

TALKING DRUMS

THE WEST AFRICAN NEWS MAGAZINE

Published Weekly

September 16, 1985



1
2



TALKING DRUMS
•WE ARE TWO

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE
•THE FALL OF THE
KADUNA MAFIA

Recommended Prices:
U.K. 50p; Ghana C45;
Nigeria N1, Sierra
Leone 1.75 Leone;
Liberia \$1.75; The
Gambia 2.50 dalasi;
CFA countries 400
francs; USA/Canada
US\$1.75; West
Germany DM3.

RAWLINGS ENTERS WORLD STAGE?

"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."

CONTENTS

VOL 3 NUMBER 1

SEPTEMBER 16, 19

COMMENT

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MAJOR LARSON WRITES TO TALKING DRUMS

Correspondence between Major L.A. Larson's solicitors and this magazine about an alleged libel against their client and other developments.

WHISPERING DRUMS

'The browning of Chairman Rawlings'. News titbits from the grapevine.

A STRANGER'S LONDON

Watching the natives in their natural environment.

TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

We resume the interesting debate on Ghana's future with this article from Dr John K. Mumuni, West Germany.

BETWEEN THE LINES

'Coup indicators (part 2)'.



RAWLINGS ENTERS WORLD STAGE?

Cover picture:

Chairman Flt-Lt. J.J. Rawlings of Ghana.

1
2

TALKING DRUMS
•WE ARE TWO

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE
•THE FALL OF THE
KADUNA MAFIA

4 ONCE UPON A COUP

Elizabeth Ohene takes up the recent Nigerian coup story.

5 THE FALL OF THE KADUNA MAFIA

Revelations about the behind-the-scenes political manoeuvres and string-pulling that have gone into decision-making and appointments to high offices are made in this article by our correspondent.

6 AN OPEN LETTER TO IDIAGBON

8 SHORT STORY

Ebo Quansah concludes his story "The braves shall flee".

8 BOOK REVIEW

"In defence of the Somalis".

A TOUCH OF NOKOKO

"What Idiagbon told his son".

9 TRIBUTE TO KWODWO ADDISON

11 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY

Editorial opinions from West African newspapers.

PEOPLE, PLACES, EVENTS

News titbits from West African countries.

SPORTS

Published weekly by Talking Drums Publications Ltd.
Madhav House, 68 Mansfield Road, London NW3 2HU
Telephone: 01-482 2165
Typeset by Paragraphics Ltd, 2-4 Rufus Street, London N1
Cover artwork by Rock Mills
Registered at the Post Office as a newspaper.
Editor ELIZABETH OHENE

Printed by Essex Web Offset Limited (T.U.) at
Printing House, Magnolia Road, Rochford, Essex.
Telephone: Southend (0702) 546333.

FRIENDS AND MARKETS

As we went to press, Mr Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, was rounding off his visit to Nigeria. He was shown on television having tea with the Nigerian leaders, whether there was sympathy is yet to be seen.

The recent change of guard in Nigeria is supposed to have made the trip less difficult for Mr Howe. The new leaders are talking about human rights and have released political prisoners and repealed Decree No 4, all of which were subjects that would have proved very tricky for Mr Howe to handle.

However, Gen. Babangida ought not to forget that if the events of August 27 had not occurred, Mr Howe would have still made the journey and would have fashioned his speech in such a way as to accommodate the circumstances he would have met.

His overriding concern would be to make sure that "Britain's largest market in Africa" remains open to Britain. To attain this objective, everything is negotiable. Luckily for Mr Howe, the obvious symbols of repression had been removed before his visit, it is doubtful that he has had to change much of his speech in the light of recent events. He would probably have met Messrs Buhari and Idiagbon and come away from Nigeria "much impressed with the brave steps being taken by the government to solve the many problems facing the country".

It becomes a little confusing when in the pursuit of markets. Her Majesty's Government appears willing to sup with any devil because some people in the former colonies were still under the impression that "British standards" remained something the rest of the world ought to aspire to.

What is one to make out of a state of affairs in which Alhaji Shehu Shagari is treated as an honoured guest in the United Kingdom and a few weeks later he is publicly condemned as a thief and a crook and those who so denounce him become the new set of honoured guests?

Not everybody agrees, but some people insist that politics are a dirty game, and it might therefore be under-

standable if all these unsavoury leaders were entertained at No. 10 Downing Street or at Chequers, since these are official residences. In that case, the Queen might be left out of having to play hostess to leaders who will be condemned as thieves and crooks the next day. It leaves a sour taste to imagine that the Queen had been having under her roof and at her table people who should not be entertained in decent society.

It might be argued that the fault does not lie with Britain, that African countries are unstable and have a habit of turning on their leaders with alarming regularity. But Britain surely has a responsibility to be more discerning in the people that she associates with and, in the pursuit of markets, she is ready to compromise her every principle, then the penalty will have to be paid with constant embarrassing situations.

Maj-Gen. Babangida would not have lost sight of the fact that Mr Howe had flown to Nigeria straight from Brussels where Britain had been the only country among the EEC nations to block a motion for the imposition of sanctions on South Africa. Nor will Gen. Babangida forget that the last time Nigeria did something specific to penalise British interest for breaking the oil embargo on Rhodesia, the results were immediate and positive.

It might very well be that when the crunch is on, the bigger market will win, and at the moment, South Africa seems to Britain to present the bigger market. It is to be hoped sincerely that such very short term considerations will not influence British thinking, because not only will South Africa be eventually freed, it is not worth sacrificing the rest of Africa for the sake of the odd five million or so whites in Southern Africa.

The work of Mr Howe and others in his position would be eminently simpler if the age-old "British standards" that were preached around the world were maintained and everybody was left under no illusion whatsoever about the considerations that guide the conduct of foreign relations in Her Majesty's realm.

WE ARE TWO YEARS OLD

We can hardly believe it but we are two years old. It might not sound much, but to us it has been two years of hard, painful, sometimes rewarding labour.

We are nowhere near achieving the objectives we set ourselves two years ago, and it might very well be that our only significant achievement has been our survival (with a few hiccups).

Ours has been a baptism of fire in the market place, but we take consolation in the fact that increasingly we have been proved right on many issues.

We still extend our invitation to all who are interested in West African affairs to discuss and debate them in our columns.

We have surprised ourselves by making it thus far, with your help we shall make it even further.

IMF can't solve Nigeria's problems

I would very much like to comment on Whispering Drum (With Maigani) article on Nigeria and the IMF. Reading between the lines I can deduce that he is in favour of Nigeria taking the IMF loan notwithstanding his concession that he is not an economist and is therefore not in a position to offer expert advice. Yes, we all know Nigeria has economic problems but would going to the IMF solve the problem? To me the answer is NO. Taking the IMF pill is going to be an economic 'harikiri'. Look at the conditions.

Devaluation of the Naira: We all know that the purpose of devaluation is to increase exports by making them cheaper and reducing imports since they become more expensive. 90% of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings is still from crude oil. The price and production quota are determined by OPEC. So how does the country gain from devaluation?

Removal of Petroleum subsidies: The inflation rate will be unprecedented in Africa's Economic history.

Trade liberalisation: This implies opening up of the Nigerian market to all sorts of foreign goods. Nigeria becomes a dumping ground and our scarce foreign exchange is wasted on useless imports. Our local manufacturers would be thrown out of the market. What a nice way of protecting infant industries.

I would suggest some measures to the Government which can be vigorously pursued to brighten up the deteriorating health of the economy.

The Government should place emphasis on the development of Agriculture in order to reduce our high level of importation of foods and to meet a target of over 75% of local sources of raw materials in order to conserve foreign exchange.

The Government should adopt an aggressive marketing strategy to ensure that the country retains its share of the oil market and possibly win new customers.

Measures should be introduced to plug leakages in the system due to the activities of illegal oil bunkers and smugglers of Petroleum products across the country's borders and other anti-social activities of petroleum marketers.

Measures aimed at redressing the imbalance in the external sector should be vigorously pursued, such measures can include the planning of all visible items of imports except prohibited goods under specific import licence. A foreign exchange budget should be introduced to rationalise both the outflow and inflow of foreign earnings

LETTERS



and the payment of current transactions on current basis while the approval and insurance of import licence should be considerably streamlined (not on a party basis).

The Government can embark on new bilateral trade agreements with friendly countries (call it counter trade if you like) for the supply of raw materials, spares and manufactured goods, get good favour for money but also contribute towards the cooling of inflationary pressures.

Above all the country needs leaders who match their promise with performance, who have the country's progress at heart, not just to loot the country's treasury and abscond. All these coupled with sound economic management and prudent financing will take us somewhere.

*Anthony Olufemi Alufe-Aluko,
London*

The Nigerian coup: any lessons?

The news of the coup d'etat in Nigeria on the morning of Tuesday August 27, 1985, came as no surprise to anyone who has been following events in the country of late.

The reasons given for the coup are not new. They have become almost a ritual that the world expects to hear whenever there is a takeover: mismanagement of the economy, worsening of the economy, corruption, inflation, shortage of essential commodities, the worsening plight of the masses, etc.

The question that comes to mind is that given the intractability of the problems facing not only Nigeria but also the rest of Black Africa, are military coups inevitable? Some of the problems such as corruption, sheer incompetence, etc, are caused by factors internal to the countries themselves, while others are caused by the general world economic recession and therefore well beyond the control of the leaders of these poor countries. This question will demand a much broader analysis than time and space will now allow. The objective of this letter is very limited. It is to suggest a lesson that Buhari's overthrow may have for the new Head of State, Gen-

eral Ibrahim Babangida, and which hope he may learn from.

There is no way any soldier, be general or master-sergeant, can hope to stay in power longer than three or four years without becoming either thoroughly corrupt or callously repressive, and in the process alienating himself from the masses and thus paving the way for his eventual overthrow. Corruption and repression become necessary conditions for continued stay in power. Am Mbutu, Acheampong and Doe are examples par excellence.

After the excitement of the overthrow of a corrupt regime has died down, the masses much sooner than later begin to clamour for real change in their material conditions of life. Invariably, the soldiers in power are in no position to deliver on the many promises they made, neither are they willing to hand over power. They therefore resort to corrupting even a potential rival or incarcerating and hounding those that cannot be bought out of the country. Unfortunately, these are necessary conditions for another military intervention.

One reason given by the military regimes for prolonging their stay in power is their declared intention to clean up the economic mess and bring the economy out of the woods before handing over power. The tragedy is that some soldiers actually do believe that they can do this, refusing to admit that they are part of the problem. A classic example is Acheampong. Soon becomes clear that this is nothing other than an excuse to hang on. What they fail to realise is that the longer they hang on to power, the deeper the crisis. For, by this time the military leaders would have come to realise that there are perks that come with being in power. That is when the lean and hungry look begins to be replaced by full cheeks and rounded faces. No longer do the collar bones show.

One inherent weakness of military regimes is that everything is by WHIM. There is no recognised form for debate or discussion of policy. Neither is there accountability. Finally there is timelessness about them that is very irritating. The decision to hand over power is the prerogative of whoever is in power! In the absence of a declared timetable for return to representative government, military regimes are seen as self-perpetuating.

They are unwilling to give up power even when it becomes clear that they have outlived their usefulness and they represent nobody but themselves, their cronies and their kinsmen. In contrast to this state of virtual anarchy,

Major Larson versus Talking Drums

Early this past week, we received a letter from a firm of solicitors in London who had been instructed by Major L.A. Larson, the interdicted managing director of the Bibiani Industrial Complex.

Since Major Larson's affairs at Bibiani Industrial Complex have been the subject of a recent commission of enquiry, and of continued interest in Ghana, we are publishing the letter from his solicitors and our reply.

Dear Sirs,

We are instructed by Major L.A. Larson in connection with an article entitled "Who Deserves to be Killed and by Whom in Ghana?" which appeared in the June 17, 1985 edition of *Talking Drums*.

On pages 14 and 15 you make the grossly defamatory allegation against our client that he placed \$22,000 in a Bank Account in Poland, and that he obtained that money as a result of theft from his employer or by way of some form of bribery or corruption, and further that he has, in effect, defrauded the people of Ghana of the sum of C4,400,000. You further say at page 16 that our client has been involved in the printing and sale of forged tickets for sporting events.

Both these allegations, as you must

be well aware, and indeed as you yourselves acknowledge in the article itself in the case of the Polish Bank transaction, are wholly untrue and without any foundation whatsoever. We have ourselves examined the papers in the case and it appears to us that Major Larson's conduct throughout has been exemplary. Notwithstanding your obvious knowledge of his complete innocence, you have deliberately and maliciously, no doubt for political reasons, published these disgraceful allegations.

Unless, therefore, we receive within 14 days your written undertaking to publish in your next issue a full apology and retraction, in form and content agreed by ourselves, together with your agreement to the payment of a suitable sum by way of damages and costs, we have instructions to commence proceedings for libel without further reference to yourselves.

Further, with regard to the circumstances of this case, we require forthwith your written undertaking that you will not further print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, the article we have referred to insofar as it concerns our client, nor will you print or publish or cause to be printed or published, any article concerning

similar allegations.

If we do not receive your written undertaking to this effect by 4.30 p.m. on the 12th day of September 1985, we shall take proceedings for an Injunction to that effect.

The plot thickens...

Before we received the solicitor's letter, we heard that various press houses had received press statements that we had been sued. We therefore made investigations which led to the Editor writing a letter to a Mr Peter Diddlecombe, which we publish below:

I have recently discovered that a press statement has been issued to various press houses stating, among other things, that *Talking Drums* "had been sued for record damages" in connection with some matters.

Before I had even received a letter from solicitors on the matter, the press statement had been made and further information about the matter was to be sought from a London telephone number.

When my office rang this number and identified ourselves we were faced with a short reply that we should just reply to the solicitor's letter that we had received.

Subsequently, I have gathered that you and/or Robo Limited were showing a lot of interest in this affair. We therefore made further investigations and have gathered that: (1) You either work for or own Robo Ltd; (2) You issue press releases on Togolese matters, or at least, those releases are issued on Robo Ltd letterheads (to whom I am addressing a copy of this letter).

We find it very curious that you and/or your company Robo Ltd should be so concerned with matters that supposedly concern principally: Major Larson, his solicitors and *Talking Drums*.

Your interference in a matter in which you have no obvious interest can only be considered by us as being malicious and in the circumstances we feel that should you continue with your campaign against *Talking Drums* we shall have no alternative but to take action against you.

In view of the press statements you have issued concerning *Talking Drums*, a copy of this letter will be published in the next issue of the magazine and further investigations will be made to ascertain what, if any, connections exist between Major

Our reply...

The article you referred to, dealt with instances in Ghana when the ruling Provisional National Defence Council has ordered the execution of people on mere suspicion or allegations of wrongdoings.

References to your client, Major L.A. Larson, in the article, quoted allegations made about him and published in various Ghanaian newspapers and which were a subject of a committee of inquiry.

Not everybody is lucky enough in present day Ghana to face a committee of enquiry when there are rumours or allegations of wrongdoing against him as he was with the opportunity of stating his case. Many people are simply hauled before a tribunal or tried in secret and executed. I have noted that on examination of the relevant papers, you have been persuaded that Major Larson's conduct has been exemplary, but that, I am afraid, does not alter the fact that the allegations were made against him and led to the appointment of a commission of enquiry which investigated some of these matters. Nor does it in any way change the fact that many people are not extended a similar courtesy by the ruling military junta in Ghana in which Major Larson serves, which is the main point of the article.

These allegations were published in various Ghanaian newspapers and Major Larson apparently has taken no action against them.

I totally reject your allegations that the article said your client has been involved in the printing and sale of forged tickets for sporting events.

I am afraid I am unable to give you any undertaking inhibiting *Talking Drums* from publishing a matter of extreme public interest and continuing debate in Ghana.

From the above, you must agree that there can be no question of an apology to your client as we do not consider the article libelous!

We understand that even before we received your letter, news of *Talking Drums* "having been sued for record damages" in connection with this case had already reached other press homes who inform us that the news came from the solicitor's, i.e. your public relations department.



WHISPERING DRUMS WITH MAIGANI

The browning of Rawlings

It appears that Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, leader of the Revolution, Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council and Head of State of the Republic of Ghana, is about to break upon the international summitry scene.

And what better forum than the Commonwealth Heads Conference in Nassua, Bahamas? All the indications are that the conference this year will be graced with the presence of Flt-Lt Rawlings.

Since seizing power on December 31, 1981, Flt-Lt Rawlings has been most hesitant to leave Ghana because of security reasons as the survival of his PNDC was seen to be dependent on his presence in Ghana.

His forays outside the country so far have been limited to nicodemus overnight flights to Libya to consult with the Libyan leader Col Gaddafi, and similar one day journeys to neighbouring Togo, Ivory Coast, Burkina Fasso and Nigeria. He also attended the abortive Organisation of African Unity (OAU) conference in Tripoli.

The longest journey to date has been the trip that took him to Nicaragua, Cuba and Guyana.

If he does make it to Nassau as all the present indications point, and conference sources confirm, it will be something of a different sort of gathering from what he has been used to and there may not be much room for the display of the distinctive Rawlings style.

At an ECOWAS conference in Benin in 1982, Flt-Lt Rawlings took the controls of his executive plane and made an aerial display worthy of the Dare-Devils.

During a recent visit to Lagos for the signing of the extradition treaty between Nigeria, Ghana, Togo and Benin, Flt-Lt Rawlings criticised the Nigerian military leaders (Buhari/Idiagbon) for their sartorial appearance — why were they wearing ceremonial uniforms?

The Commonwealth Conference, with its sedate setting and adherence to protocol, is going to prove a trying and inhibiting scene for the Flight-Lieutenant.

watching very keenly how the dashing and unconventional pilot (said by *Time Magazine* to be irresistible to ladies) handles the situation.

His meeting with the British Queen especially is likely to be full of drama and it will be particularly interesting to note what manner of clothes he will be wearing in Nassau.

It has been noticed that he is no longer too attached to his flying suit which used to be his uniform.

From Nassau, Flt-Lt Rawlings is expected to make his entry on the world stage by addressing the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Last year Captain Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, who claims to take his inspiration from Rawlings, addressed the UN Assembly and made a dramatic impact and Rawlings must have been itching to emulate his disciple.

All this is part of the general attempt to portray a new and matured image for Chairman Rawlings. Gone is the screaming, angry revolutionary image and in is the statesmanlike, quiet elder who speaks in measured tones.

A recent issue of the *Mirror* carried what was billed as an interview with the Chairman. The identity of the questioner was not revealed and the by-line simply said 'Our Correspondent'. The interview, or more especially the answers said to have been given by the Chairman, was an example in 'under-reaction'. Example:

Q: What of the United States and the CIA trial?

A: Let us be realistic. Every country has some kind of intelligence and security organisation. But where such organisations extend their functions beyond any justifiable limits, and try to undermine or destabilize governments simply because they do not approve of their policies or philosophies, then we in the Third World have a right to be angry. Many American citizens, however, have expressed grave concern about CIA activities because, although as a government organisation the Agency acts in their name, they deplore its actions. Indeed, it sometimes appears

fully aware of CIA activities even though its actions reflect upon the government and the people of the United States.

Having said this, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the CIA, the US Government and the American people as a whole. As you know, only recently Ghana signed an agreement with the US for the supply of cotton and rice, and a few days earlier, representatives of a Black American organisation interested in investing in Ghana had talks with top officials. We must not make immature and generalized judgements.

Anybody who knows Flt-Lt. Rawlings must surely be surprised by such "under-reaction". It makes one suspicious that Chairman Rawlings has lost all his former fire.

Or could it be a case of somebody not biting the hand that feeds him? Obviously the power of the dollar must be sobering indeed!

Continued from page 5

provision is made for orderly change of government under constitutional and properly elected civilian regimes.

The only time military intervention might be justified is when a civilian administration becomes unpopular, refuses to allow genuine elections and threatens the independence of the judiciary as well as the legislature. Even so, a definite programme lasting no longer than 3 to 6 months to return the country to orderly civilian representative government should be announced immediately on the assumption of power. For, as Nkrumah clearly expressed it, the army has no mandate to rule, and I hasten to add that the army lacks the ability or competence to undertake the complex task of managing an economy.

So if General Babangida does not want to suffer the same fate as his predecessor, he should lift the ban on political activity immediately and announce a firm programme of return to representative government. The freeing of politicians, journalists, etc, detained unlawfully by the Buhari government is all right, but it is not enough! It is a publicity stunt meant to generate political support in the early weeks of the coup. It is only a matter of time when the prisons will begin to welcome a new set of inmates thrown in by the new rulers. It happens all the time. This musical chairs game must stop.

Kadwo Mbir...

A STRANGER'S LONDON

glary shame of rebel

Strike rebel leader Ken Foulstone been jailed for 12 months for a year eight years ago. Foulstone, 45, of Tuxford, Notts, led an elderly couple of £1,600 worth of goods including their Christmas dinner, Lincoln Crown Court heard. He was "shopped" by his son when he said: "I don't feel any worse — he was never a proper rebel." "When I saw him on TV during the miners' strike talking about law and order I felt he was a hypocrite."

New dad Chris in family way

New dad Chris Allsop breathed a sigh of relief after his daughter Sarah was born.

For the previous nine months he'd been plagued by a phantom pregnancy. He had morning sickness, stomach cramps and mysterious rashes. "It was hell," said Chris, 23, at his home near Rotherham, South Yorkshire. "I now know what women go through."

Doctors were baffled. One diagnosed an allergy, another food poisoning. But when Chris visited his parents, who live nearby, he found that the mystery condition was hereditary.

"Said Chris: "My dad told me the same thing happened to him each time mum was expecting."

Chris was at wife Trish's side when Sarah was born. And all the symptoms immediately vanished.

Rasta 'liberated museum books'

A Rastafarian who 'liberated' priceless Ethiopian books from the British Museum and other libraries claimed that he was returning them to their

and journals from the British Museum Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Foreign Office Library and the Bible Society, Southwark Crown Court was told.

When he was arrested McClean told police that Ethiopian writings had been plundered by General Napier during a military expedition to that part of Africa during the reign of Queen Victoria, said Mr Stephen Waller, prosecuting.

"It appears his motive was to liberate them." He said: "It is our mission in life to recover what is rightfully ours. I don't call it stealing," added counsel.

Mr Waller said: "It is impossible to put a value on the books but a second-hand insurance value is in excess of £8,000.

Police recovered more than 750 of the books, finding most of them at the headquarters of Rasta International, in Kennington, London. Others were found at McClean's home in Fernlea Road, Balham, London.

McClean denies 15 charges of theft between January 1982 and May 1984. Four other rastafarians denied handling stolen goods.

Grandad leaves his bride at night

Every night grandad Rayley Keam kisses his young bride — then goes off to sleep at his ex-wife's home.

Rayley, a 76-year-old former Methodist lay preacher, and his new wife Pat, 30, never spend a night together. Neither of them sees anything odd in this.

But Rayley's ex-wife Audrey, 69, said at her home in Bodmin, Cornwall: "He's a silly old fool. I don't think he's ever slept with her. In any case, he wouldn't be any use to her — I can tell her that."

Rayley and Pat were married in May after his 48-year marriage ended in divorce. He spends all day with her at her mother's cottage in St Leonard's, Bodmin, just 100 yards from his old home.

But at 10.30 every evening he kisses her goodnight and walks off to his

said: "We'll set up home on our own together eventually, but these things take time."

Pat said of their own sex life: "We don't actually get much opportunity. But that's our business."

£50,000 win? That's peanuts!

A woman who was told she had won £50,000 on the football pools replied: "Is that all? That won't even buy a new house. I was expecting £300,000. I have a large family and the money won't go far."

Then she told the Vernons representative: "It's hardly worth phoning up to tell me. Just put it in the post."

The woman, from Finchley, North London, who asked for no publicity, won £49,470.15p.

But another couple from Ruislip, Middlesex, were delighted after winning £33,000 with Vernons. They plan a holiday in South Africa to see their daughter.

Shark case shocker

The lawyers of the Greek Captain who threw African stowaways overboard has defended his action with the claim that the stowaways could not have been killed by man-eaters "because sharks don't eat blacks."

Captain Emanuel Garoufalias told an Athens court: "The Japanese freeze stowaways throw their bodies overboard."

And another skipper Nikolas Vezirtzis claimed: "Norwegian captains burn them to death in the ship's galley."

But the judge interrupted angrily: "Even if foreigners do such things to stowaways it doesn't mean Greeks can as well."

The alleged victims were thrown into the Indian Ocean, off the African coast, last year. No survivors were found. Continuing his defence last week, the Captain also admitted striking one of the Africans in "the ribs which I'd heard was a vulnerable part of an

TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

Economic recovery under unitary government (part 1)

Reminiscing over Ghana's political history since 1844, our hopes and aspirations and what efforts had been put in toward their realization and our changing attitudes since the 1970s, I have sincerely attempted to identify the root causes of our socio-economic woes and search for feasible solutions to the problems, making sure not to sacrifice realism for sentimentalism. With a keen interest in the economic geography of West Africa, social trends in West African states I have been practising medicine since 1974 and being aware of a general obsession in the world for the politics of expediency, I am not yet completely disillusioned with the Ghanaian dilemma of political and economic instability. I therefore present this paper on an appropriate political system or form of government as the solution to Ghana's headaches.

If we can sincerely criticise ourselves and courageously accept criticisms with cheer instead of rancour, we could make this positive attitude precedence and our guide. We have no cause to resort to unchartered waters today. Ghana could be said to be more conversant with the Westminster Parliamentary system under a Unitary Form of Government than any African country because that was the system we operated during the period 1951-62 and during part of this period the electorate could vote for the candidates and political parties of its choice.

For instance, in 1950 Municipal Elections for the Legislative Council the CPP won, thereby compelling Sir Charles Arden-Clarke to release Dr. K. Nkrumah from prison to become the Leader of Government Business in 1951. Subsequently the CPP went on to win at the General Elections of June 1954 and July 1956, and even increased her majority because people studied very critically the manifestos of the various parties.

When Dr. Nkrumah decided to adopt the 1964 Constitution which declared the CPP as the only party in the country, Ghanaians still exercised enough patience to study the One Party System and finally rejected it and its 'Feuhrerprinzip' in February 1966. I

In this contribution to the debate, Dr. John K. Mumuni Braimah, attempts an overview of Ghana's social, political and economic headaches since independence. He touches various dilemmas that have faced various governments of independence and states that they may be put down as teething problems of a developing country.

am of the opinion, however, that lack of able leadership for a developing country like ours would be no less dangerous as it creates subconsciously, a feeling of political vacuum in the minds of citizens.

Psychologically, many Ghanaians regarded Dr. K.A. Busia as an academician belonging to Legon and not a politician. I was very upset when I witnessed him and his wife travel through Western Europe negotiating

Political stability can only come about through a healthy national spirit of appreciation, reconciliation and a revitalised economy and not federalism as has been suggested in some quarters.

for loans in 1971, to be ousted from office in less than six months in January 1972. Subconsciously, there existed a feeling of political vacuum in the country, which gave rise to a crisis of leadership or a feeling of a crisis of responsibility in the minds of people like the late General I.K. Acheampong, who effectively exploited the situation.

Dr. Hilla Limann had a political-god-father in the late Alhaji Imoru Egala then towering above him in the minds of Northerners and all in the PNP. When he died a conflict of interest suddenly arose in the PNP amongst aspirants for a post he held that was illegal and hence unconstitutional; efforts by the Ghanaian press at helping to improve Dr. Limann's image were noticeable, but Dr.

Limann's performance was most surprising, to say the least.

While Northerners died in tribal conflicts in their hundreds, Dr. Limann rather flew out to Nairobi, Kenya, to attend the OAU Conference. Before the summer recess Parliament rejected his budget for 1981/82 . . . within a very period his administration had not solved the Korle-Bu hospital admission fee relative to the average daily wage of ₵12 or the problem of school and college fee payment. Children, parents, teachers and education officers were left in the cold and Dr. Limann and his administration caught in a lurch!

In West Africa magazine stories were rife, all directing their complaints to the Executive President. Those who served him as security officers without doubt developed subconsciously the feeling of political vacuum, he and his administration were pushed aside as Flt-Lt. J.J. Rawlings exploited the confusion by taking over the reins of power.

The Parliament, even if it was not given enough attention in the Third Republic, had constructive debate. Besides the rejection of the budget in 1981, a parliamentary commission under Mr. E.D. Mahami, Deputy Speaker, PNP, found Dr. Jones Ofofora Atta, PFP, innocent of any charges of the misuse of parliamentary privileges.

The Constituent Assembly that drew up the Third Republican constitution placed an extra burden on Ghana in the size of Dr. Limann's Administration plus a full parliament of 140 members. The administration as a result spent more money attempting to present

Continued on page

Continued from page 9

concept of government instead of providing development projects that were sure to sustain the country and prevent the creation of a lack of sense of priorities in the minds of critics and, in the case of the military, help win their understanding and support.

Dr. Limann, if he had been politically shrewd and not civil service-minded, should have pointed out this fact in 1979 to the populace during the election campaigns without seeking to change the constitution or making any amendments to it. The fault in each of the above cases for the ouster of government lay with the elected premier or president and the tradition of collective responsibility, and not with the Ghanaian tax-payer, who by any standard played his part electing a government and opposition to run the country.

The PNDC, no doubt, has made serious political blunders by summary execution of Ghanaians instead of detaining those found to be opponents of the regime as has been the tradition. Of course, I cannot fail to see the posi-

tive aspects of Dr. Kwesi Botchwey's economic policies when I say we must courageously state the facts if we seek to solve our national problems. It is interesting to note that Dr. Botchwey sincerely described the state of the economy and industrial activity in 1983 as being under 15%. Besides, the PNDC has fixed hospital and college fees and presented this and other policies to the IMF as a proof that the PNDC is not subsidising public expenditure and consequently has been given loans.

The re-introduction of school and hospital fees, which I recall we all paid even in the North until 1951, is realistic. When Dr. Busia broached a reduction in bursaries during his tenure of office (1969-1972) he became unpopular to many who still believed that Ghana should maintain her welfare state programme even when the world price of cocoa was fast falling under Dr. Busia and Dr. Nkrumah before him in the 60s. If General F.W.K. Akuffo had courageously ignored the advice not to accept the IMF's loan under the given conditions then in 1978, he would have probably saved

his life and government in 1979. We have to accept it today that Ghanaians are finally learning from their past experiences. Let's hope Ghana's industries and the economy will both pick up soon and that we shall both, sooner or later, have peace.

Political stability can only come about through a healthy national *spirit of appreciation and a re-vitalised economy not federalism* as a contributor to the debate wrote recently. Traditions made under a charismatic ruler would always serve to haunt future rulers of the country because of their enslaving nature and have served in various parts of the world as the root causes of political instability.

The PNDC, irrespective of what one might think of it, has set the precedence of breaking a taboo that enslaved governments and made a mockery of Ghanaians, viz. that government could not borrow monies from the IMF without fear of repercussions from the army, and that government could not cut down on public spending when industrial production had fallen and thus affecting very adversely the national economy.

Subscribe to TALKING DRUMS

and be informed on current developments in the West African sub-region.

I would like to subscribe to **TALKING DRUMS**

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____

MAKE CHEQUES/MONEY/POSTAL ORDERS PAYABLE TO:

TALKING DRUMS PUBLICATIONS,
 Madhav House,
 68 Mansfield Road,
 London NW3 2HU

TELEPHONE: 01-482 2165

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

Coup indicators (part 2)

The new President, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, is firmly in the saddle. He has brought happiness to millions of homes in Nigeria. We welcome him and greet him as the liberator of oppressed Nigerians who were chained by Buhari's clique, in the most inhuman of conditions. President Babangida has uprooted the tree of tyranny from the Nigerian soil. The only people who may not welcome the change must be the *sadists*, those rogues who used to have midnight suppers with Buhari, who abused Nigeria's highest position to settle personal scores and imprison the land hitherto celebrated for its tolerance and respect for human rights.

There is a word of caution. The new President should beware of sycophants, beware of those who are fond of bringing secret memoranda at midnight. The double dealers are afraid of sunlight and prefer to call at night when no eyes could see them. He should beware of their tentacles, the faceless rogues who must by now be running all over the place lobbying on behalf of X and on behalf of Y. This they call placing their men *inside*. There are also the *experts of all regimes*, who are so expert in advising you when you are on top and equally expert in drafting a memorandum to your successor condemning you. They live to eat out of everyone that comes.

They have no commitment except to their personal interest. They have such sweet tongues that it is not easy to detect their hidden motive! They often talk with their eyes down and appear so obedient. He must also beware of the big business families, the first friends of every man who comes on top and his first condemners when he goes. They introduce themselves to you by ably condemning your predecessor. But above all beware of *some* Retired Generals. There are one or two good ones. But many are not only greedy for money but also nurse some funny ideas.

It is being said that some of them had rung their foreign business partners and close associates to say that the coup was carried out by *their boys*. All we know is that the new President is nobody's boy. He is his own master and if the Rtd. Generals do not know this by now, then they will never learn.

There are, however, some good and courageous people whose advice will be worth seeking and worth having. They spoke *openly* against Buhari's regime and *early* enough when no signs of a fall was in any way evident. Such were men of courage who dared to damn it

Between the lines

(Only for those who can see)

and say it out when other men were trembling and paying homage to Buhari and Idiagbon. Such men were subsequently persecuted but in the end they earned the silent respect and admiration of the world. Such are the natural leaders of men and often they remain controversial to the end. They may not have money to dish around but they remain a permanent threat to Buhari's sycophants. Those who cannot go through the fire when it is hot cannot pretend possessing the ability to lead others through hell. Only in situations of crisis are true leaders identified. In times of peace everyone lays equal claim to qualities of leadership.

Finally, with the Decree No. 4 abrogated, Nigerian press has regained its lost liberty. We pray that they would show a sense of responsibility and so reciprocate the good gesture of the new group. It does not pay to exploit a situation and misguide the people by taking advantage of ownership of the press, retribution can assume different forms. Buhari in his cell will confirm this.

We wish Nigeria well both on and between the lines. The sadists have had their fill under Buhari's era, they should find a better pastime than showering insults and lies on their betters. They owe it to the rest of us to allow the wounds to heal, assuming of course that they wish Nigeria *well*. Those who condemned President Shagari and called for his blood were singing music to Buhari at the time and helped to lead him to his doom. They

began to see something wrong with his *only* when his "fire" spread to the compounds. Such was the extent of their dishonesty and viciousness.

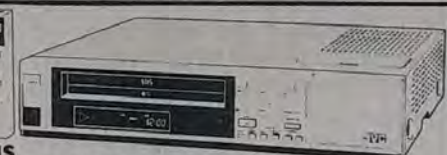
Any leader of Nigeria who does not understand their game will be led to doom like they led the previous one. This is a fact, love it or hate it, the truth must be told. In defence of the truth no price is too high. Nigerians have at last been freed from Buhari's dungeons, their liberators deserve congratulations. We pray they will do as they can to restore the good image and name of Nigeria as a respectable nation, not a nation of international terrorists and kidnappers.

ADVERTISE IN

TALKING DRUMS

PHONE: 482 2165

VIDEO SCENE EXPORT CENTRE



VHS
21-23 BEDFORD HILL, BALHAM
LONDON SW12
Tel: 01-675 6062/01-673 3272

TROPICALISED TVs AND VIDEO RECORDERS AT DISCOUNT PRICES + CHANCE TO WIN PRIZES IN OUR LUCKY INVOICE NUMBERS DRAW

VIDEO RECORDERS	PRICE
SHARP VC371 VHS	£245
NATIONAL NV250 VHS	£255
NATIONAL NV450 VHS R/CONTROL	£310
NATIONAL NV730 VHS R/CONTROL	£375
PANASONIC NV830 VHS R/CONTROL	£375
PANASONIC NV850 VHS R/CONTROL	£445
JVC HRD120EM VHS R/CONTROL	£345
JVC HRD150EC VHS R/CONTROL	£345
JVC HRD120MS VHS R/CONTROL (multi system)	£390
SHARP VC477 VHS R/CONTROL (7 system)	£425

COLOUR TELEVISIONS	PRICE
PANASONIC TC430 14"	£175
PANASONIC TC431 14" R/CONTROL	£195
PANASONIC TC223 20" R/CONTROL	£275
PANASONIC TC2245 22" R/CONTROL	£295
PANASONIC TC2645 26" R/CONTROL	£330
JVC 7755CB 20" R/CONTROL (7 system)	£365
JVC AV20E 20" R/CONTROL (9 system)	£465
SONY KV1614 16" R/CONTROL	£260
SONY KV2062 20" R/CONTROL	£290
SONY KV2062 20" R/CONTROL	£290
SONY KV2215 22" R/CONTROL	£345
SONY KV2762 27" R/CONTROL	£355
SONY KV2764 27" R/CONTROL (stereo)	£395
SONY KV2730 27" R/CONTROL (stereo)	£445

ALSO AVAILABLE: PORTABLE VIDEOS, CAMERAS, ALL-IN-ONE UNIT VIDEO & CAMERA. TVs AND VIDEOS TO USE IN U.K. AND AFRICA WITHOUT CONVERSION

WIN

1ST PRIZE — 22" Panasonic Colour TV
2ND PRIZE — Sharp VC371 VHS Video
3RD PRIZE — Hitachi TRK7620 radio/cass
IN OUR LUCKY INVOICE NUMBER DRAW

To qualify: Buy goods worth £500 and over during September '85 — March '86.
DRAW TO TAKE PLACE ON 7th MARCH '86

Once upon a coup... By Elizabeth Ohene

Having lived through how many coups, it is not surprising that one should fall into a routine the minute there is some report about a coup d'etat.

It is a drill that has been perfected through constant usage and absence from the scene does not spell too much of a hindrance in falling into the routine.

First, the radio announcement, this time on the BBC World Service at 8am, British Summer Time, 7am GMT. Predictably the first announcement was sketchy, you knew the phones must have been cut before anybody ever made it to the radio station. All the same, some perverse urge to phone every available phone number you have in Lagos and the equally perverse British Telecom recorded message, "... two, I'm sorry all the lines to the country you have dialled are engaged, please try again ..." and you try again and again and again ... In the meantime the phone is ringing non-stop, have you heard, what do you think is happening, who is behind it, which faction? At this stage you are desperately trying to sift through every bit of conversation you have had recently to see if you missed any significant clues or nuances.

When somebody had said there will be an end to the nightmare in Nigeria sooner than we all dared hope, did he mean that he knew there was going to be a coup on Tuesday the 27th? But then this same somebody had confidently predicted the same end of the nightmare 12 months ago, 10 months ago, four months ago and 10 days previously.

The name of Brigadier Dogonyaro emerges, and you know that in the Nigerian scheme of coups, he who announces coups is usually not the person to emerge as the leader. For the next hour the speculation is intense, somehow everybody is agreed that Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon are out, the name of Babangida keeps popping up.

In the past year, the name of Babangida has emerged in every conversation about Nigeria, 'a soldier's soldier' is the phrase that you often heard, but then they said the same of Yakubu Gowon in his time. Babangida was said not to be interested in politics and evidence of this was supposed to be that the December 31 coup was really his doing but he had kept to strictly military roles.

However, for somebody not interested in politics, he had played significant roles in the last three successful

Babangida was said not to be interested in politics, and evidence of this was supposed to be that the December 31 1983, coup was really his doing but he still kept to strictly military roles. Finally he has assumed the ultimate position

coups in Nigeria ... The argument has been forcefully made that the gentleman must be quite unhappy about the way his coup has turned out. Those who know him have said consistently that the continued detention of the politicians and other people without trial must be particularly



galling to him and ditto the Buhari stance towards the press. This was a man who liked people around him, who liked an argument or two in the mess and who liked to be challenged intellectually and who liked to work hard and play hard.

But then all talk about rifts within the Buhari SMC were adamantly denied. The acting Nigerian High Commissioner in London literally almost chopped out necks off a few weeks ago for suggesting that the 'real' soldiers were unhappy about the Buhari/Idiagbon rule. Sinister speculation, His Excellency assured us, all was well within the SMC, the Armed Forces and the country as a whole.

Now, of course, we all know who was right. His Excellency was either practising an extreme

in-cheek or he had not the foggiest idea what was happening in his own country.

Just about when the BBC new readers had about managed to get their tongues around 'Dogon Yaro', it emerged that indeed Major-General Ibrahim Babangida was the man you could almost see the pain on the faces of the British television newscasters as they tried to articulate the one. Reminded you of the story recounted by the famous ITN newscaster Andrew Garner about how he had spent six whole years learning how to pronounce *Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa* (the first Prime Minister of Federal Nigeria), and the minute he perfected it, he was assassinated and he had to start learning another unpronounceable name all over again...

And so Babangida it was. Within hours, people in London here who had been unflinching in their support for the Buhari were putting as much distance as possible between themselves and the very name.

But then that is all part of the African coup syndrome — those who were loudest in praising a regime are the first and loudest in condemning when it falls.

Thus suddenly strange headlines appeared in publications that until the fateful Tuesday were sure that 'the Buhari' administration was doing a magnificent job. Now it had been the most authoritative regime Nigeria had ever had to endure, the end of tyranny. Suddenly all the instances of blatant human rights that *Talking Drums* had been shouting itself hoarse about became fashionable talking points and writers and commentators started falling over each other to explain to the British and BBC World Service audience just how loathsome the Buhari regime had been. One wondered when all these 'experts' recognised the position and why it had taken Gen. Babangida to make them say what they surely must have known all along. But then they are the vultures who appear only when something has collapsed and died!

Even though it is

SEPTEMBER 16, 1985

and deaf to the terrible things that had been going on in Nigeria in the past 20 months.

The British Daily Star editorialised on the coup: "...in a country where corruption was a way of life, the Buhari regime had perfected it into a fine art..."

Well, well, I could have sworn that I had read that one somewhere before and it sounded suspiciously like the same editorial that was dusted up on December 31, 1981, and on December 31, 1983, except that those two earlier occasions, it was the 'Limann regime' and the 'Shagari regime', and I am willing to bet my last cedi on it that to the editorial writers in the Daily Star, it all means the same thing.

Predictably, the Financial Times saw in the coup an economic angle: it had happened said the eminent FT because of the inability of Buhari to come to an agreement with the International Monetary Fund! — Now try telling that to Brig. Dogonyaro or to the Nigerian people whose pulse Babangida and his colleagues had unmistakably taken.

Then you waited and hoped that you would hear something positive and this

time, Gen. Babangida did not disappoint. Decree 4 goes. I don't care if the man is a soldier's soldier, he sure has a lot of that rare commodity: COMMON SENSE, and then he goes and releases almost 100 detainees and by this master stroke, succeeds in winning more supporters than anything else.

Gen. Buhari and Gen. Idiagbon had at every opportunity asserted that they were in power by their own strength and owed nothing to anybody. They therefore felt that they were under no obligation to listen to anybody. While it lasted, it was quite fascinating to watch this strange 'death wish' dance they were engaged in, oblivious to the

His Excellency was either practising an extreme case of tongue-in-cheek or he had not the foggiest idea what was happening in his own country.

fact that they need the acquiescence of the people to rule.

It will be in his own interest for Gen. Babangida never to forget that he will be watched with even more suspicion by his country men than former leaders. The question of the jailed/released politicians in particular is likely to prove the most thorny issue to face the new regime.

For, after one has congratulated Gen. Babangida on the release of the detainees, a number of pertinent questions need to be asked. When the 'trials' before the military tribunals started, there was no indication that the cases were being held in any particular order. They did not start with the biggest allegations and worked their way towards the smallest or most frivolous.

The way the 'trials' were held, it was obvious that it was all a case of a lucky draw — whichever name came out of the hat first, went before the tribunal. The fact that somebody has not yet appeared before the Tribunal, cannot be taken to mean that he/she has no case to answer according to the Buhari/Idiagbon theory.

It can be argued, of course, that having spent 20 months in jail without charge is enough punishment for whatever 'crimes' these people are alleged to have committed. All the same it can also be argued that simply because somebody has been lucky enough not to have been hauled before some tribunal until Gen. Babangida struck does not mean that he should

be allowed to go free, if he has committed crimes.

The query can be raised, for example, about ex-Governor Lateef Jakande who Gen. Buhari insisted, ought to explain the source of the N28 million he raised for the UPN — other governors are in jail for having given to the UPN less sums of money.

Obviously, if these people had been brought before the proper courts, none of these questions would ever have arisen whether Gen. Buhari was in power or not, but that was the option that was rejected by Buhari himself.

The benefit of the doubt, if any, therefore will have to be given to the detainees and jailed people. It is too late to exercise the option of taking people before the courts and if people are to be released, the facility should be extended to all those politicians who have been jailed by the tribunals.

In the meantime, the 'federal character' of the Babangida administration is bound to come under the greatest scrutiny, for the old 'South' had about decided that they had been effectively excluded from the government of the country. These are matters that cannot be legislated upon but which can provide a lot of ammunition for mischief. The foreign press in particular are at a loss when they cannot explain Nigerian events in terms of tribal conflict. Gen. Babangida can only buy some time for himself and the only way to announce a programme for a return to constitutional rule. The current betting is that such an announcement and other far reaching statements will be made on October 1, 1985, on the 25th anniversary of Nigeria's independence.

At the moment, one is watching with interest.

SUMMER SALES!!

Quality Tropicalised Products at Discount Prices



- COLOUR TELEVISIONS**
- Sony KV-2724 27 Stereo Col TV RC £455.00
 - Sony KV-2764 27 Stereo Col TV RC £400.00
 - Sony KV-2762 27 Mono Col TV RC £375.00
 - Sony KV-2215 22 Col TV RC £345.00
 - Sony KV-2062 20 Col TV RC £310.00
 - Sony KV-1882 18 Tinted Screen RC £270.00
 - Sony KV-1614 16 Portable Col TV RC £265.00
 - Sony KV-1412 14 Portable Col TV RC £245.00
 - Sony KV-1432ME 14 Triple System TV £255.00
 - Panasonic TC-2645 26 Col TV RC £330.00
 - Panasonic TC-2238 22 Stereo RC £330.00
 - Panasonic TC-2648 26 Stereo RC £395.00
 - Panasonic TC-1647 16 Portable RC £230.00
 - Panasonic TC-430 14 Touch Tune £165.00
 - JVC 7255ME-7 System Colour TV RC £550.00
 - JVC AV-26 7-System 26 Tinted Screen £595.00

- VIDEO RECORDERS**
- Panasonic DC431 14 r/c £190.00
 - Panasonic NV-430EG VHS Full Infra Rem. £325.00
 - Panasonic NV-730EG 4 8hr VHS Full Rem £400.00
 - Panasonic NV-370EG VHS Cord Remote £330.00
 - Panasonic NV-180EG Portable VHS — Tuner £675.00
 - Panasonic NV-830EG Hi-Fi Stereo VHS £395.00
 - Panasonic NV-250EN Features Super Still £320.00
 - JVC Telefunken VHS Infra Remote £335.00
 - JVC HRD-120MS Triple System VHS £430.00
 - JVC Telefunken 7-System VHS Full Rem £555.00
 - Sharp VC481 VHS Video Recorder £265.00
 - Sharp VC482 VHS Remote Control Video Rec. £295.00

- STAR BARGAINS**
- Sanyo 20 Colour TV Full Remote £259.00
 - Sanyo 22 Colour TV Full Remote £289.00

- SPECIAL OFFER**
- Sanyo 20 Remote TV with National NV-250 VHS Video Recorder £565.00
 - With free 300 Watt Voltage Stabiliser worth £26.95
 - Belling Electric Cookers Compact £199.00
 - Belling Electric Cookers De Luxe £220.50
 - Coffe or Cream Colour £314
 - Belling Electric Cookers Classic DeLuxe

We have tropicalised two door Fridge Freezers from £165.00. We also stock Gas Electric Cookers, Honda Generators, Electric Fans, Food Mixers, Air Conditioners, Rice Cookers, Toasters and Electric Irons.

HI-FI GENERAL

39-43 Bedford Hill, Balham, London SW12
Tel: 01-673 5694/5, 01-675 5027
Nearest Underground (Tube) Balham, Northern Line

PHOTO ID

IDENTIFICATION IN FULL COLOR - SEALED IN PLASTIC

Good in all States and Provinces - FREE BIRTH CERTIFICATE -

Fast service * Moneyback Guarantee

SEND £6.00, Name, Address, Sex, Height, Weight, Color Hair, Eyes Birthdate & Small Photo

KEEP YOUR PASSPORT SAFELY
New one's can be costly!

CLUBS, ORGANISATIONS, AND SOCIETIES ETC. WELCOME

Rush me my I-D card.
ENCLOSED IS £6.00

Cheque Money/Postal Order
*NO CASH

NAME: _____
ADDRESS: _____

SIGNATURE _____

To: EM Photo I-D Services
11 Clover Close, London E11 4QF
MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

PHOTO ID

The fall of the Kaduna Mafia



By A Special Correspondent

Tuesday, 27 August, 1985 is a date that is likely to prove very significant to Nigerians in more than one respect. First, it was on that day that the tyrant fell. Second, it was the day that signalled the possible downfall of that group of people always reputed to be behind the throne in Nigeria for many years — the Kaduna Mafia.

About the fall of Major General "Dan Buzu", we shall have plenty of time to talk about that; the world will come to know the crook and terrorist that Buhari was.

Today we examine the Kaduna Mafia — Buhari's private Councillors. First, who are they? They are an amorphous group of pretenders who survive only on their ability to cling to whoever is in power until they suck him dry and he drops dead.

The first time they came into the limelight was during Obasanjo's regime. General Murtala Mohammed knew them so well and did not allow them to come near him. He had the greatest contempt for them.

With the assassination of General Murtala Muhammed, General Obasanjo took over as Head of State. Shehu Musa Yar' Adua, then a Brigadier, later promoted to Major General, was appointed as Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters. Major General (rtd.) Shehu Yar' Adua was more or less Murtala's boy and he it was who spearheaded the coup d'etat that toppled General Gowon and brought Murtala to Nigeria's Military throne. Hence the choice of Shehu Yar' Adua to the exalted position of Chief of Staff, a consolation to the Hausa Moslems from where assassinated Murtala Mohammed hailed.

Shehu Yar' Adua immediately saw himself as a representative of the Hausa Moslems and a defender of their interest, by his own interpretation. He quickly gathered around him some people on whom he believed

With the fall of the Buhari regime, more revelations have come out to expose the behind-the-scenes pressures that have gone into decision-making and appointments into high positions in Nigerian governments. The Kaduna Mafia's role is explained.

absolutely rely and so guarantee to General Obasanjo the loyalty of the North. With General T.Y. Danjuma as a minority Christian from Wukari, then part of Benue, the arrangement to ensure Northern loyalty seemed complete.

The people that Shehu Yar' Adua collected around him were: Mamman Daura who was his good friend and kinsman, both having hailed from the Katsina/Daura locality. Mamman Daura then invited and introduced Adamu Ciroma who was his predecessor as Editor of the *New Nigerian*. Of course, Mamman Daura remained eternally grateful to Adamu Ciroma who, after retiring from *New Nigerian Newspapers* put in a good word for his friend Mamman to succeed him.

The next person that was pulled in to the cult was Musa Bello from Yola who was an under secretary (deputy permanent secretary) in the Government of the defunct Northern Region. Musa Bello then extended an invitation into the cult to his friend and kinsman Mahmud Tukur, now called Dr. Mahmud Tukur — Buhari's import licence minister. Mahmud Tukur who was at that time teaching at the Institute of Administration, brought into the group people like Abubakar Koko from Sokoto and Abubakar Yaya who was later moved to the Cabinet office to provide real anchor for the group's activities as a kitchen cabinet.

Through Mahmud Tukur, another Bororo from Gombe by name of Sule Kumo came into the fold. The group then recruited Shehu Malami from Sokoto, a traditional

man, a close associate of every man who was ever in power right from General Ironsi.

Then came in the "Super-Famous-Perm-Sec." Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji. As a civil servant in the Ministry of Finance, Abubakar Alhaji was particularly useful to their plan. Later on, lesser persons were drawn into the fold but they remained mainly in the background. These included: Turi Muhammadu from Bida, in-law to Adamu Ciroma and successor of Mamman Daura as Editor of *New Nigerian*; Tanko Kuta from Kuta in Niger State; Aliko Mohammed from Misau; Hamza Zayyad from Katsina and Aminu Wali from Kano, all of them revolving around the Chief of Staff — Shehu Yar' Adua.

Sani Zangron Daura and Ismalia Isa Funtua were brought in to serve the role of spreading the group's gospel. This was the "Sharri" group that surrounded the then Chief of Staff, posing, by their own definition, as defenders and promoters of the interests of the North.

With time and as they grew in strength and as their tentacles spread everywhere, they came to be nicknamed the *Kaduna Mafia*. The choice of the word 'Mafia' was because of their clannish loyalties and Kaduna served as their capital or as the bastion of their power.

Now, within the Army, who were their associates? Everyone knows the closeness of Yar' Adua to Buhari — the "Dan Buzu" tyrant. Without Yar' Adua as Chief of Staff, there was no

Major General Magoro and Air what-have-you Muktar Mohammed, were also an extension of the Mafia group. There are one or two others but these are inconsequential.

For the first time then, this shadowy group have been mentioned by name so the guessing game can now end. It is in everybody's interest to remove their mystical mask so that we can all see them. They have no one and represent no North.

One can now proceed to examine their political roles and philosophies and the way they have operated.

When General Obasanjo was in power, the group, using Chief of Staff Major General Shehu Yar' Adua, held Obasanjo to ransom. They dictated the names of those to be appointed from the North. They were the North! Those who were not in their good books could not get a look-in. Probes were set up by their chosen friends as chairman of panels as well as members. The idea was to come out with reports that would indict their enemies and opponents.

Thus because of their hold on General Obasanjo, the Kaduna Mafia got themselves and their friends nominated to the CDC, the Constitution Drafting Committee 1977-78.

So they were the "capable brains" to draft the constitution for Nigeria.

The plan was that from that first step they would move to the next until finally there would be a swap of power. They would be slotted in while their military friends would phase out. Thus their secrets would remain as *secrets*.

The plan was that the Kaduna Mafia would identify two people from each state and Yar' Adua would influence Obasanjo to appoint them to the Constituent Assembly as representing the Government. It was the group made up of two from each state that would form the nucleus of the political group that would emerge so as to throw their weight behind one of them — who had presidential ambitions. With that achieved, Yar' Adua would then be safe in retirement or be subsequently appointed as the Minister of Defence.

There were hitches, however, that made it difficult for the plan to work and in fact it was those hitches that ultimately frustrated the Kaduna Mafia and exposed them. First they did not know exactly what to do with General T.Y. Danjuma and people like Babangida (at that time a Brigadier).

The Kaduna Mafia did not trust them sufficiently to expose to them the real plan. At the same time it was feared the plan would not completely work with these two people and a few others totally left in the dark since they too were (and are) Northerners with

completely equal claim. The second hitch came when the results of elections into the Constituent Assembly were known. They were based on an individual merit, not political parties as there were none at the time.

The masses voted for their true sons as their representatives and the kind of people who won were not with the Kaduna Mafia. In particular, President Shehu Shagari was elected from Shagari in Sokoto and Umaru Dikko was elected by the people of Kaduna and B/Gwari Districts. There were many others who were of independent minds and when they arrived at the Hall of the Constituent Assembly, the Mafia soon found itself in disarray.

Even when the Mafia tried to steal the show by bringing up the topic of *Shari'a*, they bungled. Had the matter been handled with political sagacity, the result would not have been so humiliating to the delegates from the Northern states. How the Constituent Assembly was dissolved is another story, long and interesting but perhaps not so relevant to the present topic.

The masses voted for their true sons as their representatives and the kind of people who won were not with the Kaduna Mafia...

When ultimately the military permitted political activity and party formation, the Kaduna Mafia poured into the National Party of Nigeria with the hope and belief that they could wrangle the nomination of the party in favour of their candidate on whose behalf the Chief of Staff was almost openly campaigning. Luckily, the people saw through this and at the Party Convention, the Kaduna Mafia candidate came *third*. Alhaji Maitama Sule beat him to snatch second place, while Shagari became the NPN's Presidential Candidate.

President Shagari, with his style of live and let live, his policy of compromise even with a declared enemy, appealed to all to team up and work together. The Kaduna Mafia within the NPN continued to fight until their defeated candidate became the Acting General Secretary of the NPN.

Even with Shagari having bent over backwards to placate and accommo-

date them, they were dissatisfied and when the 1983 elections approached they signed a secret pact with Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Presidential Candidate of the UPN. And yet in the open they remained members of the NPN — enough to prove to anyone the kind of people they were! Anyway, you should read what Chief Awolowo said about his brief honeymoon with that lot. His description of them was one of the most perfect.

So they were *with* President Shagari and *against* President Shagari. They were so good at this double game. They did everything to undermine him and since they were in league with some newspaper proprietors they had a field-day. But they flopped because the masses were and up till tomorrow they are, for Shagari, given a free hand.

One important and very pertinent question needs to be asked. Why did the Kaduna Mafia try to undermine President Shagari? The issue goes further than their fair weather arrangement with Chief Awolowo.

Why did this clique connive in the overthrow of a regime in which they participated? The answer in a nutshell is: Because they do not believe that anybody from the South should ever be elected to the Presidency of Nigeria.

The Kaduna Mafia became fully convinced that within the NPN, people like the President himself, Umaru Dikko, Isyaku Ibrahim and many others sincerely believed and openly pronounced that the Presidency should rotate.

They said that the zoning arrangement within the NPN must itself be rotational and that at the end of Shagari's second and final term, the Presidential Candidacy should move to the South. They maintained that the basis of coming together to form a National Party in Nigeria was to ensure equal opportunity for all sections. The Kaduna Mafia did NOT believe in this! In their view it must all the time be someone from the NORTH to whom they could cling and wield influence in the name of their selfishly defined North.

When they saw that President Shagari would not budge from his principle, they started their usual game. They began to spread that he did not care any more and so called their military friends to rise up in arms against the democratically elected civilian government of President Shehu Shagari.

With the overthrow of their man — Buhari — it is likely they would want to strike again. But the joy in this is that the present Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida knows them and we believe will be equal to the task, just as Murtala Muhammed was.

OPEN LETTER TO MAJOR-GENERAL TUNDE IDIAGBON

Dear Major-General, Tunde Idiagbon,

I have gathered from the Nigerian press that you sent a message of support to your former colleagues who ousted you from power while you were away performing the Hajj in Mecca.

You were reported to have asked for permission to return home peacefully. If you have been quoted correctly then I must confess that I am disappointed in you, (of course, I'm sure you don't care one bit if a nobody like me is disappointed in you). All the same, you must realise that by this one report, you have completely destroyed the 'strongman' image you have so painstakingly cultivated these past 20 months that you had been on centre stage in Nigeria.

What exactly is meant by your message of support? Are you sure you have heard the things they are saying about you? About being a tyrant and not listening to anybody; do you realise that you are being compared to a Hitler and other unmentionable men of infamy? When you say you support them, is one to conclude that you agree that you had been the 'most authoritarian and repressive regime that Nigerians have ever had the misfortune to endure?'

Which all takes me to the conclusion that you have become a victim of 'Media persecution because you are out of power'.

The chances are that you have been misquoted.

You will soon discover that you have become fair game. Everything will be blamed on you. You will find that people you had done favours for in your time of glory will all turn their backs on you, they will try to put as much distance as possible between themselves and you and your colleagues will claim that yours was a one-man show.

I can assure you that it will be a lonely existence and a most frustrating one. For example, it is being alleged now that you own 19 houses in Ilorin alone and have rented houses to the Nigerian Air Force and other government organisations in Ilorin.

All of which sound terribly 'Un-WAI'. Apart from their being a tendency in the media to whip people that are down, you have the added handicap of having been caught out in Saudi Arabia of all places — it is not a place much frequented by the 'foreign press' and even though I am sure that country has its big points, I couldn't survive there: you can't even have a drink! Whatever will you do without the odd Scotch after work and cold glass of beer after meals. You can only pray so many times, and even though you definitely need the kind hand of Allah right now, you will remember that he says he helps those who help themselves.

I will suggest therefore that you make your way to London, (where, I gather, you have property and won't face accommodation difficulties), you know the British, for all our criticisms of them, are very tolerant. In London you can be sure that a pack of journalists will be falling over trying to interview you and there will be the opportunity to state your case and then, of course, it will be easier for you to monitor events in Nigeria and you can watch 'man's ingratitude to man!'

A second reason why you might want to leave Saudi Arabia is that it is the place that Idi Amin, that infamous mass murderer, was given political asylum and if you should choose to live there, the temptation will always be to lump you and Amin in the same category, and I'm sure you won't like that one bit.

So please come to London. I can only hope that your former colleagues won't take offence at the British for 'harbouring you'. You know how these things work, a few more newspaper articles and people will be demanding that you be brought back to answer for your 'crimes against Nigerians'. Before you can say 'TUN-DE' you will be declared a 'wanted man'! We can take consolation in the hope that nobody will try to forcibly remove you from London and take you to Nigeria in a crate, after the furore over the Dikko affair, I think you will be able to stay here in peace. Of course, there will be problems of trying to get the Home Office to grant you political asylum and all that hassle, but there is a whole community of West African exiles in London now that has travelled that road many times and can give you excellent advice.

But most of all, and that is the main point of this letter, I want to assure you that the columns of *Talking Drums* will be made available to you to tell your story. You will find that habits die hard and even though Decree 4 has been repealed, many newspapers who were conned by it will be hesitant about letting you tell your story on their pages. That is where we come in. In our two years of existence, we have managed a reputation of championing unfashionable causes and personalities — we wouldn't change just because of you. We will publish your side of the story, it should not be lost property.

I am hoping that you have recovered your facility to smile now that you are no longer the 'strongman' of Nigeria. It is said that most people cannot recall seeing you smile in all the 20 months!

Hoping to see you soon in London, please don't be so despondent, you can take comfort in the axiom: NO CONDITION IS PERMANENT — it has been proved over and over again. The pity is that when people are in power, they tend to forget.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Ohene,
Editor,
Talking Drums

A SHORT STORY

The braves shall flee (part 3 — conclusion) — By Ebo Quansah

Since the chairman's broadcast, the three friends had never found the long curfew nights boring. They had argued, quarrelled and come close to testing their physical strength on the import of the leader's message.

"If enemies could abduct people during curfew hours and go through all barriers without being detected, then how safe is the ordinary man in your revolution? Why did the so-called enemies pick only those whose actions have questioned revolutionary law and how come the chairman said the bodies were recovered in the Accra plains when he knew too well that they were at the Bondase Firing Range, a place which access is open only to soldiers?"

Kofi Yesu's questions were persistent and occasionally irritated Kwakuvi Akakpo. His response had at times been outright condemnation of what he called "reactionary tendencies of a confused petit bourgeois".

When the SIC proceedings opened at the Parliament House, Kofi Yesu, Akakpo and Amarteifio were among the large crowd that milled the public gallery.

With the sort of account given by Mr Addow-Korang, there was little difficulty identifying the kidnappers who were arrested without any incident. It was the identification of the men pulling the strings that created a sense of fear and apprehension among the entire citizenry. Aryeetey Kwei, a member of the ruling junta was brought before the proceedings and identified as the man who handed the coded message to Ademeka.

While conceding his role, Aryeetey Kwei, the man universally known as the closest confidant of the Chairman confounded everybody by naming the nation's Security boss as author of the coded message and the brain behind the entire deal.

Ex-Captain Joke Katatsi was an enigma. As one of the most politicised military officers of the post-independent era, he had been discharged from the military on the orders of the First President and his idol.

Military sources were divided on the reason for the untimely discharge. Some said the President issued the order because the ex-captain was becoming politically ambitious. A more authentic source blamed the ex-Captain's humiliating exit on his mis-

adventures in a Southern African country where he participated in a civil war.

The only theory everybody appeared to accept without question was that the discharged army officer was never somebody with a kind heart. While very few people doubted his involvement, an attempted press manipulation, even went to convince a few protesting his innocence that there was some skeleton in the cupboard.

Press had always come under the control of the state machinery. Anybody who, fortune had bestowed the Information Ministry under his control, had come to identify his success with how often he had influenced the contents of the mass media.

"S-S-Sir," Ademeka was nearly in tears. "Have you forgotten me? We used to hold meetings at the Chairman's house. I'm the one who usually fetched water into your old car when we were planning the holy war."

When the Secretary for Information called at the offices of the leading newspaper after the CIS proceedings, it was interpreted as one of those days when the visitor's will had to prevail.

"Welcome Sir", the news editor rose to greet the Secretary, who only a few months back, had been asking favours from journalists to protest against his dismissal from the youth wing of the governing party.

"Where is the SIC story?"

"It is here." The news editor started fidgeting in search of the story.

"Why did you send such a reactionary reporter?"

"I did not send anybody. The reporter went on her own."

The news editor handed over the type-written, the carbon copy, the handwritten piece as well as the reporter's notebook to the Secretary and summoned the reporter to explain who sent her to the CIS proceedings.

The reporter's explanation that it was her beat did not convince the

Secretary who warned drastic consequences in future. Since the holy war, the press has constantly been identified as "part of the struggle."

Before leaving the premises, the Secretary lectured newsmen on journalistic requirements under the revolution and asked the editor to reserve the front page and editorial column for a very important press conference.

The conference, the first to be televised live, was addressed by ex-captain Katatsi. No questions were entertained.

"Vigilant security forces have intercepted a document outlining a planned invasion of the country by a foreign power . . ."

Only the press could make some sense out of the broadcast. Editorials extolled the virtue in patriotism and praised the bravery of local soldiers as vanguards of the revolution.

A jingle on the "Voice of the Revolution" reminded the imaginary invaders: "patriotic soldiers, bravery defends the revolution."

With such an important news item as the security boss' broadcast, there was "no space" for the CIS proceedings that particular day. And since news is transient, the confrontation between Ademeka and ex-Capt Joke Katatsi never saw light. Like many such events in the country, every detail was communicated by word of mouth throughout the country.

"Do you know the man in the dock?" The SIC chairman's question was directed at Ademeka.

"Yes Sir."

"Who is he?"

"He is Captain Katatsi."

"How do you know him?"

"He is our respected leader . . . Chief of Security . . . The man who directs the revolution."

"Capt Katatsi, do you know the speaker?"

"No."

"S-S-Sir," Ademeka was nearly in tears. "Have you forgotten me? We used to hold meetings at the Chairman's house. I'm the one who usually fetched water into your old car when we were planning the holy war."

"I don't know you."

"No, No, Sir, You have known me

Continued on page 18

In Defence of Somalia

Title: IN DEFENCE OF SOMALIA, *The Evaded Duty*, 160 pages
Author: Louis Fitzgibbon
Publishers: Rex Collings Ltd
UK price: £6.25

For years the Horn of Africa, one of Africa's most troubled spots, has made headlines in foreign papers and continues to agitate the minds of many who see and understand the plight of a people living in bondage on their own land.

The author of this book is obviously one such person, whose previous book, *The Betrayal of the Somalis* attempted to put into perspective the case of the people to the world community.

Who are the Somalis? In *The Evaded Duty*, Fitzgibbon graphically describes them as the "Irish of Africa, in that they are extremely generous yet fierce and war-like simultaneously. Of penetrating gaze and easy manner, they are people to be reckoned with, as history has clearly revealed . . . past wrongs are not forgotten, nor is the sense of of unity."

Continued from page 17

since infancy. I am the boy who used to visit your traps in the village. I even fell into one and had this scar." Ademeka pulled up his trousers to show the scar on the right foot.

"Since joining the army, I have been carrying out your assignments."

For the third time he denied knowing Ademeka. At that stage, the Corporal broke down and wept like a baby.

The SIC report did not suggest members were impressed by the security boss' denials but the attorney general was.

Meanwhile, what mattered to the press was the bravery of the revolutionary soldiers. Day in day out, the papers were full of imaginary forces being driven away or captured along the borders, until the men came.

It was a Sunday morning and an overcast sky had created a dull Sunday morning when they came. They were eight local men in track suits. In a daring operation that might be the envy of any Hollywood spy film director, the invaders seized cars, scaled the wall of the medium security prisons, released a few colleagues who had been detained by the revolutionaries and marched on broadcasting house.

A few shots were fired. Soldiers

The main problem of the Somalis concerns the west, that part annexed by Ethiopia known as 'Ogaden' from the name of a tribe which inhabits it. This area, Western Somalia to the Somalis, has been the bone of contention for many years between the two governments.

The book argues strongly on the atrocious Human Rights record of the Ethiopian Dergue headed by Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam who while severely suppressing those he does not see eye to eye with has created an impression in international circles of a regime ready to help returnees and resettlement programmes aimed at attracting more aid.

Fitzgibbon then tackles the duplicity of Western nations in connection with the Ethiopian government and its relations with surrounding countries.

He analyses the debates of the United Nations on the refugee issues and in some detail the shameful handling of a report for presentation at the 38th session of the commission on

Human Rights which was part UN Economic and Social Council also involved the United Nations Commission for Refugees.

In conclusion, Fitzgibbon concluded at least three aspects which the United Nations has evaded its duty in that part of Africa, deliberate mutilation of official records and the failure to address root causes of refugee flow out and into the area.

The next few chapters deal with the legality of occupation and an appeal to United Nations' resolutions on the issue and very interesting correspondence dating back to the turn of the century from the British Foreign Office on Abyssinia (Ethiopia). For students of the Somalian and Ethiopian land dispute, this book certainly gives an insight into the intricacies of negotiations and the political manipulations going on inside the Mengistu regime to frustrate the efforts of West Somalia to gain access to their own land.

B.O.

guarding the 'Voice of the Revolution' abandoned their weapons and took to their heels. As for the leaders, they locked themselves up in one of the strong rooms at the Castle where slaves were kept awaiting shipment before the trade in human beings was abolished.

"This is operations commander Hamidu Gyawu . . . We only came to release our colleagues . . . We are leaving. When we come back next time, we shall sort out who is more brave."

For four hours after the broadcast, not a mouse stirred. Then a helicopter was seen hovering above the broadcasting house, apparently to ensure that none of the invaders was around.

The Chairman then went on the air, conferred the highest honour of the land, "Order of the Sky", on his soldiers, promoted the captain who piloted the helicopter and launched a "search and destroy operation". Under the plan, anybody in track suits was to be "shot on sight".

When the chairman was coming out of the studios, he saw a group of soldiers hysterically removing a blood-stained body from a car he knew very well. Lt. Tettey, one of the chairman's aides was playing tennis when he heard the leaders broadcast. He was making

to the broadcasting house when troops opened fire on him. As the marksman explained, Lt. Tettey was in a track suit.

It was FA cup final that day. As the teams were warming up in their dressing room, somebody drew attention to the track suits they were wearing which promptly forced the football association to call off the match.

Disappointed fans made their way out in silence. As Kofi Yesu and his friends got out of the stadium they forced their way into a tro tro lorry going their way. The driver was in unusually high spirits for the events of the day.

He joked and laughed throughout the four-mile journey to Kaneshie. On the instructions of the driver, the mate did not collect the C2 fare.

At their destination, Kofi Yesu and his friend climbed out and thanked the driver for his generosity. The driver's response was to display a toothpaste smile and wave of a white handkerchief. He started his engine and was soon lost in the dust. As the tro-tro disappeared in the distance, Kofi Yesu and his two friends read aloud the inscription at the

What Idiagbon told his son Adekunle

Major-General Tunde Idiagbon, the strongman in Buhari's regime, credited with all the atrocities and hard-line policies that precipitated the fall of the government, was in Saudi Arabia with his 14-year-old son Adekunle, when Major-General Ibrahim Babangida ousted him from power.

Any student of African politics, particularly involving the military, would tell you that this was a great mistake made by the General when he left the country at the time he did. History is replete with stories of many African Heads of State who left their countries on one mission or the other (Nkrumah was on a peace mission to Hanoi, Gowon at Kampala OAU summit, Busia on medical check-up in the UK) and never made it back to their seats of power. The lesson should be now have sunk deeply in the psyche of any military ruler but, apparently believing in his invincibility, Idiagbon left on a personal religious mission and promptly became a refugee in Saudi Arabia — a situation he is currently enjoying with many Nigerian politicians he drove and persistently hunted in exile.

Now, it is known in medical circles for a man in such a desperate situation to undergo mental stress, which often leads into a state of depression (Gowon, Busia, Numiery), or a megalomania (Amin) in which vain boasts are made to return to power.

Idiagbon, according to reports reaching this columnist, is currently exhibiting symptoms of the first group of ex-Heads of State. He is reported to have pledged unflinching support to the new Babangida government and pleaded to be allowed back home where he properly belongs.

As it always happens in such unfortunate incidents, other members of his entourage have since returned home to their families.

In General Idiagbon's case his 14-year-old son had to return home without him with an instruction to look after his mother.

I am happy to report that I have just received a tape-recorded version of the conversation with his son. The tearful event has laid to rest the much-vaunted characteristic of the General as the regime's strong man. The following is the full text of the speech:

"My dear son, (sob...sob...) you're going back home without me because, as you've heard, my government has been overthrown and I'm currently without a job..."

"But daddy, you can come along," interrupted young Adekunle. "they

A TOUCH OF NOKOKO

by Kofi Akumanyi

can't do anything to you. Even my school mates say..."

"Yes, I know the nonsense that your school mates said about WAI, but things have changed, my son. You see, everything I did when I was in power, I did for the good of Nigeria. You're growing up and in the course of your life, you'll meet people who may profess to be your friends but never trust any of them or you'll come to a sorry end as I have..."

"But daddy, Uncle Buhari is your best friend, he'll help you."

"You don't understand. Uncle Buhari is in jail at Kirikiri. He was put there by the men he trusted most . . . I have just heard that General Babangida, the man who removed me from power, has said that Uncle Buhari and I took unpopular decisions and that on a few occasions when he tried to influence political decisions we had ignored him . . . (at this stage a loud noise is heard followed by the blowing of the nose) . . . Do you believe this? Do you believe this? It's all lies! All lies! I tell you. This is typical; typical Nigerian attitude — when the going gets tough, they blame someone else for their problems . . . (long pause, babbling noises at the back; possibly argument among other members of the entourage) . . . Adekunle, don't you remember when

Uncle Buhari, Uncle Babangida, Uncle Chike Ofodile, Uncle Vatsa, Uncle Abacha, used to come home to dinner? Don't you remember the long discussions we had on Nigerian problems and solutions? You remember, don't you, those days that I used to take you to play tennis and those long conversations with Uncle Abacha? . . . (sob) . . . Now they are telling me that I neither consulted them, nor respected their views. It is treachery pure and simple! Pure treachery!...

"My son, Adekunle, that's the way of the world. When you get back to Lagos, you'll face many problems basically because your father is no longer in power . . . They will make jokes about me but don't ever lose your temper. Keep your cool and remind yourself that nothing goes on forever . . . What goes up must come down and that's why I'm down here, but I shall return someday, maybe not as second-in-command in the government but in a respectable enough position to be able to look after you like a father should. (Sob . . . sob . . . blowing of nose.)

"When I find somewhere to settle down I would write to you to send me my favourite juju music records and military books." That was Idiagbon.

"Daddy, what would we use for money?" Adekunle asked, obviously realising a whole new ball game ahead of him.

"That's a very good suggestion, my boy. That's a very smart question. Well, I'm happy to say I'm not exactly a pauper. Your mother knows what to do. We took care of all that in our contingency measures. But obviously, my boy, you have to tailor your needs now to suit your current circumstances . . . I'm terribly sorry you can't have all that you asked for the coming Christmas, but Wallahi, I . . . we shall overcome. Give my love to your mother..."



J.M. GANDHI FIRST INDIAN

To combine the powers and secrets of astrology, palmistry, tarot and occultism to give you a more complete reading and service. Let him help you solve your problems. **Also specialising in personalised talismans.** for appointments phone between 10am-8pm.

01-965 9541



34 Brentmead Gardens,
off Twyford Abbey Road,
London NW10 7DS
Near Hanger Lane Tube Station



in the cause of innumerable accidents and loss of lives. In a statement issued to the press in Sierra Leone, Mr Djima, a mechanic by profession, recalled that in the past road traffic accidents were conspicuously displayed along the country's roads to serve as check, reminder and guide to motorists and other road users. This, he noted, helped in minimizing road accidents. Regretting that there had not been effective checks on road offenders, Mr Djima urged traffic officers to step up their operations against over-speeding and over-loading to avoid accidents and damages to vehicles.

SIERRA LEONE

Momoh will lead 'civilian government'

General Joseph Momoh, the sole candidate in the proposed presidential elections scheduled to take place on October 1 has stated that he will preside over a civilian government and not a military regime. In a speech addressed to the soldiers of a military barracks in Lungi, Mr Momoh mentioned for the first time that the government which he will lead will be constituted by civilians elected in accordance with the constitution. General Momoh, who is 48 and the present Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, was recently designated as the sole candidate of the only party, the All People's Congress (ACP).

Japanese food aid

An exchange of notes under which the Government of Japan extends to the Government of Sierra Leone a grant of 200m Japanese yen, approximately 0.87m dollars, in order to purchase rice under the Japanese food aid programme has been signed in Freetown.

This is the seventh grant Sierra Leone has benefited from Japan in the area of food aid. Since 1979, Japan has extended six grants amounting to more than 1.8bn yen, equivalent to more than 5.8m dollars.

Chinese grain supplies

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdul Karim Koroma, has concluded an agreement with the Chinese Ambassador aimed at further strengthening the existing friendly economic and technical co-operation between the two countries.

Under the agreement the Chinese Government will provide Sierra Leone with 3,000t of maize to be delivered in two shipments each of 1,500t in the fiscal years 1985-86 and 1986-87. The proceeds from the sale of the grain covered by the present arrangement will be utilised to defray local expenses for various projects covered by Sino-Sierra Leone bilateral cooperation projects.

OAU

Plans for animla disease control

The Nairobi-based OAU Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resources has drawn up a programme for tsetse and trypanosomiasis control in 37 African countries. The five-year programme will cost a total of over 3,600,000 US dollars and it is expected that the funds will be forthcoming from interested donors and that the OAU will contribute.

The programme is part of OAU efforts to increase food production in Africa under the Lagos Plan of Action. It is estimated that the programme could result in additional meat production of 1,500,000 t a year, worth 750,000,000 US dollars.

Trypanosomiasis is a parasitic disease that is transmitted by tsetse flies. It affects both man and animals. It is prevalent in 37 African countries and causes serious losses in livestock. It is the most serious impediment to animal husbandry in many countries of tropical Africa.

Of the estimated 160,000,000 head of cattle in Africa, 73% are in the arid, semi-arid and highland zones, which are largely free from tsetse infestation. The humid and sub-humid zones, in spite of their vast extent, account for only 17% of the livestock population. The area of the tsetse-infested zone which could be used for livestock is estimated to be 7,000,000 sq km, with a potential carrying capacity of 140,000,000 cattle.

LIBERIA



•Gen. Samuel Doe

Unity Party

The Unity Party has expressed concern over the alleged arrest of 10 of their supporters by local authorities in Voinjama, Lofa county. In a letter addressed to Internal Affairs Minister, Col Edward Sackor, the Unity Party stressed that the attitude of local authorities of Lofa and other counties are serving as a death blow to the serious effort of the Head of State, Gen Samuel Doe and members of the interim national assembly to return the country to civilian rule.

The Unity Party appealed to Minister Sackor to again emphasise to all local government authorities of this country that the Unity Party is a full-fledged political party and as such cannot continue to accept such maltreatment from their hands.

Election deadline

September 12 was the deadline for all political parties to submit the names of their nominees and candidates who will be contesting in the forthcoming general election on 15 October.

Presenting his party's probated political documents to the special elections commission, Secom, the chairman of the Liberia Action Party, LAP, Cousellor Tuan Wreh appealed to Secom to petition the Government of Liberia to again extend the general election day from 15 October to 1 November instead, adding it would be within the scope of the said approved timetable which acknowledges 5 January next year as the date for the legislature to convene for organisational purposes and 6 January as the inauguration day and transfer of power to the Second Republic. But in a reply to the recommendation Chairman Harmon said it is difficult at this moment to make any change in the schedule as the commission is already behind.



Mr Momoh said that his election was due to his loyalty and the aid given by his military colleagues. He added that soldiers are charged with a certain responsibility facing the nation, and said that they must play an important role as a guiding force in the development of the country. For political observers in Freetown, the fact that General Momoh emphasised that he will lead a civilian government after the elections is a means of allaying the people's fears.

Tribute to Kwodwo Addison By Kofi Batsa

I read with profound shock the death of Kwodwo Addison. I was with him in Takoradi during his stormy trade union days as General Secretary of the Ghana Maritime and Dock Workers Union. I was with him in Europe when he did courses in Trade Unionism under the auspices of the World Federation of Trade Unions at the Workers Academy in Budapest, Hungary.

I worked together with him, Anthony Kobina-Woode, Turkson-Ocran, Acquah Robertson, Pobe Biney, Yaro de Man, Dr Kwamena Ocran and Kwame Asumadu in developing radical, independent Trade Union movement in the Gold Coast. Though we were not understood and therefore the Colonial Government branded us "Communists," we fought together, stood firmly for what we believed was a cause in the interest of the workers of the Gold Coast. Those of us who are alive today, look back to those days with great pride.

When Kwame Nkrumah invited Kwodwo Addison to head the party ideological school, I was made the editor of "The Spark" which most truly reflected the ideology of Kwame Nkrumah at the Bureau of African Affairs. Kwodwo served on our policy body.

In the heat of the negotiations which brought together the radical "Casablanca Powers" and the moderate "Monrovia Powers" and therefore paved the way for the formation of the Organisation of



•The late Mr Kwodwo Addison.

African Unity (OAU), I travelled with Kwodwo Addison and John Tettegah under very difficult conditions to deliver urgent letters and messages from Kwame Nkrumah to Haile Sellassie. We were involved in some of the difficult guerilla activities which led to the independence of some of the African States.

I taught at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological School when Kwodwo was the Director. When the 1966 military coup by the selfish ambitious military adventurers, hungry for power and position toppled Kwame Nkrumah's regime, we were put in condemned cells of Nsawam prisons for three months. Kwodwo was in cell No. 5 and I was in No. 7, before we were moved to the special block for over one year.

Though his dazzling career became clouded by the rising tide of military rule, tensions and conflicts in Ghana, which left no room for him, I honestly believe he made his contribution to some of the

successful aspects of the Pan-African struggle initiated by Kwame Nkrumah.

Unfortunately Ghana is one of the countries in the world where there are no yesterdays — there are only todays. Ghanaians have no enduring "Horsemen of yester years". A great Nigerian historian says perhaps one reason why there is so much violence, aggression and instability in the day to day life of some African countries is that they have so little consciousness of a time perspective.

We seem to care so little about the past . . . The corruption of our society goes beyond those who steal public funds and pervert justice, it includes those who forget the past . . . and applaud only those who for the moment and by whatever dubious means have access to power. I agree with him.

Death has laid its icy hands on Kwodwo Addison. Those of us who are his friends can only borrow the great commemoration poem of J S ARKWRIGHT and say:

1. "Oh valiant heart, who to your glory came through dust of conflict and through battle flame; Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved, your memory hallowed in the land you loved."
2. "Splendid you passed, the great surrender made, into the light that never more shall fade, Deep your contentment in that blest abode, who wait the last clear trumpet call of God."

SMC VIDEO AND ELECTRONICS

5 HANSON STREET, LONDON W1P 7LJ. Tel: 01-637 3940 3626. Nearest Tube: Oxford Circus

(opening times: Mon-Fri 9.30-6.00, Sat 10-1.00)

ALL EXPORTS GATERED FOR inc SHIPPING + INSURANCE

TVs	
Sony KV1412E 14" R/C	£250
Sony KV1882E 16" R/C	£290
Sony KV2062E 20" R/C	£340
Sony KV2212E 22" R/C	£345
Panasonic 2645 26" R/C	£345
Panasonic 223 20"	£278
Panasonic TC2648UR 22" R/C	£360
Panasonic TC2684 R/C	£368
JVC 7755GB 7 system R/C	£350
JVC 7255 14" Stereo R/C	£249

+ Many more Brands..... PRICES EXCLUDE VAT

VIDEOS

Panasonic 250EN	£335
Panasonic 370EG Cord R/C	£345
Panasonic 380EM R/C	£385
Panasonic 780EM 7 system	£630
Panasonic NV430EG R/C	£390
Panasonic NV730EG 8h R/C	£455
JVC 7600MS Multi-Standard	£590
JVC 120MS Multi-Standard	£435
Hitachi VT-39EM 6 SYSTEM	£658
Hitachi VT-8E Portable	£660

Also COMPUTERS—SOFTWARE—HI-FI'S WATCHES—CALCULATORS—TELEPHONES

CHEAPEST PRICES ON ALL THE BRANDS — TRY US ONCE AND YOU WILL NEVER WANT TO LEAVE US



WHAT THE PAPERS SAY

Sunday Concord, Nigeria, September 8 An appeal to ex-detainees

It is a credit to all Nigerians that even while the Buhari regime lasted, many had the guts to oppose through diverse ways, the injustice that detention without trial for upwards of days, weeks and months represented. The press in its own modest way, and under the pressure of the now repealed Decree No. 4, did the best she could to highlight these anomalies for correction.

However, it is a major credit to the Babangida administration that it did not only sweep General Buhari and Idiagbon out of office, but has started to create a climate of free expression, free association and general recourse to public discourse on major issues concerning everyone. Freedom is of course never to be treated like a privilege by any society or ruling government. But it behoves all true lovers of freedom to help foster it.

It is for the above reasons, and many more that we appeal to the ex-detainees (including those who might have missed genuine convictions only through the incompetence of the fact-finders of General Buhari's team) to desist from making unbecoming public or private utterances. We are making this timely appeal, because, some have perhaps out of the immediate euphoria of their release, started acting not only as instant heroes, but talking as if they had no hand in the collective mess of the Second Republican experiment.

The truth still remains that the Second Republican experiment failed, not as a result of the failures in any one man or group of political actors, but as a result of the collective folly displayed by all of the political actors as at December 31, 1983. The 1983 election fiasco, the mismanagement of the nation's economy, and the corruption of the political system, could not have boomeranged so much as it did with the December 31, 1983 coup if any significant segment of the political ruling class of the time held on steadfastly to a high level of probity.

It would therefore, be dishonest for any ex-detainee or public office holder of the pre-Buhari era to use the misfortune of the Buhari insensitivity to the demands of power, to embark on another career of self-extolment or the defence of measures that were only geared to catch votes. Indeed, they need to show more appreciation to the Nigerian public who despite the calamities which their 1979-1983 reign plunged them into, still retained enough humaneness to tolerate them in society.

The debt burden, for which Nigerians are now suffering untold hardships, began after all in that period.

What Nigeria needs today is for everyone to join hands with the new government in the task of building a society which will not only be free of the Buhari/Idiagbon tyrannies but will also be free of the political excesses and degeneration which the 1979-1983 period witnessed. Nigeria needs progress, meaningful but peaceful development, and not heroes for their own sake.

MUSIC AND ARTS SCENE

Nubi presents...

On Wednesday, September 18 from 7.30pm to 10.30pm, NUBI — a group of London-based African designers — will present an evening of African Rhythms, Poems, Dance and a Fashion Show at the Africa Centre, 38 King Street, Covent Garden, London, WC2. Tickets £3.50 (advance) £4.00 (door) £2.50 (concessions).

Nubi recently organised a highly acclaimed fashion show during the Commonwealth Institute's Indian Ocean Music Village and this evening's show offers the London public a chance to see some of Africa's most exciting design flair in action! Swirling traditional fabrics cut for the 1980s and adorned with stylish contemporary jewellery!

Music from Zuriya, dances by Anita and Ciru and African food. Poems by Pitika Ntuli and Abdilatif Abdalla.

for Afro Caribbean music promotion, is one year old.

As part of an eleboarte programme to commemorate the occasion, African Culture, a new band of talented musicians from Africa, Jamaica and Britain, will be on the band stand on Saturday, September 14 at 9.30pm.

"The style of music," says Abdul Salago Tee-Jay, founder and leader, "has got many influences namely, African and jazz but the appropriate term is 'Pan African'. Main elements are highlife, soucousof of Zaire and Soca."

Abdul comes from Sierra Leone. The other members are Aston, bass guitarist, from Jamaica, Sinclair, Kit drummer from Barbados, Gabriel, percussionist and singer, from Ghana, Kahimi, trombonist from Ghana, singers, Adjoah and Tumi from Ghana and Colin, trumpet from Jamaica.

Shut the window ears and listen
Outside the hapless clatter of the world.
It is time to see
Eyes shut . . .
Greeness of life there is eternal stretch
See the timeless blues
Spread out as if to oust
Devilment from within and without.
It is the hour of messages
Positive such as love
With dumb mouths and bridled tongue
And the fingers packed in piece
It is the unending millisecond
To take a decision
Especially where it concerns
The hear's matter
And the mind's stand.

Tehtey

POETS' CORNER

Fingers packed in piece
It is time to sit within the shrine

**ADVERTISE IN
TALKING DRUMS
RING
01-482 2165**

African culture

Bass Clef, (35 Coronet Street, N1), the

Minister denies existence of political prisoners

Government-owned newspaper, the *Liberian*, has reported that the Minister of Justice, Jenkins Scott, has denied allegations that Liberia held political prisoners in jail. The paper quoted the minister as saying citizens being detained were either convicted or arrested for criminal offences.

Reacting to recent appeals from local and international communities for the release of alleged political prisoners in Liberia, Minister Scott said these allegations were only intended to create confusion and delay the present electoral process.

Minister Scott is further quoted by the *Liberian* as saying that politicians under detention were not jailed for expressing their views but for making unsubstantiated, derogatory statements against the Liberian government.

Loan from Denmark

Visiting Danish delegation and the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs have signed a memorandum of understanding for 10m US dollars for agricultural development and water supply in Liberia.

Under the terms of the memorandum, Danish delegation will recommend to its government to loan Liberia an additional 10m dollars for the processing of rice seeds and construction of a rice storage plant for the Liberia Produce Marketing Corporation.

Part of the amount would also be used to fund the Danish-Liberian rural water supply project. The memorandum of understanding was signed following a joint review of two projects financed under the earlier loan by the Danish Government to Liberia.

CAMEROON

New state financial fund

A new autonomous sinking fund has been created to work out prospects for state financial undertakings. The Caisse Autonome d'Amortissement, or the Autonomous Sinking Fund, placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Finance, will do research, study, and negotiate the country's internal and external funding. It will manage all state credits and debits accruing from state financial lending and borrowing. The fund will provide basic counselling on the elaboration of the nation's indebtedness policy as well as present the government in monetary and financial markets.

The decree announcing the creation of the fund says its management organs will include an administration council, a general directorate, and financial institutions.

NIGERIA

New 22 member cabinet formed

President Babangida has formed a new 22 member Cabinet, twelve of whom are military officers. The most significant appointment is that of Dr Kalu Kalu as Minister of Finance. He was a former economist with the World Bank and supports accepting conditions, including the devaluation of the naira as laid down by the International Monetary Fund, for a \$2.2 billion (£1.8 billion) loan.

Talks with the IMF have stalled for two years because the ousted Buhari administration refused to accept the conditions.

The new Foreign Minister is Dr Bolaji Akinyemi, a former director of the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs.

Babangida holds consultations

President Ibrahim Babangida has held private talks with some members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council at Dodan Barracks. They included the former Minister of the Federal Capital Territory, Maj-General Mammab Vatsa and the General Officer Commanding Third Army Division, Brig Joshua Dogonyaro.

Political fugitives can return

All Nigerian political fugitives, including the former Chief of Staff of the defunct Buhari administration, Maj-Gen. Tunde Idiagbon, are now free to come home. A statement by the public relations department Dodan Barracks, however, warned that those who have skeletons in their cupboards would be made to answer for them. Another report said the Armed Forces Ruling Council, AFRC, the nation's highest ruling body, was expected to meet in Lagos last Thursday. The meeting, which will be presided over by President Ibrahim Babangida was expected to deliberate on a number of vital issues. It would be the first since the change of leadership.



Idiagbon requests permission to return home

The former Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters, Maj-Gen Tunde Idiagbon has written to the Federal Military Government to pledge his support and ask for permission to return home. Tunde Idiagbon, Chief of Staff, Maj-Gen Sanni Abacha told airport correspondents that it was a matter of yet time to respond to this request.

Warning to journalists

Nigerian journalists have been warned to exercise restraint while enjoying their regained freedom. The Chief of General Staff, Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, who gave the warning, advised journalists to always cross-check their facts before publication. He reiterated the intention of the present military Government to run an open administration. Commodore Ukiwe said that the State Governments, the federal ministries and parastatals should all follow the Government's example in running an open system.

AFRC denies suspension of tribunals

The Federal Government says it has not directed the special military tribunals to suspend their sittings and adjourn cases before them. A Cabinet Office statement in Lagos therefore described as false a report published by a section of the press to that effect.

According to the statement, the tribunals are to continue to perform the functions assigned to them in line with the tradition of the decree establishing them. Commissions of inquiry are also to continue with their assignments in a like manner.

Shun IMF loan

The Federal Government has been urged to shun the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan in view of its negative economic effects on the nation.

A one-time Federal Commissioner for Labour, Major-General Henry Adefowope (rtd.) gave this advice in Lagos in a Radio Lagos current affairs personality programme "The Newsmaker".

Instead of taking the loan, he said temporary, stiff economic measures capable of bearing good results should be introduced and supported by a sound public enlightenment campaign to enhance the understanding and support of Nigeria in the quest of attaining a sound economy.

Dr. Adefowope explained that the removal of petroleum subsidy which the loan demanded...

GHANA

Setting Committee chairman before Public Tribunal

The former chairman of the Citizens Setting Committee (CVC) and currently of the PNDC headquarters at Gondar barracks, Major Kwabena Adutu, is to be prosecuted before the Public Tribunal with two others. They are Cecilia Adu-Gyamfi, Hope Mercantile Stores and Ebenezer Narh Tetteh of Dzange Shipping.

The development follows government acceptance of the recommendations of the National Investigations Committee at the end of its investigations into a case in which 20 containers belonging to Moses Ahiabu of Man Shipping Agency which had been confiscated to the state were mysteriously removed from the Tema harbour and ended up in the shop of Ramesh Kumah Jaisingh, an Indian businessman.

An official release in Accra said that the investigations identified Major Adutu, Cecilia Adu-Gyamfi, also known as Cecilia Awetey, and Ebenezer Narh Tetteh as the persons who took away the containers without the discharge of tax liabilities.

According to the NIC report, some time in March, 1985, Major Adutu, who was a member of the special Task Force on containers which was set up to decongest the Tema Harbour, falsely informed the customs officials at the Container Depot at the case involving Moses Ahibu had been disposed of by the Public Tribunal and the Customs duties on the goods paid to the Tribunal.

The goods were therefore to be cleared by the Manager of Dzange Shipping Agency. When the Manager, Ebenezer Narh Tetteh, and Cecilia Adu-Gyamfi attempted to take the goods out of the Tema Harbour, the customs officials at the harbour gate intercepted them on the grounds that its owner, Moses Ahiabu was in jail.

However, Major Adutu intervened and had the goods released. Duties on the goods which were not paid amounted to 14,745,663.50.

After information about the smuggled goods leaked out, however, Major Adutu had the duties assessed on the goods, and a deposit of C1,349,998 was paid in the name of Cecilia Adu-Gyamfi.

In the course of investigations, Major Adutu kept Ebenezer Narh in hiding whilst he arranged for the duties to be calculated and the deposit paid. He also arranged to check-date a letter which ostensibly would have legitimized the transaction.

Major Adutu knew all along that the containers were confiscated, yet he played an active role in having them smuggled out.

Ghanaians told to go home

Ghana has withdrawn its ambassador from

anti-Ghanaian rioting there sparked by crowd violence at a football match in Kumasi between the two countries. On arrival in Accra the envoy, Col. Prah, called for Ghanaians in Ivory Coast, who are believed to number some 300,000, to be brought home as quickly as possible. Col. Prah said he had visited police stations where about 15,000 Ghanaians are being kept and many of them are reported to have lost all their possessions.

The attacks on the Ghanaians were sparked by accounts that two Ivorians had died in the violence that followed the football match between the Ivory Coast national team and Ghana's Black Stars in Kumasi.

Even though the deaths have been officially denied in Abidjan, press reports on the match indicated that the Ghanaian fans who saw their national team being pushed out of the African Cup of Nations series by the Ivorian team did indeed indulge in violence after their plea to the Mauretanian referee to show sympathy with the Black Stars had not been heeded.

Their argument was that since Ghana has in the past not been lucky with referees they expected referee Sylla of Mauretania this time to show sympathy for the Black Stars. But when they realised that the match was getting to an end with the Black Stars still trailing the Ivorians, they started throwing missiles at the match officials on the field.

Some of these however hit the Ivorian supporters who were in Kumasi in their numbers to cheer the team, and resulted in an uncontrolled situation where everybody ran for dear life.

The match ended nil-nil but the Elephants qualified for the next stage of the competition on account of their 2-0 victory in the first match in Abidjan.

200 wounded return home

Reports from the Western Region speak of the arrival of about 200 Ghanaians from the Ivory Coast following looting and harassment by Ivorian nationals and gendarmes. Most of the returnees, with wounds, are being treated by port health officials at Jaway Wharf with assistance from medical personnel and officials of the immigration department and the Half Assini district mobilisation programme.

Sympathetic members of the Ghana Private Road Transport Union have offered to transport them to Takoradi, Accra, Kumasi and other destinations at very moderate fares.

Investment code

A member of the PNDC, Mr. P.V. Obeng, has emphasised that the new investment code is a means of mobilising technology and capital resources to harness and transform them into wealth that would supplement the country's socio-economic development.

solution to Ghana's economic problem. Mr Obeng, who was speaking at the inauguration of the Tema branch of the Ghana-Britain Students Friendship Association explained that the code is a package on incentive compiled with a view to make the country competitive in the reception of foreign investment resources.

Speaking on the topic, "Is the investment code the only solution to Ghana's problems?", Mr Obeng, who is also the chairman of the Committee of Secretaries, said for the code to become a means of resuscitating the country's economy it depends on the understanding as to what it stands for.

Assurance on rural banks

The Bank of Ghana has assured customers of rural banks of the bank's ability to repay all depositors monies in the event they want to withdraw their deposits.

This is because all rural banks in the country have been insured by the Bank of Ghana.

This assurance was given by Mr Anthony A. Gozo, manager of the Bank of Ghana and representative of the Biriwa Rural Bank when he officially opened the fourth agency of the bank at Nankesido in Saltpond.

Mr Gozo said gone were the days when monies were buried under pillows, mattresses and even in the ground by elders whereby in times of need relatives could not lay their hands on money to help the needy in the family.

He advised that by saving with the banks it would fetch them more dividends for development projects in their areas.

More students leave for Cuba

A further 142 Ghanaian children have left for Havana to attend secondary schools under Cuban Government Scholarships.

The children, 117 boys and 24 girls between the ages of 12 and 15 will be taking the places of some of the 600 students already in Cuba who are moving into pre-university institutions.

Akim Kotoku meeting

Members of the Akim Kotoku Association in London are invited to a general meeting on Sunday, September 22 at the MARS House Lecture Hall, 37A Clerkenwell Green, EC1.

The meeting starts at 2pm.

Road traffic signs

The managing director of King of Kings Automobile services, Mr William Azaumah Djima, has called for the re-erection of road traffic signs on the country's roads to

Doctors write to Babangida

Doctors who fled the country when the ousted Buhari regime wielded its big stick against the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), have written to President Ibrahim Babangida.

The letter, in the form of a telegram sent from London, congratulated the new president and members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC), for sweeping the Buhari regime out of power. They noted that some of the members of the AFRC were aware of what the Nigerian doctors were fighting for and expressed the hope that the demise of the Buhari administration would bring a change in the health sector.

The exiled doctors offered their services to the new administration but hinted that they wanted a pronouncement by the new regime on their fate before returning to the country.

Steer clear of politics

Ex-politicians, including those recently released from detention, must steer clear of politics since it still remains banned.

Rather, the ex-politicians should offer meaningful advice to the government to help the nation achieve peace, stability and progress.

Speaking on Radio Nigeria's programme *Behind The Headlines*, in Lagos, a legal practitioner Alhaji Adamu Waziri, and a politician, Chief Akintunde Rotimi, warned ex-politicians "not to embark on any activity which might disrupt the government's set objectivity."

According to Chief Rotimi, the release of detainees by the new administration won the mass support it needed for the execution of its policies, adding: "The ex-politicians must not do anything to abuse the good gesture of the government."

Artistes plead for Fela

An appeal seeking the release of, and state pardon for the jailed musician, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, has been made by a US-based anti-apartheid group of recording artists and producers to the Federal Military Government.

In a statement by the co-producer of Sun City Record Project on behalf of the group, Mr Steven van Zandt said such a magnanimous move would enable the 'esteemed musician' currently serving a five-year jail term to participate in the recording of a new record aimed at waging a song war against the racist Botha Government in South Africa.

In a renewed appeal to President Babangida's government, the group explained that it was emulating 'We Are The World' group which recorded a hit album in aid of famine victims in some parts of Africa.

had been selected to appear with other top musicians from parts of the world including Soweto, in view of his criticism of apartheid through his music and Nigeria's effort to ensure equality in Namibia and troubled South Africa.

Review of detentions

A special security committee has been constituted in Rivers State to review the cases of detainees in various prisons in the state.

The committee is headed by an assistant commissioner of police in charge of the state CID, Mr P.U. Udoh.

Other members include Captain Frederick Achichi of the Nigerian Army, Lt. Commander F.P. Okoli (Nigerian Navy), Flight Lt. S.S. Magani (Nigeria Air Force) and Mr R. Abbey, chief superintendent Nigerian Security Organisation (NSO).

Announcing this in Port Harcourt, the state governor, Police Commissioner Fidelis Oyakhilome said the committee was set up in strict compliance with the directives of the military administration to review the cases of all detainees in various prisons throughout the country.

This, the governor said is with a view to releasing persons against whom no proper charges have been established, so as to restore the principle of human rights.

The committee which is to commence work immediately is to submit its recommendation to the governor within two weeks.

Message to Saudi authorities

The Federal Military Government reaffirmed its commitment to enhance friendly relations between Nigeria and Saudi Arabia. This was contained in a message sent to the Saudi authorities by the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Maj-Gen Ibrahim Babangida.

A member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, Maj-Gen. Muhammadu Nasko, who led the delegation bearing the message, told newsmen at Murtala Mohammed airport that the message had nothing to do with the deposed Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Maj-Gen Tunde Idiagbon, now residing in Saudi Arabia.

British Foreign Secretary ends visit

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe has paid a two-day visit to Nigeria in fulfilment of an invitation that was originally extended by Dr Ibrahim Gambari, Foreign Minister in the ousted

He was received on behalf of the federal government by a member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC), Commodore Lawrence Koinyan.

The visit was made to underscore Britain's desire to improve relations with Lagos after the strain caused by the Dik kidnap attempt by the Nigerian authorities. Nigeria is Britain's biggest trading partner in Black Africa.

British press reports indicated that Geoffrey used the visit to highlight the plight of two Britons accused by Nigerian authorities of conspiring to sabotage an aircraft.

In talks with Air Commodore Koinyan and at a meeting with President Babangida, Sir Geoffrey expressed the hope that the trial would be completed as quickly and equitably as possible.

British journalists escape arrest

Two British TV journalists and their crew who tried to film the trial of two Scottish engineers in Lagos were saved from arrest by the presiding judge who ordered them to hand over their film.

Judge Ajam-Oshodi shouted at diplomatic editors John Simpson of BBC and Michael Brumson of ITN, "Have you no respect for my court? Who gave you permission to enter?"

In those circumstances it appeared the judge would order the arrest of the journalists and their crew but he instead ordered them to hand over their film.

GABON

President's plane held in Switzerland

President Omar Bongo's personal plane being kept in Zurich by the Swiss local authorities at the request of an American creditor. The DC8 arrived in Zurich a few days ago for an overhaul by the Baco company, an affiliate of Swissair, the creditor, who has not been named, asked Swissair not to release the plane until Bongo had settled his debts.

A Swissair spokesman said the airline has suspended flights to Libreville, Gabonese capital, in case Mr Bongo's government retaliated by seizing a Swiss plane.

MEETING

Meeting of African Nationals

The Confederation of African Nations (CAN) is holding its next meeting at 5pm on Saturday, September 14. The venue for the meeting is Camden Town Hall, Judd Street, London W1.

Azuma flattens Chilean challenger



Flying Eagles are third in World Cup

Nigeria's Flying Eagles claimed the third spot in the junior World Cup for the Coca Cola trophy with a crushing 3-1 victory over host nation, Soviet Union in Moscow.

The victory, coming a few weeks after the Baby Eagles flew to the top of the youth championship in China, puts Nigeria among the top class world footballing nations.

Brazil retained the championship with a lone goal victory over Spain.

Sanda retains African title

Abdul Umaru Sanda, Ghanaian holder of the African Boxing Union middleweight championship, retained his title in a one-sided title defence against fellow Ghanaian, Ray Opoku at the Accra Sports Stadium.

Sanda dropped Opoku twice before winning a unanimous 12-round verdict.

The fight was watched by the Ghanaian leader Flt-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings and his chief of security ex-capt Kojo Tsikata.

A highly elated Sanda threw a challenge to Tony Sibson of Britain to defend his Commonwealth title: "I want Tony Sibson's crown," he said after the fight.

Ivorian President takes charge of footballers welfare

President Houphouet-Boigny has taken personal charge of the welfare of players of the Ivorian national team, the Elephants.

Addressing the squad at a reception in appreciation of Ivory Coast's defeat of Ghana to qualify for the 1986 African Cup of Nation's finals, the ailing president said "from now the boys will not lack anything."

As a first sign of his role, Mr Houphouet-Boigny offered each player one million CFA and a full briefcase of items not immediately known.

Linesman walks out on referee

A linesman walked out on a referee for allowing a player suspended by the Niger State Football Association to feature in a league match involving Tornadoes and Niger United at Minna.

After about 38 minutes argument on whether the suspended player, Kasali Salau of United should play or not, Alhaji Masaga Jibrin walked out on referee Clement Elube.

The linesman said it was not proper for any player suspended by the Football Association to take part in any match

organised by the local FA.

The league match which ended 1-0 in favour of Tornadoes was therefore handled by the referee and one linesman.

West Germany to the aid of Ghana sports

Mr J.S. Wontumi, technical director of the Ministry of Youth and Sports took delivery of C140,000 worth of sports equipment from the Federal Republic of Germany with an appeal to other nations to aid Ghana's ailing sports.

He said the equipment, including 50 footballs, 11 basketballs, 11 volleyballs, one volleyball net, ten air pumps and eight pairs of boxing gloves, would help sportsmen and women to improve on their performances.

Mr H.E.W. Vogel, West German Ambassador to Ghana said the presentation was in response to an appeal the Ministry launched in February.

Ghana has been hit by a dearth of sports equipment for time immemorial leading to a decline in the event that has seen this West African nation performing creditably in African and international competitions.

Kotoko whip Kenyan club 2-0

Kumasi Asante Kotoko gave their newly-appointed chairman, Mr Ofori Nuako, something to hope for when they whipped Kenyan Leopards 2-0 in the first leg quarter-final stage of the African clubs championship match in Accra.

With a 2-0 lead Kotoko look good enough to advance to the semi-final stage of the competition they are attempting to win for the third time.

The two teams line up in Nairobi for the second leg on Sunday. By the way, Leopards used to be called Abaluhya.

Stadium banned

The Kumasi stadium in Ghana has been banned indefinitely by the African Football Confederation (AFC), following crowd violence during the African Nations Cup match between Ghana and the Ivory Coast.

AFC also asked the Ghana Football Association (GFA) to move the first leg match of the African Cup Winners' Cup between Asante Kotoko and Leopards of Kenya from Kumasi to Accra.

A linesman was injured and the teams and officials had to take refuge in the middle of the pitch to avoid being hit by objects thrown by the Ghanaian fans.

The match finished in a goalless draw to enable Ivory Coast to qualify for next year's finals in Egypt.

the demolition job of a seasoned
tioner, Azuma Nelson, Ghana's world
erweight champion took only 15
tes to flatten Juneval Ordenas, end
enge of the Chilean to his crown and
up a money-spinning title defence
st Pat Cowdell of Britain, in Birming-
on October 12.

barrage of lethal blows that might be
nvy of Rocky Marciano, put Ordenas
he canvas for good in the fifth of a
duled 12-round contest in Miami, home
he greatest name in the business,
ammed Ali.

zuma, who has been inactive since
stating the title last December, was in
stating form and gave the challenger no
thing space at all. It was the first title
nce by the Ghanaian who stopped
redo Gomez of Puerto Rico to win the
ld Boxing Council title on December 8,
t.

zuma, nicknamed "zoom zoom" for
vding opponents with a barrage of
vs, ended the contest 12 seconds to the
of the fifth round.

Ordenas, 28, was never given any chance
how what brought him third ranking on
WBC featherweight ladder. The
Ghanaian opened a cut under the
challenger's eye in the second round and
m then all that mattered was when it
uld all be over.

Azuma floored his opponent on the
ning of the fifth round and pinned him
the corner with incessant battering.
The Chilean crashed to the floor for a
ond time following a flurry of punches
the face and body. He was up after the
ndatory count of eight only to face a
re ferocious attack.

Azuma, 26, now has a record of 21 wins,
of them inside the distance, against one
eat, suffered in his first unsuccessful
empt to wrest the crown from the late
vador Sanchez of Mexico.