should also investigate the allegation that 300,000,000 naira was withdrawn

from the accounts of NEPA (National Electric Power Authority) before the election, ostensibly for rural electrification.

Ojukwu pledges loyalty

The Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Brig. Tunde Idiagbon has said that though former President Shehu Shagari was being detained by the military government, he was not at the Kirikiri maximum security prison. The Chief of Staff told newsmen that the former National Chairman of the NPN, Chief Adisa Akinloye, and the former Attorney General, Mr Richard Akinjide, were in Britain.

Brig. Idiagbon said that the Ikemba of Nnewi, Chief Emeka Ojukwu, had written to the Head of State pledging his loyalty and offering "useful advice". He disclosed that the Government had written to former Senator Arthur Nzeribe on his reported offer to lend the nation 10,000,000 dollars and also pledged to send an aircraft to bring him home, but it had not got a response.



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

World Bank gives £27m

The World Bank has approved a loan of about 27.6 million pounds for the Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industries (NECI) for the development of small and medium scale industrial projects in the country, the bank said in a statement in Lagos.

The resident representative of the bank in Nigeria, Dr Ishrat Husain, said in the statement that the loan would be used to provide credit and technical advice to industrialists as well as for training extension workers.

The projects, the first phase of a long-term programme, would be carried out in five states — Cross River, Imo, Niger, Ondo and Plateau.

The programme is estimated to cost 46 million pounds with the World Bank providing about 27.6 million pounds.

The Nigerian government will provide about 4.05 million pounds, the NBCI about 6.7 million pounds while participating industrialists will be responsible for about 7.4 million pounds.

The loan will be repaid in 17 years, including four years of grace, with a variable interest rate linked to the cost of the borrowing.

Details of detainees

Four hundred and sixty two public office holders under the defunct civilian administration are being detained all over the country. Out of this figure, 71 persons are being held at the maximum security prison at Kirikiri, Lagos. This was announced in Lagos by the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Brig. Tunde Idiagbon, while briefing media executives.

Brig. Idiagbon said that nearly 200 others had been interrogated and subsequently released. He denied a newspaper report that the former Inspector General of Police, Mr Sunday Adewusi, had been released and stated that the former Inspector General was under arrest in his house.

Brig. Idiagbon said the former National Secretary of the banned National Party of Nigeria, Alhaji Buba Ahmed, was never arrested by the authorities. He explained that when his plane touched down at the airport and he learned of the coup, he took off. On the former Senate President, Dr Joseph Wayas, the Chief of Staff stated that Dr Wayas was at the time of the coup on official duty in the United States. He told the media executive that on hearing of the coup, the former Senate President surrendered himself

and his diplomatic passport to the Nigerian Embassy in New York and further requested for a Nigerian passport to enable him to return home.

On Dr Umaru Dikko, the Chief of Staff explained that he was never arrested during the coup, adding, a top journalist who helped him to escape was now under detention.

A breakdown of the detentions and releases are as follows: At least 648 persons were detained throughout the Federation but 266 had been released. The figures showed that 26 of the 69 persons held in Benue had been released, while 52 of the 56 detainees in Gongola had also been released.

In Lagos State with the highest number of detainees, 104 out of the 106 held had been set free. In Plateau, 17 out of the 62 detainees had been released, while 18 of the 22 persons arrested in Sokoto State had been freed.

According to the figures, 49 out of 105 soldiers detained have also been released. State by state number of present detainees are: Anambra, two; Bauchi, six; Bendel, six; Borno, 43; Cross River, 32; Gongola, four; Imo, 52; Kaduna, 16; Kano, three and Kwara, 18. Others include: Lagos, two; Niger, four; Ogun, 33; Ondo, two; Oyo, four; Plateau, 45; Rivers, 18; and Sokoto, four.

Below is the full list of all the people detained at the Kirikiri prison: Alhaji Mohammed Wanka, Alhaji Garba Idi Inuwa, Mr Victor Masi, Mr S.G. Ikoku, Mr Klaus Seemuth, Dr Ibrahim Tahir, Mr Ladi Netimar, Olu Adebajo (Chief), Alhaji Muhammed Ibrahim Hassan, Mrs Nene Archibong, Mr Aper Aku, Chief Roy Umenyi, Dr N. Falaye Aina, Alhaji Adamu Ciroma, Alhaji Yahaya A. Dikko, Alhaji Usman Sani, Chief Adebisi Ogedengbe, Mr P.C. Amadike, Mr Mark Okoye, Prof. G.A. Odenigwe, Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Chief Michael Ajasin, Chief Bola Ige, Alhaji Adamu Atta, Chief Jim Nwobodo, Prof Ambrose Ali, Chief Akin Omoboriwo, Chief Bisi Akande, Chief S.M. Afolabi, Alhaji Jimoh Shittu, Mr C. Ugwu, Alhaji Iro Dan Musa, Alhaji Ndagi Mamudu, Dr Olufemi Olaifa, Alhaji Ali Baba, Mr Dele Ige, Mrs U. Akinloye, A.U. Obikoya, C.A. Ogungbade, Alhaji Abba Musa Rimi, Mr S.D. Lar, Chief S.O. Mbakwe, Dr Clement Isong, Prince J.O. Uzoigwe, Alhaji Ibrahim Anas, Alhaji Adamu Tafawa Balewa, Chief Eteng Okoi-Obuli, Alhaji Buba Ahmed, Dr I.C. Madubuike, Dr Sylvester U. Ugoh, Dr Rowland A.

Anyanwu, Chief Collins Obih, Alhaji Ahmed Musa, Alhaji Magaji Muazu, Alhaji M. Bello Kirfi, Mr Victor Akan, Alfred Rewane, Ralph Kanu Obioha, Alhaji Mohammed Goni, Dr Fidelis R.C. Ezemenari, Dr Alex Ekwueme, Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim, Alhaji Idrisu Alhasan Kpaki, K. Asinobi (Mrs), Bisi Onabanjo (Chief), Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, Alhaji Sabo Bakin Zuwo, Alhaji Abdu Dawakin Tofa, Alhaji Ahmed Tijani, Alhaji Mohammadu Abdullahi, Alhaji Tanko Yakasai.

Warning to the media

The Federal Military Government has invited the Nigerian media to join it in restoring life to the country and hope to the people.

Addressing media executives at a press briefing in Dodan Barracks the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Brig. Tunde Idiagbon, said the main contribution of the media should be to disseminate correct information and give positive guidance to the nation.

Brig. Idiagbon noted, however, that this had not happened in all cases and that some of the stories and suggestions that had appeared in the media had not been helpful. He said that many of them seemed to demonstrate a lack of understanding of and sympathy for the objectives of the Government which the media hailed only two weeks ago.

Some newspapers have gone to the extent of publishing half-truths and downright falsehoods which are capable of creating confusion and causing dissension in the society, he said.

He warned that the Military Government would not tolerate instigation and innuendo calculated to create dissension among the people. He, however, assured the media of the Government's co-operation and reasonable access to the agencies of the government. "In return, we expect restraint, respect for facts and commitment to our stated objectives", he added.

Neimeiri ends official visit


The President of Sudan, Field Marshal Gaafar Neimeiri has left Lagos after a two-day official visit to Nigeria.

During the visit, both President Neimeiri and Head of State, Major-General Mohammed Buhari, had two rounds of talks.

The visit is the first by any African Head of State since the change of government in Nigeria on December 31st last year.

Ministers to declare assets

UNITED KINGDOM	52 weeks 26 weeks	£28.00 £14.50	AIR MAIL
EUROPE AND EIRE	52 weeks 26 weeks	£39.00 £20.00	
USA, CANADA AND S. AMERICA	52 weeks 26 weeks	\$95.00 \$50.00	
AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST	52 weeks 26 weeks	£50.00 £26.00	
AUSTRALIA, JAPAN AND FAR EAST	52 weeks 26 weeks	£52.00 £29.00	
OTHER COUNTRIES	52 weeks 26 weeks	£52.00 £29.00	



AFRICAN GAMES POSTPONED

The long-delayed fourth all-Africa Games have again been postponed and will now be held in 1987, Mr John Kasyoka, a Kenyan official of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA), said in Nairobi.

Speaking to reporters on his return from the SCSA General Assembly in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, Mr Kasyoka said that Kenya had told the assembly that it needed more time to complete a new sports complex being built in Nairobi with Chinese aid.

The third all-Africa Games were held in Algiers in 1978 and ended without any country offering to stage the next games scheduled for 1982. Kenya later offered to host the games in 1986.

Mr Kasyoka said the Ouagadougou meeting admitted two new countries, Botswana and Zimbabwe to full SCSA membership and granted recognition to African Federations for Tae kwondo, archery, karate, car racing and chess.

Peter retains title

Ghana's Insurance Corporation (SIC) lawn tennis star, Peter Annan, has retained the grand masters trophy for the fifth time running in the annual three-day grand masters tournament.

The tournament which was organised by members of the Accra Lawn Tennis Club attracted eight top players including second seed Narh Tetteh, who withdrew at the semi-final due to fever.

Squash championships

The Nigerian Squash Racket Association (NSRA) intends to send a team of at least four players to the 3rd World Junior Championship coming up in Canada next April.

But whether this ambition will end up in the breeze or not will much depend on the grace of the National Sports Commission (NSC).

A member of the Association who disclosed the intention to Nigeria's "Sporting Punch" said the All Nigeria Junior Tournament is expected to take place at the end of this month whilst the National Secondary Schools Championships and the 3rd Under 19 Competitions will follow closely.

It is during these contests that the best of the junior lot shall be selected

and groomed for one whole month before they proceed for the International Competition.

Hasaacas retain SWAG Cup

Giant Killers, Sekondi Hasaacas retained the SWAG Cup, which they have won the last two years. They beat highly fancied Hearts of Oak 1-0 in the annual match at the Accra Stadium. The goal was scored in the 67th minute by adroit, speedster Sam Ayipey.

Except for the controversial goal which held up play for about nine minutes, the match was by all standards a first class thriller.

Hearts of Oak, with a seemingly trenchant attack of Botchway, George Lamptey, Opoku Afriyie, Anas Seidu and Robert Hammond kicked off with great expectations.

But soon Hasaacas took control and with skipper Isaac Paha, Alhaji Bello and Sam Ayipey very austere in defence, midfield and attack respectively, the first 20 minutes were a foretaste of hell for Hearts.

Lagos tournament cancelled

The change of government in Nigeria has led to Association of Tennis Professional (ATP) cancelling a men's tennis competition scheduled to open in Lagos next month.

They said the ATP had written to cancel the tournament, citing "uncertainty" caused by the new year's eve coup.

Nigerian athletic team for India

A six man Nigerian delegation will fly to New Delhi, India to take part in the track and field events organised in commemoration of the Jalunda Centenary Celebration beginning January 31st.

The delegation which will comprise five athletes and one official will be led by Mr M.A.K. Ogun, Team Manager. It will include Joshua Kio (jumps), Mary Akinyemi (400m), Ishola Oladipo (400m), Ikpotto Ezema

(sprints) and Godwin Mayuku (hurdles).

The country's athletes will be competing for honours along with other invited stars from other Afro-Asian countries.

Nigeria at squash contest

Nigeria has been invited to this year's Old Master World Squash Rackets Classic scheduled to be held in Holland from April 23rd to April 30th.

A statement from the Nigerian Squash Rackets Association said in Lagos that the championships would be in three categories — 40 years and above, 45 years and above and 50 years and above.

Meanwhile, 25 players have already been invited. They include A.O. Olumide, Professor Kukoyi, Mrs Sim Oni, Commodore Bolaji Sojinrin, Prince Makinwa Adediran, Nick Onianwah, Fajemism Charles Adeleke, Dayo Wright, Joe Ale, Ale Owoh, Gbenga Martins, Joe Ofunwuyi and Tunde Keshiro.

Others are Chief Fola Alade, B.A. Lawson, A. Abdulmalik Isa Kaita, Blundy Peter Desmond, Vincent Agha, Rtd. Major General David Jemibewon, Adenubi Bayo, Bayo Beckley, Orro Fisher, Bola Oshinbowale, Captain Tunde Elegbede and Lt. Col. M. Rufai.

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