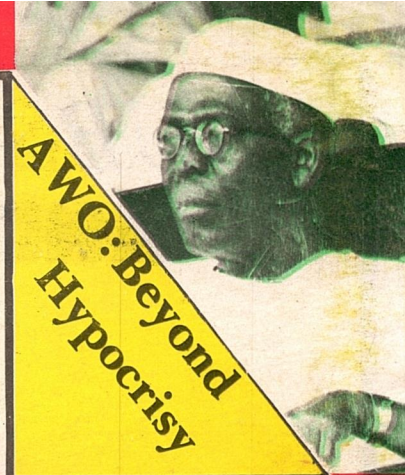


# The Analyst

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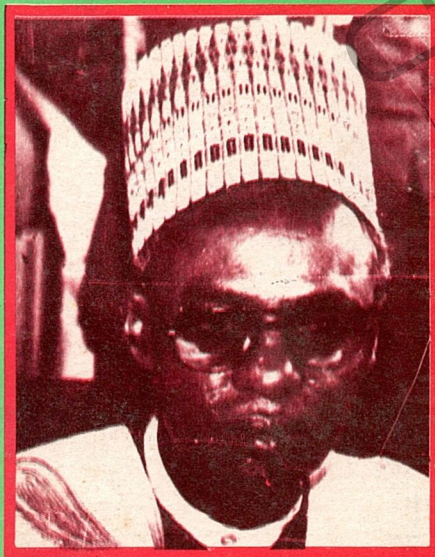
Vol. 2, No. 3,

1987



AWO: Beyond  
Hypocrisy

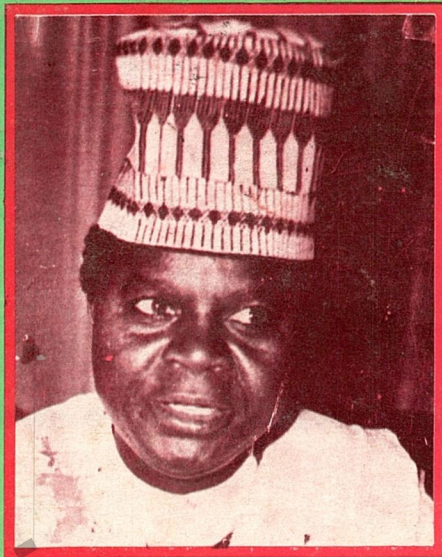
## Trial of ex-Politicians:



### Shagari

'Spent'  
N653.7m from  
Security Vote

**FREED**



### Lar

'Spent'  
N32.7m from  
Security Vote

**JAILED**

SHAGARI

LAR

# NIGERIA'S SACRED COWS



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## COMMENT

# TRIALS: LET JUSTICE BE DONE

By December 31, 1983, when the military ousted Shagari and his crowd and put paid to the life of the Second Republic, Nigeria was in the worst possible shape. Politically, the atmosphere was charged, tension was high, and the thick clouds of violence had already gathered. Socially, even the bourgeois pretence to some decency in the conduct of public life had been abandoned, and moral decadence had become second nature to those who operated the system. The situation was far worse economically. Agricultural production had declined markedly, and the food import bill had doubled; well over 50% of the factories in the country had been closed; energy production had declined to only 25% of the nation's requirements; the country's telecommunication system had literally broken down; the country's external reserves, estimated at N5.0 billion in October 1979 had been completely depleted, in spite of earnings from oil amounting to N40.0 billion during the four year period; and, what was worse, the country had become debt-ridden, with huge, though it is now clear, largely fictitious debts. In short, the economy was on the verge of collapse.

It was ostensibly to deal with such a situation that the Military, under the leadership of Major-General Buhari (Rtd.), came in on December 31, 1983, to the warmest welcome and the most generous show of goodwill Nigerians ever accorded any new leadership. Given the enormity of the problems at the time, it might be said that Nigerians, in their euphoria, expected too much, too soon, from the new leaders. But there is hardly anyone who can deny that the people's kind gestures provided Buhari and his team with the best opportunity yet in our history to accomplish some urgent tasks: turn the economy around; teach some enduring lessons; lay a solid foundation for social justice (even if of the bourgeois variety); and above all, set high standards of public probity so dearly lacking in the conduct of public office in Nigeria.

But alas, it was an opportunity misused, and one still being misused today. Major-General Buhari, in particular, was quick to squander his regime's huge store of public goodwill. Worse, he set the trial of public officers off on a wrong course. He clamped many people into long detention without trial for much of his twenty months tenure. But there were many public officers who should have been detained, investigated and tried who were left severely alone. And the whole process of investigations and trials of those detained was

itself skewed in favour of some sacred cows who are, in fact, the real wreckers of our economy. For instance, while only one of Shagari's over 40 ministers, and only one of his 10 advisers, were tried and jailed, 17 state governors and countless state commissioners are now serving long sentences. The Babangida administration has removed the ugly aspect of long detention without trial. But beyond that, it has remained on the course set by Buhari's regime — a course defined by what can only be called selective justice.

We in *The Analyst* believe, of course, that those who have been jailed so far deserve their desserts. But we are disturbed that the kind of enduring lessons and new standards of public probity that it was hoped would emerge from the exercise, have not emerged. What has emerged instead is the growing evidence of selective — even vindictive — punishment, and a long list of sacred cows.

Anyone with even the slightest familiarity with the history of the Second Republic must wonder, and worry, that today the Shagaris, the Ekwuemes, the Ciromas, the Bello Maitamas, the Dosunmus, and a host of others who presided over the wrecking of our economy at the centre are walking our streets as free men, while former state governors and even lesser officials like state commissioners and NYSC officials are behind bars serving long sentences. It is either that there is something terribly wrong with the whole concept and conduct of the investigations and trials, or that those in power want things so. Either way, the unhealthy impression has been created that there are untouchable Nigerians, and that the more you loot, the less you suffer.

But there's hope yet. The Babangida administration can still change its whole attitude and approach to this issue. And in this regard, we recommend to the President and his men the shining example of late Gen. Murtala, who in a period of just six months completed investigations of public officers in the Gowon regime and meted out punishment to deserving ones, without fear or favour. It bears repetition that it is impossible to build the stable and just political order we have been dreaming of without first establishing the principle and culture of public accountability and probity. And it is impossible for such a culture to emerge and flourish in a situation where justice becomes selective and some people are made to feel that they are untouchable and above the laws of the land.



# The Analyst

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## In this issue

### NIGERIA'S SACRED COWS .....7

From day one under the Buhari regime, the detention, investigations, and trials of Second Republic public officers got off to a wrong start. Firstly, the detention net was not cast wide enough to get every deserving public officer in. Then came the investigations and the trials, and again some people were inexplicably, but unfairly, saved the ordeals. These trends have not changed. And today, even as some are facing jail threats, others who — by whatever standards they are judged — should be tried, and jailed, are being let off the hook, regarded as sacred cows, and treated as if they are innocent. But how really innocent are these sacred cows? Can their supposed innocence really stand up to serious investigations?



### AWO: BEYOND HYPOCRISY ..... 31



As Awo was in life, so he is even in death: controversial. Here, seen as a tribal leader; there, eulogized as a national hero, and since his death on May 9th, 1987, with everyone, everywhere, paying him tribute it seems the Awo controversy will not stop.

But beyond the hypocrisies, controversies and partisanship, what can be said of Awo the man, the politician and the leader? Was he really a tribal leader, or something more? What were the major influences, circumstances and social forces that shaped his thinking and his political role? Mahmud Modibbo Tukur gives a unique assessment of Awo.

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## DFRRI Reacts

The attention of the Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructures has been drawn to the contents of the latest issue of *The Analyst* (Vol.2, No.2, 1987). In that issue of your respected journal, you gave the unfortunate and highly misleading impression that the Directorate was doing nothing but administering what you called a "One-billion-naria Bonanza for 'Big Fish'" We thought that you had such a profound respect for publishing nothing but the truth that you should have thoroughly cross-checked your facts before going to press. As it is, you have blatantly misinformed the Nigerian public. It is on record that DFRRI was promised a Budget of N 433 m. in the 1986 Budget. Of that projected amount, only N300, 591, 533 was released to the Directorate by the Ministry of Finance. Out of this amount, the sum of N295, 591, 533 was to be spent on capital projects whilst N5 million was to be spent on Recurrent expenses. Appendices 1 to 5 provide the full details of capital expenditure on roads, water, improved seeds, etc. during Phase I of our rural development projects.

During Phase I of the Rural Feeder Roads Programme about 30,000 kms. of rural roads were constructed. Each State was given a minimum target to achieve during Phase I, and funds were released according to actual progress made with road construction. Most States have completed Phase I. Indeed final inspection tours are currently in progress by the Directorate's Monitoring and Evaluation Department. Field Reports so far have confirmed very good achievements by most States especially Bauchi, Plateau, Cross River, Anambra, Oyo, Bendel, Borno, Imo, Kwara and Sokoto. Inspection tours of the remaining states are in progress.

Phase I of the Rural Water and Sanitation programme is designed to provide potable water to 250 communities in each State and F.C.T., Abuja, using a variety of water supply systems as found suitable for each State. Again, the States are making good progress with water programme. Phase I is expected to end by 30th June, 1987.

With regards to Improved Seeds Production Programme, about 23, 563 tonnes of certified seeds will be produced by the States this year. The programme is designed to reinforce the national effort in the production of improved seeds of rice, wheat, maize, millet, sorghum, cowpea, soya beans, cassava, yam and potatoes. To facilitate the production of certified seeds, each State has already received a substantial supply of foundation seeds produced last year for the Directorate by Research Institutes and the National Seed Service.

A full progress report of Phase I of the Directorate's programmes is being prepared, and a copy shall be sent to you. The Progress Report is based on actual achievements on the ground as certified by our Monitoring and Evaluation Teams.

On the issue of social mobilisation, you seem to have completely misread our documents. We have clearly stated in all our documents on social mobilisation that the new approach to rural development centres on the creation of self-sustaining local communities which, by virtue of their effective organisation and the strength of their own internal momentum, are capable of solving their production and general development problems. We believe in self-managing rural communities for effective rural development. We honestly do not know where you got the information that we intend to impose organisational structures on the peasants through traditional rulers. As a matter of fact, every community is

expected to form a Community Development Association with democratically elected leaders by the people themselves. This appeal was contained in the Chairman's broadcast on Rural Development Day (7th February, 1987). As a follow-up to this, a National Workshop on Community Organisation for Rural Development has been scheduled to hold at Bauchi from 14th-17th June, 1987. The objective of the Workshop is to assist States on ways and means of promoting the formation of grassroots organisations by the rural population.

In addition, the Directorate has designed a comprehensive nation-wide programme for adult and non-formal education. The Directorate attaches great importance to this programme because of our deep conviction that genuine development derives from the creative capacity of a people to effectively transform the natural resources of their environment into goods and services through the imaginative application of their creative talents and labour power. It is, therefore, clear to us that any nation that fails to develop the skills and productive talents of her people, and to effectively mobilize and utilize such skills for national development, will be unable to achieve real development. Mobilising popular participation through democratic and self-managing people's organisations is therefore central to the Directorate's new thrust on rural development.

In the light of the above, we completely and totally reject the misleading comments and observations in the said issue of *The Analyst*. Given the philosophy and programmes of the Directorate, we believe that genuine friends of the masses should offer us constructive and realistic suggestions, instead of deliberate publication of falsehood to score cheap political and ideological points.

Our commitment to rural development, is total and genuine. As such no amount of discouraging remarks from professional critics and cynics will deter us. To transform rural Nigeria is a TASK that must be done. If you really love the peasants join forces with the Directorate in the struggle for a fundamental transformation of our rural economies.

Dr. J. J. Gana,  
CD (SM),

For the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures,  
Office of the President, Dodan Barracks, Lagos.

### Editor's Note:

It is hoped that after reading Dr. Gana's letter, which has been published here in full, readers will go back and read our cover and other stories on DFRRI and its rural programme in our last issue, in order, at least, to see how this letter has evaded crucial issues raised in our write-ups. Issues we raised such as the privatisation of agriculture, the role of traditional institutions, the central role of contractors in DFRRI's programme, were either ignored completely in the letter, or addressed in such a way as to evade our arguments. And what about the 1987 budget, which the letter was totally silent on?

We stand by all we said, in any case. And we invite readers, especially from those states mentioned by Dr. Gana as success stories, to write us and give us their own first-hand assessment of DFRRI's rural programmes. For, in the long run, whatever *The Analyst* says, and whatever the Directorate contends, it is the people in the rural areas of Nigeria who are the ultimate judges of the success or failure of the programme.

Editor



## Medium Concert and Medium Mind

The recent conference convened by the Minister of External Affairs, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi to initiate moves to establish a so-called "Concert of Medium Powers" must have been the fulfillment of a long held pet dream of the minister. Since his tenure as Director-General of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, he has repeatedly proposed the need for such a body of states. These states are supposed to stand between the super-powers and supposedly powerless states.

Several commentators have examined various aspects of this nebulous initiative including its conception, meaning and purpose. What concerns me here is the epistemological origin or mind-set from which such a concept is derived. I suggest that it stems from the classical neo-colonial mind. This mind-set is found among a significant proportion of politicians, bureaucrats, military officers, business people and intellectuals in contemporary neo-colonial Africa.

The neo-colonial mind-set has a number of features. It is a mind which is formed by the ideological propaganda, theoretical models and political prescriptions of the Western imperialist powers — former colonial subjugators of Africa and its contemporary tormentors and exploiters. The imperialist West, partly because of its economic ascendancy and the power of its media, act as director societies constantly seeking to impose their views, ideas, and perspectives on politics and society on the object societies: neo-colonial countries and their comprador ruling classes.

Through the education of the intelligentsia of neo-colonial countries, a significant number of this social strata — consciously and unconsciously — internalise a subservient mind-set or mentality which makes it impossible for them to conceive a high level of political, economic, cultural and technological achievement for their societies. Consequently they become advocates of such imperialist pseudo-concepts as "simple technology", "appropriate technology", "small is beautiful", etc. In short as intellectual and political leaders of their societies, they envisage permanent dependence and subservience.

Professor Akinyemi's pet project of "Concert of Medium Powers" should be seen as stemming from such a medium mind, dedicated to directing his society's

thoughts and aspirations to middling expectations. While he represents a certain section of Nigeria's neo-colonial liberal intelligentsia, it should be made clear to him that the large majority of Nigerians have no such middling ambitions. Our objective is to create a just, powerful and effective African state that would lead Africa and Black people out of our present state of dependency, desperation and subservience into a situation of self-reliance and freedom from our historical tormentors and contemporary exploiters — the imperialist West. Nigerians should therefore decisively reject the middling ambitions and mediocre prescriptions of a medium mind. Our people deserve and aspire for nothing but the best.

*Ehiedu E. G. Iweriebor,  
New York, U.S.A.*

## How we buy a copy

Be informed that many of us who are financially poor in the College of Education, Kafanchan, have to contribute to buy a copy of *The Analyst* because of its invaluable contents.

Don't relent in your efforts in educating the masses about their rights.

*Balarabe Dari Kaya,  
Kafanchan*

## Can't get it here

I am interested in reading your magazine every month. The problem however is I cannot get it to buy here. How and where can I get it? I am prepared to pay any amount for it.

*Ali Yahaya,  
Ibi, Gongola State*

## This is Nigeria

Nigeria is a country where there is a radical class division comparable to that of the ancient Roman Empire where the labour of the majority is used to produce goods and services for the minority elites. I wish to urge the majority, whom *The Analyst* is meant to cater for, to take note from the valuable presentations of the magazine.

*Abba Mala,  
Maiduguri, Borno State*

## I pledge .....

Your effort to rid this country of corruption and other social vices is highly commendable.

As we all look forward to the day when all forms of injustice and oppression of the masses will be wiped out; when there will be equal rights and opportunities for all the citizens of this country; and when power will be handed over to the people of this country, I pledge to do my best to see that the goal is achieved.

*Chiedozie Joseph Omulu,  
Enugu, Anambra State*

## Barde not the only one

Your analysis (Vol.2, No.2) on ex-Governor Abubakar Barde's jail term was a masterpiece of journalism.

I can say without reservation that I join you in congratulating the Special Military Tribunal for a work well done in sentencing the ex-Governor to 20 years. Any keen Gongola State observer will attest to the fact that since becoming the governor of the state in 1979, Barde did nothing for people's well being. He instead drained the coffers of the state.

I should like to observe also that as much as Barde deserved his punishment he was not alone in wrecking the economy of Gongola State. His immediate successor — Alhaji Bamanga Tukur — in his brief three months reign also did havoc to the economy of the young state. He should be brought to book immediately.

I am also calling on the Babangida administration to equally bring to book ex-President Shehu Shagari, Alex Ekwueme, Ministers, Permanent Secretaries, Chief Executives, etc. of the Second Republic, for they grossly ruined the enormous economic resources of this country which has led to our present predicament.

*James Kwafara,  
Numan, Gongola State*

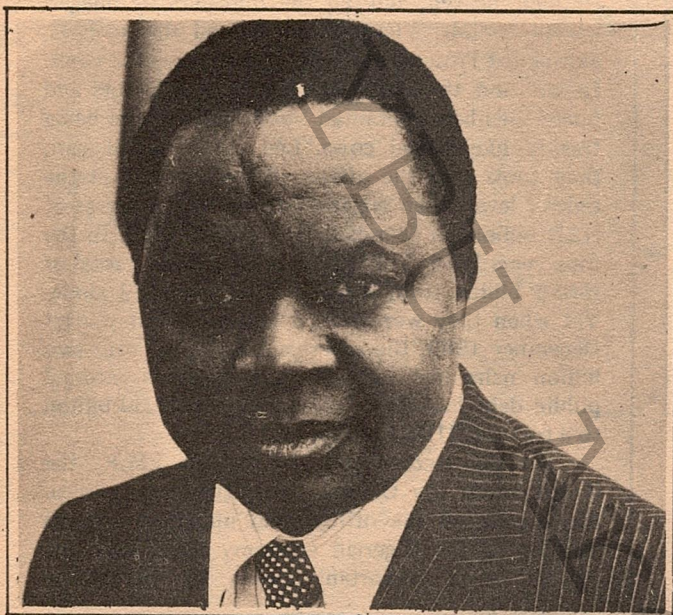
## Last, but first

*The Analyst* is last to come but first to serve. I have crowned it "The Number One" magazine in Nigeria. We have only two media in Nigeria: *The Analyst* and others. It is the only magazine that can call a spade a spade.

*Maude Sani Ibrahim,  
Kaduna*



# NIGERIA'S GROWING LIST OF SACRED COWS



*Lar . . . behind bars at Kirikiri.*



*Barde . . . just bagged a 20-year jail term.*

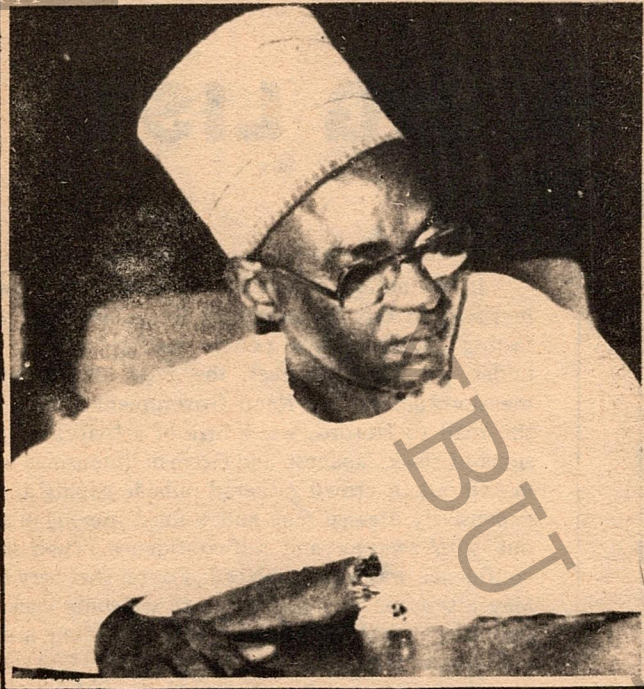
In the middle of one of the hottest afternoons in Kano, in the last month of Ramadan, when the fasting usually keeps people resting indoors, or under the shade of trees, the gates of a palatial mansion, behind the Kano Government House, on the road to Hotoro, was a hive of activity. Processions of sleek Japanese and German limousines went in and out. A crowd gathered outside gaping at the expensively dressed men and women moving in and out with swagger and self-confidence. Their self-confidence was not misplaced. For on that very hot May afternoon they had come to welcome back to freedom, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf, a young multimillionaire, who in the four years 1979–1983 made a huge fortune as Deputy Treasurer and National Treasurer of the National Party of Nigeria, and as the Minister of Internal Affairs and of Commerce, and is now one of Nigeria's sacred cows. Bello Maitama had just been released from detention by the Federal Military Government and is the latest of Shagari's ministers who had fled the country after the December 1983 military coup, to return, to be briefly detained, and to be released.

## STATE GOVERNORS

What makes Alhaji Bello Maitama's release so shocking to many Nigerians was that about a week earlier another public officer of the Second Republic, Alhaji Abubakar Barde, the former governor of Gongola State, had just been sentenced, on Tuesday 5th May 1987, by a special military tribunal in Kaduna, to twenty years in jail for corrupt enrichment.

Barde was the 17th state governor of the period October 1979–September 1983 to be jailed by a military tribunal for corruption and economic crimes, out of the twenty-two persons who had served in that office in this period. Furthermore, within about two weeks of the release of Bello Maitama from detention another former state governor, Alhaji Mohammed Goni of Borno State, was hauled before a special military tribunal in Kaduna for corrupt enrichment, and is on his way to becoming the 18th state governor to be jailed by the military. Another civilian state governor, Sam Mbakwe of Imo, is right now on trial too, and has been put on trial so often that his face has become





*Shagari . . . presided over the wrecking of the economy.*

identified with the back of police black marias by Nigerian television viewers.

#### SHAGARI AND HIS MINISTERS

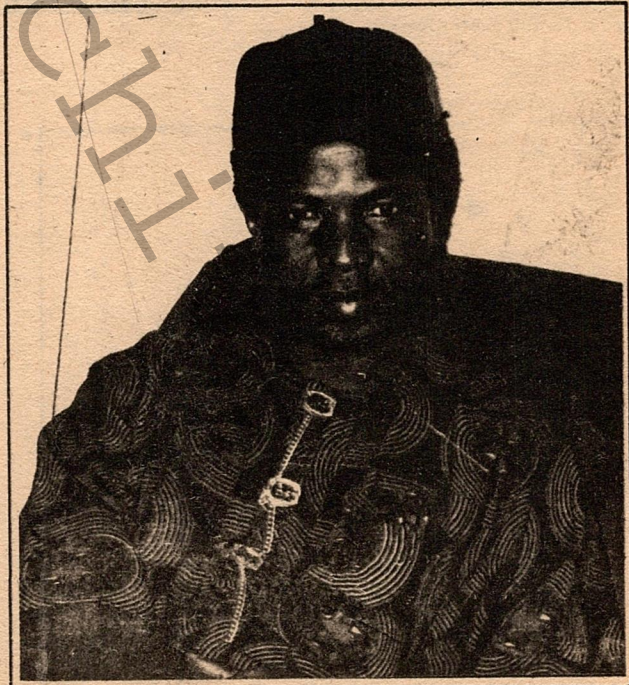
The release of Bello Maitama and the jailing of Barde brought into sharp focus the fact that out of Shagari's thirty-eight ministers in his first term as president, only *one* has been tried and jailed, in contrast with state governors of that first term and NYSC officials, making it appear as if it was state governors and NYSC officials who looted and wrecked the economy much more than anybody else, including Shagari and his ministers and advisers.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari himself went through security votes totalling up to N653.782 million in the years 1979-83, but has never been seriously investigated or tried. Yet questions had been raised over the way this federal security vote was utilised, both in the National Assembly and in the national press in 1982 and 1983. In spite of the massive size of Shagari's security vote he has remained untouched, and it is others like Mr. Solomon Lar, former governor of Plateau State, who has been investigated, tried and jailed over his use of the state's security vote of N32.701 million during his years in office. Shagari is not made to account for over N600 million of security vote! Yet Lar is made to account for, and jailed, over 1/20th of that amount!

former governor of Plateau State, who has been investigated, tried and jailed over his use of the state's security vote of N32.701 million during his years in office. Shagari is not made to account for over N600 million of security vote! Yet Lar is made to account for, and is jailed, over 1/20th of that amount!

But Shagari and Bello Maitama are not the only sacred cows. Not only the Vice-President Alex Ekwueme, whose role in the Abuja plunder stank to high heaven, but all the ministers of Shagari except for Mr. Victor Masi, and all the advisers, except for Professor Odenigwe, are all sacred cows. In addition the chairmen, managing directors and board members appointed by Shagari are also being treated like sacred cows. Led by Shehu Shagari, they took over the affairs of this country at the federal level when Nigeria had external reserves of N2.3 billion on Monday, 1st October 1979. In the four years 1979-1983 the country earned a total of N40.5 billion from the export of crude oil alone. Yet when they were kicked out on Saturday, 31st December 1983, the external reserves of over two billion naira had vanished, and Nigeria's external public debt had risen from just over N1.00 billion to a total of N10.21 billion.

All the records provided by the I.M.F., the World Bank, the Central Bank, the state governments, and all the official and unofficial sources monitoring the Nigerian economy show that one of the most important means by which the



*Ekwueme . . . had a hand in so many deals.*



economy was wrecked was through payments and overpayments for imports, a lot of which are fictional; but the payments had good official cover of import licensing, mostly issued by Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf the Minister of Commerce. Yet, Bello Maitama has never been seriously investigated or tried in spite of the fact that he became a multi-millionaire in a few years as a minister, having just suffered the bankruptcy of his company Banco Ltd. shortly before his appointment. It seems that for a sacred cow like Bello Maitama the issue of corrupt enrichment does not arise.

#### AJIYA INVESTMENTS

But his case is not the only one of glaring double, triple, and multiple standards that the military government has used in its investigation and trial of the politicians and other public officers since 1984.

While many state governors including Chief Bisi Onabanjo of Ogun State, have been seriously investigated, tried and jailed for corruptly enriching a political party; and Alhaji Lateef Jakande, former governor of Lagos state, may be hauled soon before a military tribunal for the same charge; a minister of Shagari's first term, Alhaji Ibrahim Hassan, Minister of Mines and Power, who was said by the Nigeria Police to have corruptly enriched the N.P.N. through a front company *Ajiya Investment Ltd.*, to the tune of a N3.65 million kickback from the Brown Boveri Construction Company has not been tried or jailed.

#### FMG'S COMMITMENT

All these examples of double, triple, and multiple standards are in conflict with the solemn commitment of the Federal Military Government under both Buhari and Babangida. In the last major statement on the matter, on Sunday, 29th June 1986, President Ibrahim Babangida explicitly reaffirmed his solemn commitment in a nation-wide broadcast. He said that:

"Let me also emphasise the commitment of this administration to deal decisively with erring members of the political class and to demonstrate always the importance of probity and accountability in public office."

But since the commitment, the Federal Military Government has contrived to conduct the trials of the corrupt politicians as if the importance of probity and accountability does not reach to the federal level, where the decisive control of the economy rested, and from where it was mainly looted, plundered and wrecked. The extent of this even from a cursory glance has been pointed out in the last issue of *The Analyst* (Vol.2, No. 2, pp. 32-33). The scale of the siphoning of the economy has

*Onabanjo  
... completed his term.*



*Jakande  
... under threat of trial.*



*Mbakwe ... Black Maria is his second home.*



COVER STORY



Gbani . . . on his way to jail

been confirmed by the Secretary to the Federal Military Government, Chief Olu Falae, in his last televised interview on the economy, when he said that about N15 billion was drained away through fictitious imports and other such methods. This was not done by state governors and NYSC officials, criminally corrupt as most of them were.

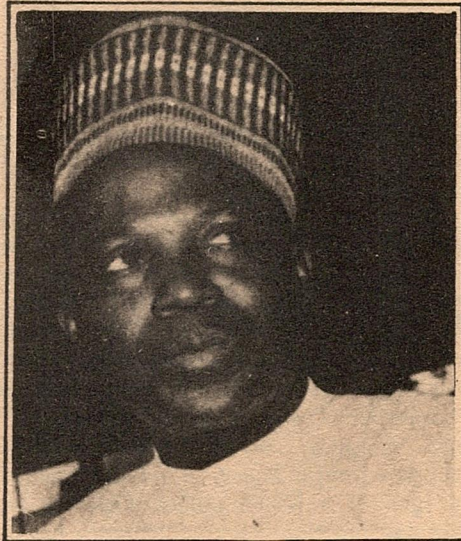
THE AJAOKUTA KICKBACKS

The Federal Military Government is aware of the serious concern of many Nigerians over the apparent attempt to cover-up the massive commissions and kickbacks used to corruptly enrich top public officers of the Shagari regime, the N.P.N. and its top notchers from the N795.0 million contracts for the Ajaokuta Steel Project, awarded to Fogerolle, Dumez, and Julius Berger in 1980. In the Fogerolle contract of N329.0 million, an N.P.N. top notcher Chief Olu Sasanya alone received a kickback of N24.6 million half of which was paid to him in foreign exchange. This case of the corrupt practices over the Ajaokuta contracts involving Shagari, Bello Maitama, Adamu Ciroma, Sola Saraki and Olu Sasanya seemed to have been on its way to a special military tribunal by August 1986, but it seems to have been swallowed up by the sacred cow syndrome, and to have gradually disappeared. While others continue to be jailed for corrupt enrichment involving less than 1/10th of that amount, and of far less significance to the wrecking of the economy.

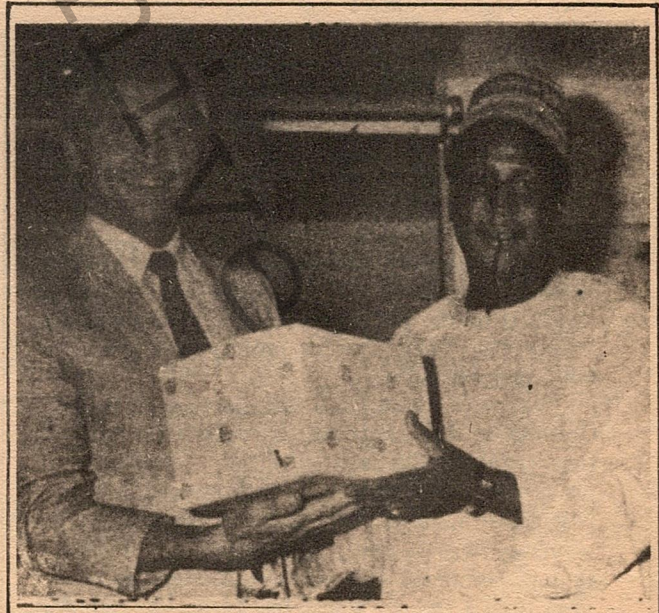
THE INFLATED NPA CONTRACTS

There is also a lot of concern over the inflation of the Nigerian Ports Authority contracts. The

Obasanjo administration, before it left office, awarded three contracts for work at Sapele, Onne and Lagos port facilities for a total sum of N179.0 million. The Shagari administration, with Alhaji Umaru Dikko as Minister of Transport and Alhaji Bamanga Tukur as the General Manager of the Nigerian Ports Authority, inflated these three contracts to a total of N458.0 million "without any significant change in specifications", according to one authoritative source. Most of the difference of N279.0 million is believed to have been used for the corrupt enrichment of the top public officers

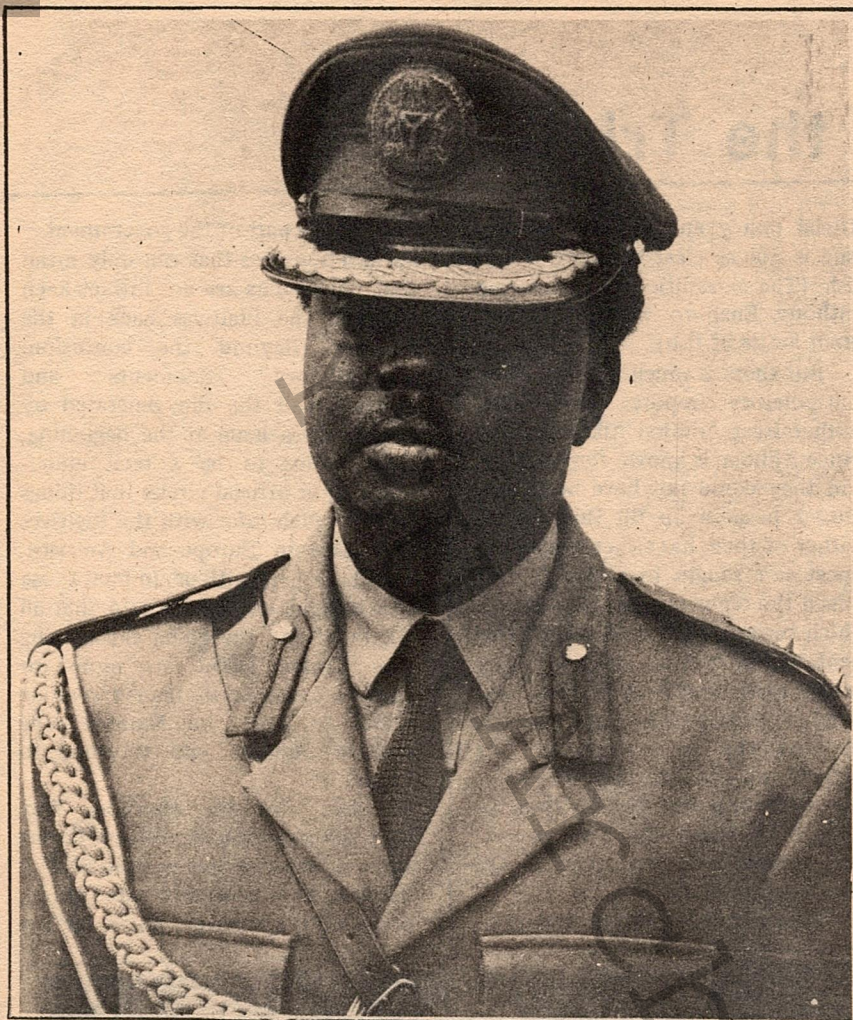


Dikko . . . does the government really want him back?



Bamanga . . . what's in the box?





*Murtala . . . prompt action, without fear or favour.*



*Buhari . . . set the trials on a wrong course.*



*Babangida . . . adding to the list of Sacred Cows.*

involved and their political party. Yet no one has been seriously investigated or brought to trial for this.

#### MURTALA'S EXAMPLE

We can go on with such examples (see UPDATE). This glaring pattern of selective punishment can no longer be hidden or ignored. Many Nigerians look back with nostalgia to the example set by the Murtala regime. Within six months of taking office, investigations of the federal commissioners and military governors were completed and decisions taken to punish or to clear almost all of them. Some of them had their property confiscated and were dismissed with ignominy, while others including Shehu Shagari were cleared.

It is now three years and six months since the military took over with a commitment to deal with corruption and other economic crimes. Under both the Buhari and Babangida regimes the result of all the special panels, special tribunals, besides enrich-

ing some security agents and prison warders, has been to produce a very unhealthy division in the public officers of the Second Republic between the sacred cows, who remain uninvestigated, untried, unjailed, and the others who are hauled in and out of jail. Nigerians from all parts of the country and all walks of life find this very disturbing. They are watching and some of them are hoping that soon the Federal Military Government will turn over a new leaf, and will demonstrate in practice its commitment to the equality of all before the law and to probity and public accountability for all, and not just for the state governors and NYSC officials who, corrupt as most of them proved to be, did not control the major means by which the Nigerian economy was plundered, looted and wrecked in just four years.

*By A. Ahmed and Yusufu Bala Usman*



# Fugitives and the Trials

Nigeria's fugitives abroad are free to return home — not so as to face the music, but in order that they may lend a helping hand in the current efforts to “wake up the economy”. And this is official. The invitation to the fugitives was, according to recent media reports, extended by none other than the country's number two man, Rear Admiral Aikhomu, during a chat with media men in Anambra State late last month.

Nigeria is now intensifying, and making fresh efforts — including filing of four applications for extradition — to get the fugitives living abroad back home to face charges. And this is also official. It was Nigeria's Justice Minister and Attorney General, Prince Bola Ajibola himself who said this at a recent press conference, on Friday, June 5th, 1987, in Lagos. This came barely one week after the Chief of General Staff's invitation to the fugitives went out.

Even for a public that has given up trying to predict, or even just understand, what the country's leaders are up to, these contradictory reports must be confusing — and exasperating. But confusion has always been the main feature of the official policy on, and handling of, the fugitives issue. There is a sense in which the confusion in understandable, perhaps even excusable. It was only with the coup of December 31, 1983 that, for the first time in our history, a Nigerian government became confronted with the issue of this type of fugitives — powerful figures of the ancien regime who ran abroad, each with millions in the bank, access to international media, and one ambition: to bring the new government down and out. Without precedents to serve as a guide, it was little wonder that

official policy and thinking on the issue is not as clear as many would wish. (The extradition case involving Anthony. Enahoro was a very different kettle of fish).

But there is much more to these contradictory reports than this. Neither Rear Admiral Aikhomu, nor Prince Ajibola, is known for frivolity. And they could not have been misquoted because up till this minute neither of them has either denied the report nor sought to clarify it — if indeed the reporters got them wrong. Which means either that the government has in fact no definite policy on the issue, and each Minister was merely expressing a personal opinion. Or that the government in fact pursues two contradictory policies — one that beckons the fugitives to come back home and help us out, and another that says “we're still after your neck”.

Either way, it shows underi-

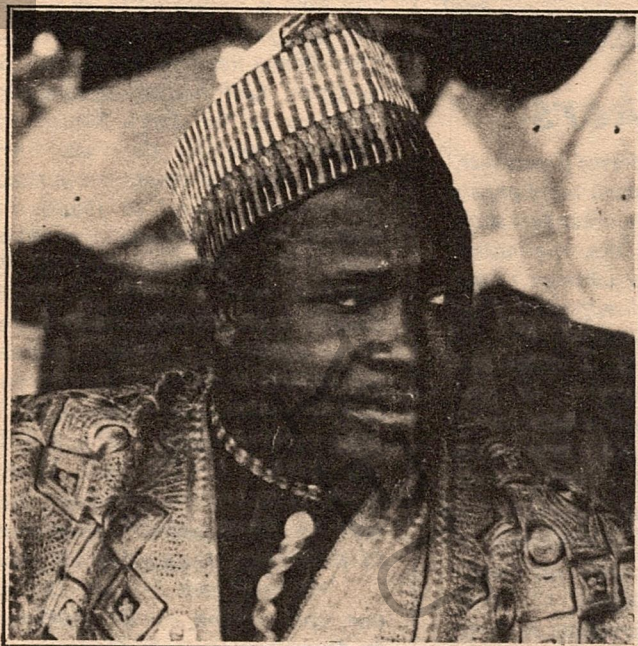
ness on the part of the government — an unseriousness that can only mean that our leaders are not in fact keen to have the fugitives back in the country. Beyond the confusion, contradictory statements and policies, and the din generated by the fugitives issue at the beginning, there seems to be a tacit understanding in official circles that things will be much safer with the fugitives out there in Europe and America, than back here with us. In fact, those who should know have said that all the noise and the going and coming over Umaru Dikko are more for public consumption than a genuine effort to have the Number One fugitive bundled and returned to Lagos.

And now the question: Why isn't the government keen on having some of the fugitives back here? Is it because, as is being rumoured about, some of the fugitives know far too



*Akinloye . . . still enjoying his champagne in London.*





*Makele . . . application for extradition filed.*



*Wayas . . . now back home, but will he be tried?*

much and a trial will afford them an opportunity to "reveal the unknown"? Or is it because of the fear of a possible public outrage should the fugitives be brought back, kept in detention for only a few weeks, and then escorted home without proper investigation and trial — like in the case of former Commerce Minister, Bello Maitama?

Which brings us to the larger issue of the investigation and trial of former public officers, of which the fugitives issue is only an aspect, and which the government has been handling with equal unseriousness. The fugitives problem in fact becomes an issue only when viewed in the context of the investigations and the trials and the principle of accountability and probity which the exercise aims to establish. No one wants the fugitives back because of their good looks, or gorgeous attire and expensive tastes, or for any reason other than that they should give account of their conduct in office to the Nigerian people. Aikhomu's invitation to them to return to help "wake up the economy" creates the impression that the fugitives have a lot to offer, and that Nigerians miss their

wisdom. We don't, thank heavens, (although we do miss the millions that they have looted abroad.) But we want them and all the other public officers who are here with us properly investigated and tried. For only from such an exercise will new and higher standards of public probity and a better understanding of our past emerge. And only when we understand our past and establish and entrench high standards of public accountability can we move forward to build a stable and just political order.

#### SOUND AND FURY

But from the way our leaders have been handling the exercise, it is most unlikely that any such understanding or new standards will emerge and become a guide in the conduct of public affairs. Neither the Buhari nor the Babangida administration gave thought to, or investigated and tried, political offences — as if the Second Republic was short of glaring cases of outright subversion of the people's wishes and verdicts at elections. And their handling of the investigation and trial of economic crimes simply

leaves much to be desired. The Buhari regime sought to reduce the whole exercise to long detention without trial, and trying and slapping long sentences on only the minor officials — and ended up making sacred cows of some people who, judged by whatever standards, should have been tried and punished for obvious misdeeds. The Babangida administration, while rightly putting an end to detention without trial, has unfortunately tripped to the other extreme of sending just about everybody home and trying to make saints of known crooks — and, of course, adding to the list of sacred cows.

The result of all this: no enduring lessons have been taught and learned; no new standards of probity have been established; and the opportunity to make the conduct of public office in Nigeria a more decent affair has been squandered. But we have our sacred cows here, and the fugitives, when and if they return here — as they now appear to be doing, one by one — will, it now seems obvious, join the club. And all the noise about fugitives will have become a mere sound and fury, signifying nothing.

*By Rufa'i Ibrahim*



# EARSHOT

## Awo and the Benue Workers

Ghosts. Awo. Computers. What's the connection between these three? None whatsoever, may be your immediate reply. And you can hardly be blamed for replying thus. Ghosts, you may insist, don't exist, except in our imagination — and, of course, in the payrolls of government departments. Awo, you may say, is gone — but you won't be quite right there. For Awo, we're told, is a deity, and his was not death as such, but a transition from this earthly life of many worries, toil, successes and failures, unfulfilled ambitions, SFEM and all, to "Life after Life", where, he told us last March on his last birthday, he would still serve. In any case, as his son Oluwole was quick to remind us (or is it those who have an eye on the throne vacated by Awo?), "the King dies and the King lives". Awo was one hell of a King who, though not physically around anymore, will remain very much with us. And now computers — those man-made machines that can be made to do wonders. "Can be made" are the words to note when dealing with these machines. For, with them, you only reap what you sow. Sow or feed trash into them and you get trash back.

Can you now see the connection? You probably can't, unless you happen to be a worker on the payroll of Benue State Government. For the Benue worker, the connection is obvious and immediate. In Benue State, as you very well know, the government believes that ghosts really exist, with names, addresses and all, in the form of workers, and that computers are made to hunt and eliminate ghosts. Which is why the state government has gone to great lengths, using the state's meagre resources to engage a computer firm in far away Ibadan, to keep its finances and accounts — and, of course, to flush out ghosts from the payroll. So now raging in Benue is

a fierce computers versus ghosts war, at every battle of which more ghosts emerge and the real worker gets shot, or even eliminated. Yes, eliminated. For there are many workers whose names have now disappeared from the computerized payroll. For the more lucky ones, it is either promotion or demotion — or even transfer. The computers have turned messengers overnight into commissioners, and vice versa, transferred names of workers in Vandeikya local government to Ankpa, made all sorts of deductions in the salaries of some workers, gave fat allowances to some, and . . . well, we could go on and on till the cows come home, but the tribulations of the Benue workers

## Wayas: Back Home for Picnic?

There's hardly any event or issue in Nigeria from May 9th, when Awo died, to June 6th, when he was buried, that didn't get drowned in our media in the din and controversies generated by Awo's departure. But the news filtered through alright, even if, at the beginning, in form of speculation: Dr. Joseph Wayas, ex-Senate President, and Number Three in the hierarchy during the Second Republic, is back in the country. Now there is official confirmation of this from Dodan Barracks.

Dr. Wayas — who once out of the country in the days of the Second Republic used to introduce himself simply as President — was among a number of fugitives living abroad whose extradition the Federal Government has been fighting to secure.

His "self-extradition" back home has thus made things a lot easier for the federal authorities. But it has also raised a big question: will Wayas be tried? Certainly the federal authorities must have something concrete against him to file any application for his extradition. But

in this computer age are already too well known to warrant a rehash here.

But the real story concerns the way Awo is connected to all this. As they say, you can't be indifferent to Awo. Benue workers learned this the hard way. Last month, the computer operators at the state's Ministry of Finance took, as they do every month since the computers arrived, the computer input to Ibadan for analysis so that May salaries could be paid. The operators returned to Makurdi, after a couple of days in Ibadan, with nothing analysed, and so no salaries for workers. Reason: the experts in Ibadan — the city, you will remember, where Awo built his long political career — wouldn't do any work. "Ah! We can't do any work until Awo is buried wo", they told the Benue operators, and stuck to their guns, disregarding all pleas.

Which all goes to show that no one, and nothing, can be indifferent to Awo, even in death. Certainly not Benue workers, and not even computers and ghosts.

then one can't be sure any more.

Ahaji Bello Maitama, erstwhile Commerce, and later Internal Affairs Minister in the Second Republic was, remember, also on the most wanted list. Late last year, Bello Maitama decided he had enough of winters and summers abroad and flew back to Lagos — and immediately found himself travelling the same path as most of his ministerial colleagues who stayed behind: NSO (now SSS) headquarters at Awolowo Road, Ikoyi, Lagos, and then on to the Kiri-Kiri maximum security prison. A few months later, and the Kiri-Kiri gates were thrown wide open, and Bello Maitama walked out a free man, smiling all the way to Kano and to a warm and rousing reception there. There was no mention of a trial of any sort. It all seemed like a carefully planned picnic, so painless and smooth you would swear it was all pre-arranged.

Now, is Wayas back for such a picnic too before returning to Calabar and Ogoja to the warm embrace of his "teeming supporters"? Let's wait and see.



The Analyst clocks one year this month. It has never been easy during this first year, but we managed to survive — and with the continuing support of you readers, we hope to survive many more years.

In his message, published in the first issue, and in some others as well, the publisher, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa said: "We intend to expose the real class origins and interest of all activities in Nigeria. We intend to help sift progressive ideas from reactionary ones. We intend to help remove all fancy attire in which the old bankrupt ideas will be clothed

and show them up in all their naked ugliness. . . "

As we mark our first anniversary, we believe it is only proper that we let our readers assess our performance, by telling us frankly how we have been doing, and more importantly, how far they think we have kept to our ideals and commitments (as stated in the publisher's message). Which was why our Editor-in-Chief, Danjuma Adamu, went out to meet some of our readers and to record their views. For reasons of space we could not publish the views of all those interviewed, but great care has been taken to make what is published below representative of the variety of views expressed by our readers. Read on:

## WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT US

### Good Venture:

• I have not been reading all the various issues that have come out. I am aware that I have missed one or two. But from the few I have read so far I have this much to say. That first and foremost I think (but correct me) *The Analyst* is a leftist magazine which aims at exposing the various forces that underline the gap between the rich and the poor in our country which we try to bridge. So from that point of view I look at *The Analyst* as a very good venture.

### Too Confrontational:

But from the issues I have read so far, I would advise that the language you use is a bit too strong, a bit too confrontational. This needn't be so. You could still achieve your objective without calling people names, or without using very strong language. After all, the country belongs to all of us, both rich and poor. Those of us who are not happy with the gap between rich and poor, who have set out to try to bridge this gap, as I suppose *The Analyst* is trying to do, should do it without hurting people too much.

The other thing is, I also wish that you limit the extent to which you direct your analysis at individuals. I think that this is not very healthy, because after all these individuals are products of a system. And if we are trying to

change this system we should direct our analysis to the root causes of this system and genuinely try to solve this problem from the grass root. It is not polite, it is not fair, to attack the products of this system because that will be an indirect manner of hurting, and can even defeat the purpose for which your magazine is set up.

### More Information, Please:

In the light of this, therefore, I would like to see more informa-



Mrs. Mariam Yunusa,  
Educationist.

tion in the magazine based on valid facts, aimed at education, and well analysed and synthesized proposals which are strategically designed.

For example, in your last issue on DFRRI, the magazine has concluded that the programme will not succeed, and I was looking forward

to why, if you have facts and figures as to why this programme will not succeed. Okay, one or two facts there may be correct but I think that is a premature judgement. It is good to highlight possible areas of danger, where the programme will slip into oblivion like most programmes before, but concluding that it won't work, immediate reaction was: so okay, what do you think will work? *Easier Said Than Done:*

The proposal or the extreme alternative is a bit too premature for us now. We have to move in stages — small by small, because I suppose being leftist the emphasis there is to give power to the people at the grass roots. This thing is easier said than done, because unless the means of production are owned by these people, unless they are even educated on how to own these means of production, unless they are even aware, in fact, that they need to own these means of production, you will be singing it until doomsday, and it will not succeed because the rural people don't know what you mean by power to the people. Okay, so that's as far as the contents of the magazine so far have impressed me. *My Challenge:*

And when you talk of oppression, which is another word that comes up in almost every page of *The Analyst*, you seem to lose sight



## THE ANALYST: ONE YEAR ANNIVERSARY

of the problem. Oppression may be accidental or may be designed. I would wish the magazine (it's a challenge I am throwing to you) will really make a research on oppression that is willful, deliberate and planned, as opposed to oppression that is an inevitable result of a system that has been in operation for a very long time.

● As a constant reader of *The Analyst*, I have observed that the magazine is being published by patriotic and progressive Nigerians who are determined to work towards freeing their fellow countrymen and women who are being oppressed. From what I can see, they seem to be succeeding every day. No doubt, people are beginning to be aware of their roles, as can be portrayed by the action of the Bakori peasants who have dragged the district head to court over the seizure of their farmlands. I think this is a great achievement



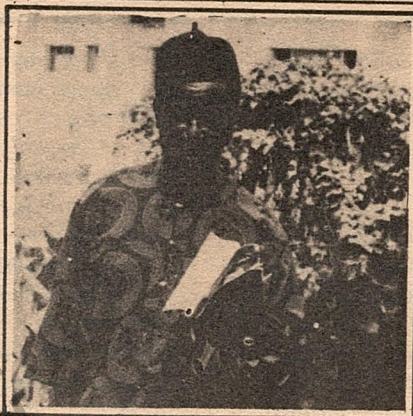
Mallam Sale Kawu Gana,  
History Student.

on the part of *The Analyst*.

Besides, I think I like the way *The Analyst* is handling the analyses of both national and international issues. Most of your articles are well researched and devoid of personal sentiments. Your analysis on religion was superb. On the whole, *The Analyst* has performed creditably throughout the last one year of its existence.

### *Publish in Local Languages:*

I would however like to suggest that the publisher of *The Analyst* should consider publishing in other local languages of Nigeria. This will facilitate the mobilisation and enhance the general awareness of the oppressed majority of the Nigerian populace.



Cyprian Ekwensi,  
Author and Journalist

● I must comment that I have not read *The Analyst* until quite recently. And I think this is a pity because I am one who is associated with the media. I was the first Federal Director of Information; I have written a number of books, and like to keep in touch with knowledge and ideas. So there must be something basically wrong perhaps with the distribution system of this magazine.

I know the problem of magazine distribution and circulation. There are days for sales, there are days when the vendors receive them and if they don't sell them off within the limited time they are returned as unsold. All these are problems, and poor readers suffer.

### *Good Cover Design:*

This one (referring to Vol.2 No.2) with a billion naira bonanza, I glanced at it in a traffic hold-up; it caught my eye, and before I could buy it the vehicle in which I was riding sped away. I thought it was the others that we know, like *Newswatch* or *This Week*, and so on, you see. So I really hope that *The Analyst* will make an extra effort to get its identity established in the reading public.

I like the cover design of *The Analyst*. As I said I mistook it for one of the expensively foreign produced magazines. I think that is a compliment. The layout and so on is professional.

### *Slim Budget:*

The other thing is that I find you are working to a budget, and

therefore your inside pages are made of not very expensive paper. That is neither here nor there; when you want to reach plenty of readers you reduce the cost of your production so that the pocket, doesn't get strained.

### *Small Type Size:*

There is only one appeal I would like to make — that is the size of type. I find the size of your type just a little bit less than the acceptable standard. I wish they can be made a little bit bigger.

### *Big Task Ahead:*

The articles as I can see — the line of the ideology or the political line, or the thrust of the magazine is *Socialism*, which you will have a big battle (laughter) to put across in Nigeria. So I wish you all the best there. You will have to adopt . . . (pause) Oh God, I don't know what to recommend. But you have to adopt a system of approach whereby you have already carried the masses. Your difficulty will not be the suffering people. You are their boss. Your difficulty now will be to be able to get the masses to understand their rights without bringing about violence or anything. There is a lot they can do if they understand their rights. There is a lot of ground they can gain. That's how I look at it.

● *The Analyst* must do something to expose those forms of women's oppression in our society, and to highlight the struggles of women. This is because women constitute a very significant proportion of the Nigerian work force both in the urban and rural areas. Secondly, I will also like *The*



Mallam Abdullahi Alkali,  
Lecturer.



*Analyst* to conduct thorough research into contemporary and relevant political questions of the day.

I observe that *The Analyst's* team of writers is saturated with a high dose of academics, which I believe may not find a home with the readers. This notwithstanding, I think *The Analyst* has made a breakthrough in the history of Nigerian journalism, and could now be rated as one of the most radical and informative magazines in the country.

● I believe when *The Analyst* was established a year ago, it must have got some objectives which it has been trying to achieve. What I would like to say about it is I like the way it has been taking on national issues. I think I find its comments very exciting because they are not the type of comments given by other magazines. They are balanced and in depth, and I believe by now they must have influenced the government in taking many decisions.

*Exposing the Ills:*

I think this should be the role a magazine of this kind should



Sara T. Bitkon,  
Press Secretary,  
Government House, Bauchi.

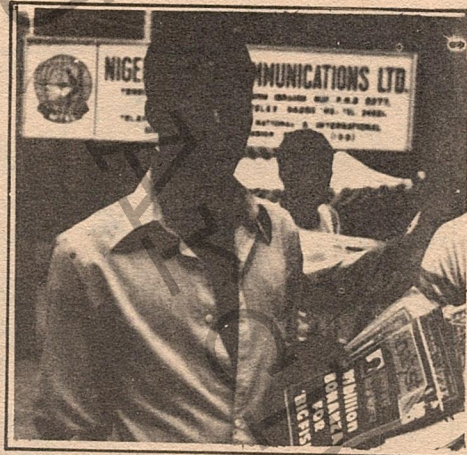
play in the society. In a truly democratic society the overall idea is to tolerate some views of its members. And I believe if there is anything that would help build the society stronger, one of them is this kind of role being played by *The Analyst* in exposing some ills of the society. If people do things and think that they will get away with them, because others don't know, I think *The Analyst* has gone a long

way in trying to bring out some of these things.

However, there is no magazine that does not have shortcomings in the sense that we are all human beings. I believe that there are some areas that still need public attention. I agree individuals can contribute a lot in ruining the society. But so can institutions. So, I think institutions too should be exposed for the society to judge.

● We can sell all the copies of *The Analyst* here in Gongola State. As of now every vendor buys only ten copies. Some of the rich and privileged vendors buy at least 50 copies.

From our experience here in Yola, *The Analyst* is a fast selling



Fidelis Azinga,  
Vendor.

magazine, compared to other magazines, because it hardly stays for two days with us. The demand is also very high, of course. People always ask of it. Like today, all the copies I had were sold out, and people kept on asking me, "Where is *The Analyst*, where is *The Analyst*?" I am quite confident that each vendor in Yola can sell 50 copies of every issue of *The Analyst* conveniently, in less than three days.

I am therefore appealing to the publishers to increase the quantity for Gongola State and publish it more regularly.

*Best Column:*

I do read *The Analyst* myself. The contents are very clear and I

think *The Analyst* is a magazine for the masses because it talks about things many people like. I particularly enjoy reading the PHOTO-SPEAK column. But I would also like *The Analyst* to improve its quality of printing as compared with other magazines.

● That your 'type' of magazine which appears to be making a bold attempt at setting people thinking about our decadent situation can survive this long is proof that there is still hope for this country. Let us hope that certain influences will not creep in and destroy these ideals.

However, I wish to advise that you improve your communication strategy, otherwise the exercise may have a negative effect, by making people emulate these things that you are trying to eliminate, thus multiplying the problem, or become futile due to lack of knowledge of what to do to right the situation. It is not enough to present situations, anomalies, it is important to show a definite direction towards righting these anomalies.



Olu Oyedun,  
Public Relations Security Consultant.

Your campaign should be directed against such societal evils as practiced with regards to dividing society into the privileged and the underdogs. No one should be condemned to poverty and wretchedness due to deprivation of opportunities by the society. Please use your medium to expose what perdition lies behind the "if you cannot beat them in evil, join them" syndrome. Work on changing these destructive, negative

Contd on page 20



As the cover story in this issue shows, Alhaji Shehu Shagari (President, 1979-83), his ministers, advisers, board chairmen, chief-executives, members of boards, liason officers, and other aides and assistants seem to have become the sacred cows in the military's investigation, trial and punishment of the public officers who looted and wrecked this country in the four years 1979-83. This is not just a matter of opinion. It is based on facts.

In this UPDATE we list six cases which show that these sacred cows are not at all innocent. The facts speak for themselves, and we set them out below:

### I. The N795 million Ajaokuta Steel Project Contracts:

These were contracts awarded in 1980 to the following companies:

- Fougerolle = N329 million;
- Dumez = N179 million;
- Julius Berger = N297 million.

The contracts were awarded on the condition that kickbacks and commissions would be paid to the N.P.N. In this arrangement, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Chief A. Akinloye, Alhaji Adamu Ciroma, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf, and Dr. Sola Saraki, all of the National Executive Committee of the NPN were involved. By 15th December 1980, the kickbacks amounting to 7.5% of the total contracts were being paid when the Chairman of Fougerolle (Nig.) Ltd. received the sum of N24.6 million from Fougerolle of France, half of which was in foreign exchange. The total kickbacks paid on these three contracts based on this arrangement came to N59.625 million. No one has been tried or jailed for this corrupt enrichment and economic sabotage up to today!

### 2. The Inflation of three Ports Authority Contracts by N279 million:

The Obasanjo regime awarded

## THE SACRED COWS

the following three contracts for dredging:

- Onne = N127 million;
- Sapele = N42 million;
- Apapa = N10 million.

The total came to N179 million for all three. The Shagari regime inflated these contracts "without any significant change in specifications" according to an authoritative source. This inflation raised them to:

- Onne = N296 million;
- Sapele = N76 million;

and economic sabotage on this up to today!

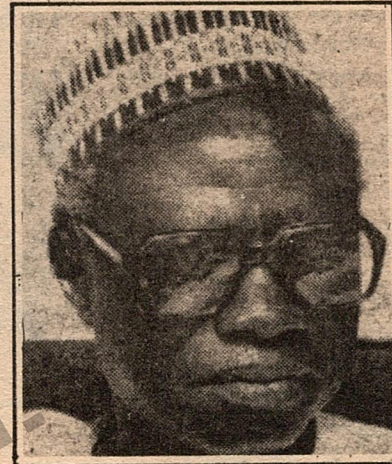
### 3. The N231 million Bridges and Flyover Contracts:

Between October 1979 and July 1981, the Federal Ministry of Works awarded the following eight contracts, for which commissions and kickbacks totalling about 25% of the total value of N231.239 million were received. The contracts were awarded to the following:

1. Harricon (Nig.) Ltd - Imo River



Bello Maitama . . . a stop-over at Kirikiri, then home and free.



Ciroma . . . a Sacred Cow, but how really innocent?



Unongo . . . unansw Steel

Apapa = N86 million.

The new inflated cost came to a total of N458 million, making the total inflation to come to N279 million. The President and Chairman of the Council of Ministers which made the inflation was Alhaji Shehu Shagari; the Minister of Transport was Alhaji Umaru Dikko; the Chairman of the Nigerian Ports Authority was Chief Tayo Akpata; and the Chief Executive of the Nigerian Ports Authority was Alhaji Bamanga Tukur. No one has been tried or jailed for the corrupt enrichment

Bridge = N40.402 million.

2. Harricon (Nig.) Ltd - Nun River Bridge = N11.883 million.
3. Staag (Nig.) Ltd - Forcados River Bridge = N17.631 million.
4. ARC (Nig.) Ltd. - Mayo-Lope - Gongola Bridge = N23.983 million.
5. PGH (Nig.) Ltd. - 3rd Mainland Bridge = N12.575 million.
6. Mandilas Ltd. - Biu-Gongola Bridge = N55.596 million.
7. Guffanti Ltd. - Liberty Stadium Flyover = N19.172 million.
8. Julius Berger Ltd. - Ajaokuta



# ARE NOT INNOCENT!

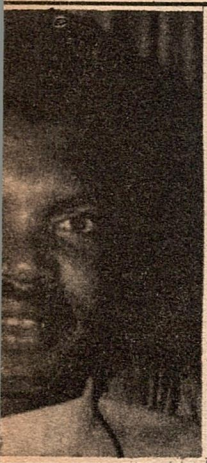
Bridge = N49.997 million.  
TOTAL = N231.239 million.  
The total kickbacks and commissions from these contracts came to a total of about N57.8 million. The President and Chairman of the Council of Ministers which awarded the contracts was Alhaji Shehu Shagari; the Ministers in the Ministry of Works were Mr. Victor Masi, and Alhaji Asheikh Jarma. No one has been tried and jailed for corrupt enrichment and economic

million.  
Kickbacks and commissions amounting to about N20 million were paid out. The President and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers who awarded these contracts was Alhaji Shehu Shagari; the Minister of Commerce was Alhaji Bello Maitama, and the Chief Executive of Nigerian Hotels was Chief Alamutu. No one has been tried or jailed for corrupt enrichment and economic sabotage

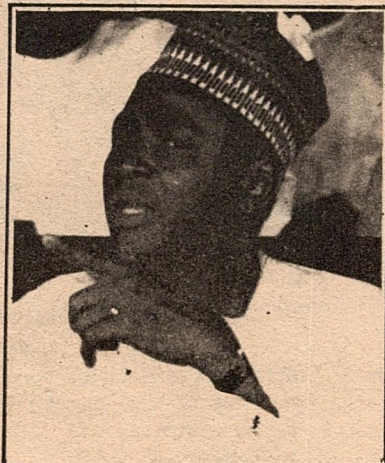
directors of this company were, at that time, Chief Ugochukwu, Alhaji Aminu Dantata, Alhaji Ibrahim Damcida, and Chief Bayo Kuku. The Minister of Mines and Power was Alhaji Ibrahim Hassan. No one has been tried or jailed for corrupt enrichment and economic sabotage on this, up to today.

6. *The Kickbacks and Bribes from Wimpey (Nig.) Ltd. and the British Steel Corporation over a N25 million Contract Award and a Plan to Hand Ajaokuta Over to A British Consortium:*

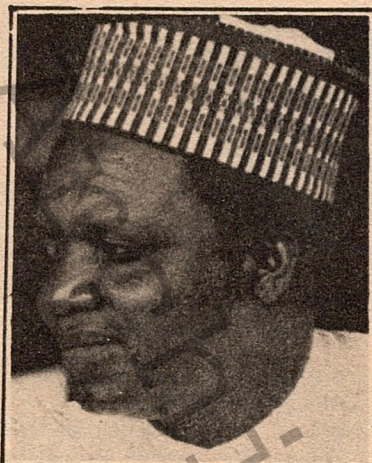
In 1980 Wimpey (Nig.) Ltd paid a kickback of N1 million through Mr. Mike Abbi over a N25 million steel development contract it got from the Federal Government. In the same year a Mr. Tony Devan of Devan and Pilcher Ltd. paid a bribe of £100,000 to initiate a plan to hand over the whole of the Ajaokuta Steel Project to the British Steel Corporation and its British associates. The President and Chairman of the Council of Ministers was Alhaji Shehu Shagari, and the Minister for Special Duties (Steel Development) was Mr. Paul Unongo. No one has been tried or jailed for corrupt enrichment or economic sabotage for these, up to now.



ered questions on development contract.



Sola Saraki . . . organised kickbacks from Fougerolle.



John Kadiya . . . supervised Abuja spending spree.

sabotage on this, up to today. Mr. Victor Masi was jailed for a crime he committed when he had left the ministry and was Minister of Finance.

4. *The N95 million Ikoyi Hotel and Abuja Hotel Contracts:*

In 1981 three contracts were awarded by Nigerian Hotels Ltd. as follows:

- Lees Road Flats = N3.9 million;
- Ikoyi Hotel Annex = N22 million;
- NHL Hotel Abuja = N70

on this, up to now.

5. *The N31.9 million of Kickbacks Paid into the Account of Ajiya Investment Limited:*

A company known as Ajiya Investments Ltd. was set up as a front by the N.P.N. to receive kickbacks, and by December 1983 the sum of N31.9 million was paid into its accounts. This included a sum of N3.65 million paid as kickbacks by Brown Boveri Construction Ltd. through Chief Bayo Kuku for a contract the company got from the Ministry of Mines and Power. The

The facts set out on these six cases above show clearly that the sacred cows may be regarded as sacred in some quarters, but they are not at all innocent. They were at the centre of the massive corruption, looting, plunder and sheer economic sabotage which wrecked the Nigerian economy in the four years 1979-83. We are still sinking deeper into the morass they caused. Is any genuine economic recovery possible, and a better and more stable future for all the people of Nigeria feasible, if they continue to be treated as sacred cows?



## THE ANALYST: ONE YEAR ANNIVERSARY

attitudes in our society. Then and only then can you have the "Eureka" smile of achievement.

Lastly, but not the least important, use firmer language, be more punchy, give us things to smile and laugh over. Too much of our society's stink spoils our joys. Put in some fun, avoid drabness.

● *The Analyst* in my own view has contributed a lot to enlightening the populace of this country as regards its campaigns on Socialism. Basically it has revealed a lot to the masses about the happenings in foreign countries, what socialism is all about, its practice, use, and what it has done for the lot of the populace in such foreign lands.

It is one of those magazines that has exposed the economic saboteurs of our modern Nigeria. I like the magazine because it has refused to serve elitist interests in our society.

I share with you the view that 'Monkey de work, babook de chop' in your issue Vol.2, No.2, where you point out that the government has embarked upon 'wishful thinking' ventures just to play pranks on the toiling masses of the rural areas.

### Star Column:

The Photospeak column makes interesting reading. I enjoy it, so keep it up with more revelations. It's a star column.



Philip T. Angyu Esq.,  
Legal Practitioner.

### Defender of the Masses:

*The Analyst* has made much impact on the society because of its informative journalism. And it is the only magazine that is advancing

and defending the cause of the downtrodden, the oppressed, and the forgotten members of the society, like your article on 'The Bakori Peasants' in one of your issues.

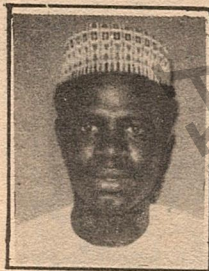
### Be Frequent:

However, your magazine has failed the society in not coming out on schedule, as other bourgeois magazines do. I however believe that sooner or later you will correct the lapses.

● *The Analyst* must have a national outlook. It must not only expose the politicians in the North but all over the federation. To expose the role of people like the Ibrus and Nzeribes and a host of others will be of great interest to the oppressed peasants and workers.

### Shortcomings

But I've noticed one shortcoming. It



Mohamed Khalid Babangida,  
Civil Servant

is this: *The Analyst* has not gone far enough in analysing some sensitive issues. Take an issue like religion. Though *The Analyst* was able to tell us that those who claimed to protect the moral values of the two widely accepted religions were more often the same people who desecrate these values, it has not gone further to explain to us the real causes of religious disturbances like the Maitatsine incidents. Why must our children continue practicing *almajiranci* (begging)? Why can't the *ulamas* and the born again fanatics tolerate each other?

● As a person who knows much about marketing magazines, I would say that *The Analyst* is making a very big headway and impact because like here in Plateau

State, our sales figures of *The Analyst* are higher than any other monthly magazine.

### Those Who Buy It:

*The Analyst* is everybody's magazine: students, professors, politicians, the common man, peasants, all buy it. That is why the sales move faster than any magazine. It is not meant for one specific class of people.

To be frank and sincere, *The Analyst* is a magazine which is presently being accepted by the people. What makes it so first, is that it is a revolutionary magazine — the first of its kind in the country. It focuses on issues other magazines dare not do.



George Murphy,  
Newspaper and Magazine Distributor

You see, *The Analyst* is a unique magazine. So, we may not say this or that magazine is competing with it.

### Basic Problem:

Okay, I think the only problem *The Analyst* is having is its irregularity in coming out. There should also be improvement in its production, like full colour production of its covers, and they should look more attractive than what obtains now. All other problems which you are having now, I can regard as minor.

Your other problem is that of distribution. If there is a good distribution system, I know the magazine will reach every nook and corner of Nigeria, thousands of Nigerians who are yearning for it will be happy, and this will increase the sales figures.



# Continuing Tribulations of the Bakori Peasants

When inspite of the opposition of a defence counsel a presiding judge accepts a document tendered to the court as an exhibit, only to turn around later to try to deny the defence access to a copy of the document on the ground that it was "not relevant to the case", then you begin to smell a rat. When later in the course of the same case, the same judge, perhaps in a fleeting moment of carelessness, reveals that the said document was in fact given to him on request and not to the prosecution witness who tendered it to the court, then your suspicion becomes even stronger. And when this self-same judge even goes further to categorically state that as far as he was concerned he was satisfied that the title to the land, in a case of trespass and assault which is before him, resides in one of the parties to the case even before he has heard the submission of the defence — when all this happens, then you no longer only suspect. You are sure that something is definitely amiss.

Yet, strange as these may sound, the above actually occurred at the Bakori Area Court, presided over by Alkali Shehu, on 25th May 1987, as hearing continued into the case of criminal trespass and assault preferred against Yakubu Maidaji and sixteen others [See *The Analyst*, Vol.2, nos. 1 and 2].

Alhaji Hassan Alhassan, the Kano businessman at the heart of the case and the prosecution's tenth witness, had on Wednesday 13th May 1987 tendered two documents to the court purporting same to be proof that he had title to the peasants' farmlands. The first document was purportedly a copy of the judgement of the Funtua Upper Area Court which once heard a litigation over the matter. The other document was a letter of grant from the District Head of Bakori.

Mr. Simon Maikudi, counsel for

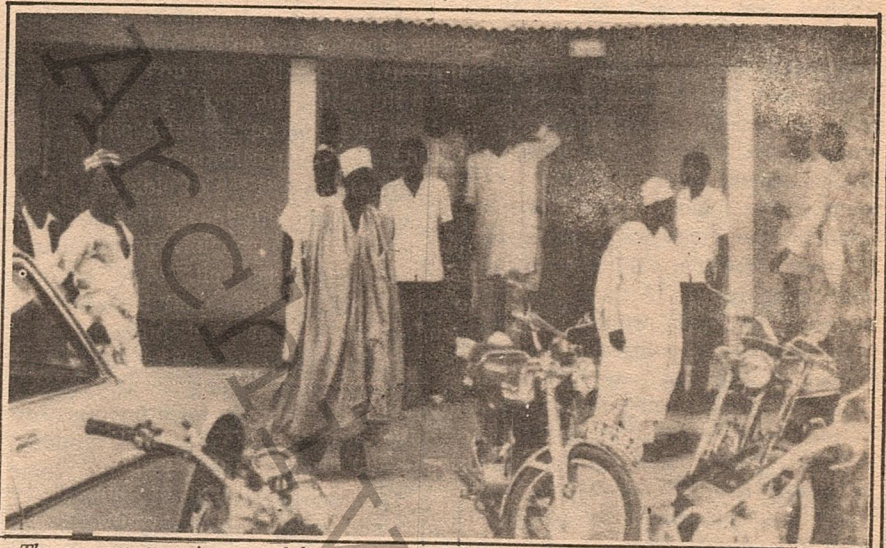
the docked peasants, objected to the admission of the documents on the grounds that the so-called copy of the judgement was neither a certified true copy, nor did it carry a seal of the court which issued it. He cited Section 112, sub-section (i) of the Evidence Act to buttress his objection. The judge, Alkali Shehu, however overruled his objection and admitted the documents in evidence.

However, when the case resumed on 25th May, 1987, and the counsel for the peasants applied for copies of the said exhibit for study in prepara-

clear enough. If the copy of the judgement belonged to the judge, how come Alhaji Hassan was in possession of same? Was it given to him (Alhaji Hassan) by the judge? If so, is this normal, or even proper, procedure? Besides, can a case of trespass be fairly resolved without addressing the question of the ownership of the land in the first instance?"

Legal pundits may continue to debate these points, but for the docked peasants, whose militancy has been soaring, and who are doggedly determined to see the case through to the highest echelons until justice is done, the matter is clear enough. One of their leaders, Yakubu Maidaji, told the judge at the last sitting thus:

"You have refused to investigate



*The peasants trooping out of the court.*

tion of his defence, the judge said they were "not relevant to the case". Said Alkali Shehu: "the case before me is that of criminal trespass and assault. I am not concerned about the ownership of the land. The question of ownership of the land was determined by the Funtua Upper Area Court in favour of Alhaji Hassan Alhassan. In fact, the copy of the judgement you are talking about does not belong to Alhaji Hassan. I asked for it myself."

But as one observer put it outside the court: "the question here is

the cause of the so-called assault and trespass. But was the complainant beaten up in the course of *farauta* (game hunting)? Was he beaten up because he was chasing somebody's wife? You may refuse to do it, but you should know that this case cannot be resolved justly without the question of the true ownership of the land in question being squarely addressed and resolved."

Mallam Yakubu Maidaji continued:

"This court is partial. You never



asked Badamasi how he got the land. These people always come with useless papers saying that these are what gave them the land. But everybody knows we never sold any land to anybody. Our hamlet head can testify to that. So would our village head. Even the local government committee set up under Alhaji Bello affirmed this. Yet, this Badamasi would come and start surveying our farmlands. We have to come out and defend our livelihood. Why can't you ask Badamasi how he got the land?"

The judge merely referred Yakubu Maidaji to the story of *Annabi Yusufu* (Prophet Joseph) in the Holy Book. He said although Annabi Yusufu's enemies planned a lot of evil things against him, in the long run the truth came out. Said Alkali Shehu: "God never said that you should do *tashin hankali* (i.e. disturb the peace)."

The press, particularly *The Analyst*, was not left out of the judge's wrath. He accused the magazine's correspondents of being biased and threatened that if this alleged biased coverage was not stopped, he would not hesitate to charge them with contempt of court. For more than fifteen minutes, the judge went into a fit of anger, scolding, chiding, snorting and lampooning. A few of his quotable remarks would suffice: "No journal is going to prevent someone who has committed an offence from being punished." "Even if the heavens are going to collapse, I will stand by the truth as I see it." "Whatever anybody does, we are going to continue with this case." "You people who pretend to be helping the *talakawa*, you should tell them that what they should do is to appeal instead of causing trouble." "You are going about taking pictures as if we have committed murder." "I am a conservative. I do not care what anybody does to me because of that."

The case has been adjourned until 9th June, 1987, for further hearing.

By Richard Umaru and  
Abubakar Siddique, in Bakori

## CONTROVERSY

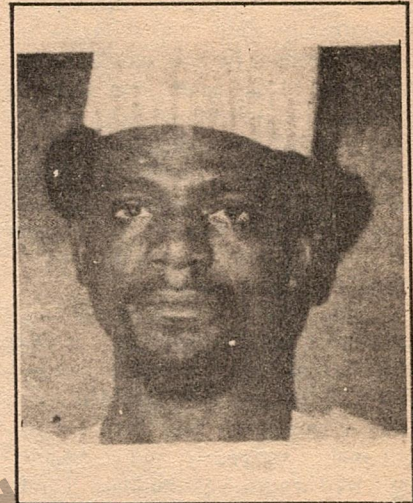
# Sex and Violence: The Hidden Victims

Alhaji Adamu Adamu, self-proclaimed spokesman for "Islamic culture", and presently acting editor of the *New Nigerian*, has recently been involved in a controversy about the merits and demerits of early marriage, conducted on the pages of *Today* and *New Nigerian* newspapers. But behind Adamu Adamu's defence of early marriage, and his denial that it has any adverse effects on the health of the girls involved, is a much more serious attempt to cover up the extent to which the poor, the powerless, and the defenceless in our society, especially women, are abused and exploited to satisfy the violent and decadent sexual appetites of some rich and powerful men. The arguments of Adamu Adamu, and others like him, are nothing more than justifications of callous exploitation of young girls by morally decadent men, many of whom use the cover of religion and culture to defend their actions.

What is this controversy all about, and what are the facts? It all began when Adamu Adamu was interviewed, along with several other individuals, for a feature story in *Today* newspaper of Sunday, April 26th, 1987, on the topic "How early really is early marriage?" While others interviewed pointed out the physical and psychological effects of early marriage on young girls, including the tendency to develop a medical condition called Vesico Vaginal Fistula (VVF), as a result of having children before they were physically developed, this is what Adamu Adamu said on the subject:

"In the north, girls are usually married out at the age of twelve. As far as I am concerned, once a girl starts menstruating, it is a sign of maturity and ability to conceive. It is anyway anti-Islamic to force a girl to bed without her being ready for

it. Early marriages have no physical implications. If it causes VVF, then all our mothers today should have suffered from the disease. I believe that the VVF thing which coincides with family planning campaign, is propaganda. Women are not better off in the modern permissive culture than in the Islamic culture which emphasises on the moral teachings and makes provision for the adequate protection of women. This is why I will give out my daughters at the age of twelve. I am not impressed by the present western education. I will not mind if my daughters do not get it."



Adamu Adamu

... what are his real motives?

These statements by Adamu Adamu provoked reaction from readers. Most of them pointed out the health dangers that early marriage posed, especially the question of the VVF. In reply to the critics, however, Adamu Adamu responded that he is aware that the VVF condition is medically prevalent these days. What he disputes is "the assertion that it was caused by early marriage. It is more likely caused by the crisis in modern medicine than



## CONTROVERSY

by early marriage, and the accusation levelled against early marriage was with the hope of getting some decree or edict against it." He goes on to ask: "Why was it that VVF never became prevalent until now?", since early marriage has been taking place in this society "at least for the past 1,000 years in Borno, since Islam came there around 800 AD, and at least for 200 years in the rest of the Muslim north." He even suggests that VVF might be caused by "some drugs or drips administered to pregnant women".

But although Adamu Adamu asserts that he "has always held that knowledge of the rational science and methods is best viewed as mankind's and not Western heritage", he is not only being unscientific (by whatever standard) in his comments, but even worse, he is deliberately trying to cover up and obscure something which he, as an observant member of society, must certainly know — that early marriage, VVF, and other such problems are caused by the desire of selfish men to enjoy themselves at the expense of young girls, while all the time justifying the satisfaction of their lust and their pleasure under the guise that this is what "Islam" dictates that its followers must do.

But what is the truth? What are the facts about early marriage and VVF? Is it really Islamic to take advantage of the weak and helpless in the name of protecting them? Let us examine these issues one by one.

First of all, what is VVF, and what are its causes? Vesico-Vaginal Fistula (known as VVF) is a medical condition which is by no means confined to the northern parts of Nigeria, but is widely found in underdeveloped countries. Moreover, contrary to what Adamu Adamu would have us believe, it is by no means a recent condition. Certainly Adamu Adamu, as a self-proclaimed champion of Islamic culture, must be familiar with the writings of the great Muslim philosopher and physician Abu Ali al-Husayn ibn Sina (980-1037 A.D.), also known as Avicenna, who laid the

foundations of all modern medical science, almost one thousand years ago. But perhaps Adamu Adamu is unaware of the fact that ibn Sina's medical writings contain the first recorded mention of the condition known as VVF. About 1,000 years ago, ibn Sina noted that measures to prevent pregnancy should be adopted by girls who marry too young, since their labour during childbirth is difficult and may be followed by permanent damage such as dripping of urine. Is Adamu Adamu ignorant of the writings of this great Islamic scholar? Or is he trying to cover something up? If ibn Sina noted the presence of VVF about 1,000 years ago, and suggested measures to prevent it, how could it be, as Adamu Adamu would have us believe, that this condition is caused by "the crisis of modern medicine" or even drips?



*Ibn Sina (980-1037) Noted VVF 1000 years ago.*

If Adamu Adamu had bothered to ask old women in this society, he could have confirmed from them that this condition was prevalent in their youth, as it still is today.

VVF is a condition where there is a rupture between the vagina and the bladder of a woman, usually as a result of prolonged or obstructed labour in childbirth. It results in a situation where the woman cannot control the flow of urine, but constantly drips. In some extreme cases the rectum is also involved and she cannot control her bowel movements.

The primary cause of this condition is the fact that the young girls who deliver children are not physically mature enough for such delivery. They marry young, and conceive early, before their pelvis is developed enough to allow for easy passage of the child out of the womb. As a result of this inadequate physical development, many young girls spend days in labour, and the constant pressure leads to this injury. In many cases the foetus dies in the womb, and many women also die from this ordeal. The ones who manage to survive may be permanently disabled. This is how Dr. Farhang Tahzib, a doctor at the University of Sokoto, describes the situation:

"After such protracted difficult labours the mother may be left with severe injuries. For days she will be exhausted and semiconscious due to the severe pains and loss of fluid. . . Her knees and elbows may be cut and bruised due to the postures adopted during childbirth. Her legs may be paralysed and become thin and wasted after some time, due to the pressure of the foetus on the nerves supplying the legs during childbirth. The tear may involve the bladder and/or rectum, resulting in constant leakage of urine and/or faeces. Once she survives the initial ordeal she has to try to readjust physically and socially. The dripping urine will irritate her vulva. Her vagina constantly wet and full of urine may become scarred and fibrosed and her menstrual periods may stop completely."

But as terrible as the physical disabilities are, the social consequences of such a condition are possibly even worse. Such a woman becomes a social outcaste — no one wants to put up with a smelly individual like herself. Her husband, of course, no longer desires her, and usually divorces her. Her family too may reject her and refuse to have anything to do with her. She becomes a pariah. In some parts of the country, such women are given special black uniforms, and can be seen on the outskirts of villages begging for food



## CONTROVERSY

Once a woman develops this condition, her normal life in society comes to an end, and she is cast out on the rubbish heap.

This condition — VVF — contrary to what Adamu Adamu thinks, has long been understood by doctors and others who have come into contact with it. It is a condition which has been well-studied from a scientific point of view. And all the observations of doctors, and all the scientific studies, have pointed out the same conclusion: that VVF is a condition caused by poverty and ignorance, as well as being a condition that is made worse by certain social practices like early marriage, and some local medical practices like *Yankan gishiri*. This *yankan gishiri* (gishiri cutting) is a practice found in many parts of the northern states, which involves cutting the vagina with a knife or razor blade. This is done by village midwives in many cases of obstructed labour, supposedly to help the passage of the child through the vagina. It is also, however, performed as a 'cure' for many illnesses, including infertility, back-ache, goiter, and other complaints. This practice is also carried out by husbands on their young wives when they are unable to have sexual intercourse with them, supposedly in order to widen the vagina so that the husband could penetrate more easily. Next to prolonged and obstructed labour, the practice of gishiri cuts is the second most important cause of VVF, as these cuts are often carried out incompetently, cutting deep into the vagina and thus rupturing the bladder and other organs.

A comprehensive study of 1,943 patients with VVF operated on in Ahmadu Bello University hospital, Zaria, between 1969 and 1980 shows us clearly the facts about VVF. Of all those studied, 83.8% of the cases were due to prolonged labour; 13% to gishiri cuts, and the remainder due to sexual intercourse, infections, etc. Margaret Murphy reports in her own study that 54% of the VVF patients seen in ABU hospital were 13 years or less at the time of marriage, and 12% of them were between 12 and

13 years of age when they bore their first child. There can be no doubt at all that early marriage, early childbirth, combined with poverty, malnutrition, lack of any essential health care facilities, are the fundamental causes of the VVF condition.

Listen to the stories of some of these women, as told to Margaret Murphy and Tukur Baba:

"My labour lasted 7 days. I was at home for 4 days, then I was put on a donkey and after 3 days on the donkey I reached hospital where I finally had my baby."

"I was in labour for 2 days before leaving home. During labour I was given medicine from the mallam and words were chanted to help me. You know the nearest hospital is 100 miles away and there is a 3 day walk to reach a motorable road."

Q: Did you ever attend an ante-natal clinic?

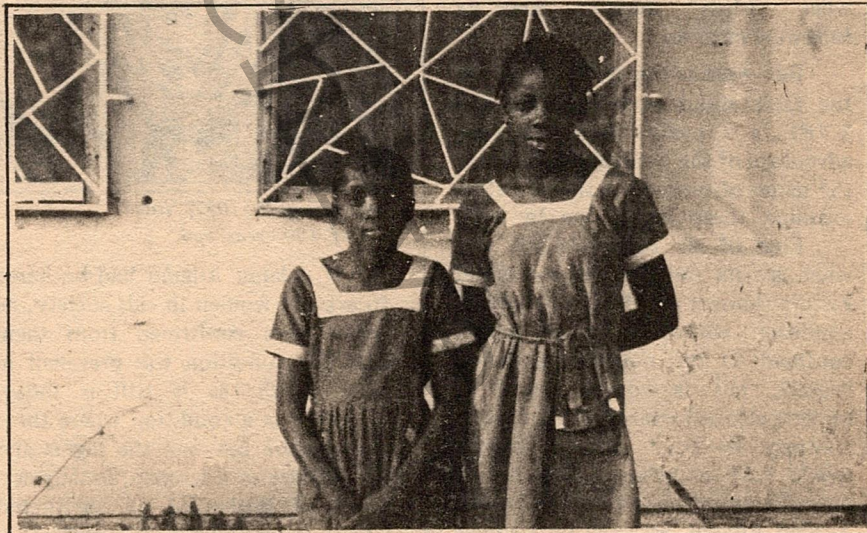
A: "What do you mean by an ante-natal clinic? We do not know such things in our village. In my village if somebody is very sick we always put them in a truck because the road is non-motorable and there is no hospital around."

perverted desires of having sex with underaged girls.

But Adamu Adamu is not alone in closing his eyes to these facts. One of the most tragic aspects of this whole situation is that society has continually refused to recognise that these women need help - both medically and socially. In fact, society actually refuses to recognise the existence of the problem.

One group of researchers tried to visit the families of some of their patients, in order to find out about the home conditions. This is what they reported: "We received a cool and somewhat defensive reception from the village head. We learned that he had little sympathy with the medical condition VVF, and his main concern was for the health of the former husband (who had divorced the patient). He regarded VVF as dangerous and potentially infectious to men. . . . The village head indicated that he fully sympathised with the husband in divorcing his wife. . . ."

Another time, the researchers went to a village where a patient had told them she was living. Everyone in the village denied knowing her, including her own father! However,



*Are they ready for motherhood?*

However, people like Adamu Adamu would want to close their eyes to these indisputable facts, in order for them to enjoy their

it was later confirmed that this was actually her home.

This is how society treats such outcaste women, handicapped



### CONTROVERSY

through no fault of their own, but victims of a society which chooses to close its eyes to the problems of the poor and the helpless.

If Adamu Adamu were really serious in trying to defend an Islamic way of life, which insists on justice for all, he could easily have found out for himself the facts of the situation with regard to early marriage and VVF. Would he have the same attitude if his 12 year old daughter he gives out in marriage develops such a condition? Or is it

The arguments of Adamu Adamu, and others like him, are nothing more than justifications of callous exploitation of young girls by morally decadent men, many of whom use the cover of religion and culture.

because such conditions do not usually occur in children of the privileged, because they are well fed and healthy, and have access to the best medical care. Adamu Adamu's daughter will not have to ride on a donkey for three days before she reaches the nearest hospital!

The type of arguments used by people like Adamu Adamu — all in the name of Islam — are actually justifications for oppression and exploitation of every variety. They use such arguments to deny food to starving people, to deny water to thirsty villagers, to deny medicine to the sick, to deny to the powerless their right to exist, to deny to women their God-given right to

health and to a useful and productive life. If Adamu Adamu were really concerned with the essence of Islam — the concern for social justice — then he would have remembered the words of the great Islamic reformer, Usman dan Fodio, who over 170 years ago, in his book *Nur al-albab*, stated:

"Most of our educated men leave their wives, their daughters . . . morally abandoned, like beasts, without teaching them what God prescribes should be taught them, and without instructing them in the articles of the Law which concern them. . . . Men treat these beings like household implements which become broken after long use and which are then thrown out on the dung-heap. This is an abominable crime! . . . Muslim women — Do not listen to the speech of those who are misguided and who sow the seed of error in the heart of another; they deceive you when they stress obedience to your husbands without telling you of obedience to God and his Messenger (May God show him bounty and grant him salvation), and when they say that the woman finds her happiness in obedience to her husband. *They seek only their own satisfaction . . .*"

Clearly this is what Adamu Adamu and others of his class of parasites are doing. They are covering up their real motives by the use of religious rhetoric. But they should know that people in this country are no longer fooled by these cheap tricks.

By Asma'u Abubakar

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## As Nigeria Sinks Deeper.... Zambia Breaks Ties With IMF

The Zambian government has broken its fifteen year tie with the IMF. In a May Day broadcast to the nation, President Kaunda said that the efforts of the government since 1973 to implement IMF policies had resulted in a systematic destruction of the economy, a drastic fall in the living standards of the Zambian people, and a sharp rise in unemployment and in social and political instability.

Apart from dismissing his Finance Minister and ten top officers of the Bank of Zambia, the President has announced a new economic recovery programme with immediate effect. The highlights of the new programme include:

- the pegging of Zambia's external debt payment to only 10% of net export earnings, with the exception of new loans which would be repaid in accordance with their terms.
- the abolition of foreign exchange auctioning (known as Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market — SFEM — in Nigeria). After a few years of such currency gambling, the Zambian currency, the Kwacha, was effectively devalued from 2.2 Kwacha to the dollar to 21 Kwacha to the dollar. The new rate announced by the President is 8 Kwacha to the dollar.
- a price freeze on all products, and fixed bank interest rates at 15%, with a 20% ceiling.
- other measures include an end to personal foreign exchange allowances for holidays and education.

Although the move might have come a little too late, and the new measures might not be far reaching enough, they are of enormous significance for Africa. Since the New Economic Recovery Programme was announced, thousands of Zambians marched through the streets of Lusaka and other urban centres hailing the President, and congratulating themselves for their collective and heroic victory over imperialism.

It will be recalled that a few months back there were very violent riots all over Zambia against increases in the price of maize flour, the staple food item. They called on the government to take the patriotic step of lifting the Zambian economy out of the IMF's straitjacket.

Reactions in Washington and other Western capitals by both governments and financial houses have been cold. Press reports have it that many Western creditors see this "unprecedented African measure" as a "bad example" to other IMF victims. There are veiled threats to bring Zambia back to the IMF fold.

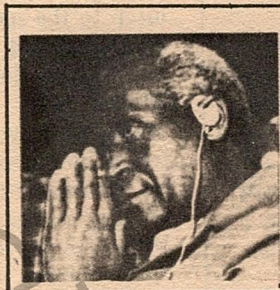
Despite the threats, President Kaunda, assured by the firm backing of the Zambian people, has, so far, remained defiant. Kaunda said that he is fully aware of the displeasure of Zambia's creditors, but added: "Let me put this question to them: which is a better partner for you in the long run — a nation which devotes all of its resources to paying the debts and

therefore grinds to an economic and political halt, or a stable nation, capable of sustaining the repayment of its entire debt?"

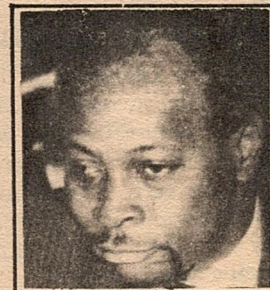
This is a very key question for Zambia's external debt of five billion dollars. It is estimated that up to 1992, of the 500-550 million U.S. dollars believed to leave Lusaka annually as interest and repayment of principal, 230 million dollars, or 30% of export earnings, would have gone to the IMF.

What the IMF would have provided as Structural Adjustment loan would have been nothing near this huge figure the Zambian people would have been handing over as free lunch, in addition to the gradual decline in Zambia's economic, social and political fortunes.

Zambia is the third African country after Zaire and Sudan to openly admit the failure of the IMF Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), but the first to take the courageous step of breaking ties with the Fund and introducing alternative measures aimed at serving the interests of the country.



*Kaunda... puts Zambian people above all else.*



*Olu Falae... IMF debt collector.*

It will be recalled that before Nigeria introduced SFEM, government officials made several trips to Zambia to understudy the Zambian methods of economic management. On their return, they noisily promoted Zambia as a shining example of the success of not only SFEM, but Structural Adjustment as a whole.

As Zambia has now publicly declared the colossal failure of SAP, we await the reaction of these "follow-follow" officials.

Meanwhile, twenty-four countries in sub-Saharan Africa, including Nigeria, accounting for three-quarters of the continent's population and gross domestic product, are busy implementing this Structural Adjustment Programme, ruining their economies and endangering the very existence of their people.

Very soon, the starving people of African countries like Nigeria will have to decide to be either starved to death and have their country sunk by the IMF, or follow the shining courageous example of the Zambian people.

*By Iyorchia Ayu and Danjuma Adamu*



# Mozambique: The Truth About Renamo

What is RENAMO? To many people who rely entirely for their news about Southern Africa on the BBC, VOA, Radio France International, and their echoes in the Nigerian print and electronic media the answer is very simple. RENAMO is a guerilla movement fighting the FRELIMO government of Mozambique — a government whose base of support is getting narrower because of its socialist programme and its links with the communist countries. The difficulties which the FRELIMO government is having is, in some official quarters in Nigeria, used to show that socialism and genuine independence from imperialism is impossible in Africa — only mixed economy is feasible, like in Nigeria! Retired generals, corrupt military officers and politicians, parasitical tycoons, and feudal chieftains who parade around as the 'responsible' people who know what is good for Nigeria and for the rest of Africa peddle this all over the place. They do not have the courage to openly denounce the policy of support by Nigeria for the liberation movements and the front-line states. But they use the situation in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe to assert that Nigeria should not commit itself to the struggle in the South because it means risking its own interests for socialist movements and governments which even after independence cannot bring peace and stability to their countries. RENAMO's activities in Mozambique are often used as an example by these people who hate the basic principles of Murtala's African policy but lack the credibility and status to directly subvert it. Therefore we need to know what exactly is this RENAMO.

## ESTABLISHMENT

RENAMO is not a liberation movement. It is not even a guerilla movement, in the sense of having a guerilla nature, presence or capacity

in Mozambique or in neighbouring countries. In fact, RENAMO is not even a political party or movement. RENAMO is a military organisation made up of commandos and other special sabotage units established by the Central Intelligence Organisation of the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia in June 1976, and taken over by the Military Intelligence Directorate of the South African Defence Force just before Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe in April 1980. RENAMO has since 1980 become an integral unit of the South African Defence Force, with its main bases and training camps at Phalaborwa, Zoabostad and Louis Trichardt in South Africa.

Documents captured by the Mozambican and Zimbabwean armies at the RENAMO camp at Garagua on 5th December 1981, and at their Gorongosa camp on 28th August 1985; together with information from former officers of the

Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation have confirmed this.

When FRELIMO and the Zimbabwean liberation movements stepped up their armed struggle in the early 1970's in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the Portuguese security organisation PIDE, under Major Silva Pais and the Rhodesian CIO under Mr. Ken Flower, worked out a plan to establish clandestine units of white and black commandos to attack these liberation movements, using a guerilla style of operation. This was worked out at a meeting they held with the heads of PIDE in Angola and Mozambique, namely Sao Jose Lopes and Antonio Vaz, at Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) in March 1974. This plan was beginning to take off with units of black and white commandos already operational against FRELIMO and ZANLA when the Portuguese empire collapsed. Some of these commandos fled into Rhodesia and were received by the Rhodesian CIO.



*Botha . . . South Africa's butcher.*



*Late Samora Machel . . . victim of South African aggression.*

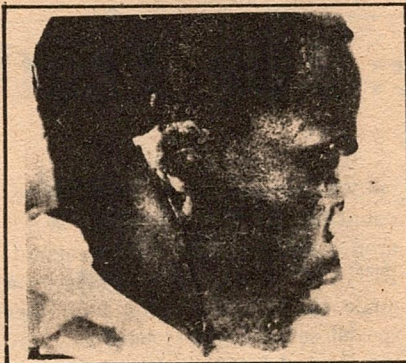


## STRUGGLES IN THE FRONTLINE

The establishment of RENAMO on its present scale received a major boost when ex-FRELIMO soldiers jailed for crimes, and other criminal elements, started fleeing into Rhodesia after Mozambican independence in June 1975. In June 1976, one Andre Matade Matsangaiza, an ex-FRELIMO soldier who had been a quartermaster at Dondo near Beira, and had been court martialled for stealing goods including a Mercedes car, fled to Rhodesia from the re-education camp where he was to serve his sentence, at Sacuze in Sofala Province. He and others like him were recruited by the Rhodesian CIO, kept at a military base at Odzi, near Umtali, and given commando training. Matsangaiza, who became the commander of the units, and Alfonso Dhlakama, his deputy, were paid the equivalent of 75 dollars and 65 dollars per month respectively. Ordinary recruits were paid 20 dollars per month. Many of the recruits were obtained from the re-education centres which these commando units attacked.

A political front was set up for propaganda purposes on 1st May 1977, to be known as the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), at a suburban house in Salisbury (now Harare), by officers of PIDE and a black American C.I.A. agent Leo Milas.

When Zimbabwean independence approached, and it became clear after the elections in March 1980 that Mugabe was going to be the Prime Minister, the British arranged for the transfer of these commandos to South Africa. The South African Defence Force had started supplying them with weapons and vehicles since 1978, and by 1980 had voted about one million dollars for them. The British Deputy Governor of Rhodesia under Lord Soames was an intelligence officer, Sir Anthony Duff. Together with General Patrick Walls, the commander of Ian Smith's forces and the CIO officers, they arranged for the transfer. Fleets of huge South African C130 transport planes landed at the Grand Reef military air base



*RENAMO's mutilated victims  
... South Africa is to blame.*

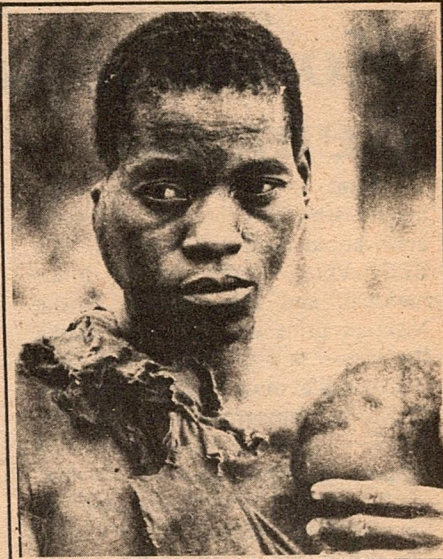
in March/April 1980, to take away these black commandos to South Africa.

### GROWTH

There they were given all the supplies they needed, and recruitment from Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, and others continued to increase their numbers well above the original 400 or so who had been taken into South Africa.

In September 1980, Alfonso Dhlakama, who succeeded Matsangaiza as the leader, went on a European tour to promote a "political" image of the commandos as a liberation movement. A radio station was already in place. By October their training was complete and huge South African helicopters transported them in the border region between Mozambique and Zimbabwe, to base camps in Mozambique — the main one being in the Gorongosa mountains. By February 1981, about 10,000 men had been transported, constituting a force larger and better equipped than the Mozambican army. Elaborate communications were set up with South Africa.

Portuguese businessmen who had lost their wealth and power with the independence of Mozambique like Jorge Jardim and Manuel Bulhosa, who owned a refinery in Lourenco Marques, moved in to give them a "political" image. The Portuguese government supported this, and the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence Carlos Mota was one of their major controllers in Lisbon, from where their interna-



tional propaganda was conducted.

In addition to this high level role of Portugal in supporting the operation of these South African Commandos, Saudi Arabia and Oman were also brought in. In November/December 1984 it was reported that Saudi and Omani aid was coming to them through the Comoros and Somalia. This seems unlikely as these commandos had no airport capacity to receive this aid. Most likely, it was in the form of cash grants paid into C.I.A. secret bank accounts, as the Saudi and Brunei rulers are now being discovered to have done for the contras in Nicaragua, in the course of the Iran/Contra investigations in the United States. The Saudi and Omani role is obviously in order to enable the South Africans to use the large Muslim population in Mozambique to bring down the FRELIMO government and install their puppets.

Ronald Reagan came in in 1980 with his world crusade against liberation movements and socialism, arming any dictator or counter-revolutionary thug. This gave a greater boost to the South African plan; and the C.I.A. which had always had a hand in the situation, moved in with material, logistical and intelligence assistance. In 1981 Mozambique had to expel four C.I.A. agents from Maputo. Later it was



discovered that the C.I.A. and South African intelligence had penetrated to the highest levels of the Mozambican security and intelligence services.

#### WAR AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE

In 1981 these commandos, trained, equipped and re-supplied by South Africa and its supporters, launched their offensive against Mozambique. They attacked every living thing, every structure, and every natural resource which is being used to build the new Mozambique. They wreaked havoc all over central Mozambique, and gradually extended themselves southwards.

The Mozambican army has

fought back against this better armed and better supplied commando force, under very difficult conditions of natural disaster and South African economic strangulation. With the assistance of the Zimbabwean National Army and now of the Tanzanian Army, it has won some decisive victories. But the war launched against Mozambique by South African commandos is far from over, and is clearly now part of the larger war in the whole of Southern Africa which will only end with the destruction of the apartheid regime.

Part of this war is being fought at the level of propaganda. And a

major plank of this propaganda is the disinformation campaign by the imperialist media and their subservient Nigerian extensions, to create the false impression that RENAMO is something more than armed bandits, trained, organised, equipped and supplied by the South African Defence Force to open and sustain a special battle front in its war against the liberation of Africa. We must see through this disinformation campaign, and expose it wherever we can, so that the enemy and his local satraps do not use it to fool us about the actual reality of the balance of forces in the frontline of African liberation.

#### FROM THE PRESS

## The More You Pay, the More You Owe

"Good evening Brazilians," said President José Sarney from the Planalto Palace on 20 February: "I want to announce that the country is suspending the interest payments on its foreign debt."

Sarney told his people: "In the past five years Brazil has paid US\$55.8 billion in debt interest alone," and, he declared, "we cannot pay the debt with the people's hunger." Even more significantly, he added: "Our debt paid with misery would certainly be paid with democracy instead."

Two days later the Brazilian finance minister, Dilson Funaro, told his interlocutors in Washington: "Brazil is not in crisis. It does not need monitoring. It has the third largest trade surplus in the world and a lower public sector deficit than most of its creditors." The problem was that out of its expected trade surplus of around US \$7 billion in 1987 it would have to part with US 5 billion in interest payments alone and seek US \$6.9 billion in fresh financing from foreign banks to balance its payments.

The western press screamed that Brazil had succumbed to populism. Western banks claimed that Brazil had encouraged a spending spree which had depleted its trade surplus and pushed up interest rates and inflation. The cruzado plan had proved a disaster because the President had used economic measures to win political popularity. As a result the country's monthly surplus had fallen from US \$1 billion at the beginning of 1986 to US \$100 million, and foreign exchange reserves had dropped from US \$9 billion in 1985 to US \$100 million in 1986. Prices were rising at an annual rate of 500 per cent to 1,000 per cent.

The Sarney government, it was alleged, had put politics ahead of economics when it tried to maintain

an artificial price freeze for too long.

But Brasilia was unmoved. It refused to have anything to do with the IMF or its so-called adjustment regime. The IMF had no interest whatever in the economic well-being of Brazil — its sole concern was to create conditions which would ensure the maximum possible repayment of interest on foreign debt.

Before announcing the suspension of interest payments, Brazil ordered its ships to move out of US harbours to avoid the risk of sequestration. Brazil's central bank transferred the US \$3.9 billion foreign reserves into three sanctuaries, two outside Brazil and one within it. It also centralised repayments on



*Kalu Kalu . . . when will the reality sink in?*



all short-term trade credits and inter-bank money market lines in overseas accounts of the central bank to forestall withdrawals of these funds. The government knew that it was dealing with predators who would resort to any means to seize control of Brazil's funds.

President Sarney's announcement has demonstrated once again that no amount of adjustment is going to get the Third World out of the debt trap. One has only to look at the figures to realise that adjustment strategies and the rescheduling will only drive the developing countries into greater indebtedness. The total amount of public and private long-term debt of all developing countries in 1980 was US \$429.6 billion. Between 1980 and 1986 the developing countries paid back US \$658 billion (US \$332.1 billion in principal and US \$325.9 billion in interest). What did they end up with after having

The total amount of public and private long-term debt of all developing countries in 1980 was 429.6 billion dollars. Between 1980 and 1986 the developing countries paid back 658 billion dollars ( 332.1 billion in principal and 325.9 billion in interest). What did they end up with after having made these huge repayments? Their outstanding debt in 1986 was 775 billion dollars. . . It is an impossible game: the more you pay, the more you owe.

made these huge repayments? Their outstanding debt in 1986 was US \$775 billion. Collectively the highly indebted countries, according to the World Bank classification, had a total of US \$204.1 billion in public and private long-term debt in 1980. Between 1980 and 1986 they repaid US \$349.5 billion (US \$147.1 billion in principal and US \$202.4 billion in interest). And what did they end up with in 1986? An outstanding debt of US \$382 billion. It is an impossible game: the more you pay, the more you owe. The predators are gobbling up country after country.

The reasons are obvious. The debtors have to submit to floating interest rates which can be unilaterally changed by the creditors. They are also subject to variable exchange rates: between 1985 and 1986 the total debt of the developing countries increased by US \$40 billion because of the revaluation of non-dollar currencies.

#### EXTORTIONIST MARGINS

When one reads in the press "Banks slash Venezuela's interest rates", one tends to forget that the interest rates are beyond discussion or negotiation. These rates are determined by the London inter-bank offered rate for money (Libor), which no debtor country can question. The rescheduling negotiations focus on the percentage margin paid over Libor. When Venezuela's debt is rescheduled at what



*Alhaji Alhaji . . . in the thick of debt negotiations.*

is called "a remarkable level", it only means that the percentage margin over Libor has been reduced from  $1 \frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a point. In the case of Brazil the percentage margin was fixed at 2.32 above Libor in 1982-83. This was higher than the margin allowed for Argentina, Ecuador, Chile and Uruguay. It was lowered to 2 per cent in 1983-84 and to 1.13 per cent in 1984-85. It is now expected to drop to 0.81 per cent. The negotiations are always about the percentage margin above Libor. Had the banks taken a more reasonable position, and foregone the extortionist margins above Libor, the debtor countries might have been in a better position today.

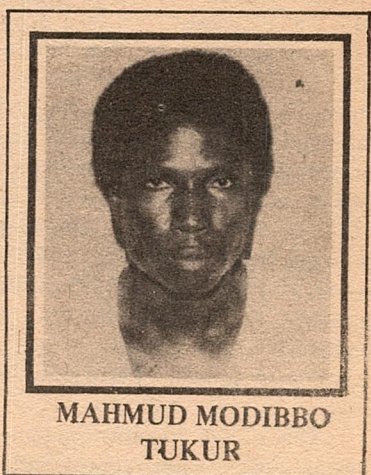
The economies of the debtor countries have become subservient to the requirements of the commercial banks. The more a debtor country produces, the more it must export, because export earnings are what the banks appropriate to cover their interest charges. Repayment of interest takes precedence over all national needs and domestic consumption. If people consume a part of their national produce which reduces their export earnings, it is treated as irresponsible economic behaviour. Instead of holding back when a debtor economy begins to revive, as happened in Mexico after 1982, or in Brazil after 1984, and allowing them to reinvest more in national production, the banks come in and claim their pound of flesh, with the result that development strategies flounder because a large part of the surplus is swallowed up by the creditor.

Brazil has shown that the IMF adjustment programmes will not work. Nor will the rescheduling strategies help the debtors. Brazil has signalled to other debtor countries in an even weaker position that the debts accumulated by the developing countries under a variety of corrupt and authoritarian regimes in collusion with the western banks and the transnationals cannot be repaid. The time has come to write off these debts, and if this is not done, the world economy should prepare itself for a deep and prolonged recession.

[Culled from *South*, April 1987.]



# AWO: BEYOND HYPOCRISY



MAHMUD MODIBBO  
TUKUR

sat down and read or re-read the sources suggested above.

Every assessment must have a class standpoint, and this magazine pursues what we perceive as the combined interests of the workers and the peasants of Nigeria. Yet in my view, an assessment of Chief Awolowo cannot be undertaken either from a proletarian or a peasant view point unless one wants to show him up in an unfavourable light, which is definitely not my aim. Without necessarily being reactionary,

"A tree is best measured when it is down" goes an Anglo-American proverb. So also with great men: they are best assessed when they are gone; though God known, not immediately after such "a-going". What comes easily immediately after the death of a man is tribute rather than assessment. The canons of the first, demands that we underline the good points about the man and gloss over the bad; while the second requires that we take a critical look at both sides before coming out for the preponderant side, be that the good or the bad.

Beyond doubt the gentleman who passed away so peacefully and at such a ripe old age, so early in the morning of Saturday, 9th May 1987, at Ikenne in the Ijebu heartland, was a great man — at least in the 'neutral' sense of having, for good or for ill, contributed disproportionately towards shaping the direction in which this country developed over the last four decades or so. And while he lived it was near impossible to make an objective assessment of him, not the least because he continued to evolve until his last moments. It is never possible to exhaustively study a process that is still going on. Another, and very mundane, reason for subjectivity on all sides about Chief Awolowo was that until less than a year ago, he remained a perennial candidate for the Nigerian presidency. Hence until then all 'assessments' of him had the tendency, if not the conscious aim, of either furthering that candidacy or hindering it, on a more or less subjective and a priori basis.

Furthermore, to assess a man like Chief Awolowo, who was at one time or another a practicing lawyer, a scholar, a politician and an administrator; a man who said so much about others and about whom others

said still more, it is very dangerous for one to rely on one's memory and impressions alone. A reading, in some cases a re-reading, is necessary of what he wrote, what he is reported to have said and done, and what others, both friends and foes, wrote about or are reported to have said about him, while he was still alive.

Hopefully such an effort, which is indispensable if we are to have a tolerably accurate understanding of Nigeria's history in the last 40 years, will be undertaken by this writer or some other member of *The Analyst* collective. In the meantime, what is being said in this article, based as it is largely on one's impressions of the mid-50s and the early 60s, to which the article will be confined, is preliminary and very much subject to correction, not the least by the writer himself after he might have



Late Awo . . . quintessential bourgeois democrat.



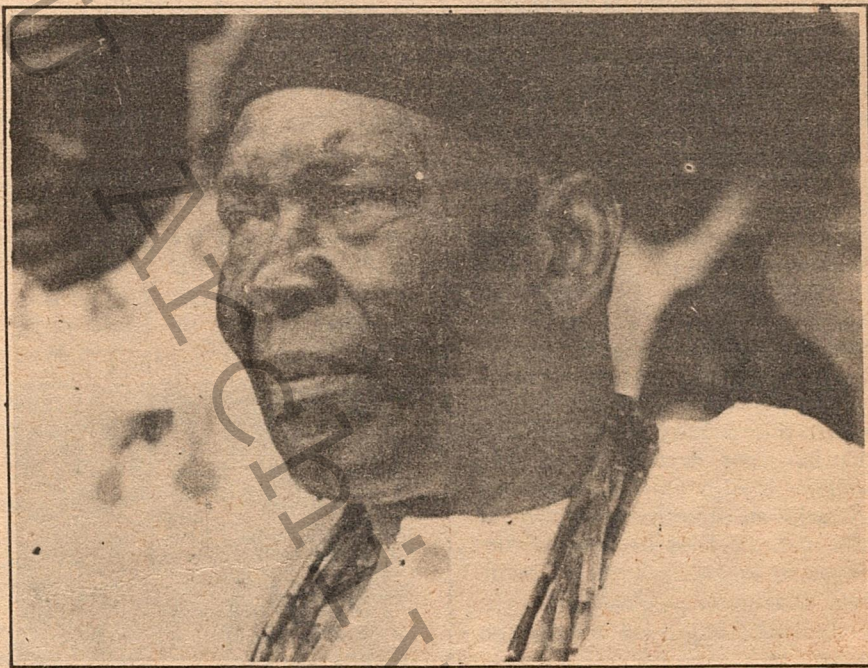
Awolowo simply was not a champion of either of these two classes, except in a very general sense. On the other side of the coin neither was he a champion of the remnants of feudalism which are still quite important in the country's affairs. In this regard it should be noted that virtually he alone of the major political actors in the First Republic refrained from claiming a "royalist" pedigree for himself. By his own admission his father was a commoner, though a fairly ambitious one.

That Chief Awolowo ended up having such a good rapport with at least some of the Obas in the old West, notably the Odemo of Ishara, the Ooni of Ife and the Olu of Warri, was a measure more of the extent to which the Obas themselves, each of whom in addition to being a crowned head was also a merchant, had been bourgeoisified, than of the extent to which he himself had become an aristocrat at heart. With so many children and grandchildren, and such teeming, worshipful, often enough fawning, "followers", he could not, and did not, escape becoming something of a patriarch; but an aristocrat or a feudalist he never was. Nor were his relatively humble origins hidden even from the *talakawa* in the North, whose own party of those days, the Northern Elements Progressive Union, tried to dismiss the relevance of the Sardauna's aristocratic background by asking the question: "*In Sardauna jikan Shehu ne, shin Awolowo wa ya ba shi Firimiya?*" which freely rendered in English means: "If the Sardauna (is Premier because he) is the descendant of Uthman dan Fodio, then (tell us) how come Awolowo is (also) a Premier".

This process of elimination leaves us with Awolowo the representative of the bourgeoisie, i.e., Awolowo the bourgeois democrat in a Nigeria where bourgeois democracy is to this day yet to be won and consolidated, and hence a bourgeois democrat in a Nigeria where it is still progressive — very much so — to be a bourgeois democrat. In saying this

one is not ignoring the fact that the Nigerian bourgeoisie, though of recent birth, was born with more grey than black hair on its head — old, senile, and cynical. Awolowo, the bourgeois democrat, was the essential Awolowo, as we hope will become a bit clear by the end of this assessment. But this essential Awolowo — Awolowo the bourgeois democrat — was overlain and all but obscured by another Awolowo, an inessential but more easily seen Awolowo. This was Awolowo the Yoruba "tribalist". To bring out the real Awolowo — Awolowo the bourgeois democrat — we shall have to pause a bit and take up and

an extent that made him its virtual creator and father. In this he was complemented by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in the East and, paradoxically, by the Sardauna in the North. All three of them, at least at the beginning, and in a Lugardian fashion, tried to create a bourgeoisie without its opposite — the proletariat. This they tried to achieve by fostering a mercantile and professional, rather than an industrial, bourgeoisie. In enlarging the tiny nucleus of the bourgeoisie that they each inherited from the British, each of the three Premiers very much relied on the Marketing Board funds which the retreating British handed



Zik . . . forced to create a regional bourgeoisie.

dispose of the false Awolowo, the Awolowo of his detractors — Awolowo the "tribalist".

If Awolowo's detractors somewhat succeeded in obscuring the essential Awolowo, this was partly because Chief Awolowo, far from waking up to find a clearly defined nationwide bourgeoisie at the head of which to place himself, found — even in Western Nigeria — only an ill-defined, small and very much harassed merchant bourgeoisie, which he himself had to enlarge to

over to them, and which they strenuously tried to augment by intensifying, as a matter of deliberate policy, the exploitative aspects of the Boards' activities against the peasantry. Yet while nurturing their bourgeoisies by methods that were not altogether dissimilar from the methods employed by horticulturalists in green houses, each had to rely on some other, non-bourgeois, base. For this preliminary purpose the Sardauna took over a multi-ethnic regional, albeit feudal, base; while



both Chief Awolowo and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had to build for themselves what in the nature of things had to look like ethnic bases.

In this regard it should be pointed out that the general story told to secondary school students is that Chief Awolowo started his political life by founding the *Egbe Omo Oduduwa*, a pan-Yoruba 'cultural' organisation. The lesson meant to be learnt from this 'fact' is that Awolowo started his political life as a Yoruba "tribalist". To this we say that in point of 'fact' Awolowo did not start that far up. He came from further down the ladder of 'parochialism'. For — his brief stint in the Nigerian Youth Movement apart — he started his political career as leader of the Native Settlers Association in Ibadan, an Association which expressed and fended for the interests of Ijebu traders in that city against Ibadan's ruling oligarchy which, by the mid-40s, capitalising on the general unpopularity of these traders, tried to impose civil disabilities on them. Hence it was a big step forward in the development of Awolowo's own stature and "mental magnitude", and in Yoruba unity, when he graduated to be an aspiring leader of all the Yorubas by founding the *Egbe* in 1949. We say an aspiring leader, because until about 1963 quite a number of Yoruba sub-groups rejected his claim to lead them, as can easily be seen from all the electoral results in the First Republic including the 1959 Federal Elections during which, for example, out of a total of 55 Yoruba constituencies in the West, Lagos and the North, the AG won 31, and lost 24 to its opponents. Throughout that period his own Action Group drew its strength almost wholly from among the Ijebus, the Egbas and the Ekitis, while the Ifes and the Ijeshas, the Lagosians, the Oyos (especially the Ibadans), either generally supported NCNC or were divided almost equally between the two parties. In fact even among his own Ijebus, indeed his own Ijebu Remos, the NCNC made a good showing in,

among other places, Ikorodu, from where NCNC stalwarts T.O.S. Benson and Adeniran Ogunsanya kept on getting elected right up to the time of the 1966 coup. The varying attitudes towards Chief Awolowo among the Yoruba in this period, far from being purely a reflection of "primordial" animosities among the several sub-ethnic groups that make up the Yoruba, reflected — though somewhat inaccurately — objective variations in the degree to which each sub-group had developed the generally nascent mercantile bourgeoisie whose interests Chief Awolowo, in essence, represented.

This 'fact' can best be seen in the attitude of Ibadan towards the Action Group. The truth is that whereas Ibadan was easily the largest city in Western Nigeria, and indeed in the whole of Nigeria, and whereas Ibadan had held a preeminent economic and bureaucratic position in that Region except for Lagos, Ibadan's indigenes, for historical reasons, were by no means quite prominent, except for isolated individuals, among the merchant class in Yorubaland — a class which was dominated by the Ijebus and to a lesser extent the Egbas, the Egbados and the Ijeshas. Indeed it would seem that mercantilism was

less developed among the Ibadans than even among the Ogbomoshos, another Oyo group, from whom Chief Samuel Akintola was soon to emerge. Naturally, *any* organisation, led by *anyone*, which championed the interests of the merchant class was very likely to receive the support of the Ijebus, first and foremost; the Egbas and the Ijeshas to a lesser extent; while the people of Ibadan — among whom landlords and lumpen elements seemed to predominate in those days — would at best be cool towards it. But Awolowo was not just *anyone*: he was an Ijebu merchant, long before he became a Yoruba lawyer. This fact and its perception as such by all concerned served to exaggerate Ijebu support for him and the hostility of the Ibadans towards him. Hence before 1965 about the only time he seemingly picked up some support in Ibadan was in 1951, when Moyosore Aboderin, Daniel Akinbiyi, Adisa Akinloye and another person, all of whom, after being elected to the first ever Western House of Assembly on the ticket of the Ibadan People's Party and on at least a tacit understanding that they would never support the Action Group, decided to pitch their tent in the AG camp, while a fifth member, similarly

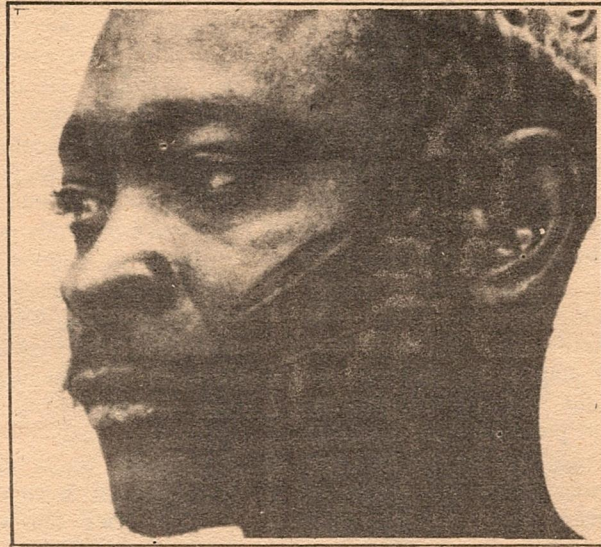


Sardana . . . his power had a feudal base.



ected on the IPP ticket, the exceedingly articulate Adegoke Adelabu, pitched his tent with the NCNC. That "victory" by the AG turned out to be temporary, for Aboderin, Akinloye and their colleagues were never again to be re-elected by the people of Ibadan, while Adelabu went on to become the doyen of Ibadan politics right until his death in March 1958. Perhaps more germane to our argument here is that while Daniel Akinbiyi was a well-established cocoa merchant, Moyosore Aboderin was a rising merchant and the son of merchant parents, and Akinloye was a budding lawyer — one of the first ever produced by Ibadan — Adelabu could by no means be described as a man of substance. His only assets were his sharp mind, his sharp tongue, and sheer guts.

When virtually the whole of Yorubaland finally accepted Awolowo's leadership, partly as a reflection of the extent to which classes had become more uniform among its peoples thanks to the comprehensive policy of "Life More Abundant", it was largely due to the cupidity and the bungling of his political enemies who, from 1962 to the time of the coup, sought to eliminate him, at least politically: they ended up endearing him to the Yoruba. If Awolowo's enemies had been more observant, they should have seen on at least two occasions before his conviction, that by persecuting him they were building rather than destroying him. The first was the day he journeyed from Ikenne to Lagos to start a house arrest pending the completion of the dossier containing the charges against him; and the second was when, later that same year, and at the height of his trial, his elder son, Segun, died in a motor accident. His drive from Ikenne down to Lagos that October day looked more like the triumphal procession of a Caesar on his way to receive the crown than the shuffle of a felon towards conviction and possible execution. The whole of the Ijebu countryside, including localities that had hitherto supported the



*Adegoke Adelabu . . . doyen of Ibadan politics.*

NCNC, poured out on to the road. At points on the road there was such a huge crowd that his driver had to turn off the engine and allow the car to be pushed by the ever thickening crowds. At every village and roadside cottage the car was forced to stop by villagers intent on swearing their solidarity with him in the face of what looked like a blatant attempt by "the Hausas and the Ibos" to destroy him. Hence a journey which should have taken him less than one hour, took him 8 hours — from 8 AM to 4 PM — to complete. Likewise the death of his son was mourned by the Yoruba as if it were the death of a Head of State. Thus by the time Awolowo bagged a ten year jail term from a Federal court he had not only won the support of the bulk of the Yoruba, but was aware of it. This can be seen in his own account of how he received the news of Segun's death, as he told an NTA crew around the 1983 General Elections. He says that as the news spread among other inmates, the whole prison took to wailing while he sat dry-eyed. On the emissaries and his prisoner colleagues insisting that he too shed tears lest he choke himself to a premature death, he replied, if I remember his account correctly: "There is no use my shedding tears, for if tears were capable of bringing Segun back, he should not have spent

an hour in the Hereafter. The tears already shed for him from Badagry to Ekiti and from Ekpe to Ilorin should have brought him back by now."

Thus by now Awolowo had a safe, compact, and secure political base from which his antagonists could dislodge him only by physically eliminating him, or at least putting him behind bars, as they in fact did to their own eventual undoing. It was the existence of such a secure base for him that ensured his survival as a political force right until his death. But it was also the existence of such a base for him that militated against his further progress up the 'national' ladder: he became too much identified with the Yoruba, and the other major nationalities, to the extent that they had not 'realised' this earlier, also felt entitled — indeed duty-bound — to build and support their own ethnic and regional tin-gods, warts and all. But if Awolowo ended up stuck with what seemed like an ethnic political base which he could not effectively expand, it was not for lack of trying to so expand it by him. Like the bourgeois Nigerian that he was, and having taken a realistic measure of the structure and the composition of the country, he realised the need to seek support outside Yorubaland.

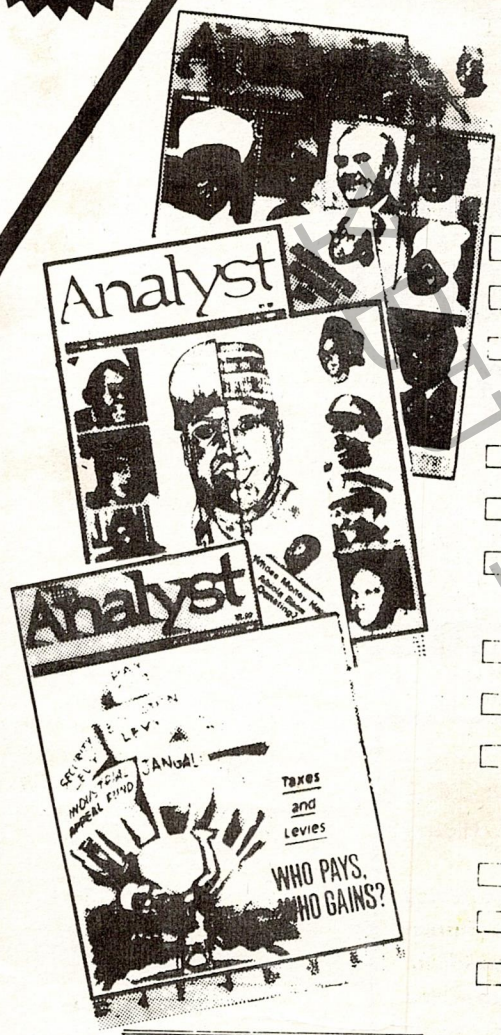
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