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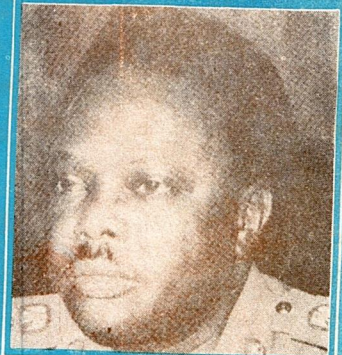
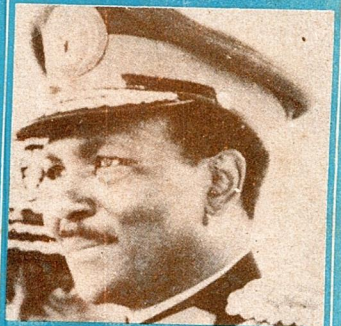
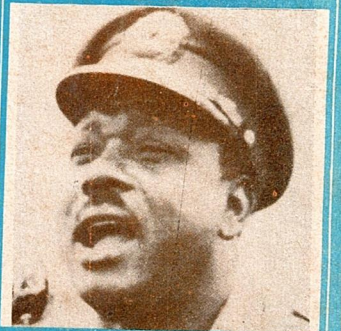
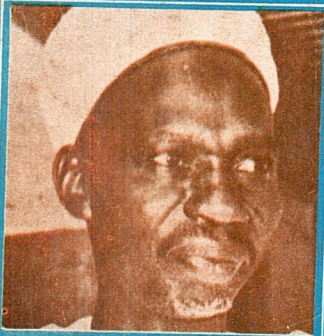
The Analyst

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July 1986

**ABISOYE
COVER
UP**



Ban on Politicians:

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The Ban on Politicians

8

The signal of what might well be the most startling political decision in Nigeria since Independence in 1960 — contained in President Babangida's June 27 address to the nation — was actually flashed more than a month before, and right from the State House itself. But although it raised some eye-brows and fired some guesses in some quarters, only a few Nigerians caught the signal, and even fewer read it correctly.

The Abisoye Report

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When the Abisoye Panel was set up to look into the crisis at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, a lot of emphasis was placed on finding "lasting solutions" which would ensure that such a tragic event never re-occurs.

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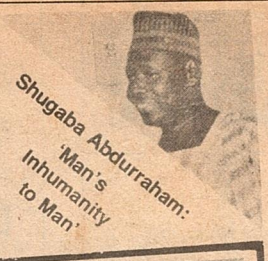
• **CLOCKWISE: CIVILIAN LEADERS** — Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Alhaji Shehu Shagari; **MILITARY LEADERS:** Major General Aguiyi Ironsi, General Yakubu Gowon, General Murtala Mohammed, General Olusegun Obasanjo, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari and Major-General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida.

*Cover design and illustration by Philo-Elo Okoye.

The **Analyst** N1.50

June 1986

Vol.1 No.1



Shugaba Abdurrahman:
'Men's
Inhumanity
to Man'



COMPANIES IN NIGERIA:

**Who
Owns
What?**



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Banning the old Brigade

HISTORY, President Babangida is fond of saying, does not forgive indecision, though it may forgive one for taking a wrong decision. And with this, and other considerations, on their minds the President and members of the AFRC (Armed Forces Ruling Council) late last month clamped a ten year ban on all active Second Republic politicians in Nigeria. Announcing the decision in a nation-wide address (June 27), President Babangida said that all such politicians are banned for a decade (effective from the date when the ban on politics is lifted) from seeking or holding public office, and from participating in politics either overtly or covertly. They could vote, but they could not be voted for, emphasized the President. The idea, explained the president, is to create a new generation of politicians who, it is hoped, or believed, would play the game according to totally different rules from those that made party politics in the past a murky and dirty game.

The question of what to do with the politicians, once ousted from power, has been a most agonizing one for all military regimes. And so the Babangida administration is almost certain to go down in history as being more daring than its predecessors in addressing this issue.

But there are hardly any good grounds on which history or even common sense, will commend such a sweeping ban on the political class as right, or wise. It is neither.

Obviously the ban is based on the principal of collective guilt — by which all active Second Republic politicians are tarred with the same brush and condemned. Part of the attraction of this principle may be the difficulty of where to draw the line and the concern by our leaders not to appear partisan for or against any Second Republic political party or individual politicians. But it is from this principle that most of what is wrong with the ban stems.

In the first place, the ban, because it seeks to punish mere participation in politics and not guilt, denies fairness and justice to those Second Republic politicians who were above board. And violates our right by unjustly limiting our choices. Of what use are honesty, probity, uprightness and commitment to principles in the conduct of public office if, at the end of the day, the good and the bad are put in the same basket and condemned?

And isn't punishing someone for mere participation in active politics the surest way to scare off from the public arena people from whose exemplary character, wisdom, and vision the nation stands to benefit tremendously?

Secondly, even to a public innured to the arbitrariness of those in power, this blanket ban would still be a cause for worry. For, by it, the government might have set a dangerous precedent.

In all civilized societies, including ours until this ban, punishment, or denying a citizen his right which is the same thing, is based on one

criterion: guilt (as established against the citizen through due process by a court of law, a special tribunal or a judicial commission of inquiry). Now our present leaders have pushed aside the findings and recommendations of the courts and special tribunals that investigated the Second Republic — and in doing so have dropped this known and acceptable criterion for something quite arbitrary. It may well be that the government does not have much confidence in the special tribunals. And, given the daunting nature of our problems, some tough or even drastic measures by government would be understandable, even permissible. But can these be a sufficient justification for destroying a basic principal of justice — especially when the goal is to build a firm foundation for a just and stable social and political order? We believe not.

Still, if mere participation in politics and public affairs and not culpability is the test, then the net must be widened to rope in all the soldiers who were in public office in all the military administrations we have had since January 15, 1966. They too were politicians, unless we are working with a too narrow definition of politics. And unless we want to be dishonest with ourselves, their record in office was hardly any better than that of civilian politicians. In fact, the long tenure of the military (in all about 16 years now) is marked by as much misgovernment, and financial scandals and profligacy as the civilian tenure was. This is the one fact established by the result of the probe ordered by the Murtala Regime into the conduct of public officers in the Gowon era (see cover story) as well as by recent events. Well-to-do former politicians have nothing on retired generals in terms of wealth.

Implications

But what we in *The Analyst* find even more disturbing are the political implications of the ban. It is very tempting to see the ban, on the face of it, as no more than portraying a faulty understanding of our problems by our leaders. But there is certainly much more to it than meets the eyes. For, by singling out only the political class for such bashing the ban not only seeks to absolve other groups and social forces from blame for our failures, it also seeks to divert attention away from a system which is basically inadequate and which actually breeds the ills that now plague us.

No doubt, we have very good reasons to blame the politicians, especially those of them with crooked minds and itchy fingers, for much of the mess we are in today. In both the First and Second Republics, our politicians stripped the gears of reason, and played a leading role in the plundering of our wealth and the violation of some of our cherished freedoms and rights. But we have just as good reasons to blame the military, who, except during late General Murtala's brief tenure, did very little or nothing that was edifying or ennobling but much that helped to brutalize the nation, re-inforce inequalities and promote in-

stability. We must also blame the top civil servants who manipulated the rules and juggled the figures; the professionals — lawyers, accountants, consulting architects etc., who collude with officials to dupe the country; the crooked businessmen who work hand in hand with foreigners to rip us off; the judges who dispense dubious justice; and the law enforcement agents who collude with the powerful to rig elections and subvert peoples' wishes.

But even more than individuals and groups, the system we now operate is to blame for our woes. While individuals and groups must be held responsible, and punished, for their actions, we must go beyond them to locate our problems within the very system, which has a logic that cannot be altered at will, and whose structures and processes make corruption, inequalities, imbalance, greed, instability, and other ills, an inevitable and inescapable feature of our society. Which is precisely why it is myopic to think, as our leaders do, that it is possible to leave the system intact and still be able to create a new breed of politicians with a totally different orientation. In any case, politics is not exactly a relay race, in which one generation hands over the baton to another and retires. The system's logic, and the weight of traditions, make a clear break impossible.

It is such disturbing aspects of the ban that give it a familiar ring, and make it difficult for us not to see it as part of a grand design for perpetual military rule. Just before he was booted from power, it will be recalled, retired General Buhari banned all discussions on politics and Nigeria's future. Whatever else that ban meant, it was the then government's way of saying that the future belong not to us 'bloody civilians' but to the soldiers. Now that our present leaders have banned the entire class of active politicians, what are we to make of it? Is it a continuation from where Buhari stopped? Is it a recipe for indefinite military rule? Certainly, if all the active civilian politicians are pushed out of the way, it is only the soldiers, who, in our circumstances form the opposition group or the other party, that will have the entire field to themselves. And will Nigeria be better off should this happen? No.

We are of course aware that there are indications already from the top that when it is finally made into a law, the ban will not be as sweeping as the President's address and Col. Ukpo's statement made it out to be. We welcome such indications, and we hope that the government will benefit from the reactions and criticism that the ban has so far attracted.

Because of all this, we in *The Analyst* call on the government to limit the ban only to those who it has been clearly established had abused their offices. Better still, *The Analyst* would like to see such matters left to the political debate, whose outcome the government has pre-empted and whose credibility has suffered from the ban. We would like to suggest also that whatever the Bureau emerges with from the debate on this and other matters, be brought for discussion and approval before a Constituent Assembly, democratically elected on the basis of territorial constituency and from popular organizations.



U.A.C. Unhappy

WE have the instruction of this Company UAC of Nigeria Limited, its Chairman/Managing Director, Chief E.A.O. Shonekan and other members of its board (our clients) to deal with the above matter and in particular your article captioned "BIG FISH SWALLOW SMALL FISH IN UAC" published in *The Analyst* Volume 1, No. 1 of June 1986 from page 8 to 10 written by Zuwaqhu Bonat, Iyorchia Ayu and Bala Usman.

In the said article, this company, its chief executive and other directors were portrayed as corrupt and as law breakers; as people having no regard to business ethics; as people unworthy of the offices they hold; and as people who have contributed immensely to the economic adversity of Nigeria. Extracts from the said publication which are offensive are hereby enclosed.

The publication is capable of lowering the reputation of our clients before right thinking members of the society and is also likely to cause people to treat them with feelings of contempt, hatred, odium and ridicule. It is especially offending since our clients who have been defamed are reputable organisation and people of substance both within and outside this country.

It is our demand that you do the following:-

- * Effect an unreserved apology to our Clients.
- * Retract the said publication in a conspicuous place in the next publication of *The Analyst*.
- * Give an undertaking that you, your servants, agents, employees and all others acting concert with you will not publish any further defamatory statement or any injurious falsehood against our clients.

We should warn that unless we have your proposal to remedy this unwarranted attack within the next two weeks of the date of this letter it would be assumed you have none to make and we shall pursue the further instruction of our clients without further reference to you.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully
for: UAC OF NIGERIA LIMITED.

S. G. LAOYE
Legal Adviser

EDITOR'S NOTE

WE stand firmly by what we have written. And we promise our readers many more revealing analyses of the role of multinationals and their agents, in Nigeria, the rest of Africa, in particular Southern Africa, and elsewhere.

Editor-in-chief

Sunday Triumph's Ban Campaign

Sunday Triumph

From Shehu Garba Dur-bunde

THE Federal Government has been called upon to ban with immediate effect a new monthly news magazine known as *The Analyst*.

The Analyst, attracted serious criticisms from members of the public who beseeched the *Sunday Triumph* with their comments.

Published by an ex-civilian Governor of Kaduna State, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe

FG urged to ban the Analyst

Musa, the magazine was condemned by many readers over its "marxist analysis of issues".

A Principal Education Officer in Kano State, Alhaji Tijjani Tukur Yola, urged the government to "as a matter of urgency ban the new magazine in the interest of peace and stability".

This, he said was necessary in view of the

publication's total disregard for the Islamic religion.

Speaking further on the issue, Alhaji Tijjani Tukur made a particular reference to an article titled "Islam, Christianity and Enslavement of Africa", written by *caé* Alkannm Abba and published on page 15 and 16, in volume 1 No. 1 edition of the magazine.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

IN response to this news story in *Sunday Triumph* of 26th June, 1986, page 12, a reader has written to us drawing our attention to this famous statement of the late Dr. Ali Shariati (1933-1977), that:

"We must specify which Islam: that of Abu Zarr or that of Marwan the Ruler. Both are called Islamic, but there is a huge difference between them. One is the Islam of the Caliphate, of the Palace and of the Rulers. The other is the Islam of the people, of the exploited and of the poor. Moreover, it is not good enough to say that one should be concerned about the poor. The corrupt Calphs said the same. True Islam is more than concerned. It instructs the believer to fight for justice, equality and the elimination of poverty."

I'll Stake my Life

AS I am congratulating you on the successful production of the maiden issue of *The Analyst*, I am at the same time expressing my solidarity with this bold, courageous and dynamic magazine created by dynamic minds.

I really consider myself lucky to be alive at the time this dynamic magazine is surfacing in Nigeria. The fall of capitalism is really on the horizon with the launching of this magazine.

I wish I have something monetary to offer, but not at all, yet I believe I have what you appreciate more than money. I have my skill to offer, I have my loyalty to offer, and when it becomes necessary I have my life to offer.

Reader

(Name and address supplied)

A Leading Magazine

I AM sure it never was easy for you to have printed Nigeria's number one magazine — *The Analyst*. It is not only surprising, but also pleasing, that a revolutionary magazine like this one has stepped into Nigeria to reveal, educate and give some positive thoughts to the nation and Africa generally.

The magazine is highly commendable for its simple language, fact finding, historical revelations, and most especially proposals towards the "new social order" the publisher is known to be fighting for. You must not fail in your attempts to keep the magazine alive, for we have our contributions to make — directly or indirectly.

Be rest assured that you have millions of readers not only in Nigeria but the world over; where there are the oppressed. Capitalism in Nigeria, like apartheid in Pretoria (South Africa) shall surely collapse.

Long live *The Analyst*, long live Nigeria!!

• Danny Yusuph Garba
G.S.S.S. Toro

Correction

IN the last issue of *The Analyst*, we inadvertently published the picture of Alhaji Maitama Sule for that of Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusufu, who was the Internal Affairs Minister in the Second Republic at the time of the illegal deportation of Alhaji Shugaba Abdulrahman.

We are sorry for the mix-up and regret any inconvenience this might have cause Alhaji Maitama Sule.

• Editor-in-Chief

LETTERS to the Editor, with the writer's name and address, should be sent to: Editor, THE ANALYST, No. 1 Kurra Street, West of Mines, P.O. Box 1632, Jos, Plateau State, NIGERIA. Letters may be edited for reasons of space and clarity.

Congratulations

FIRST of all I would like to congratulate the publisher of *The Analyst* for his great achievement to establish this mouthpiece for the oppressed and deprived people of this country.

By assembling a team of highly experienced writers and analysts there is no doubt many Nigerians will now be privy to really important information hitherto being concealed by reactionary and imperialist mass media in Nigeria.

Keep the banner of the struggle flying. The people are behind you.

• **James O. Nnaji**
Enugu

YOUR first issue was really an interesting one and well researched. At least for once we have been able to see how some few people smile to the bank and grow rosy-fat cheeks, while millions of us wallow in abject poverty, living from hand to mouth.

The trouble is, these people have tasted sweetness of the juice and want to continue to dominate us. It is a classical case of the labourer who labours day and night in the sun and rain, but gets nothing, and the directors who sit in air conditioned offices, sipping expensive coffee and smoking fat costly cigars doing nothing and still cart away all the money and profits to themselves. "Munayi Suna Ci".

Rufai Ibrahim's interview with Sankara is illuminating. The piece on Marcos' fall and the implications of its lessons for Nigerian leaders (now and in future) was apt. Iyorchia Ayu's words for Benue workers and Nigerian workers are encouraging.

Despite all these credits, a flaw that should be corrected in subsequent editions is the incessant mis-spelling of words. It mars the quality and the seriousness of the publication.

The struggle to free Nigeria from the home grown neo-colonialists continues. We shall win.

• **Olayinka Oyegbile**
Dept. of Mass Communication
Bayero University, Kano



• *Launching The Analyst.*

IT is indeed historical for the progressive forces and internationalists in Nigeria to have come out with a Magazine of this nature that analyses dialectically, at a time when the ruling class and its reactionary clientele are espousing all sorts of bunk as remedies for our underdevelopment. It is my fraternal hope that *The Analyst* will succeed in exposing the class character and ideological bankruptcy of all the policies that have kept us in perpetual servitude to a parasitic minority.

At this juncture, I would want to caution the publishers that the march of history is not a stroll along the sidewalks of a deserted and straight venue but rather, its course is that of class struggle. As such, the reactionary forces will adopt different means including arson to see that this revolutionary feat is nipped before it succeeds in its mission of awareness.

• **Moussa Umar Mamman (NYSC)**
S.G.A.S.G.S., Babuba,
Kano State.

A REALISTIC piece such as Dr. Kyari Tijani's "Man's Inhumanity to Man", gives a very good impression of *The Analyst*.

If Dr. Tijani and indeed other writers of *The Analyst* would continue writing such reflective pieces, and readers, such as myself and indeed others would continue reading your magazine, one would undoubtedly have a cause to believe that he lives in a society where he is well informed educated and entertained.

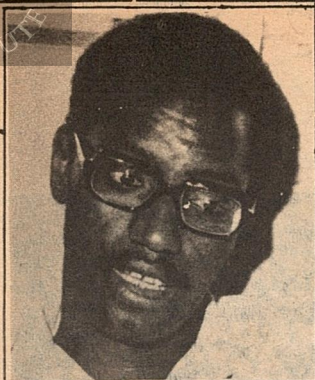
As the saying goes, "to accomplish great things, you must not only act but also dream; not only plan but also believe."

Such then are my words to *The Analyst*.

• **BUKAR ABBA.**
Maiduguri, Borno State



... the scramble for *The Analyst*



YUSUFU BALA USMAN

'The probes exposed, with concrete detail, that for example, most of them were only concerned about national educational imbalance, in so far as it improves the balance in their bank accounts.'

Who is Afraid of Probes?

OVER the last ten years, a widespread, and increasingly vocal campaign has been waged in this country against the use by governments of commissions and tribunals of inquiry to investigate and find out the truth about major issues of public concern.

These commissions and tribunals of inquiry, popularly known in Nigeria as 'probe panels', were first used, most devastatingly, under Murtala, in 1975-76, to expose in public, and in detail, how those who ruled Nigeria, under the previous regime, actually plundered the country. This process of public exposure, which in many cases was broadcast widely over radio and television, and reported in detail in the newspapers, opened the eyes of millions of Nigerian peasant farmers, petty traders, workers, students, professionals and intellectuals to the economic and political realities of how their country was actually being ruled.

For the generation of Nigerians born in the 1950s, and early 1960s, this process was a major turning point in their political education. When, to it, was added the traumatic shock of Murtala's brutal assassination, a few days after he had denounced and dismissed nine former military governors, found to be corrupt, and he had promised to investigate their overseas assets and those of their business partners; this process has come to have lasting political consequences for Nigeria.

The super-permanent secretaries were 'super' only in duping the nation. Those "founding" military governors, commissioners, permanent secretaries, elders, and other 'leaders of thought' of the twelve new states set up in 1967; who for eight years, were being sold to the Nigerian people as a new breed of progressive, ethnic, state and regional champions; bringing 'development' by awarding contracts for roads, schools, and hospitals, were exposed as greedy little crooks, who systematically used each and every one of their 'development projects' to confuse and divide the people, throw dust into their eyes, in order to properly line up their pockets and those of their foreign and local business partners and patrons. The probes exposed, with concrete details, that, for example, most of them were only concerned about national educational imbalance, in so far as it improves the balance in their bank accounts.

The Nigerian ruling class, from all over the country, reacted to this unprecedented, wholesale exposure, with a deep-seated hostility to all forms of public probes and public in-

vestigations. This hostility was, however, concealed by a thin veneer of adulation for Murtala's image, because of his immense national popularity, underneath which they conducted a campaign of calumny and distortion over his methods and his substantive legacy. When Chief Obafemi Awolowo, as Chancellor of A.B.U., said, in a major speech at the university's convocation in 1977, that probes serve no useful purpose in Nigeria; and that there should be no more, with only the police and law courts to be used, he spoke for all of them, civilian and military. Some of the looted property confiscated under Murtala was surreptitiously returned to the looters; and some of the most rapacious among them, like the late Alhaji Audu Bako and Mr. Samuel Ogbemudia, were systematically promoted as champions of 'development'.

Corruption

It is against this background that we should look at the arguments used to support the view that probe panels serve no useful purpose in Nigeria, and in fact are only disruptive, diversionary, or both. Among the most widespread of these are the following five arguments. These are, firstly: that corruption, abuse of office, and other such crimes are part of our racial/cultural heritage as black Africans and any probing of these is a complete waste of time; the passage of time, prayers, luck, may reduce the level of these, but they are part of the conditions of our existence. Two variants of this argument would have it that seriously tackling these has to await the establishment of an Islamic State, the Christian Kingdom of God, or the coming of the Mahdi; or, what is basically a similar position, that this has to await the Socialist Revolution, because it is a waste of time to probe corruption under capitalism, as it is endemic and any demand for probes is an opportunistic diversion of the energy of revolutionaries, and merely fosters reformist illusions.

The second argument against probe is that they are a waste of time, because, in almost all cases, the guilty are easily known, and drastic, summary punishment is what is required and not waste of time with public investigations which can take a long time and may result in nothing.

Thirdly, it is argued that probe panels wash our dirty linen in public, and create a national lack of self-confidence and a bad image abroad; unlike with many other countries who

deal with such matters summarily or secretly, or both.

Fourthly, it is argued that probe panels divert attention from the substance of the problem under investigation, and open room for personal vendetta, calumny and character assassination, especially with the type of media we have in this country.

Fifthly, it is argued that probe panels denigrate the role of the regular organs of law enforcement and justice, particularly the police and the law courts, and bring in extraneous political, emotional and sensational elements, which undermine the rule of law and justice in this country.

Let us briefly take each of these five arguments one by one, and see how valid they are. The argument that because you cannot change a whole system, which generates corruption, so it is a waste of time to probe corruption, is baseless. It is baseless because overthrowing one system and replacing it with another is not a cataclysmic upheaval that occurs suddenly and changes everything at once. The overthrow of any system, whether ecological, botanical, economic, social, or political involves specific, localised changes in its substantial elements, which build up to, and create the internal and external conditions for its overthrow and replacement by another. The building of a broad-based, determined, and organised commitment to public accountability among the oppressed class, and the middle strata, is an essential condition for progress towards national unity, democracy, national independence and socialism in this country. The struggle for public probes of corruption and abuse of office, and over their outcome, provides one of the most important means of building this commitment. Anybody who takes the position that this struggle is a waste of time, is objectively working for the preservation of the status-quo, no matter what militant and revolutionary phrases and slogans he may use.

As for the argument that the guilty are known and should be summarily punished; this is just invalid, both on the ground that it is not true in almost all cases, and that even where it is true, public investigation is crucial for public accountability and justice. Summary punishment, even of the guilty, generates fear, injustice and tyranny of various types. It is the road to dictatorship and the death squads.

To argue that we should not wash our linen in public, is to argue that we should facilitate

the process of dirtying our linen, in private, by allowing those who do this to escape from public exposure and condemnation. It does not build national self-confidence, but national hypocrisy.

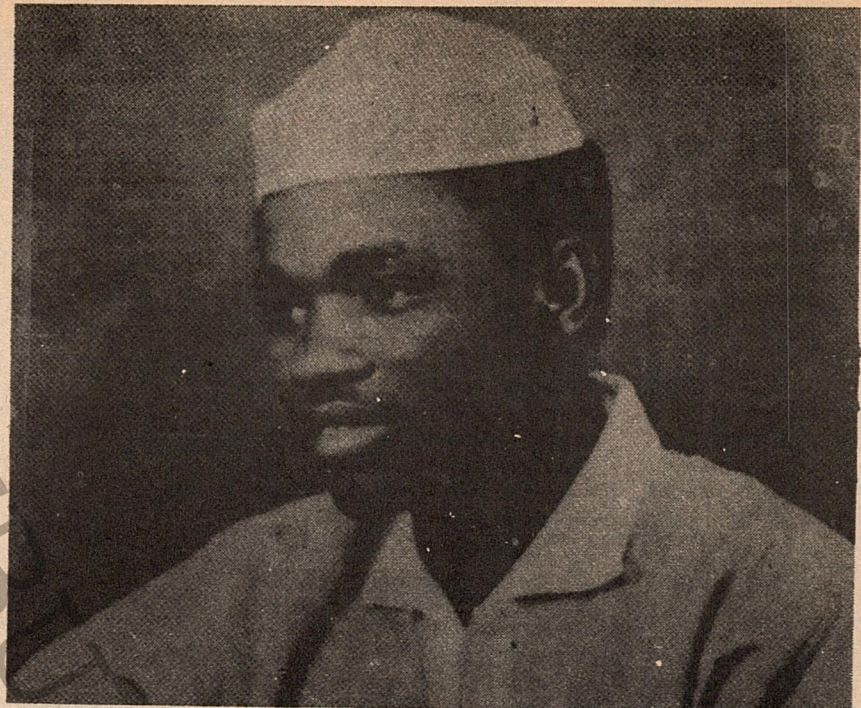
Fourthly, it is an illusion to believe that it is possible to avoid the personal element, whenever issues of corruption, abuse of office and self aggrandisement are raised. This is because those involved in the subversion of the collective public interest do so for individual, personal greed. For since public resources are personally misappropriated, the exposure and punishment of these have to involve personalities; since it was not spirits that did the misappropriation, but persons!

Finally, the argument that we should leave this to the police and the courts is as bankrupt as it is laughable. This is because if the police and the courts were doing their duties, they would have promoted enough self-confidence among the people to make challenges and exposure of individual acts of corruption and abuse of office to be so regular that they never build up into scandalous and sensational problems of great public concern. In this country, taking allegations to the police, or going to the law courts, has almost become synonymous with cover-up and sweeping them under the carpet.

Accountability

Probe panels, like other forms of investigations, have been, and are still being, used in this country to cover-up, divert attention, and subvert justice and public accountability. But our experience in Nigeria has demonstrated that, even if the government or the panel, subverts justice and public accountability, public, open, publicised investigations which allow all persons willing to testify to do so, outside the prosecution/defence syndrome, together with the documentation, and publication of the findings and recommendations and actions, make far greater contribution to the political education and organization of the oppressed classes and middle strata than the other forms of investigation. The writing of the minority reports, the establishment of popular counter-probe panels, and other such activities, at this time, have to be integrated as part of the struggle over the process and outcome of the government probe panels, and not just made outside this, merely as a posture of militancy.

Those afraid of, and campaigning against public probe panels and public exposure of corruption, abuse of office and other such crimes, are, basically the rich and powerful of this country and their foreign masters. Their wealth and power cannot stand any close and regular public scrutiny and they cannot operate under any system of genuine public accountability to the people of this country. They fear the education, mobilisation and organisation this can provide among the oppressed class and the increasingly wretched, and disillusioned, middle strata of Nigerian society. They know that this education and mobilisation threatens the basis of their power. They should not be allowed to use the cynicism, romanticism, and feeling of frustration, among the oppressed classes, and the middle strata, to block this potent means of social and political progress.



• Late Dr. Bala Muhammed

Remembering Bala Mohammed

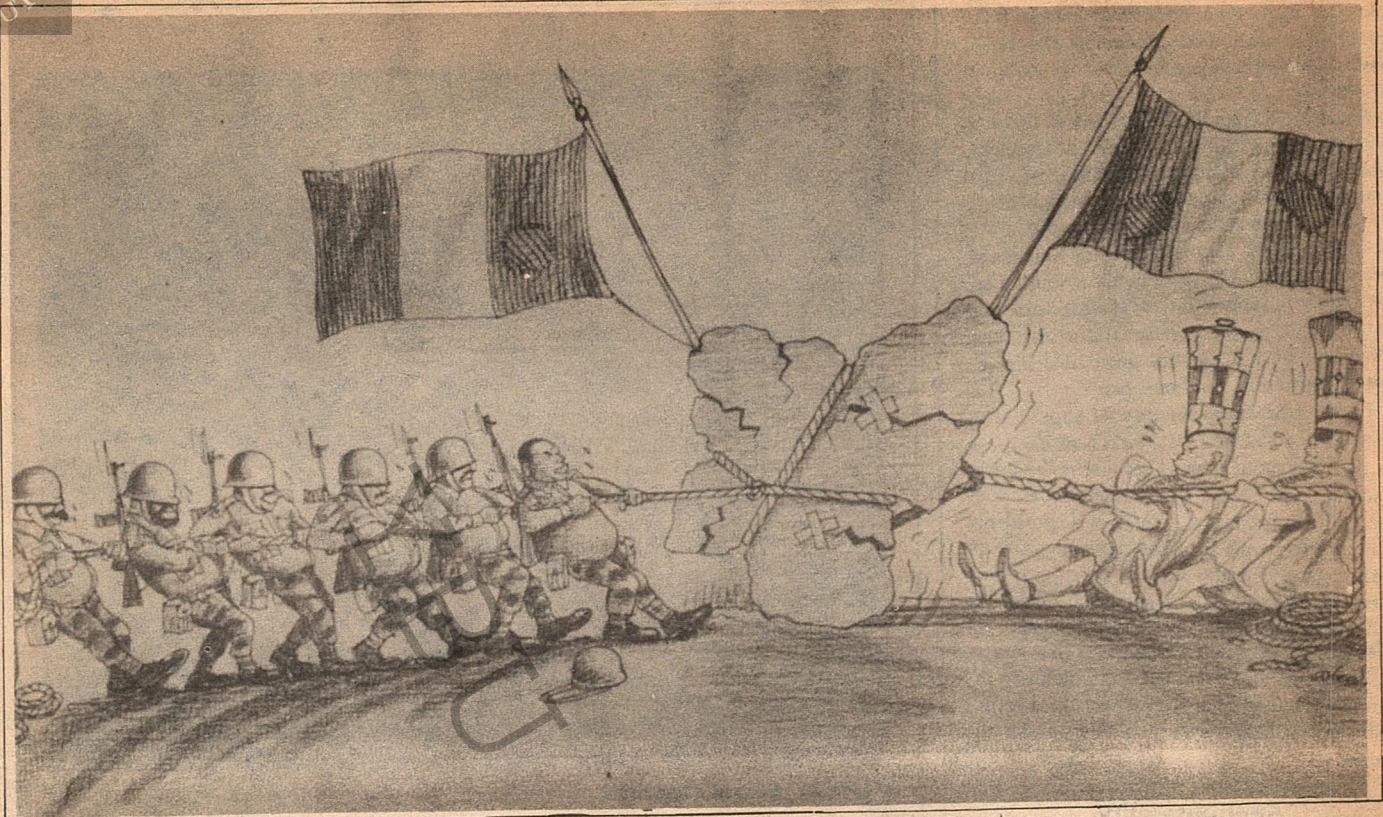
FIVE years ago Dr. Bala Mohammed, Political Adviser to the first civilian Governor of Kano State in the Second Republic, was killed in his house in Kano. Dr. Bala Mohammed, a radical scholar, a political activist and a patriot was assassinated on July 10, 1981 by a riotous group of thugs acting on the orders of the reactionary establishment in Kano.

The result of an investigation into the incident that led to his death, ordered that same year by the then Governor of Kano State, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, is yet to see the light of day. But one thing was obvious: Bala Mohammed was a victim, not of any spontaneous reaction by the Kano populace against disrespect by government to their traditional institutions, as some would have us believe,

out of a right wing back lash against the progressive policies of the PRP (Peoples Redemption Party) controlled government of Kano State.

The PRP led governments of Kano and Kaduna State were pursuing policies that directly threatened the status quo and touched the thin skin of the members of the ruling class. A few examples of these: the cancellation of the poll and community taxes in the two states, the mass literacy campaign programme the articulation of an alternative to the existing order of things, and the investigations into the land issues. Bala Mohammed was closely

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The Ban: A Grand Design or A Diversion?

THE SIGNAL of what might well be the most startling political decision in Nigeria since Independence in 1960 — contained in President Babangida's June 27 address to the nation — was actually flashed more than a month before, and right from the State House itself.

But although it raised some eye brows and fired some guessess in some quarters, only a few Nigerians caught the signal, and even fewer read it correctly.

Speaking to pressmen, the Chief of General Staff, Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, jostled the nation a bit by saying that Second Republic politicians would be fooling themselves if they thought they would be given another chance to wreck the country again.

Even the old politicians, basking in their freedom and busy scheming, calculating and fashioning strategies in view of 1990, failed to grasp the message. And soon, the Chief of General Staff's message was crowded out of the general public's memory by the on-rushing events in the country.

Then came the bombshell! The President General Ibrahim Babangida, in a marathon 35-minute address to the nation on June 27, 1986 covering a number of issues, announced the decision to a startled audience that hardly expected any such thing.

Taken by the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC), at its 4th and longest meeting so far, the decision was, noted many observers, one of the very few decisions taken at the country's highest ruling body, that never leaked to the public before being officially announced.

Some observers liken it to the change of currency by the Buhari regime in April 1984, which few, if any, Nigerians knew about, much less discussed, before the then Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Major-General Tunde Idiagbon (Retired) surprised the whole nation by announcing the change one night.

The AFRC, by the decision, as announced that night by the president, slapped a ten year ban on all active Second Republic politicians and public office holders. The president said that those affected would be barred from holding or seeking public office in Nigeria for ten years. They could vote, he added, but they could not be voted for.

The president said the ban on the old politicians was necessitated by the need to breed "a new generation of men and women to take up the leadership mantle" of the country. Obviously believing that this is possible only if the old brigade politicians leave the scene completely, the president noted that "even the few surviving elder statesmen have themselves indicated that they no longer wish to seek any public office in future".

Among the politicians and public officers to be affected by the ban are the following:

- (a) President, vice-president, ministers, special advisers and presidential liaison officers, who served in the Second Republic from 1st October, 1979 to 31st December, 1983.
- (b) all members of the national and state assemblies, who served in the Second Republic from 1st October, 1979 to 31st December, 1983.
- (c) all governors, deputy governors, commissioners, special advisers, and governors' liaison officers, who served in the Second Republic from 1st October, 1979 to 31st December, 1983.
- (d) all public officers and officers of the Armed Forces and the police who were convicted by various special tribunals.

Some weeks later, the government announced that 50 former politicians, against whom specific charges of abuse of public funds have been established, have been banned from active politics for life.

This decision is, perhaps, the most far reaching of its kind in the last twenty five years. In a sense, it is an answer to a question that has always come up whenever there is a military coup: what to do with the politicians ousted from power? Each of the three military administrations that controlled Nigeria's affairs after the first coup on January 15, 1966 tackled the issue on its own way.

The shortlived government of late General Ironsi, which was the first (Jan. 15, 1966—July 29, 1966) herded many of the prominent politicians into detention, but left them off the hook after only a short while.

The Gowon regime, in control for nine years (July 29, 1966—July 29, 1975), chose to use the First Republic politicians, who featured very prominently in the administration. Not only was his cabinet dominated by prominent First Republic political figures, he also made Chief Awolowo — a most controversial First

Republic politician, a party leader and Premier of the defunct Western Region — the deputy chairman of the Federal Executive Council.

The Murtala/Obasanjo regime, pre-occupied with the preparation for return to civil rule, did not bother itself very much with the question, and even removed from the draft of the 1979 constitution, a provision, introduced at the Constituent Assembly, that had sought to ban some prominent politicians, in particular Chief Awolowo, from contesting for public office.

The result of all this was that the Second Republic became a roll call of the big names in the politics of the First Republic.

When the Second Republic (Oct. 1979 to Dec. 31, 1983) collapsed in the event of a military coup, all the public office holders and a majority of the prominent political figures in all parts of the country, were detained by the new military government under (now retired) General Buhari — many for as long as the entire tenure of the administration (December 31, 1983—August 27, 1985). Many of them were also tried and jailed for long years.

It was thus a big relief to many of the detained politicians and former public figures when the Babangida regime came on the scene on August 27, 1985, with a commitment to the respect for human rights. The mass release of the politicians opened up dreamlike horizons before them. The June 27th announcement shattered their dreams and dampened their high hopes. It was the most shocking news that the political class in Nigeria has ever received. Not only the politicians, but the nation as a whole was shocked, and baffled. Why such a sweeping ban, it is being asked everywhere.

The Analyst has been intimidated by competent sources in Lagos that the blanket ban was informed by, among others, two considerations. The first, said the sources, was the Babangida regime's desire to put a stop to charges from the public of being too soft with the corrupt politicians who helped so much to wreck the Second Republic. Such charges, our sources said, were becoming more and more unsettling to the regime — hence the need, or rather the urge, to do something that could help discourage the thinking in certain quarters that the regime lacks either the courage or the willingness to deal firmly with the politicians.

Such thinking, some of the sources explained, may have stemmed in part at least, from the growing nostalgia in some quarters for a Buhari-type no nonsense and draconian approach to issues.

In view of all this, some of the people talked to agreed, the sweeping ban could be seen as an over-reaction by the leaders to the charges of being too soft generally, and with the politicians in particular. Some of our sources also draw attention to the growing suspicion in certain quarters that part of the reasons for the August 27 putsch which brought the Babangida administration to power was to set free some influential and powerful politicians and businessmen who are friends of those in power today, but whom retired General Buhari had allegedly sworn to keep in detention or jail indefinitely.

The second consideration, *The Analyst* gathered from sources in Lagos, was the need felt by the leaders to avoid possible accusations



• Major-General Ibrahim Babangida '... history does not forgive indecision'

against them of favouring either one former individual politician or another, or one banned Second Republic political party or another.

The Analyst learned that once President Babangida and his men decided on a ban, they asked that a list be compiled, based on the findings and recommendations of the various tribunals of inquiry that investigated the Second Republic. At the end of the exercise, said one competent source, the compilation looked and read like the "who is who" list of banned non-NPN (National Party of Nigeria) political parties; only a few names from the banned NPN featured on the list.

According to one source, such a lopsided list was not deliberate, or based on any mischief on the part of the compilers. Explaining, he said the investigations and trials of the Second Republic politicians and former public officers during the Buhari regime, on which the list was based, were themselves clearly in favour of the NPN. He recalled how the investigations were concentrated on the conduct and activities of Second Republic State Governors and Commissioners, many of whom were tried and jailed, while at the Federal level — where all the nation's wealth was concentrated and where most of the plundering actually took place — only one minister, Mr. Victor Masi of Finance, was tried and jailed. Citing Mr. Victor Masi's case, and others involving banned NPN public officers, the source further argued that even within the banned NPN camp, most of those jailed were not core, but peripheral NPN members.

In any case, disclosed our source, the president and his men, after much deliberation, decided to reject the list. After much deliberation again, *The Analyst* learned, the President and his men decided on an across-the-board ban on all active Second Republic politicians.

By this, the President and his men hoped they would achieve a balance, which, quipped a source, might, in a sense, be the military's idea of justice.

Since the June 27 announcement of the ban, the only official word on it — which did not amount to the kind of clarification that the public has been waiting for anxiously — was the answer to a question on the issue by the Information Minister, Colonel Anthony Ukpo, and the President's statement on it during a recent BBC interview. Both gave indication that the ban might not be as sweeping as might be expected from the President's speech. A list of those to be banned, they said, is now in the works.

The vagueness of the ban, reinforced by official silence, has encouraged speculation that the June 27 announcement was only a kite flown in the air and that a firm decision on the nature and specifics of the ban would be based largely on monitored public reactions and suggestions.

Whatever the case, however, public reaction has been unequivocal in its disapproval. Although a few voices of approval could be heard here and there, the preponderance of public opinion has clearly been one of disapproval. Such disapproval is based on mainly legal and political grounds.

While granting that the decision was a bold one, many political observers and concerned Nigerians were quick to point out the injustice in the ban, and its unconstitutionality. Chief Awolowo, among others, described the ban as a gross violation of our fundamental right as a people to choose our own leaders. One observer told *The Analyst* that in trying to avoid accusations of partisanship our leaders not only confused balance with justice, but actually sacrificed the latter.

Such charges of injustice and violation of rights take on added significance in view of the government's well publicised commitment to human rights. Said a former politician: "a government that is really committed to the respect for human rights must show it in every of its action." This ban, he argued, has put "one big question mark on the Babangida ad-

ministration's human rights posture."

Another aspect of the ban which has come under sharp criticism is the fact that the criterion on which it is based is mere participation in politics and not guilt. It is gross injustice, many argue, to punish a citizen for merely participating, even if actively, in the politics and conduct of public affairs. Guilt, as clearly established against a citizen by a court of law or tribunal, should be the only criterion by which the citizen may be denied his right or punished. And many observers wonder why the leaders did not use the findings and recommendations of the many special tribunals that investigated the Second Republic as a guide and as a basis for the exercise. The fact that the government might not have much confidence on the special tribunals is no good reason for preferring another criterion that cannot stand the test of justice, argued another.

But perhaps even more disturbing is the sweeping, indiscriminatory nature of the ban, which meant that even those few politicians

inherently faulty."

Judging from widespread calls coming from many quarters urging members of the *Political Bureau* to resign, it is very clear that the ban has been seen by many as having pre-empted the bureau, and made it irrelevant. It is the view of many that the question of who is qualified and who is not to contest what election, ought rightly to be left to the Political Bureau to decide. Some even suggest that on such matters, the bureau should not have the last say, but all its recommendations should be brought before the Nigerian public, either directly through a referendum or through an elected constituent assembly to be discussed by their representatives.

By using the criterion of participation but limiting its application to the Second Republic, the military leaders also seem to have made themselves their own first doubters of their declared intentions. Our military leaders have thus fuelled the growing suspicion in many circles that they are only trying to get the politi-

change as they please, it would amount to self-deceit to think that it is possible to have a new breed of politics and a new breed of politicians. This is only possible, so goes the argument, if the system, or more precisely the socio-economic base of our social order which shapes our politics and breeds the ills that now plague our society, is transformed and re-structured to completely remove its inequalities, imbalances, injustices and its inherent inadequacies. One question then is whether our present leaders are ready to go that far.

But an even much more urgent question, which is now on the lips of most Nigerians, is whether the ban is not after all, a grand design by our leaders for perpetual military rule. Such fears and suspicions are fuelled as much by past events as by more recent events.

One observer in Lagos recalled the ban clamped by former leader Buhari on all discussion on politics and the future of Nigeria and wondered if that has any connection with this blanket ban on the country's entire political



• Members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council putting heads together at one of their meetings.

who kept their heads and were not caught in the season's madness during the Second Republic, were also affected by the ban. Speaking to *The Analyst*, an ex-federal legislator who does not want to be named, argued that this not only meant injustice to such decent and honest politicians alone, but also to us the electorates who may want to try them again, and to the entire nation which is denied the benefit of the lessons that can be drawn from the experience and conduct of such men.

Many also wonder what kind of a country it is that does not honour and reward honesty and dedication in public office.

Connected to all this is the growing suspicion in certain quarters that the ban is a diversionary ploy by government to prevent the ongoing debate from focussing on the really fundamental issues of today in Nigeria, namely the basic question of the economy and the related one of whether the economy should be restructured and transformed into a socialist one or be left as it presently is with all its inherent inadequacies. One observer who has been monitoring events and the debate very closely noted that from a barely audible murmur coming from a few but expected quarters, the call for socialism has now reached a high pitch and comes from even the most unlikely quarters. Said he: "Maybe our leaders are upset by this development, hence the ban, which poses our problem as basically one of bad operators and not one of a system which is

class. Buhari's ban, he argued, was a recipe for perpetual military rule, for it meant that only the military could discuss and determine Nigeria's future. The recent ban on Second Republic politicians, he said, could also be a recipe for perpetual military rule in that once the entire class of professional politicians is not standing in the way, it is the military that will have the entire field to itself.

Another observer recalled ex-president Shagari's constant reminder to his political foes and friends alike that there were only two political parties in Nigeria: all the other parties put together on the one hand, and the military, on the other. He sees the ban as a vindication of the ex-president, and wonders whether by banning the other party from the race the military has not by implication declared itself the winner in a one-man race.

But even if it is well-intentioned, the ban is seen in many quarters as foolhardy on the part of the administration. Many political observers said they would be really surprised if the old politicians, with their influence, wealth and connections, would take it lying low. "These old, scheming politicians are very likely to try to fight back one way or the other," chipped in one political observer.

And another noted that it is not wise for the administration to take on too many forces at the same time. He observed that in the last few months, and especially over recent events, the administration has antagonised some major groups and forces in society who have been its supporters. "It does not appear wise that the

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administration has now added to the list of such antagonised groups the political class," he said.

Perhaps, the government will take a hard look at the public reaction so far to the ban and remove the source of the clear injustice in it. And maybe the anxiously awaited gazette that the President said would spell out the names of all those affected may put to rest some of the fears and misgivings so obvious

in the public reaction to the ban. But whatever the case, it is clear that the ban has helped to make the military and its role in Nigerian affairs an important topic on the agenda of public debate.

• *Danjuma Adamu with Dan'asabe Bawa and N.D. Bariki*

Disturbing Questions, Serious Implications

WHO should govern? How? By what method should these be decided? These are by no means incidental or purely theoretical issues. They are central to our well-being and even our survival as a people. Next to the right to life, they are the most important rights of any people. Indeed, even the right to life is meaningless without the right to decide how our affairs should be run. Both are inalienable, non-negotiable.

It is for these reasons that the recent decision by the military government to ban all the politicians of Nigeria's Second Republic (1979-83) including those that under no stretch of imagination could be said to have looted our wealth or broken the law (and including, if the Minister of Information, Col. Anthony Ukpo is to be believed, those who contested elections and lost) comes as a rude shock to most Nigerians.

Does this represent a reversal of the *human rights* commitments of this government? It remains to be seen. Nevertheless, it is crucial that certain issues are raised regarding the implications of this decision now and for 1990 and beyond.

Power-hungry men who had violated our laws, looted our wealth and torn our institutions to shreds should be punished. This no one is challenging, except the guilty and their hangers-on. But are all politicians guilty of these crimes? No one could seriously argue this absurdity.

Nor could anybody convince any averagely intelligent Nigerian that military, police or judiciary personnel were not part of the Shagari mess. So how come the ban was not extended to all those (and only those) found guilty? Is the Armed Forces Ruling Council in itself not happy with the probes? Most Nigerians are not. It is clear to all that some were dubiously found "blameless", a la *Abisoye*, while others were targetted, kangaroo-courted and found "guilty." The beneficiaries of banning the guilty (if we go by Uwaifo and the Special Investigation Panel) would have been the multi-millionaires of the banned National Party of Nigeria. Shouldn't the AFRC have ordered another probe? Or is it simply impossible to seriously probe the

really big crooks?

No honest Nigerians, suffering under the effects of the economic crisis, seriously believe the preposterous declaration that Shehu Shagari and Alex Ekwueme are innocent. Let us not kid ourselves on that. And banning all politicians would not satisfy our yearnings for probity, accountability and a new society.

These issues aside, unresolved as they are, why is it now an offence to have "participated" in politics? Was it an offence at that time (and is it now) to contest elections or hold public office? If not, why punish people for doing nothing illegal? Was it, or is it now, an offence to seek to influence how the affairs of one's society should be run?

Public affairs involve choices. How many schools, hospitals, jobs and so on, should be created? Where? Who is to pay for these? How, and how much? These and similar decisions have to be taken at all levels and at every stage. Should we just leave these to soldiers, policemen, judges, civil servants, and university dons? Have they been any cleaner than the politicians? Is this the Zero-Party (and Zero-policy) option the super-rich have been trying to push down our throats?

What really is the Political Bureau for? One had thought that it was set up as a result of the recognition of the people's inalienable right to decide who should govern them and how. Economic hardships and creeping disillusionment are largely responsible for the very poor response to the Bureau. Now the scepticism is likely to be total.

This will be a pity. Most Nigerians are stalling, through sheer hopelessness, that in the end, the basis for a stable participatory and beneficial system would be established. Are their hopes to be dashed? Are we to be left with no choice but to select our leaders from the same bunch of retired millionaire-generals, corrupt civil servants, compromised traditional rulers and bankrupt academicians?

These disturbing questions need urgent answers. Unambiguously.

• *Sanusi Abubakar*

SHAGARI: Vindicated?

EX-PRESIDENT Shehu Shagari, now a free man after a thirty-month stint in detention, is not known as a sadist. But it must be very tempting for the former leader to chuckle over the 10-year ban clamped on his fellow politicians of the Second Republic. Not because, even to him, the ban is something to be welcome but because he can rightly claim that he warned his colleagues of it.

Restricted to his little village, Shagari, the ex-president is not now in a position to summon a meeting of banned party leaders and tell them: "see what happened? I warned you all before, didn't I?" But he is certain to write in bold in his memoirs — which, according to reliable information reaching *The Analyst*, he has been busying himself writing even before his release — that he is vindicated in his frequent reference to the military as "the other party."



The ex-President Shagari used to tell fellow politicians that there were really only two political parties in Nigeria: all the banned political parties of the Second Republic put together, on one hand, and the military on the other. And to advise them against doing things that would create the excuse for the other party to take over.

Certainly, ex-President Shagari, as a leader whose conduct of the country's affairs left a lot to be desired, could himself do with such advice. And in any case, his frequent admonition to the politicians can rightly be said to be self-serving. But surely his "two-party" view of the situation as then obtained, makes quite some sense — especially in view of recent events.

Time, of course, will tell what this ban will lead to. But for now at least, Alhaji Shehu Shagari may be right to claim in his memoir that he is vindicated. For, all that we can say for now is that, having ousted the politicians from power, and now banned the whole lot of them from politics completely, the military has no one else, but itself to contest with for power and control in Nigeria.

• *Dan'asabe Bawa*

ABISOYE REPORT: White Paper, White Wash

WHEN the Abisoye Panel was set up to look into the crisis at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, a lot of emphasis was placed on finding "lasting solutions" which would ensure that such a tragic event never re-occurs. Even the most cynical Nigerians were prepared to give the panel some benefit of doubt, except for the NLC which withdrew Dr. Osunde's participation, NANS, and the national body of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) who boycotted the commission for not meeting some of their demands.

Some of these demands include the popular call for the suspension of Ango Abdullahi as Vice-Chancellor and Nuhu Aliyu as Police Commissioner for Kaduna State. On this score alone, many became sceptical of the government's sincerity and good intentions. It was a scepticism that was reinforced by the outcome of similar past commissions.

Going through similar reports on past student crises (Kazeem, Ibadan 1971; Federal Government statement on the 1974 crisis, Justice Othman Mohammed, 1978; Justice Belgore, Ife, 1981; and Ndagi, Zaria, 1981, one notices that what runs through them all are: law-and-order; lawlessness of the students and the need for stiff punishment; righteousness and authority of Vice-Chancellors and autocratic university administrators; the assumed influence of radical lecturers and outside influence manipulating the students; and the necessity to maintain stability and peace.

Good work you may say, but none of these measures have served as lasting solutions to the perennial killings on our campuses. This is why the recent killings at A.B.U. and the sad act of playing number games with dead bodies illustrates the futility of such solutions. Yet, it is the same old prescriptions, same old law-and-order line, same wish for stability and peace that preoccupied the Abisoye Panel. It is clear that either the panel never bothered to read the past reports or else read them but failed to appreciate their serious limitations. With the time given for their work, one is inclined to believe that the Abisoye Panel had no time to go through what their predecessors had recommended or to appreciate the substantial evidence brought before it during its public sittings.

When Abisoye submitted his report with revolutionary rhetoric, tracing the root cause of the crisis to the bleak future which the system presented to the youths, nobody imagined that the Commission could so easily fall back on the same old diagnoses and prescriptions which because of their limitations were not able to provide lasting solutions to students crisis. And even more worrying is the deliberate white washing of massive evidence by both the panel and the government, and the fascistic language of the report and the white

paper which by all indications, are not likely to help matters.

Both the panel and the White Paper focused on such symptoms as annual commemorations



• Major-Gen. Emmanuel Abisoye

involuntary participation of students in union affairs, the holding of congresses on campuses, and the existence of radical lecturers who, it is claimed, are busy manipulating students to violent ends.

The zeal to stop "commemorations begetting commemorations" blinded both the panel and decision makers from getting to the taproot of the problem, i.e. the undemocratic and high handedness of our university administration, and the tendency of the government to view any student uprising as a threat to its existence.

First, state policies are exceedingly elitist in conception, and very selfish in execution. This is why over the years, government had allowed fraudulent contractors to feed fat on the public purse in sectors such as education, and turned round to persecute the innocent. For example, how could a government functionary in his right senses expect a typical poverty-stricken Nigerian with five children, to cough out N1,500 per annum for their education annually when all he earns is less than N1,000? Yet, this is exactly what Ahmadu Alli, in collaboration with Jibril Aminu and Obasanjo handed down to poor Nigerians in 1978. Of course, they expected them and their children to accept this with gratitude.

When they did not show such gratitude but rather went out on the streets, they were labelled "anarchists" and agents of destabilisa-

tion."

If policies are elitist, so are their executions authoritarian and high-handed. In 1978, students made so much effort to consult and discuss. They were treated like enemies and unfortunately pushed to violent resistance. It is an authoritarian culture which military rule has nurtured and which has unfortunately engulfed all our institutions, including the universities. Critical analysis and resistance to this culture is punished severely, thereby negating the very principle of universities as centres of critical analysis, learning and excellence.

Jibril Aminu, a principal architect of the 1978 crisis who is now presiding over another crisis had the rare perception when in 1978 he observed that, "there is so much internal alienation of staff and students that the university authorities are forced to set up a 'political machine' type administration in order to suppress dissent or the critical appraisal of community issues", (*Daily Times*, June 9th, 1978, p. 32). But in spite of such liberal comment, Jibril Aminu not only went ahead to establish a 'machine type' administration at the University of Maiduguri, but is today promoting the most ruthless, intolerant and vicious witch hunt of critical and dissenting views as the Minister of Education.

This is why in spite of General Abisoye's harsh words for Ango Abdullah's rigid handling of issues at ABU, in the end, both the panel and the White Paper pronounced Professor Abdullahi 'blameless.' Surely, this has strengthened the authoritarian disposition of our Vice-Chancellors. From now on, vice-chancellors have been promoted from mere company sergeants to full company sergeant-majors with powers to single-handedly deal ruthlessly with both staff and students, and to close down universities without first seeking the approval of Senate.

As critical teachers are flushed out of the universities and replaced by WAI professors, not only will this make life easier for our vice-chancellors, but the university as a centre where contending ideas flourish, and where new ideas are tested and passed over to society will become a thing of the past. Very soon, we will have them turned into monasteries, churches, mosques and shrines where people go to worship the god of authority!

It seems the White Paper is aware that people will not worship willingly. They have to be coerced to do so. This is why the panel's recommendations that the "Kill and Go" should not be invited to campuses, and that the police be banned from using rubber, plastic, and live bullets have been rejected. The White Paper directs that only under normal situations will the police not use these weapons. Otherwise, the Mobile Police (who are to be retained

inspire of their brutal record) can proceed to commit carnage on our campuses once our almighty vice-chancellors define situations as abnormal.

Surely, we have not seen the last of the killings.

This makes nonsense of the pretentious recommendations on the police. The trial of Nababa and members of Unit 4 of Mobil Police in Kaduna is uncalled for. So is the dismissal of Assistant Commissioner Tambiyor whose powers as DPO were usurped by his superior in Kaduna. They were all acting within the laws of the land; and the White Paper itself approves of these bizarre "laws of the land."

Finally, very few countries trivialise law and justice as we do in Nigeria. First, there is one law and justice for the rich and powerful, and another for the poor and powerless. Secondly, even where the rich write down laws they show very little respect for them. This is what comes out in the White Paper.

Consider, for example, the bit in the White Paper that university teachers are appointed to "teach and research." This is clearly stated in their letter of appointment. Nobody draws out courses outlines with clearly specified content for them to follow. This is left to them. They can teach left, right or centre depending on their orientation. And luckily, in a university department it so happens that there are always several contending orientations and the students are the better for it.

Yet, some members of a government panel can come out with some illegal statements that "teachers are not teaching what they are paid to teach" and therefore should be "flushed out of the universities." Even though this statement violates the terms of their appointment, an education ministry headed by a

former university teacher, and a university administrator in conjunction with a government that has a whole Justice Ministry, accept this ridiculous recommendation simply because it wishes certain people out of the way.

On the disproportionate distribution of justice, consider the fact that Ango Abdullahi — intolerant, arrogant, rash and unforgiving inspite of all the serious allegations of moral and academic corruption heaped on him and the weight of evidence against him, is pronounced "blameless." So is Nuhu Aliyu, the overall commander on whose authority the carnage was committed.

While both are found "blameless", their subordinates are pronounced guilty, even though as the White Paper put it, "they were acting under superior officers." Poor Nababa and his men were not as lucky as Ango's subordinates — Student Affairs Officer, Mairiga Mani and Chief Security Officer Alhaji Abdu Aliyu. At least, Mani and Abdu Aliyu, though guilty, are absolved because, according to the White Paper, "superior officers" directed them. Although Nababa and his men were also directed by "superior officers", they are to go on trial and receive appropriate punishment ranging from life imprisonment for manslaughter to dismissal from the Nigeria Police Force.

Were we living in a society where justice is not dished out according to class, surely, the "blameless" Nuhu Aliyu and Ango Abdullahi would have been the appropriate people to receive these punishments rather than the subordinates who simply obeyed their orders as the law prescribes. But such is law and justice in an unjust society.

But just as junior and less power officials have come out worse off, so have the students, except for Mathias Yohanna whose expulsion

has been reduced to rustication for one year. The rest remain punished as prescribed by Ango. No student unions are to function on the campuses as Ango had ever wished. NANS is indirectly banned as Ango had always wanted, and as Buhari had done. For re-admission, students have to pay for damaged property (as has ever been the practice), and this confirms Ango's submission that the students were extremely violent. But every other testimony to the panel was to the contrary.

Radical lecturers are to be "flushed out" as Ango recommended. The police came to maintain law-and-order with live bullets and should continue to do so, said Ango. Give vice-chancellors more powers to deal with their opponents, demanded Ango. Hence "ask and thou shall be given." All of Ango's wishes were given him as he demanded. Ango was left laughing all the way to his sabbatical post with full entitlements and a promise of a handsome reward on his return for "cognate experience and competence."

What is clear is that Abisoye, Ango, Jibril Aminu, and their co-writers of the Panel Report and the White Paper have a common interest. They think alike, act alike, and work alike in defence of that interest. Hence, a white paper coming from any of them can not indict them. It must white wash or vindicate them. Whether such a white-washing will offer lasting solutions to their fears by stopping the forward march of democratic forces of social justice remains to be seen.

Iyorchia Ayu

Who is Fooling Who?

THE ROAD to the cover-up for the powerful men involved in the recent crisis in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria began with the setting up of the tribunal of inquiry by the Federal Military government, under the chairmanship of Major-General Emmanuel Abisoye (Rtd). This Abisoye Tribunal, like some other tribunals set up by governments to investigate serious national crises, caused by the big and powerful men of our society, more often than not return a verdict of "not guilty" to the big men and one of "guilty" to the small men. Life is full of contradictions. This is certainly one of the contradictions which ordinary people are made to learn to live with in Nigeria. They can only hope, that one day, justice will be done.

Right from the day the Abisoye Tribunal of Inquiry was set up, most people believed that it was just a legalized means of covering up for the Ahmadu Bello University Vice-Chancellor Professor Ango Abdullahi and the Kaduna State Commissioner of Police Nuhu Aliyu. But the Abisoye Tribunal was given the benefit of doubt by a few students and the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), ABU branch. As a result of this support, the tribunal received massive evidence and revealing testimonies. ASUU alone presented a two

volume submission to the tribunal which came up to two hundred pages. In spite of this massive evidence and the blaze of publicity given to the tribunal by the media, its "findings" came out as the classic example of the cover-up of the guilt of the big men in recent times in Nigeria.

The tribunal itself seemed to have realized and tried to legitimize its conclusion by claiming that "based on the evidence placed before the tribunal, it is obvious that the public has inadvertently been misinformed about the role of the Vice-Chancellor Professor Ango Abdullahi in the whole crisis!"

It is interesting to note that the tribunal did not find it necessary to identify the individuals or groups who they alleged have "misinformed" the public about the role of Ango Abdullahi even though, it is part of its terms of reference.

The tribunal simply went ahead to declare its mission unequivocally that Ango Abdullahi is found to be "blameless". This, of course, includes his invitation of the police which resulted in the killings and brutalization of defenceless students, staff and Samaru villagers.

Part of the cover-up strategy of the tribunal involved shifting blame completely from the

Vice-Chancellor to the students and members of the academic staff of the university who, of course, are the small men. A big man must never be wrong or found to be guilty by another big man; it must always be the small man! Life is real. And this is the reality which the small men have been made to face in the recent crisis in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. It is the bitter truth which must be acknowledged.

The report of the Abisoye tribunal of inquiry did not even try to play the game of hide and seek. It went straight ahead to announce that Ango Abdullahi is not only "blameless", but that he is "experienced" and "competent" in spite of what happened during the crisis. In fact, the "findings" of the tribunal are just the submissions of the Vice-Chancellor and his team — almost word for word.

However, any one who reads the report and its recommendations will see that the cover-up for the big man is totally fake and baseless; the report is self-contradictory in many respects. The following examples bring out the contradictions and even falsification of evidence made available to the panel.

In chapter six of the report, the tribunal found it necessary to blame the university authority and its specific organs for wrong do-

ings. It is in this regard, that the University Senate was indicted for failure to "close the University on the 22nd of May." However, the tribunal refused to point out that, the Vice-Chancellor who they had declared "blameless" was the chairman and the convener of the university senate. This failure of senate is therefore his own failure, pure and simple.

In the same chapter, the tribunal apportioned blame to the Vice-Chancellor for "omission" on his part to inform the police that the senate meeting schedule for Friday, 23 May in the Senate Building was no longer holding there. Although the tribunal quickly went ahead to play its destined role as the defence lawyer of the Vice-Chancellor by claiming that, the "omission" was "due to the mental agony he suffered during the illegal detention imposed on him by the students," it is clear that Ango Abdullahi could not be

"blameless." However, the Abisoye findings failed to note that, it was this "omission" on the part of the Vice-Chancellor that led to police presence on the main campus and the subsequent carnage that ensued. How can the Abisoye tribunal fail to see this basic fact?

The tribunal also noted the "gross incompetence resulting in dereliction of duties by the security organisation of the university". But this same tribunal refused to note that the security division of the university is under the Vice-Chancellor's office. This tribunal went ahead to recommend the retirement of the university's chief security officer, because he "has outlived his usefulness", but exonerated the Vice-Chancellor who gave him instructions on what to do!

The effort to declare the Vice-Chancellor "blameless" by the Abisoye tribunal also involved outright distortion of the evidence made available to it. The best example of this

can be found in the section relating to the police. In chapter four, the tribunal stated that "the Vice-Chancellor on 22nd May, 1986, convened a meeting of the Senate for 10 a.m. for Friday 23rd May, 1986 and requested the Zonal Commander, Nigeria Police Force, Zaria to secure the Senate Building as early as 6 a.m." The tribunal admitted in chapter six that the Vice-Chancellor made an "omission" by failing "to inform the police that the senate meeting was no longer holding in the Senate Building on 23rd May, 1986." Yet, the Abisoye tribunal turned round to say in the same chapter that the Mobile Police Force "illegally invaded Ahr.adu Bello University campus on the morning of Friday 23rd May, 1983". Why such inconsistencies, General?

While it is commendable that the tribunal descended heavily on the police and condemn-

Lessons of May 23, According to Mahdi

WHAT lessons can be learned from the ABU crisis? This was among the many questions *The Analyst's* Editor-in-Chief put before Professor Ango Abdullahi. But he would not answer it. As if he sensed what the Federal Government had in store for him, Professor Ango politely asked the Editor to call back in two week's time. Reason: he was too busy. Although the editor suggested that he write down his reactions to the list of questions sent to him, the controversial ex-vice-chancellor still insisted on keeping sealed lips. The communication between Professor Ango Abdullahi and the editor was done with the vice-chancellor's personal secretary.

However, another actor in the centre of the ABU crisis was willing to speak to *The Analyst*. He is Dr. Abdullahi Mahdi, Chairman of ASUU, ABU branch.

Dr. Mahdi is convinced that there are a lot of lessons to be learned from the ABU crisis. He believes that the crisis itself could have been avoided if the authorities had listened to the students. Unfortunately, nobody came forward to help find a peaceful solution to the brewing crisis except the ASUU, ABU branch.

The Vice-Chancellor, argued, Dr. Mahdi could have helped matters a great deal by appointing a committee to look into the issue, but he failed to do so. Dr. Mahdi believes that Professor Ango Abdullahi refused to do so because he considered that it was beneath his dignity to talk to students in the first instance.

Dr. Mahdi recalls that in the past, under similar situations, committees were appointed and through them matters were resolved amicably between students and the university authorities.

Another lesson to be learnt from the ABU crisis, the ASUU Chairman believes, is the need to avoid a slip in communication between students and the entire University community. Dr. Mahdi observes that Professor Ango Abdullahi in particular regarded students with suspicion. In Dr. Mahdi's view, the ABU ex-vice-chancellor (Ango) always worked under

the impression that students were generally bad and their views must not be respected.

The ASUU Chairman is of the view that relationship between the students and the university administration should be parental. Unfortunately, however he says Professor Ango Abdullahi has never been happy to see this happen.

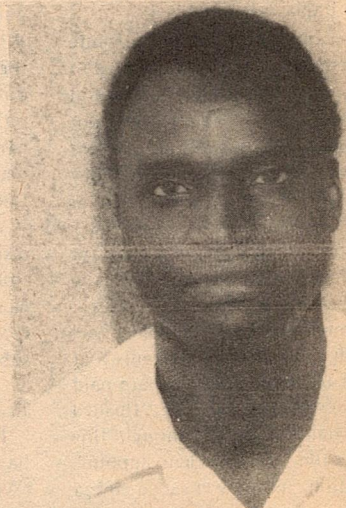
In the opinion of Mahdi, there is the need for the university authority to be impartial in handling students' matters. He says there had been cases of partiality when handling cases on the campus, especially when those who committed such crimes were children of highly placed persons both within and outside the campus.

On the other hand, Dr. Mahdi observes, "when children of ordinary persons committed offences they always drew the severest penalties — ranging from rustication to outright dismissal." Students, the ASUU Chairman points out, are aware of these double standards in handling discipline by the university authority. "And it should not surprise anyone that the students rarely have much confidence in the administration," he argues.

Democracy

Disciplinary actions in the university, observes Dr. Mahdi, haven't often been based on justice. Proofs of this he says, can be found in court cases between the students and the institution. Often when the courts quashed university administration's decision and ordered it to comply, the university refused to do so. Under such a situation, Dr. Mahdi observes, the students often found themselves in a quandary.

Another lesson to be drawn from the crisis is the role of police itself in handling such crisis. Dr. Mahdi is convinced that the police ought not to have been invited in the first place. They should have come only as a last resort. Says he, "even if the police must come, they should not come with lethal weapons."



• Dr. Abdullahi Mahdi

He says the university administration should have explored all means at its disposal, such as allowing all the democratic institutions and structures in the university to function.

For example, he says at ABU the committee system operated very well in the past. Through it, students and staff aired their views. However, with the coming of Professor Ango Abdullahi as the Vice-Chancellor the committee system was systematically destroyed. Instead of the system, the ex-vice-chancellor just hand-picked a few people — mostly those far removed from the academic staff or students of the university. Such people therefore ran the university as a personal asset. The consequence of such is that a crisis of confidence developed, which led to the neglect of both academic and social services. Of course, it was often the students, argues Dr. Mahdi, who generally bore the greatest burden of such neglect. For example, the students affairs division of the university was rendered ineffective as ample testimonies show at the sitting of the Abisoye Panel.

On a final note, Dr. Mahdi has some words for the university authorities. "In future whoever is in charge will have to take note of these things, particularly the need to establish confidence between students, the academic staff and the university administration."

• Interview by Danjuma Adamu

Who is Fooling Who

ed them in strong language for the killings and brutalization of defenceless victims, is it really morally correct for a tribunal, headed by a retired army general, to falsely accuse the Mobile Police for "illegal" invasion of the university contrary to the evidence made available to it? If, however, the Mobile Police Force invaded the university "illegally" how

come that the tribunal arrived at the recommendation that "the commissioner of Police, Kaduna State Police Command, Alhaji Nuhu Aliyu, in the course of his duties was found to have performed his duties in accordance with the Nigerian Police laws, and he was blameless"? This question has become necessary because the Mobile Police Force of

Unit 4, Kaduna under the command of (A.S.P.) Aliyu Nababa came to the university with the full knowledge and authority of Alhaji Nuhu Aliyu, the Kaduna State Commissioner of Police. Who then is fooling who in the Abisoye Report?

• *Alkasum Abba*

Violence Against Women

ONE of the most striking things about the violence unleashed by the mobile police against A.B.U. students is the way the police singled out female students for particularly brutal treatment. Not only were female students in Amina Hall murdered, shot and beaten like their male counterparts, but the mobile forces seemed to take special delight in torturing and humiliating female students by sexual harassment.

One female student, in her testimony to the Abisoye panel told of what happened to her on that Friday 23 May:

"It was about 10.25 a.m. when the mobile policemen, after a series of shootings, started breaking into each room (in Amina Hall) starting from the rooms on the ground floor. It was about 10.30 a.m. when one of the mobile policemen succeeded in breaking down the door into the room I was with the other student. I was slapped continuously until other mobile policemen joined him. Some of them, about ten, started beating and kicking me while some others were beating the other student. We were mercilessly beaten.

"I was shouting that they should not kill me. All the time I was shaking. They continued beating and kicking me from all sides. The mobile policemen tore my clothes and removed everything on me except my wristwatch. Some held my right leg, some with my left leg holding my legs apart. I was completely naked. One of the mobile policemen asked if I was a student, I said yes. Then another said "you this small thing are you sure you are a student?"

"They were pulling my breast, dipping their fingers into my private part. They were even saying if they were to rape me where would they start from."

Another student told of how the police stripped her naked, tearing off all her clothes. They were about to rape her, but she was menstruating, and when they removed her pant, her blood soaked sanitary pad fell to the floor. The policemen pointed guns at her head, and told her to pick up the pad and eat it, or else they would kill her.

The Roman Catholic Parish priest for the A.B.U. Main Campus, Father Rafferty, in his own report, told of his experiences in attempting to save many of the Amina Hall students from being beaten by the police. In the course of his efforts, he saw "a rather heavy young woman knocked to the ground by a policeman near the Convocation Square entrance. I have



• *Late Halima Farida Mustapha, ...victim of violence against women*

the impression that she is in an advanced state of pregnancy but she certainly was screaming with pain and terror. When he saw me, the policeman left the scene very hurriedly. When I came closer to the gate a girl in blue shirt and pant ran screaming towards me from around a corner. She pointed behind her and shouted: "He told me to open my pant; he told me to open my pant." I did not see the man but I have no doubt that she was speaking the exact truth."

Although none of the students could bring themselves to admit it publicly, for understandable reasons, it is clear that many of them were brutally raped and sexually assaulted. Rape is a particularly horrible form of attack — violating the most precious and intimate aspects of a woman, both physically and psychologically. Unlike bullets, the wounds of rape can hardly be healed. For the rest of her life, a rape victim will carry within her the feeling of having been degraded in the most terrible way and having been powerless to defend the essence of her person. Such was the horror perpetrated by the mobile police against women students at A.B.U. Zaria.

But these experiences of A.B.U. students are not unique. Whenever the forces of oppression direct their venom against women, they seem to focus on women's sexuality, in order to ensure total humiliation of their victims. When Hajia Gambo Sawaba was imprisoned for her political activities, she and other female political prisoners (all NEPU supporters) were forced by the prison authorities to wash their

menstrual blood into a bowl, and then drink the bloody water. What greater contempt could be shown for human dignity by those in authority?

The roots of this particular form of violence against women go deep into the nature of society. In a society where women are seen as a form of property, owned by their husbands, and expected to be submissive and subordinate, any form of independent thought or action by women is viewed by many men as a threat to male authority. It is not an accident that in all the examples described above, the females involved (whether ABU students or political activists like Hajia Gambo) were perceived by those in authority to be engaging in acts of political rebellion against certain institutions in society. Such acts are seen as dangerous, because they involve an assertion by women of their capacity for independent thought and action, which is the ultimate expression of genuine humanity — a humanity never recognised by oppressors of whatever type.

Sexual violence against women, whether by the police or any other individual, is an attempt by men to "put women in their place" — i.e. to keep them subordinate to men. It is only when society recognises women's true humanity, along with that of men, and when the humanity of all human beings is liberated from forces of oppression and exploitation, that we can expect to see an end to the vicious sexual violence directed against women.

• *N.D. Bariki*



• Late General Murtala Muhammed

'This panel has examined the assets of all the former Military Governors, the former Administrator, East-Central State and some former Federal Commissioners. The details of the decisions on each of the former public officers so investigated will be announced immediately. Suffice it to say that all the ex-Military Governors and the former Administrator of East-Central State with the exception of two were found to have grossly abused their office and guilty of several irregular practices. Clearly this investigation has revealed that they had betrayed the trust and confidence reposed in them by the nation. Those of them who wore uniforms betrayed the ethics of their professions and they are a disgrace to those professions. They should be ashamed of themselves. They are therefore all dismissed with ignominy and with immediate effect. This order does not affect the two ex-Military Governors whose investigation did not reveal mal-practices and abuse of office'

— Murtala Muhammed

Gowon's Men Probed

WHEN the late General Murtala took over the reins of government from General Gowon, after the latter was ousted from power on July 29, 1975, a full-scale probe was ordered into the assets and conduct of public officers who served in the Gowon regime. The results of the investigations, conducted by a three-man panel set up on September 16, 1975 by the Federal Government, were then widely publicised.

But in view of the interest recent events, in particular the recent ban on all active politicians of Second Republic, have generated in the record and performance of the military in government, The Analyst decided in this issue to refresh your memory of the findings of that probe. Thus, we publish below a graphic account from the Government White Paper on the probe as it affects some of the public officers then investigated.

USMAN FARUK

Forfeits:

1. Property at 1 Badarawa Village, Kaduna.
2. Property at 2 Badarawa Village, Kaduna
3. Lamido Road, Kaduna
4. Plot 22, Kakuri, Kaduna
5. Plot NW 437, Sokoto GRA
6. Plot KN 972, Ahmadu Bello Way, Kano
7. Plot NE 565, Borno Road, Maiduguri
8. Nos. 7 and 9 Gwadabe Road, Kaduna
9. Plot 21 Mabere, Sokoto
10. 13, Wurno Road, Kaduna

11. Property of eight bedrooms at Bolari in Gombe.
12. A farm in Gombe registered under Certificate of Occupancy No. NE 669
13. 4A Club Road, Sokoto
14. 9A and 9B Rabah Road, Kaduna (worth ₦139,000)
15. All undeveloped plots.

KEEPS:

1. Plots 532 & 535 Bompai Road, Kano
2. Plot 834, Makera, Kaduna South
3. Plot 1A Block 2 Makera, Kaduna
4. Property in Yerwa Gana, Gombe, registered in the name of Alhaji Faruk's mother.

5. Property in Yerwa Gana, Gombe registered in the name of Alhaji Faruk's wife
6. Property at Pindiga Village Gombe
7. Plot NE/28 Bolari in Gombe
8. Plot NE/667 Bolari in Gombe
9. Investments worth ₦73,943 in companies listed in paragraph 121 of the report.

DAVID BAMIGBOYE

Forfeits:

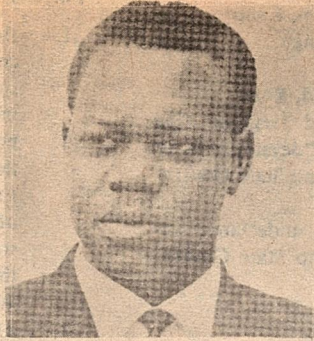
1. Three bungalows at Umaru Audu Road, Ilorin
2. Two-storey House and bungalow along Umaru Audu road, Ilorin
3. No. 14 Sultan Road, Kaduna GRA
4. Undeveloped plot at New Bussa
5. 21 Yakubu Gowon Avenue, Kaduna

KEEPS:

1. Property in his home town, Omu Aran on compassionate grounds,
2. 4 Sultan Road, Kaduna GRA
3. Plot 848, Victoria Island, Lagos
4. Plot 11 WNHC Estate Ikeja.



• Mr. U.J. Esuene



• Dr. N.B. Graham-Douglas



• Mr. David Bamigboye

ESUENE

Treated Merchantile Bank established by South Eastern State Government as 'his personal property' "and called for cash from the bank as and when he desired".

Forfeits:

1. Four acres in the Housing Corporation Layout at Calabar
2. Undeveloped plots on State Lands in Eket
3. Plot 888 on Victoria Island.

KEEPS:

1. Property at Afaha Esok Eket subject to a proper legal mortgage being created on them.
2. Investments in Guinness (Nigeria) Ltd. and Atlantic Estates Limited amounting to ₦7,700.

MUSA USMAN

Forfeits:

1. Property at 11 Marnoma Road, Kaduna
2. Property at No. 24, Isa Kaita Road, Kaduna
3. Property at Shehu Lamino Way, Maiduguri
4. All undeveloped plots
5. Property at Damboa Road, Maiduguri.

KEEPS:

1. 7, Kubari Crescent, Kaduna

2. Property in Maiduguri, registered in the name of Mrs. Usman
3. Property at Kinkino Close, Kaduna
4. Dadin Kowa Farm
5. Building in Zaria
6. Building in Jizawa Road, Kano
7. All declared investments totalling ₦124,000 in the companies listed in paragraph 98 of the report.

UKPABI ASIKA

Forfeits:

1. Bladi Court, Warri
2. Plot R, G.R.A. Onitsha
3. An apartment at 1229, La Torre, Spain
4. Undeveloped plots on State land
5. Shares in Glaxo Nigeria Limited and Mid-Diversified Limited.

KEEPS:

1. Plot 11 Aba Industrial Estate
2. Plot 8/15, Block 25 New Haven Lay-out Enugu
3. 17 Abakaliki Road, Enugu
4. 2 Old Cemetery Road, Onitsha.

BRIG. ABBA KYARI

Forfeits:

1. Property at Lamisula, Maiduguri
2. Farmland along Kaduna-Jos Road
3. 5^A Shehu Lamino Way, Maiduguri
4. Plot 288, Victoria Island, Lagos

KEEPS:

1. 10 Gwari Avenue, Kaduna

2. 9 Ibrahim Zaki Road, Kaduna
3. 5^B Shehu Lamino Way, Kaduna
4. 13 Shehu Crescent, Kaduna.
5. Retains declared shares in companies worth ₦45,150.00

E.K. CLARK

Forfeits:

1. Property at Ihama Street, Benin City
2. 135 Warri/Sapele Road, Warri
3. 14 properties (most of them cinema houses) registered in the name of either Ovie and Sons or Maratan Ltd.

KEEPS:

1. Property in Bomadi, Western Ijaw
2. 1 Baptist Road, Warri
3. 20 Hinderer Road, Apapa, Lagos
4. Property in Gana-Gana Island Western Ijaw

CHIEF ANTHONY ENAHORO

Forfeits:

"In view of Chief Enahoro's deliberate refusal to comply with the requirements of the panel (to submit detailed returns of his assets), the panel has recommended that the 'assets of all Chief Enahoro's companies and all properties he acquired between 1967 and 1975 should be forfeited to the Government and that appropriate authorities should probe Chief Enahoro's foreign bank accounts."



• Sanni Ogbemudia



• Mr. Edwin Clark



Mr. Ukpabi Asika



Usman Faruk

J.D. GOMWALK:

Forfeits:

1. 1 and 1^A Naraguta Avenue, Jos
2. 11 Langtang Road, Jos
3. 12 St. Patrick Avenue, Jos
4. Plot 287, Victorial Island, Lagos
5. Property built by BEPCO at the base of Hotel Hill
6. 11 Dendo Road, Kaduna

KEEPS:

2. Block of flats at Pankshin
3. Building in Makeri Village
3. 14 Nguru Road, Kaduna
4. All his declared investments.

AUDU BAKO

Forfeits:

1. 2 Houses at Hadejia/Yusufu Road, Kano
2. 1 Doka Crescent, Kaduna
3. 6 Aliyu Makama Road, Kaduna
4. 2 Durbin Katsina Road, Kano
5. 14^A Ahmadu Bello Way, Kano
6. 17 Aliyu Makama Road, Kano
7. 14^B Ahmadu Bello Way, Kano
8. 11 Bompai Road, Kano
9. 12 Bompai Road, Kano
10. 2 Magaji Rumfa Road, Kano
11. Commercial property along Club Road, Kano
12. Commercial property behind Flour Mills, Kano

13. Industrial plots 2 and 3 Bompai Road, Kano
14. Mariri Mixed Farm, Kano
15. Property at Argungu
16. Plot at Lokoja
17. 17^C Hadejia Road, Kano
18. 1,118 acre mixed farm at Tiga worth ₦271,000, "developed in all respects from Kano State Government sources."
19. To forfeit all undeclared investments to Kano State Government

KEEPS:

1. B2/32 Sardauna Crescent, Kaduna
2. Plot 831 Victoria Island, Lagos
3. 2 Ahmau Pategi Road, Kaduna
4. Two plots at Kalanbaina Road, Sokoto
5. Two plots at Gusau
6. Dan Marke Farm, Gusau
7. A plot at Nupe Road, Onitsha

COMMANDER A.P. DIETE-SPIFF

Forfeits:

1. Plot 14, Recreation Layout, Port Harcourt
2. Plot 859 Victoria Island, Lagos
3. Plot 15, Recreation Layout, Port Harcourt.

KEEPS:

1. Property in Toñbi, Nembe, Brass

BRIG. S. O. OGBEMUDIA

Forfeits:

1. Palm Royal Motel ("the panel has come to the conclusion that a substantial amount of the funds meant for the University of Benin building projects had been intentionally utilised for building the Palm Royal Motel, and that parts of the expenditure for the construction of the motel were from the other resources of the Mid Western State Government.")
2. 27^B Eguadese Street, Benin City
3. A building at Ogebeide Ward 17/H G.R.A. Benin City
4. All undeveloped plots on state land

KEEPS:

1. Investments totalling ₦28,940
2. 26 Iheya Street, Benin City
3. Building in Urubi Quarters, Benin City.

The government also ordered further investigations into the assets and shares of some of the ex-governors. They include Alhaji Musa Usman, Brigadier Samuel Ogbemudia, Brigadier Mobolaji Johnson Brigadier Esuene, etc.

Among the five former federal commissioners cleared were Alhaji Shehu Shagari and Alhaji Shetima Ali Monguno.

The Emir of Muri's Loan

ON 15th February, 1966, the Military Governor Northern Nigeria appointed a Committee to enquire into the affairs of Northern Nigeria Development Corporation. The Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. I.I.D. Durlong, OFR, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, had Mr. E.E.C. Tankir, S.B. Daniyan, M.U. Ogbole, Garba Ja Abdulkadir, T.A. Wuraola and Capt. A.A. Abdulkadir as members, with Mallam Musa Bello as Secretary. The Committee was initially chaired by Alhaji Yusufu A. Gobir OFR, but he was reassigned on 25th February, 1966.

The committee found glaring irregularities and abuse of office in the ways in which companies and projects wholly or partially owned by the NNDC were acquired and operated. Another area of irregularities is in the area of development loans granted to individuals. One of such loans involved Alhaji Umaru Abba Karim, the Emir of Muri.

The Analyst reproduces pages 39 and 40 of the White Paper on the Military Government Policy for the Reorganization of the Northern Nigerian Development Corporation, published in 1966 by the Government Printer Kaduna. Read on.

Alhaji Umaru Abba Karim, Sarkin Muri — Alhaji Umaru Abba Karim was a Minister of State when he applied, on 15th June, 1965, for a loan of £32,000 for a mechanised farming project at Jalingo. On 8th July, 1965, the Northern Nigeria Development Corporation Chairman informed the Secretary that the Minister of Economic Planning had approved

the loan, therefore the necessary processing should be carried out in the normal way for consideration by the Loans Committee, which was to meet on the same day. In the short time



• Alhaji Abba Tukur
Emir of Muri

available, no processing could have taken place, but the Loans Committee approved the loan of £32,000.

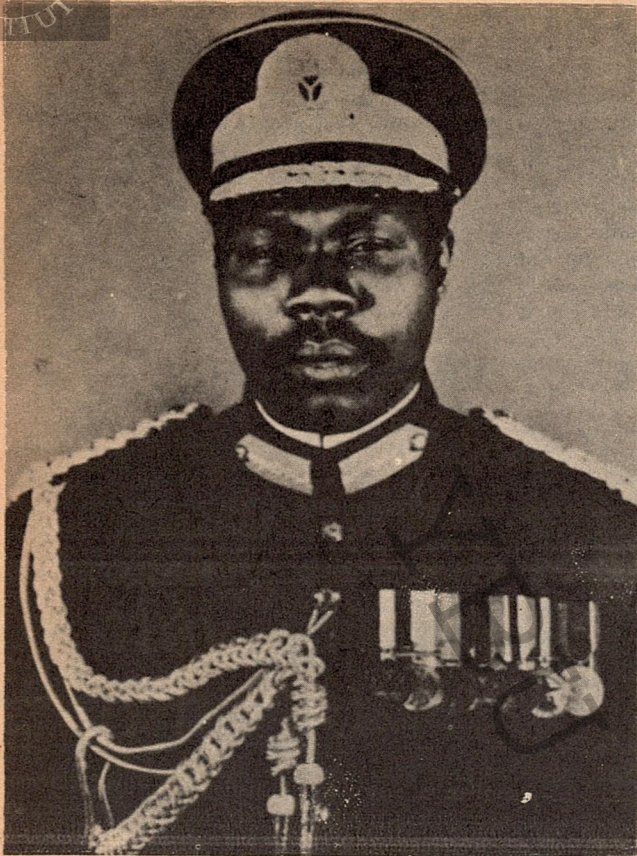
The Committee interviewed Alhaji Abba Karim in Kaduna on the 18th of March, 1966. He said he had received £25,000 from the loan of £32,000 and did not need the remaining £7,000. He told the Committee that he had spent approximately £17,000 of £25,000 but not all the £17,000 had been spent on the farm. The remainder of the loan was in his possession in cash and kind. On 13th April, 1966, the Committee visited the farm in Jalingo but was not impressed with the farm which covered a large area some of which had been cleared, but virtually nothing had been planted. Some farming equipment, a tipping lorry, a land-rover, three huts and a house under construction were seen on the farm. In addition, about 100 cattle said to belong to him were also seen. Alhaji Abba Karim also mentioned ownership of a number of horses which were not at the farm.

The Committee was reliably informed that feverish preparations for their visit had taken place. This was characterised by furious activities ranging from attempted development of land formerly lying fallow to persuading Fulani to drive in cattle to the farm site.

The Committee recommended that:

(a) A proper valuation of the farm should be made to ascertain whether the loan has been fully used for the purpose intended.

(b) The £7,000 already notified as being surplus to requirement should be revoked by the Board.



CLCKWISE: Former Head of State, Lt-General Olusegun Obasanjo (rtd); Former Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters Major-General Shehu Musa Yar'adua, (rtd); and Col. Muhammadu Buhari — then Federal Commissioner for Petroleum and Energy.

The #2.8 Billion Probe

SINCE the ban on all active Second Republic politicians, Nigerians have been discussing with keen interest, the record of the military in government. On the Gowon regime, which has the longest tenure, there is something to guide such discussion since it was probed between 1975 and 1976 by the Murtala regime which ousted it. But there is very little information, and even less hard facts, about the actual performance of the military in all subsequent military regimes — except for the crude oil sales Tribunal of Inquiry, chaired by the present Chief Justice of the Federation, Justice Ayo Irikefe.

In this issue of *The Analyst*, we bring you excerpts from the Commission's Report, as below.

Following the Corporation's lack of experience in the marketing of crude oil, the difficulties it had in selling her share of crude oil from the various participating agreements since 1973, the inadequate storage facilities at the tank farms located at the three major ter-

minals of Shell, Mobil and Gulf, the Corporation had to take a decision which made it impossible for her to take delivery of her full "equity crude oil" base of the programme and regulate volumes to be mined by her Joint Venture Partners. It thereafter asked Shell, Gulf and Mobil to mine much lower volumes out of which they were to take their full equity share while leaving the short-fall as NNPC's "deemed reserve" in the ground. Meanwhile, the NNPC went ahead and paid its full equity contribution to the operators.

This means that as at now the NNPC between 1975 and 1978 has failed to collect 182,952,104 barrels of crude oil due to it

although it had allowed its Joint Venture Partners to take their full shares.

It can therefore be seen that based on the ruling price in the last quarter of 1977, taken as average, government revenue not earned as a result of this action is conservatively estimated at US \$2,503,791,264.8. If this oil is won today and a conservative official selling price of US \$30 per barrel is used, this cost revenue will not be less than US \$5 billion.

* *The Crude Oil Sales Tribunal of Inquiry was chaired by Hon. Justice Ayo Irikefe, CFR (Lagos 1980).*

Year	Shell (Barrels)	Gulf (Barrels)	Mobil (Barrels)	Total (Barrels)
1975	42,404,581	—	—	42,404,581
1976	4,461,364	—	—	4,461,364
1977	30,807,609	—	4,301,611	35,109,220
1978	66,240,518	23,305,632	11,430,789	100,976,939
TOTAL	143,914,072	23,305,632	15,732,400	182,952,104

Kill and Go

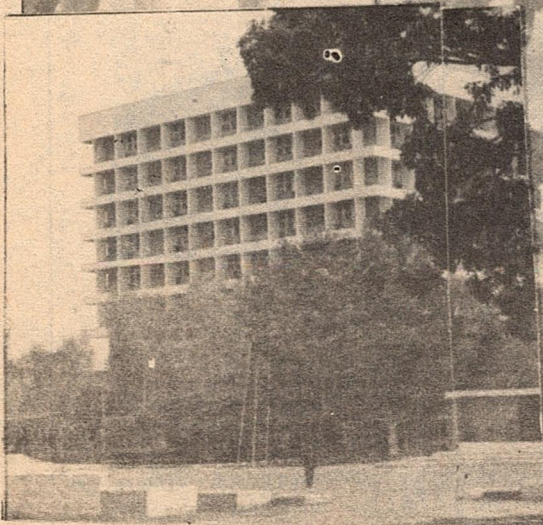
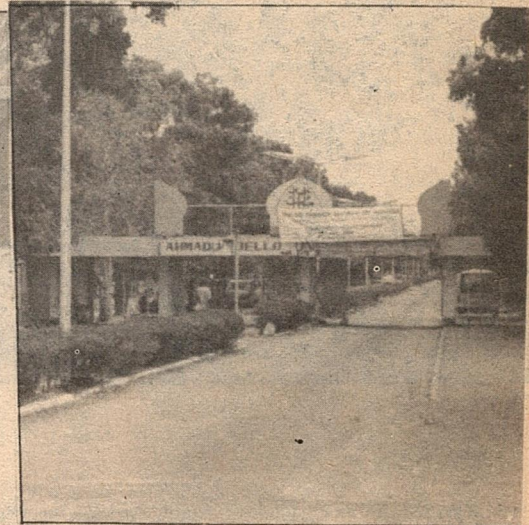
KILL and go
Kill and go
We are men of the
Kill and go
Students come
And students go
We have killed some
Now we go.
Day and night
And night and day
With your brains
We 've come to play

Kill and go
Kill and go
We are men of the
Kill and go
Open up your legs my dear
You have only us to fear
With our rifles at the cock
We have come to get a fock
Day and night
And night and day
With your bosoms
We will play

Kill and go
and go and kill
We will do it
With a thrill
Law and order is so nice
We will sell it for a price
Night and day
And day and night
With your digirees
We will fight.

Kill and go
Kill and go
How we like to see blood. O
Brains and guts
And blood and bone
Make our laughter's merry tone
Day and night
And night and day
We have killed
Now let us go
Smoking wee wee
as we play.

• A Turaki



No More Strangers

IT were us, it is us
the children of soweto,
langa, kagiso, alexandra, gugulethu, and
nyanga
us
the children of zaria
ife, sokoto, ibadan, kano, and lagos
us
who will dare the mighty
for it is freedom, only freedom which can
quench our thirst —
we did learn from terror that it is us who will
seize history
our freedom....

we think of the night behind us
when the children were shot, when their blood

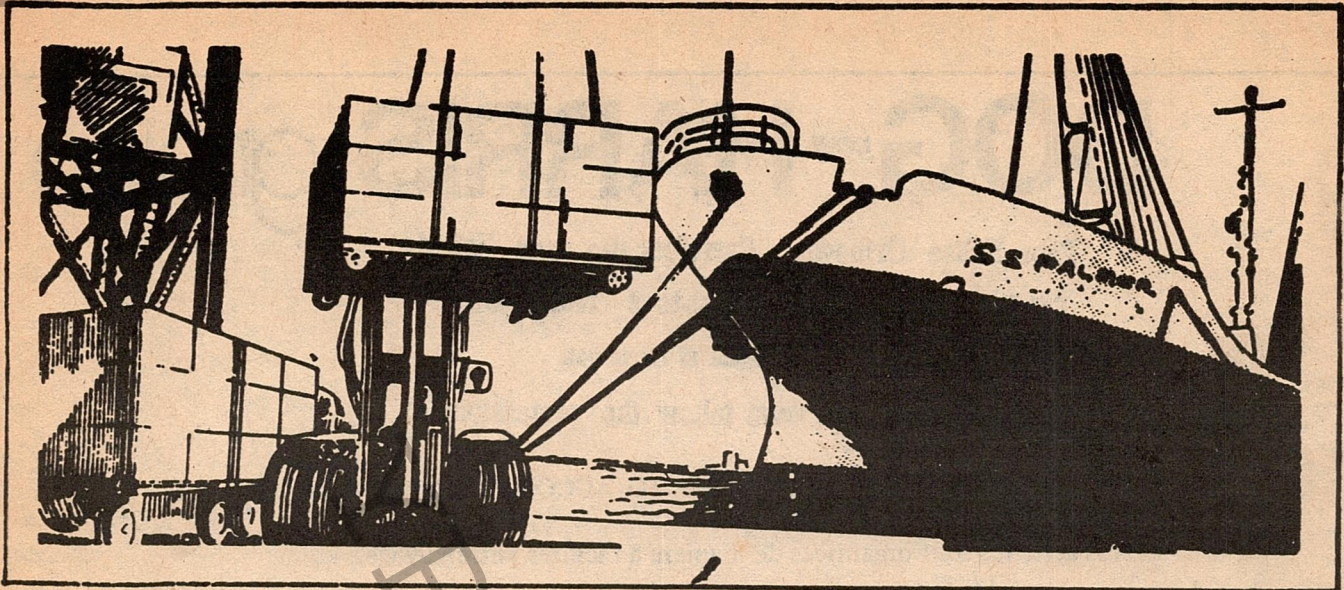
was spilled
when their bodies rolled on the streets
of soweto, samaru, yaba
remember how they charged, the children fell
as if into an abyss
here we go again
a man or a woman
out of the insatiable stomachs of vampires
walks the night soaked with the blood of
children....

it were us, it is us
who were taught by history
that terror before the will of the people
is like a sheep in the mouth of a crocodile
here we go again
we have learnt from so many cruel nights

that oppressors are guilty forever
and we know that we will move.

it will be the trees, the mountains
it will be the silence of the desert and its heat
it will be the song of our rivers
moving, us one with them
moving
the night giving us sanctuaries
the day witness but silent
it will be us
steel-taut to fetch freedom
and—
will tell freedom
we are no strangers now.

• M.V. Mzamane



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AGENCY

Echoes From Bala Mohammed

ON MILITARY RULE

Remembering Bala Mohammed

Contd. from page 7

associated with both the formulation and the implementation of these policies. In fact, he was, at the time of his assassination, working on the report of the land inquiry conducted in Kano State. This was known to his killers, who thought that killing him would mean an end to the ideas by which he stood and the ideals for which he fought.

The lessons of his death, then as now, are the reminder to us that the reactionary forces would go to any length to fight what they perceive as a threat to them, and the invitation to the progressive forces to rededicate ourselves to the struggles for a new social order in Nigeria.

In this issue, *The Analyst* brings you excerpts from Bala Mohammed's book, "*Africa and Non-Alignment*," published posthumously by the Triumph Publishing Company, Ltd., Kano.

ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

'Any order which we call for must stand the test of satisfying the interests and requirements of social progress. It must also be a call that is fully in line with the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of people not just a few privileged elites. Given all these conditions, the call for a new international economic order cannot deliver what it promises because it is not going to be pursued in accordance with the objective laws of social development.'

'Whatever one may say, the military takeovers in most African countries were the result of all kinds of social ills beyond the solution of the leaders who were toppled. Bribery and corruption, nepotism and undisciplined practices, coupled with no love and affection for the countries and their peoples, were some of the charges against the political leaders. Hence, the military intervention at first was thought to be the logical correction to these ills. But, it is everybody's guess how the military rulers are playing their own card. Some people have asked many questions about these phenomena. The soldiers are people who have gone through the classroom situation, and as such, one does not expect a super mentality in their attitude, anyway. They are as much victims of neo-colonialism as their civilian counterparts. They are military elite whose idea of developing their societies is as capitalistic as the civilian elite they have toppled.'

ON DEFINING THE THIRD WORLD

'Many people define this concept of the "Third World" variously. Some see it as the developing nations of the world, the non-whites, uncommitted peoples, who are tied neither to the Communist east nor the Capitalist west, but who are essentially a third, neutral force. But recently, the peoples of this world do not like to see themselves as neutral but as non-aligned. However, Fanon saw the Third World as "the wretched of the earth" committed to socialism.'

No matter what definition one uses to describe this world, one thing at least is very certain about it. It is one of the most dynamic forces in history. Because it is a world of historically oppressed peoples (outside of Europe) who are still struggling by various means to break away from their relationship of dependence on the imperialist world. And their struggle has taken the form of mass demonstrations, strikes, passive resistance, and in some instances, armed protracted warfare. They have been trying to choose the form of social development which will give them happiness, peace and security.'

Free-Market Cure, Bad Medicine For Africa

By Anna Decormis

AFTER a week's consideration of Africa's desperate economic situation, the UN General Assembly ended its historic special session June 1 with an astonishingly lopsided document. In it, the African countries committed themselves to so-called policy reforms demanded by the Reagan administration and its Western Europe cronies-in return for totally unspecified "support."

"Not many people were happy with it," said one African participant speaking of the outcome. "We had hoped for a special partnership with the international community. Africa committed itself to adjustment measures... We have gotten nothing in return."

The final document was unanimously approved, evidently in the hope that it would somehow serve as a symbol of unity and, therefore, of success. However, some African delegation had reportedly urged going home without any wind-up statement rather than one so unfavourable.

The adjustments, agreed to, if and when carried out, would gradually turn the governments of the 50 participating countries (excluding South Africa and Morocco, which are not members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) from the continent's formerly socialist direction toward private ownership and market rule. Along the way, they would reduce government outlays for such items as food subsidies. Referring to the fact that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) usually imposes such oppressive austerity measures before making loans, one observer noted, "Africa has embraced conditionality without even getting money."

While many were unhappy, some were pleased. Crowded the Washington Post (June 3), "The United Nations...has given the U.S. an extraordinary triumph. After a debate of a business-like sort that many thought had gone out of style in that forum, the assembly voted as one for an African development plan based substantially on principles proclaimed by the Reagan administration."

FOCUS ON OAU REPORT

The substance of the UN special session, the first ever devoted to the economic problems of a single continent, was supposed to be a report from the OAU on "Africa's Economic and Social Crisis", incorporating Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-1990 (APPER) drawn up by the OAU in July 1985. The comprehensive and persuasive report in-

cludes analyses of the causes of the crisis, internal and external, as well as proposals to deal with it, based on OAU/UN studies in every country and cross-checked with specialized UN organizations, including the World Bank.

The APPER focusses on agriculture as the key to reversing the continent's downward economic spiral. The objective is to increase productivity and production by developing arable land, improving livestock, increasing mechanization and the development of agriculture-support industry and transport. The programme encompasses storage, marketing, pricing, credit, research and making "the rural peasant farmers...genuine economic actors." In many countries, women are the main producers of food and may now get some special support.

The OAU sees the 5-year APPER as the "necessary framework for a transition from emergency and short-term actions to the re-launching of long-term programs for self-sustaining socio-economic development." And it urges the international community to accept the programme as the basis for "reordering assistance programmes" — in other words, directing financial support from the major capitalist countries to an overall plan, instead of scattering it in projects and uncoordinated programmes at the whim of the donors.

The OAU estimates the total cost of APPER at \$128 billion and the African countries have committed themselves to somehow provide a formidable \$82.4 billion or almost two thirds of that amount. The \$45.6 billion gap is what Africa needs to get from other continents to make APPER work.

In addition, there is the problem of servicing the continent's foreign debt. For the 5-year APPER period, this service will amount to some \$200 billion, give or take \$25 billion, an amount exceeding the countries' commitment of funds to the recovery programme. "Even if all the domestic resources being mobilized to finance APPER," the OAU report says, "are used in servicing debt, the African countries will still not be able to meet all their debt obligations."

And further, the report stressed that "if international support were limited only to-filling the (\$45.6 billion) gap in (the requirements for APPER) without at the same time providing substantial relief for debt servicing, the African countries might at the end of the

period be worse off than they were at the beginning"

At the UN special session, the international community neither filled the gap nor provided debt relief. The U.S. chose not to believe that an additional \$45 billion is needed, considering the estimate a self-serving exaggeration. Together with its allies the U.S. refused to commit to even a small increase in funding for Africa and also refused to budge from their case-by-case approach to the debt issue.

The impressive OAU report that was to have been the guts of the special session was subjected to a negotiating process that reduced it to the one-sided nonsense of the final document.

Early in May, the report went to the preparatory committee for the UN session. There during the first meetings, the "international community," meaning the U.S. and company, were reportedly quite flexible, according to one of the negotiators. But in the two or three days before the special session began, there was a hardening of positions. As time shortened, a smaller working group was set up, chaired by Qazi Fareed of Pakistan, a vice chairman of the preparatory committee. He negotiated with the contenders and delivered a watered down "non-paper" to the so-called *ad hoc* committee of the whole special session. There the struggle resumed with at least the Africans "trying to hold to our positions," as one described it. "But in effect we lost on almost everything." At each stage in the negotiations there had been a certain dilution of the African position and a corresponding strengthening of the U.S. position. In the end, it was the Senegalese, who had dominated the conference, who pushed through the final document.

In his opening address May 27, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, current chairman of the OAU, warned: "If things continue on their present course only a few African countries will survive. This is certainly a very pessimistic prospect, even apocalyptic, but it reflects better than any speech what is really at stake at this special session," and he called on the delegates to keep "the main point uppermost in mind: the survival of a continent." What the U.S. kept in mind, however, was Reaganomics:

• Culled from the U.S.-based *Guardian* newspaper.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

"The student's demands at this stage related to political rights in education — the right to organise. student-representative councils,

control of the curricula, decent facilities, and an end to the victimisation of radical teachers who sided with the youth."

Soweto Massacre: 10 Years After

IN SOWETO on the 16th June 1976 a demonstration had been planned by young school students. The protest march and rally was to demand an end to their discriminatory education. They did not want to be taught in Afrikaans — the language of their oppressors.

Thousands of pupils, aged between 12 and 20, gathered and marched through Soweto singing freedom songs and carrying placards. They were in an 'extremely jovial mood'.

On hearing that the police were coming, a senior pupil addressed the crowd. He said: 'we are not fighting', and emphasized the need to remain 'calm and cool'. Shortly afterwards, the police arrived and spread out in front of them. The crowd responded by singing and shouting slogans. 'We thought they were going to disperse us with loud hailers...or maybe talk to us'.

Suddenly a white policeman lobbed a teargas cannister into the crowd, which retreated but remained facing the police. A white policeman was then seen to draw out his revolver and aim it at the children. The first shot rang out and the stunned crowd was for a moment silent and then pandemonium broke out as the children ran in all directions. The police firing continued and more children fell to the ground, the students responded by throwing bricks and stones. The police had violently and needlessly attacked the well-ordered and peaceful demonstration.

A group of children emerged from the crowd carrying a young boy who was covered in blood. Hector Peterson, aged 13, was the first victim of the massacre and died on his way to hospital. Photographs of the incident shocked the world and he has become a symbol of the Soweto massacre.

News of the shootings spread quickly. In anger, groups of demonstrators set fire to any buildings that symbolized or collaborated with the apartheid regime, including the Barclays Bank. Commuting evening workers arriving at the railway station were faced with armed police and many, on hearing the news, joined the students.

Large convoys of the police, armed with automatic rifles and machine guns, continued to fire indiscriminately into crowds in the dark. The army were placed on alert as the fierce fighting drew on late into the night.

As the second day began, the police armed themselves with sten guns, automatic rifles and hand machine carbines. The police shot at random and at anyone who would raise a fist and shout "Power." The demonstrators responded by pelting police with bricks and the attacks on WRAB offices and schools continued. Casualties and deaths were even higher as the police shot indiscriminately and attempted to prevent the injured from entering hospitals or to arrest the wounded.



• Body of Soweto's first victim, Hector Peterson being carried away

Three hundred white students, joined by black workers, marched, protesting against the massacres. They were attacked by a hundred white vigilantes. The South African press reported that it had been a 'quiet day'.

On the third day, the indiscriminate shooting kept most people off the streets although there were still some incidents between small groups and the police. The police shot at anyone lingering on the streets.

The authorities claimed that 95 black people had been killed in those three days. However, it later became apparent that the number was nearer to 500.

The events of those three days in Soweto echoed through the townships and villages. All over South Africa there were mass demonstrations and protests against the vicious massacre.

Prime Minister Vorster in his New Year speech to the white population of South Africa said that the storm had not yet struck, 'we are only experiencing the whirlwinds that go before it.'

Before ten years had passed, Vorster's words were to prove prophetic.

THE SPARK

The revolt of the Soweto youth on 16th June 1976 was directed against the Bantu Education system, in particular its latest innovation, namely the enforced use of Afrikaans as a means of teaching black children.

The education system was a major issue in the crisis. It affected a whole generation so greatly that they took to the streets to protest.

In the months leading up to the uprising, opposition to the discriminatory education had been growing in schools. Although the education issue is often seen as the main reason for the uprising, practically anything could have set it off. So deep was the resentment among the people.

Winnie Mandela said that 'the language issue was merely a spark that lit the resentment that was building up among black people.'

THE FIRE

The events in Soweto fired a whole generation of youth who took to the streets. This provided an extraordinary new burst of life to the national liberation struggle.

Many of the youth had to flee and knew that in order to continue their struggle they would have to join up with the liberation forces of Umkonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress. A whole new generation of freedom fighters, born out of the struggle in Soweto.

The Apartheid regime is beginning to pay the price for the murder of innocent children as these new freedom fighters begin to take the armed struggle into the heart of South Africa.

APARTHEID IN CRISIS

In June 1984, P.W. Botha was riding high. He had imposed the anti-ANC Nkomati agreement on neighbouring Mozambique; he had been feted by Mrs. Thatcher and his European allies; and his promises of reform were held up for approval and applause in the western media. Two years later, Botha stumbles from

crisis to crisis, his rule is exposed to the world as state terrorism at home and abroad; the while ruling alliance is splintering and his main international backers, Thatcher and Reagan, are increasingly isolated in their collaboration. The crucial factor that has turned the situation around is the heroic resistance of the fighting people of South Africa.

ROOTS OF THE YOUTH REVOLT

The role of the youth has been critical. Already in 1984 the schools were in ferment. In several areas such as Atteridgeville and Cradock in the Eastern Cape school boycotts had been in progress for months. In the main, the students' demands at this stage related to political rights in education — the right to organise in student representative councils, control of the curricula, decent facilities, and an end to the victimisation of radical teachers who sided with the youths. As the boycotts spread, the school student Confederation of South African Students (COSAS) became a national political force. COSAS banners appeared at the political funerals of black people murdered by the police in the uprisings of the Vaal triangle of September 1984.

Then came the Transvaal stayaway of October 1984 which was a turning point. COSAS brought together and worked with the trade unions and community based organisations in a disciplined massive display of defiance. Four hundred thousand students and 800,000 workers took part. Increasingly out of school, the youth played a vital role in fighting the police on the streets and in organising the people at community level. The self-organisation of the people received such a stimulus from the youth so that, for instance, in Cradock every family in every street in every district is now mobilised.

REPRESSION

The Confederation of South African Students was banned in August 1985. Hundreds of youth were imprisoned. Scores went on hunger strike demanding their release, the evacuation of the police from the townships and an end to the State of Emergency.

Children and youth are on the frontline of racist repression. Scores of babies and infants have been killed. In the 19 months before April 1986, 1559 people had been killed by the police — 50% of them shot in the back. Of the 93 people shot dead by police in 6 months in the Cape Town area, 12% of the victims were aged under 15 years old. Eight-year-old Amos Khubheka, held for interrogation and denied bail on charges of 'intimidation', was one of the many children detained. At the end of January this year over 5,000 children were being held in jail as sentenced and unsentenced prisoners. Under section 50 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for 'preventive detention' at least 35 school children aged 12-17 years old from Aliwal North were detained.

Student leader Siphso Mutsi (aged 20) and three teenagers were amongst the 16 people held on politically related charges who are known to have died in police custody during the last year.

Young political activities, like all community organisers, became targets for police and army

death squads. In Mamelodi, and in Lulekani in the Lebowa Bantustan, student leaders were killed in hand grenade attacks on their homes.

RESISTANCE

In the barren Bantustan concentration camps, where one in four children die before reaching the aged of five, the youth have spearheaded a new confident challenge to the puppet leaders. Kwa Ndebele's plans for transition to 'independence' in December this year have been rocked by the youth and the rapid spread of the United Democratic Front.

Throughout the last two years school students have engaged in walkouts and boycotts of the schools. In some areas the police have tried to force the students to return; in other areas the police have trained their guns on the students in the classrooms and closed down the schools. The youth have set up alternative education for people's

and the 'young comrades' have emerged as a revolutionary force. Stooge councillors, informers and black policemen have been dispensed with through the summary people's justice of 'the necklance' — a measure found necessary to protect the people. People's Courts have been set up. Contrary to the counter-propaganda of apartheid's backers, the People's Courts have brought order to the townships — drastically reducing crimes of robbery, vandalism, and murder and are an expression of the people's will to govern themselves.

Apartheid's latest strategy is to employ groups of vigilantes to do its dirty work in the townships, squatter camps and Bantustans. Captured informers and the evidence of thousands testify that the vigilantes are hoodlums, stooge councillors and are paid, organised and equipped by the police. The



• Nelson Mandela... the embodiment of the struggle for liberation; vital symbol of the new society.

power. They have renamed schools and playgrounds after Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and other heroes of the struggle.

The National Education Crisis Committee met in a delegates' conference in March and called for a return to school. But the intransigence of the authorities had led to the continuation of the boycott in many areas, especially in the Eastern and Western Cape. The students' demands are not only on educational grievances but now reflect the wider struggle. In 1984 and 1985 it was secondary school students aged up to 20 who took the lead. Today, the most militant section leading boycotts are primary school students, their leaders, 14 year olds.

THE YOUNG COMRADES

The experience of self-organisation of the black communities typified by Cradock has spread to Alexandra and across South Africa,

vigilantes murdered over 40 youth and popular community organisers in the Crossroads squatter camp complex to pave the way for mass removals that left 30,000 homeless in one week alone. The young comrades have been forced to hit back. When the police shot dead 3 youth in Soweto in May, the young comrades went from door to door urging the people to prepare arms to fight back. Five and ten years old in the black townships today proclaim themselves as soldiers in Nelson Mandela's Army. The children of South Africa are not victims, they are part of the freedom struggle.

An eye witness said of Soweto 1976: "I saw a seven year old boy, his dead body holed with bullets yet his fist still clenched in a power salute." That defiance of an individual child lives on today in the fighting children and youth.

• Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane

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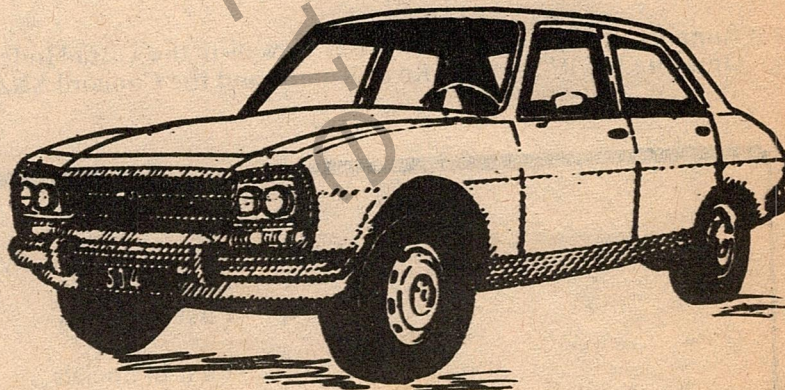
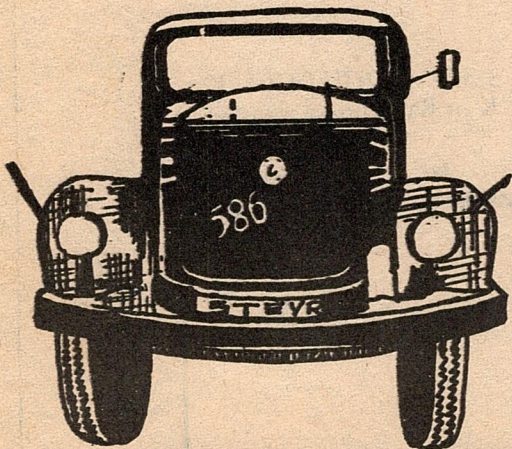
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"I am a farmer. My land is taken away from me, and you are saying I should go back to farm? To farm on what, the sky?"

"Give me Back my Land"

"LET ME SPEAK" is a column that will feature every month in *The Analyst*. It is basically an interview forum, in which the subject is allowed to speak in his own language. But as this first instalment shows, the column seeks out subjects not from a "who is who" list in society but from among ordinary people — the peasants and the working people and masses of Nigeria. As the title of the column suggests, the subject is, as much as possible, allowed to speak out his mind — about his circumstances, struggles, failures, successes, the country and whatever may be of interest or relevance to his existence and well-being.

Alhaji Sa'id Magaji, 40, is a resident of Rido Village, about 20 kilometres from Kaduna metropolis. He is a farmer, married and has thirteen (13) children. Excerpts:

The Analyst: As farmer, how did you become unemployed?

Alhaji Sa'id: I was a farmer. The farm land which I inherited from my father was situated at a village called Rido, a short distance from the N.N.P.C. Kaduna refinery. Sometimes, in 1979, I think, the village head of Rido came to inform us that all those who owned farmlands within a radius of nine miles of the refinery should vacate such lands. He (Sarkin Rido) told us that government wanted our lands. My land happened to fall within the nine mile radius.

Subsequently, the Sarkin Rido and some officials of the Government summoned all of us affected by the plan, and we were given some forms, which we were told, we should present before collecting our compensation. We were assured that the government would pay us our compensation.

Since then, up till date, I am unemployed and without land to farm nor my compensation.

Q: What efforts did you make in order to secure your compensation?

A: We always contact our village head on the matter. But he keeps saying that he has no idea of when we will be paid our compensation. Now if he (Sarkin Rido) does not know when we will be paid, what more of us? In fact, I don't even know who really took my land, whether the government, N.N.P.C., or the Sarki himself. I do not know. But what I do know is that it was the Sarkin Rido who brought these people to take our land. He knew them, we don't. It's been about seven years now since our land was taken from us. If they are serious, they should have paid us by now.

Q: For the past eight years that you were unemployed, what other income generating activity were you engaged in?

A: I used to work for others on their farms.

But even that is only during the rainy season. And you know, this thing does not affect me alone. A lot of people have lost their farm lands in my area. So then getting work on other farms is becoming increasingly difficult. As a matter of fact, I have since stopped hunting for farm work.

Q: So what do you do now?

A: Well, as you can see, I do any petty thing that comes my way. Sometimes I push "amalanke" (a truck) carrying manure to peoples' farms. That way I make something to survive on.

Q: People are saying that unemployed persons should either learn to be self-reliant or take to farming. what is your view on this?

A: I am a farmer. My land is taken away from me, and you are saying I should go back to farm? To farm on what, the sky?

Q: As an unemployed person, married and a father of 13 children, how have you been coping with the cost of maintaining your family?

A: Among my children are about three youngmen who were attending secondary school. They no longer go to school. They now stay at home and assist me in finding food for

the family. Infact, even my younger children only two are attending primary school, because I can't afford the fees for the rest. In my house, we have learned to do without detergent, sugar, milk, rice etc. I just cannot afford this luxury.

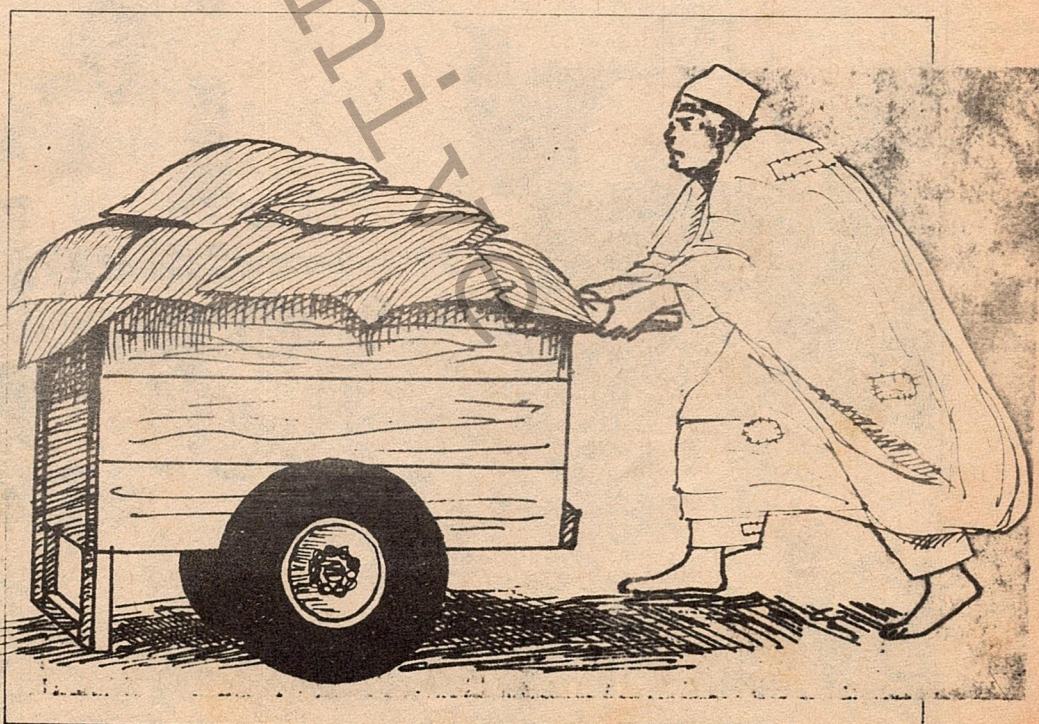
Q: Can you tell me roughly how much you make a day, from your amalanke? (truck pushing)?

A: Between me and my children, we sometimes manage to make N3 to N4 a day or ever N5.00 when business is good. But sometimes I don't make even one kobo for a whole day.

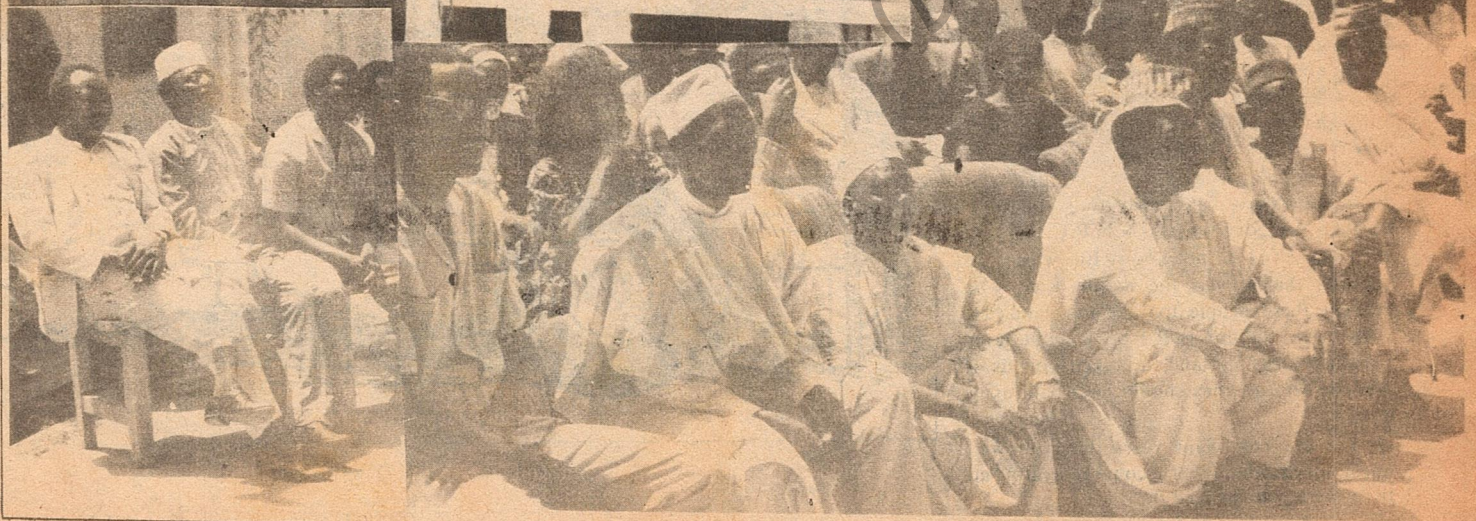
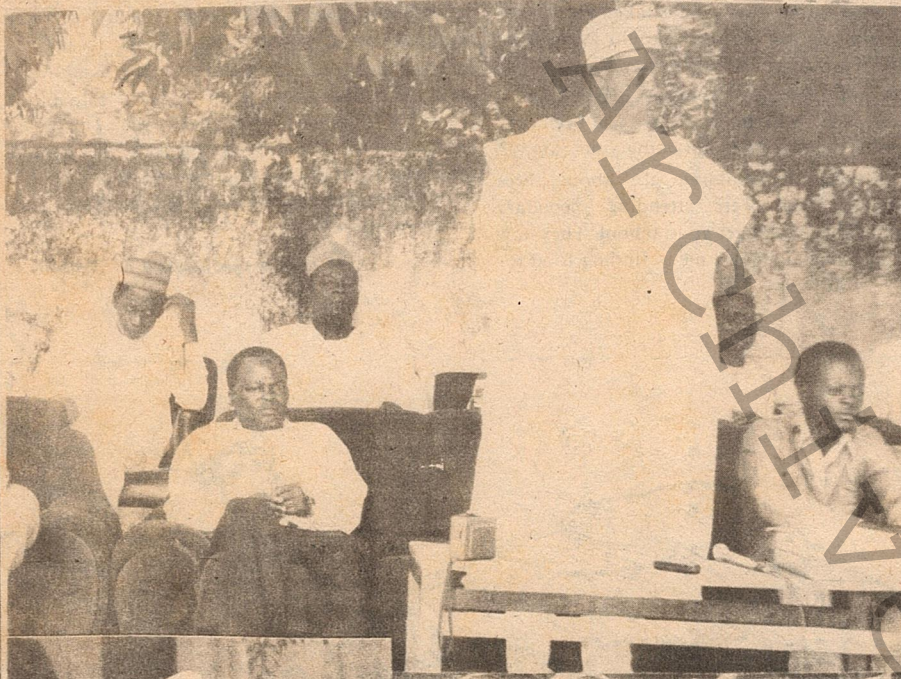
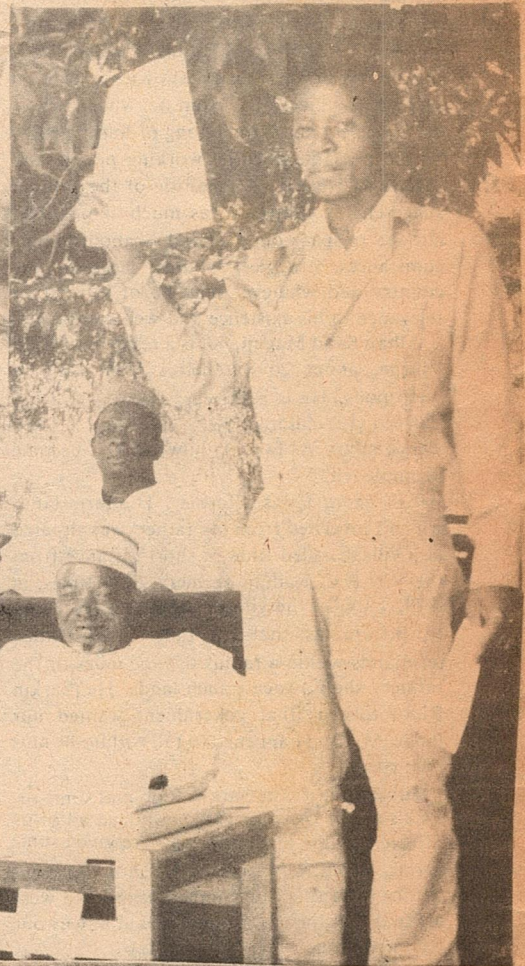
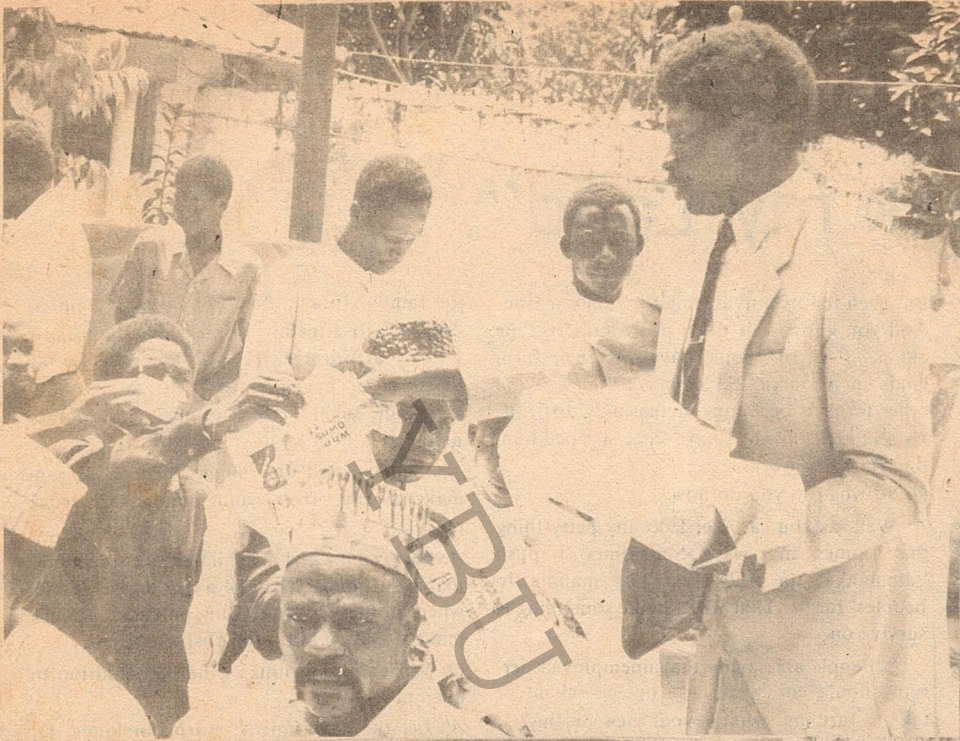
Q: What do you think is the best solution to unemployment?

A: Let the government return our lands. Or government should make people to pay for our lands which they took. You see only recently an oil pipeline, connected to the Kaduna refinery, leaked. The result was that valuable farm lands and crops were destroyed. The N.N.P.C. promised to compensate for the damage. A lot of my people were affected. Up to now no one has received even one kobo as compensation.

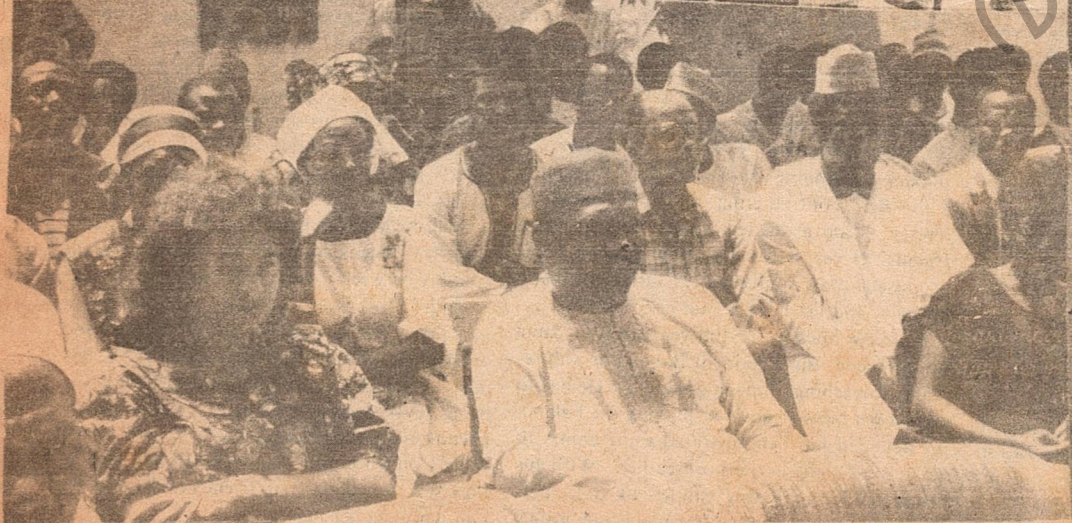
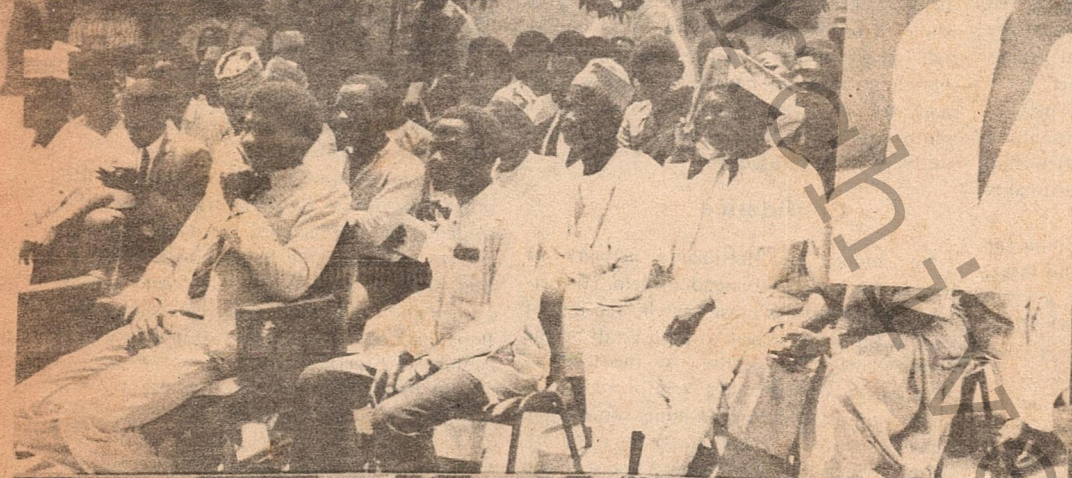
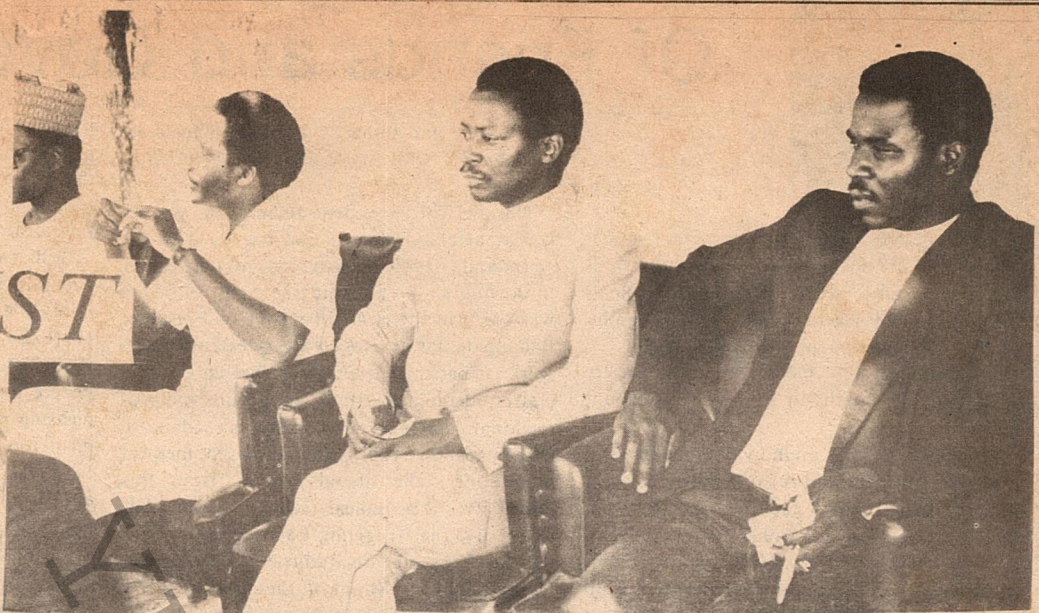
• Interview by M. Rablu



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Of Friends and Governance



EVERYONE needs a friend. As much because we are social beings as because life is such that we all sometimes do need someone to lean on. So does a government. Just like an individual a government too needs friends — from among groups and forces in the society — on whose empathy or support it can count when necessary.

How many friends an individual makes, and how really helpful and reliable they are, are a function of so many factors — some within the individuals easy control some not quite so. Among these factors: the individual's willingness and ability to cultivate the friendship ties and keep them strong, his character and attitudinal disposition, his philosophical and political orientation and outlook, and his readiness to give in return. It is not quite different with governments. A government makes, retains or loses friends based on its ideological and policy orientation, programmes and concrete action.

Of course, every government is class-based. Which means we can say, at a very general level, and from the onset, who its enemies and friends are. But most of the time things hardly work in such a cut and dry manner. For one, the links that connect a government with a social class are often so mediated and blurred by many factors as to lend credibility to the posturing by governments as neutral organs standing above all classes. For another, every new situation that a government faces may require a different approach, a different solution and, perhaps, even new or renewed friendship ties. For yet another, there is the personality factor.

To be sure, many inputs go to determine the character of governments. But, by and large, though more in style than substance, governments take on the character of those who head them. Nothing shows this better than a comparison between Buhari and Babangida.

Buhari is sullen, aloof, unaffable, tactless somewhat, and, we may add, profoundly cynical. He is something of a loner, stand-offish in attitude, perhaps even somewhat contemptuous of people, and certainly has a very limited circle of personal friends. This character was stamped on his government. No doubt, it took off with a tremendous amount of goodwill, which it soon squandered. And just as soon it became obvious to all that it has very few, if any, friends, outside a small but powerful group that forms the core of what is now referred to as the *Kaduna Mafia*, whose writ ran through all the administration's major policies and decisions. And the Buhari administration was hardly one to go out of its way to court or make friendly overtures to groups and interests. In fact, sometimes in its meaning but bumbling way, most of the time out of some desire to maintain and re-inforce its "tough-guy" image, the Buhari administration antagonized just about every group and interest in Nigeria. Hence, the widespread disaffection, the administration's alienation from

the people, and Buhari's inability to correctly read the mood of the country — which led to his ouster.

Not so with President Babangida, who is warm, affable, urbane, and suave. With his warm and friendly disposition, and long career in the military — a considerable part of which was spent in the circle of power — President Babangida has developed a very extensive network of personal friendships that cuts across classes, ideological camps, age groups and professional categories. The senior law advocate in Enugu, the young Ibadan-based medical practitioner, the liberal scholar from this university, the radical scholar from that university, the struggling Lagos businessman, the lowly reporter on Radio Nigeria Kaduna, the Mallam from Minna — these are but a few examples of the type of friends he has.

And so his administration — less because having sacked Buhari he (Babangida) must offer the country something different, if even in style, than because of his own personality traits — took off as a friend to everyone and every interest. Students, the press, the workers, the intellectuals, the business class, the political class, you name it. Of course, there were the usual offers of carrots. To the students, lifting of the ban on NANS; to the press, abrogation of Decree 4; to the Second Republic politicians, early release from their indefinite detention; to the doctors, lifting of the ban on NMA; and to the country as a whole, a promise of commitment to human rights and return to civil rule in 1990. But on the whole, what we have is a leader with so many friends — who expect to be pleased — and a government with as many friends that also need to be pleased.

Confidence

No doubt, the President's network of friends, has been of tremendous help. His personal friendship ties must have helped him at least at the initial stages to keep a tab on the nation's mood and pulse. At the level of government, it might have re-inforced his administration's confidence in doing some of the things it has done. And although we still don't know the facts fully, one suspects that it helped a great deal in the detection of the Vatsa coup plot — and may yet help the administration to weather a few more storms.

But this also has its drawbacks. And there are questions that it forced many to ask from the very beginning. For how long can the Babangida administration keep its friends, with their contradicting and competing interests? Can a leader attend to so many friends? If yes, will not state interest be compromised? Can a government satisfy so many interests and yet have a character?

It is now almost one full year since he came on the scene. But President Babangida still remains something of an enigma to us. He has so far shown himself good in playing the balancing act, and has demonstrated some ability to get out of tight corners unscathed. With his broad and captivating smile, likeable personality and easy manner, he may upset quite a

few of our assumptions about power and governance. And, perhaps, even prove to us that some of the things we now see as impossible are not quite so. After all, in the domain of politics there are many possibilities.

Still, there is the saying that everybody's friend is really nobody's friend. And there certainly is a lot of wisdom packed in the saying. Who can't remember an instance in the past when he or she had tried to please too many people at the same time and had ended up pleasing no one at all? Perhaps this government too, when it comes to take stock of its first year in office, may like to ask itself, and answer the question: Who, among Nigeria's major groups and forces have been pleased or displeased, or even antagonized by its (government) policies and actions? It may, in particular, like to look back at the major events and issues in the first year — like its 1986 budget, the vexed question of the old politicians, the OIC palaver and the more recent ones such as the May 23 tragedy at ABU Zaria, and the ban on old politicians — in order to re-assess its decisions and handling of these events to see how these have affected its ties with groups and forces in society.

The government may, after it all, draw some useful lessons from the exercise — one of which may well be that the saying that the more the merrier does not apply to friendship. Which is to say that a few good friends are better than many. For a government, this should mean that it is wiser and better to identify within the society, and court the friendship of, just those groups and forces whose backing can form a solid bedrock of support, and which can be relied upon when the need arises, when push-comes-to-shove.

And whose support other than that of the progressive forces — the working class, the students, the intellectuals, the many patriotic citizens — should the Babangida administration seek in today's Nigeria? And which groups and forces other than these should the Babangida administration try to involve in the running of Nigeria's affairs?

It is these groups and forces whose support has been crucial in the difficult days. One recalls in particular, the solidarity rallies by workers during the Vatsa coup plot, and the enthusiastic support of the students and the cautious approval of the intellectuals, which had been such a big booster to the administration's image and credibility. Even more importantly, it is these groups and forces, more than any other, whose interest and aspirations are clearly in tune with those of the vast majority of Nigerians.

Will the government try to close the distance that has developed with recent events in the country between it and these groups and make amends? This won't be easy, especially as it may involve some noticeable shift in policy and orientation. But it is something well worth trying. Since the administration cannot go on being everybody's friend, it should make friends with those groups and forces in the society on whose side history is. In any case, as they say, show me your friends and I will tell you who you are.

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