

RUTH FIRST

The Barrel of a Gun

Political Power in
Africa and the
Coup d'Etat

Appendix, References and Index

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APPENDIX: PRINCIPAL PERSONS

THE SUDAN

The Politicians:

Ismail al-Azhari, leader of the National Unionist Party (NUP)
Abdallah Khalil, leader of the Umma Party, former army Brigadier
Ali Abd al-Rahman, leader of the People's Democratic Party (PDP)

The Religious Leaders:

Sayid Abd al-Rahman, leader of the Ansar
Sayid Ali al-Mirghani, leader of the Khatmiyya
Sayid al-Siddiq al-Mahdi, who succeeded his father as leader of the Ansar
Sayid Sadiq al-Mahdi, who succeeded his father as leader of the Ansar

The Army Brass:

General Ibrahim Abboud, Commander-in-Chief
Major General Ahmed Abd al-Wahab
Brigadier Hassan Beshir Nasr
Brigadier Mohammed Nasr Osman

The Political Partners of the Army Junta:

Ahmed Kheir
Abu Rannat

Coup-makers among the Brigadiers:

Brigadier Mohieddin Abdallah
Brigadier Abd al-Rahim Shannan

Coup-makers among the Junior Officers:

Major Abdel Kibaida Rahman and others
Colonel Ali Hamid and others, mainly majors and captains of the Infantry Training College

Appendix: Principal Persons

Popular Leaders among the Communist Party, the trade unions, the Gezira Tenants, the students, intellectuals, the Moslem Brotherhood:

NIGERIA

, *The Politicians of the First Republic:*

Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, First President

*Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Premier

*Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, Premier of the North

*Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Minister of Finance

*Chief Samuel Akintola, Premier of the West

Chief R. Fani-Kayode

Dr Michael Okpara, Premier of the East, and others

The Army Brass:

tMajor-General J. Aguiyi-Ironsi, first Nigerian GOC who restored order after the first coup, and became Head of State

*Brigadier Z. Maimalare

*Brigadier S. Ademulegun

*Lt-Colonel A. Largema

*Lt-Colonel Yakubu Pam, and others

Brigadier B. Ogundipe, now Nigerian High Commissioner in London

The Young Coup-makers:

tMajor Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu

tMajor Emmanuel Ifeajuna

Major T. C. Onwuaturigwu

tMajor D. O. Okafor

Captain Nwobosi

Major I. U. Chukuka

Major Ademoyega

* slain in the January coup

† slain in the July revenge coup

‡ killed in the war

Appendix: Principal Persons

The Military Governors:

Lt-Colonel Hassan Katsina
Lt-Colonel David Ejoor
Lt-Colonel F. Adekunle Fajuyi
Colonel Chukwuemeka Ojukwu
Major Mobalaji Johnson

The Revenge Coup-makers:

Major Mmtala Mohammed
His uncle, Alhaji Inuwa Wada
Others, mostly unknown

The Politicians Come to Power in the Second Republic:

Chief Obafemi Awolowo
Alhaji Aminu Kano Chief
Anthony Enahoro J. S.
Tarka

The Civil Servants:

Allison Ayida
Francis Nwokedi
Edwin Ogbu
Harnsad Amadu
M. Asiodu

The War Leaders:

Major-General Yakubu Gowon
Colonel Benjamin Adekunle
Major Sule Apollo
Colonel Muhammed Shuwa

GHANA

The CPP Government headed by and including:

Kwarne Nkrumah
Finance Minister Kwesi Amoaka-Atta
Krobo Edusei
Kojo Botsio

Appendix: Principal Persons

Kofi Baako

Colonel Zanlerigu, commander of the President's Own Guard Regiment

Major-General C. M. Barwah

The Opposition, including :

Dr K. Busia

K. Gbedemah (in exile)

The Coup-makers in the Army:

Major-General **E. K. Kotoka**

A. A. Afrifa

Colonel Albert Ocran, commander of the Accra garrison, and some others

The Coup-makers in the Police:

J. W. K. Harlley, the Commissioner

Anthony Deku, Special Branch

The National Liberation Council:

General **J. A. Ankrah**

Three other army officers and four police chiefs; civil servants, like E. Omaboe; outside advisers like the Harvard Group; politicians of the former Opposition groups

Unsuccessful Coup-makers:

Lieutenant Arthur and others

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average per capita
- | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------|
| rich peasantry | more than 10 | 10 per cent |
| middle land-owners | hectares | 60 per cent |
| | 2-10 hectares | |
| poor peasantry | under 2 hectares | 30 per cent |
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Ruth First was born and educated in South Africa. She took up research in sociology but abandoned this work at the time of the strike of African miners, to become a journalist and editor on news-papers and journals identified with the African national struggle in South Africa. She was a prominent member of the opposition, under constant fire from the South African government. In 1956 she was arrested along with 156 others, including Chief Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, and was involved in the subsequent prolonged treason trial. After the Sharpeville crisis of 1960 she took refuge in Swaziland, and also worked 'underground' in Johannesburg. In 1963 she was again arrested and held in solitary confinement for 117 days under the notorious 'ninety-day' law. The following year she went into political exile, and has since lived in London, writing on South Africa and independent Africa and travelling extensively on that continent.

Her previous books are *South West Africa* (Penguin, 1963) and *117 Days* (Penguin, 1965); she has edited *No Easy Walk to Freedom* by Nelson Mandela (Heinemann, 1965) and, with Ronald Segal, *South West Africa: Travesty of Trust* (Deutsch, 1967).