

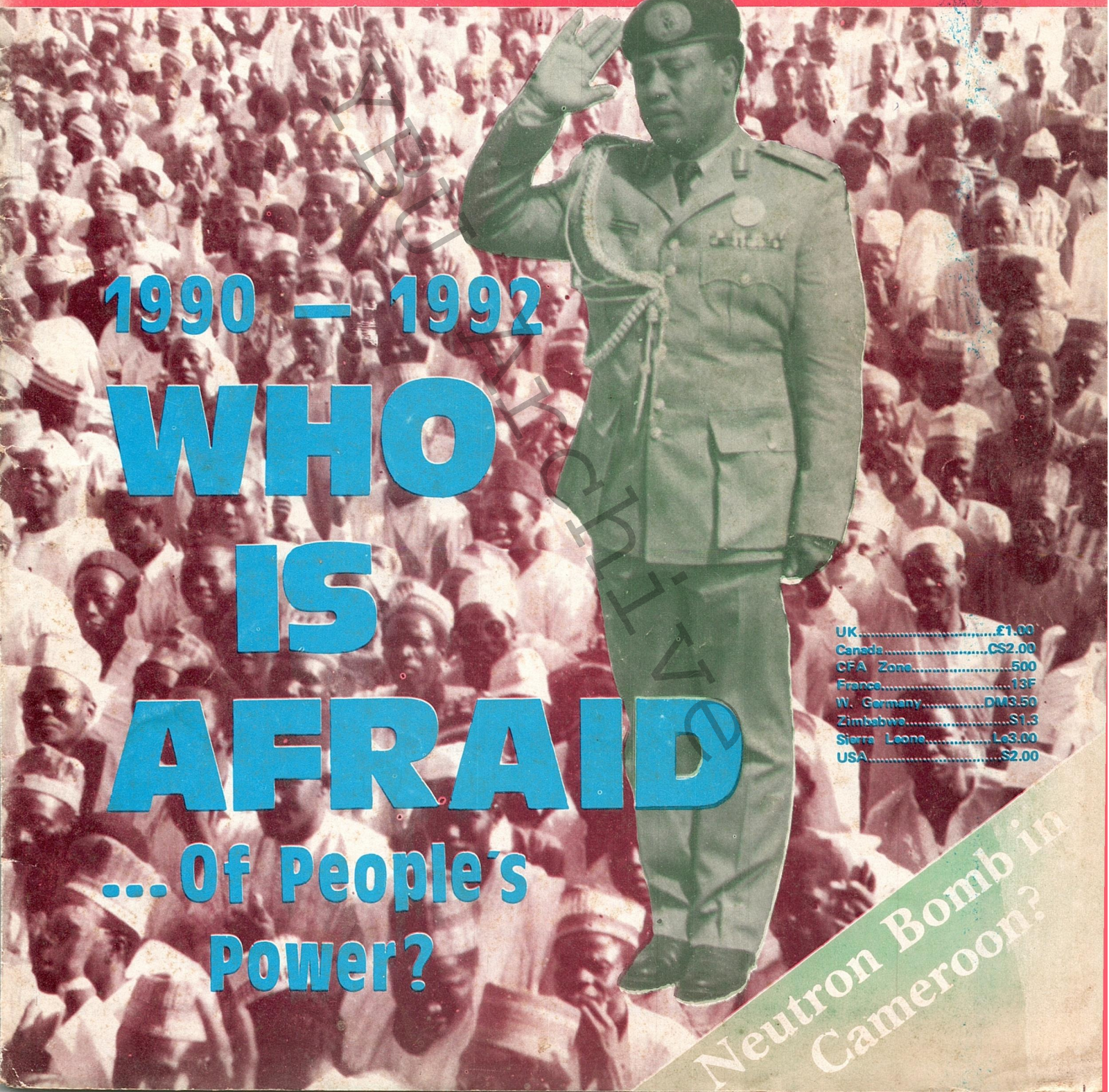


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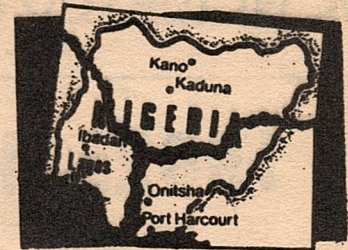
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In this issue



1992: THE ISSUE IS PEOPLE'S POWER.....8

Babangida's political transition programme has one main goal: to make for political stability through an orderly succession process. But is political stability possible in a dependent, lopsided economy, and in a situation where the masses of the Nigerian people are powerless, disenfranchised and wallowing in abject poverty?



NEUTRON BOMB IN CAMEROONS?.....18

What really happened at Lake Nyos in the Cameroons? Was the mysterious event that killed thousands of people and their animals the result of a gas eruption, as the world has been told? Or was it from a secret neutron bomb test, as new evidence now points to? If so, who are the forces behind what happened, and why are they trying to cover it up?

THE ANALYST CONTEMPT CASE.....20

For the first time in Nigeria, a publisher of a media organ was joined in a contempt charge. The judgement in the case has important implications for press freedom in Nigeria.



1. Comment	4
2. Letters.....	6
3. Political Programme and Political Economy.....	8
4. What is People's Power?.....	12
5. Bureaucracy or Democracy?.....	13
6. Who Shall Be Nigeria's Busia?.....	15
7. M.A.N. Confirms <i>The Analyst</i>	16
8. From the Press.....	17
9. PHOTOSPEAK.....	18
10. UPDATE.....	18
11. <i>The Analyst</i> on Trial.....	20
12. Controversy: Land and Faith.....	23
13. The Bakori Trials: Prosecution Upstaged.....	24
14. EARSHOT: The Appeal Funds Bonanza?.....	26
15. Awo: Beyond Hypocrisy (2).....	27
16. Angola: The Truth About UNITA.....	29
17. The Bala Mohammed Lecture.....	33
18. CAUGHT OUT.....	34

1992: THE ISSUE IS PEOPLE'S POWER

Certain aspects of President Babangida's broadcast to the nation have cast doubts on the government's commitment to hand over power to a democratically elected government even in 1992. The shift forward by two years of the proposed date of hand-over, and the use of such phrases by President Babangida in his broadcast as "things being equal", serve to reinforce these doubts.

But given the government's elaborate transition programme, and the hope that the President and other members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council have learnt the lesson of history, we believe that, for the time being, they should be given the benefit of the doubt. However nobody within the present Federal Military Government, in the Nigerian Armed Forces, and elsewhere in the country and outside, should be in doubt about the fact that sovereignty in Nigeria rests solely with the people of Nigeria, who have the sole legitimate right to decide on the economic, social and political system they want for their country, and how the country should be governed, and by whom.

The fact that this sovereign right of our people gets violated by civilians and military alike does not detract from its validity, and from the fact that political stability and progress are not possible in Nigeria, or any country in the world, unless this right is respected and made the bedrock of the social order. The overthrow all over the world of military and civilian dictatorships, armed to the teeth, by popular democratic forces as in Nicaragua, Iran, Uganda, Sudan, Philippines, Haiti, and currently in South Korea, are lessons which anybody in power, or anybody ambitious for power, can only ignore at his peril.

We therefore do not share the government's diagnosis of the causes of political instability in Nigeria as being due to a lack of a political culture of patience, accommodation and tolerance. This is a faulty diagnosis which arises from an evasive approach to the country's problems. In our view, the main cause of political instability in this country is the fact that power has never been in the hands of the Nigerian people, but in the hands of a very tiny class of people whose rapacious greed, impatience and intolerance are what generate instability. This tiny class which lives by exploiting the Nigerian people, in collaboration with foreign interests, is organised in a way that the Nigerian people are not. Herein lies the problem. As we approach 1992 therefore, the real issue is how the Nigerian people can organise to wrest power from this tiny, parasitic class, and use it to transform the society and build and sustain democracy and stability in this country.

In fact, the people of Nigeria have been very patient. They have been very tolerant. They have been far too accommodating of the greed, rapacity and sheer parasitism of this tiny class

whose activities are the root cause of the backwardness and instability of this country. The charges of impatience and intolerance should therefore be directed at the right quarters. The people of Nigeria can only be charged for not taking power in their own country, twenty-seven years after independence.

The Nigerian people, however, will need much more than just political power to build a democracy. Much more importantly, they need economic power. Without this, the dice will be heavily loaded against them in the battles that have to be fought and the struggles that have to be waged in the arduous task of building a stable, united and progressive Nigeria.

This issue of economic power is a very crucial one. We do not believe that a socialist economy and society can be established by a decree or by any military or bureaucratic fiat. But the government's response to the Political Bureau's recommendation that Nigeria should go socialist is very evasive. To say, as the government does, that ideological labels are not necessary for the path Nigeria follows, while at the same time to continue to impose the extremely capitalistic Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and even plan to consolidate it, is a naked exercise in double standards. We cannot build a solid foundation for our future on double standards. The least that the President and the Armed Forces Ruling Council should do is to declare openly their commitment to SAP, a clear-cut capitalist programme, similar to Reaganism and Thatcherism. But then, they should also recognise what the Political Bureau has reported: the majority of the people of Nigeria do not want SAP, they want socialism.

And since sovereignty rests with the people of Nigeria, and not with the AFRC, they should then respect these wishes, not by imposing socialism by decree, but by clearing the ground to enable the people of Nigeria to confirm or deny their choice through their directly and democratically elected representatives in the Constituent Assembly to be convened in the first quarter of 1988. This choice cannot, however, be a free choice until the actual chains which tie our people down in conditions of *abject powerlessness*, as the Political Bureau reports, are broken. To break these chains, the government should immediately allow for and encourage: the control of markets by the artisans and traders who derive their livelihood directly from them; the control of land by those who live and work on it; the supervision of factories and workshops by workers' elected representatives; the control of the educational system by the parents, teachers and students; the supervision of the police and the judiciary by elected community representatives.

But the creation of the minimum conditions for grassroots participation, democracy and stability in Nigeria also requires

Comment

that the oppression of the people by the so-called traditional rulers is decisively brought to an end. We welcome the government's acceptance of the recommendation of the Political Bureau that traditional rulers should not be allowed to exercise any judicial, legislative or executive powers, and that they should be limited to their local governments in whatever else they do. There is, however, widespread concern throughout the country over the additional proviso in the White Paper which mentions that the Dasuki Report should be implemented. This concern is because the recommendations of the Dasuki Report, which are already being implemented in some states, go contrary to the letter and spirit of the government's decision, because they seek to entrench feudal power over the local government councils.

It is only these essential democratic reforms, at the grassroots level, over the control of land, markets, schools, the supervision of workplaces, the police and the judiciary; and the termination of feudal oppression, in general, that can actually mobilise the masses for effective political participation, and not another directorate in the President's Office. Instead of setting up another bureaucratic organ, the government should bring together all the available national resources and launch a three year mass literacy campaign to teach all Nigerians basic literacy, numeracy, their rights and duties as citizens of a democratic society and what we each have to do to bring about economic recovery and self-sustaining national development.

With these chains of oppression beginning to be broken at the grassroots level, the people of Nigeria will begin to have the freedom with which to exercise their sovereign rights to decide on a new constitution, or to merely modify the 1979 constitution. In this regard, we also welcome the decision of the government to convene a Constituent Assembly. The silence of the government on the composition and mode of election of the Assembly has, however, aroused widespread suspicion. This suspicion is fuelled by the fact that some members of the elite have been going around drawing up lists of who and who should represent which state in the Constituent Assembly. These activities are raising fears that we may end up being saddled with a Constituent Assembly that is appointed by the AFRC, directly or indirectly. The indirect appointment is said to be through the colonial indirect election system, using the local government councils, as was done in 1977.

It should, however, be very clear that if the Constituent Assembly is to exercise the sovereign rights of the people of Nigeria on their behalf, it has to be *directly and democratically* elected from territorial constituencies and from additional constituencies for the special representation of peasant farmers, workers, students, women, and the Armed Forces. This will require, of course, that the right atmosphere is created under which the people can freely organise themselves. In this regard, therefore, we call for the removal of all restrictions on popular organisations in the country.

And while we are at this, we would like to register our serious objections to the proposed decree and tribunal to control political activities between now and the time the ban on partisan politics will be lifted. We are, of course, not unaware of the dirty and unhealthy politicking going on in certain quarters in the country, and we share government's concern to

ensure that peace prevails during the transition. But we believe that a decree and the tribunal like the ones proposed shall become a handy tool for muzzling popular opinion and organisations. Worse, the decree cannot stop, and would in fact even encourage, some sinister forces and interests mobilising under all sorts of guises like religion, regionalism and ethnicity. And the result of this will be to threaten the peace and unity of the country and prevent the emergence of a solid popular basis for political stability and progress.

In the same way, we would like to warn that a census conducted in March–December 1991 is fraught with dangers. It could open the politics of this country wide open to the reactionary and sinister forces manipulating religion, regionalism and ethnicity, in an increasingly violent form. And this would be before nation-wide democratic, popular and patriotic organisations have taken firm root under the new dispensation. The conduct of the census should be left to a democratically-elected Federal Government which should have the effective grassroots support and credibility with which to deal with these forces of sectionalism and ensure an accurate count. The Federal Military Government should realistically place national unity above all other considerations.

Once the Federal Military Government has done its duty of making sure that the chains of oppression which prevent the people of Nigeria from exercising their sovereign rights are broken, all decisions about the paths Nigeria should follow and the type of constitution and the transition programme should be left to the Constituent Assembly.

There are, however, a number of issues over which we do not agree with both the recommendations of the Political Bureau and the government's position.

On the issue of the number of parties to contest elections, for example, we cannot see the rhyme or reason, or the logic, of restricting these to only two parties. How can this be democratic and ensure citizens' participation and political stability? Where is all the culture of tolerance and accommodation? We cannot even see the basis on which the Federal Military Government or any of its electoral organs will decide which two political parties to register before any of these parties have contested any elections and their popular electoral support has been tested. Unless, of course, the people to constitute the two parties have already been lined up to take over as government and loyal opposition, irrespective of what the people of Nigeria want. Such an imposition would only amount to establishing a form of military rule by civilian surrogates, with all the disruptive consequences to the whole country and to the Armed Forces that this would entail.

On the issue of the banning of the political actors of the Second Republic from office, we find the recommendation of the Political Bureau that all politicians right down to constituency level should be banned very evasive and not consistent with their other recommendations and findings over public accountability.

To ban everybody is to ban nobody! In any case, no one, not even an Armed Forces Ruling Council, can ban a millionaire from politics. Whether he is standing or not, his moneybags will stand election for him, and decide matters in party and public elections.

The decision of who should be banned should be left to the Constituent Assembly. The duty of the Federal Military Government is to break out of the sacred-cow syndrome and

Comment

seriously investigate and bring to trial the real criminals who plundered Nigeria and wrecked its economy and violated its laws and constitution during the Second Republic. Full information on all such investigations and trials should be made available to the Nigerian public.

It is not insignificant that both the Political Bureau in its findings and recommendations on the economy, and the government in the White Paper, have remained silent on the very crucial issue of external debts. These debts were an important factor in the overthrow of the last civilian regime and even played a part in the coup that brought the present regime to power.

According to the Minister of Finance, Dr. Chu Okongwu, while giving the briefing over the 1987 Budget, in January, these external debts stood at a grand total of 18.453 billion U.S. dollars (about N72.00 billion at FEM rate) in November 1986. Of course since then the loans to sustain SFEM, from the World Bank and other sources, and other debts, have raised this to well over N80.00 billion by June this year.

What is however very significant for the political programme is that almost 75% of this external loan has been rescheduled to make repayment start on 1st January 1993! More loans are being contracted, and it is likely that this burden of debt crushing the Nigerian economy will be killing by 1993.

This could make it impossible for any democratically-elected government to survive long enough to pay three months salaries to its employees.

The issue of the scale and validity of the debt claims against Nigeria, most of which we believe are fraudulent, should be placed on the agenda of the Constituent Assembly, when it convenes in the first quarter of 1988. The Assembly should not only work out our future paths in terms of the system to build and the constitution, but it should also be asked to examine the issue of debts. The work of the Debt Commission, which we proposed in *The Analyst* (Vol.1, No.4) in November 1986 could be done by a commission set up by the Constituent Assembly, as it cannot be avoided in any serious deliberations on the future of our country.

The issue of debts, of economic recovery, and of the new constitution, are all subject to the central issue of who should have power in this country. Should economic and political power in this country remain in the hands of the tiny class of greedy parasites who have clearly failed to develop, unite, and bring stability and progress to this country? Or should this power, for the first time, be taken over by the people of this country, in their places of work and in their places of residence, from the grassroots to the highest national level, for the progress, unity and stability of our country? The central issue before Nigerians between now and 1992 is the issue of people's power.



LETTERS

Fed. Character — Rejoinder

I read with distaste a letter written by one Olajubaje, published in Vol.2, No.2 of your magazine, captioned "Reflect Federal Character in your Exposures".

I would like here to refer the writer to those articles he has not read in the various issues:

—"Madara Limited - Sold out or given out?" (Vol.1, No.5) where the Retired Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua and his collaborators like Alhaji Yahaya Kwande, a Jos businessman, were accordingly exposed.

—"The Wrecking of the Gusau Oil Mill", where the role of some religious giants such as Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, Alhaji Shehu Malami and Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau were exposed.

—"Orphans on their land", a down-right exposition of injustice, oppression and repression in Bakori, of peasants, by one dubious, selfish and greedy businessman in the person of Alhaji Hassan of Rochers (Nig.) Limited Kano, who in

collaboration with the feudal lords and judiciary is forcefully trying to alienate those peasants from their natural means of production.

—"Taxes and levies (who pays, who gains?)" a total unravelling of the corrupt Native Authorities in Northern Nigeria in particular.

—"Nigerian Politicians: A Grand Design", where not only the Southern leaders were exposed but those in the North as well.

What kind of federal character is the writer then looking for?

Abdullahi Jingi Gella
Mubi, Gongola State

Photospeak

The PHOTOSPEAK column of your magazine *The Analyst* (Vol.2, No.2, 1987) educates people like me on the evils of capitalism.

S. Nwalor Esq.
Kaduna

No, Mariam Yunusa

Mariam Yunusa (*The Analyst*, Vol.2, No.3) does not have to be told that the masses are in abject poverty while the wealth of this country is concentrated in a relatively few hands. Therefore calling these type of people names is not even enough. *The Analyst* should even find stronger means of letting these thieves know that enough is enough.

Comrade Ishaya M. Waziri
Kano

Truthful Magazine

I would like to offer you my sincere congratulations for the giant strides your magazine has taken. After going through it, I became highly interested in the entire subjects discussed therein.

I would wish that you make sure that your truthful magazine circulates throughout Anambra and Imo States, and beyond.

A. E. Chikwumezie
Onitsha, Anambra State

Letters

The Vatican and O.I.C.

Your analysis of some of the remote factors responsible for the searing religious intolerance that culminated into the last religious riots in Kaduna State (*The Analyst*, Vol.2, No.2) made one major misrepresentation which should be corrected.

Firstly, the Vatican is a Sovereign State of its own and Nigeria has for the past 25 years had diplomatic relations with it just as it has with Saudi Arabia, Iran or Libya. The Vatican is therefore not an organisation, and does not, in its ties with other nations, seek to Christianize them. It is in fact our surreptitious entry into the O.I.C., which is an organisation, and has as its number one objective the Islamisation of all member states, that has engendered some belligerence and intolerance amongst Muslims.

Sir, I wonder why, instead of pointing directly to the Muslims, and blaming them for the current spirit of intolerance, you prefer lumping the Christians with the Muslims in order to feel safe to blame the Muslims?

Secondly, you also focused on the internal economic happenings and shortcomings in the Vatican that incidentally have nothing to do with the religious crisis in Nigeria. Those problems are internal to the Vatican just as they are to Britain, America or Saudi Arabia.

Lastly, Nigeria has, to the best of my knowledge, no financial obligations to fulfill to the Vatican. Rather, the Vatican encourages charity organisations abroad to set up hospitals and schools in Nigeria.

The desire of your magazine to expose all selfish machinations aimed at killing the Nigerian entity is heart warming. However, diligent research should ensure that the truth is always told and no misrepresentations are made.

*Aonda Iortim-Uba
Kafanchan, Kaduna State*

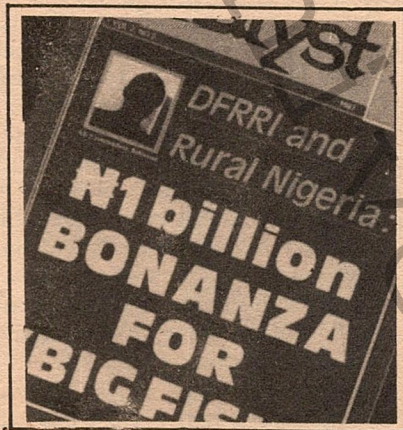
The Vatican and the O.I.C., as you pointed out, are organisations formed by criminal capitalists for the perpetuation of capitalism and imperialism and have nothing for Nigeria, Africa and the Black world of exploited human souls. Yet we were stupid enough to continue killing and fighting ourselves for the sake of these organisations.

*A. B. Lamido Misau
Zaria*

Readers Write on DFRRI

"DFRRI Reacts", Vol.2, No.3, makes interesting reading. I disagree entirely with Dr. Gana on his letter reacting to *The Analyst's* cover story titled "Bonanza for Big Fish". Dr. Gana claimed that during the Phase I of DFRRI's road programme, about 30,000 kms. of rural roads were constructed. I want to make it clear that not a single kilometre has been constructed in Keffi L.G.C. of Plateau State. Keffi Local Government is still faced with a lot of problems of bad roads, collapsed bridges, and others. Yet Dr. Gana has mentioned Plateau State among states where DFRRI has recorded "very good achievements".

Road problems apart, there is also a very serious water problem in Keffi, which affects workers, students and peasants. Keffi Community can not boast of a good water supply, or a dam to serve the purpose. But Dr. Gana, in his letter, said: "Phase I of the rural water and sanitation programme is designed to provide potable water to 250 communities in each state". I understand that the Phase I of this programme came to an end on 30th June, 1987. Then when will Keffi community get its own potable water? Today? Tomorrow? When?



In the light of the above, I am calling on the DFRRI to organise another inspection tour, to once again go round the states, particularly Plateau, in order to see things for themselves.

*Muhammad Gambo II
Keffi, Plateau State*

We in Moroa River area of Keffi Local Government of Plateau State have never seen any rural feeder road constructed in our domain, which is about fifty kilometres distance from the federal road at Angwan Takwa to Moroa River, not to talk of sinking of wells in the area.

*Jibrin A. Kaya
Maiduguri*

It is true that the DFRRI has tried much in some areas, but we in Pil-Gani District of Lantang L.G.C. of Plateau State are yet to see or feel the power of the DFRRI. This is true especially in Singha Chiefdom, which has no motor road, no single well, no primary school, no health clinic and many others.

Sometimes in February or March this year some people came and told our Mai Uguwa (ward head) who is acting as the Chief of Singha since the death of our chief 10 years ago, that they are from Lagos to dig a bore hole for us. They marked trees and wrote numbers on them in Magai village. This took them three days before they went away. Later somebody came and started digging a local well instead of a bore hole.

He too left, after digging the well 10 meters deep with no water in it.

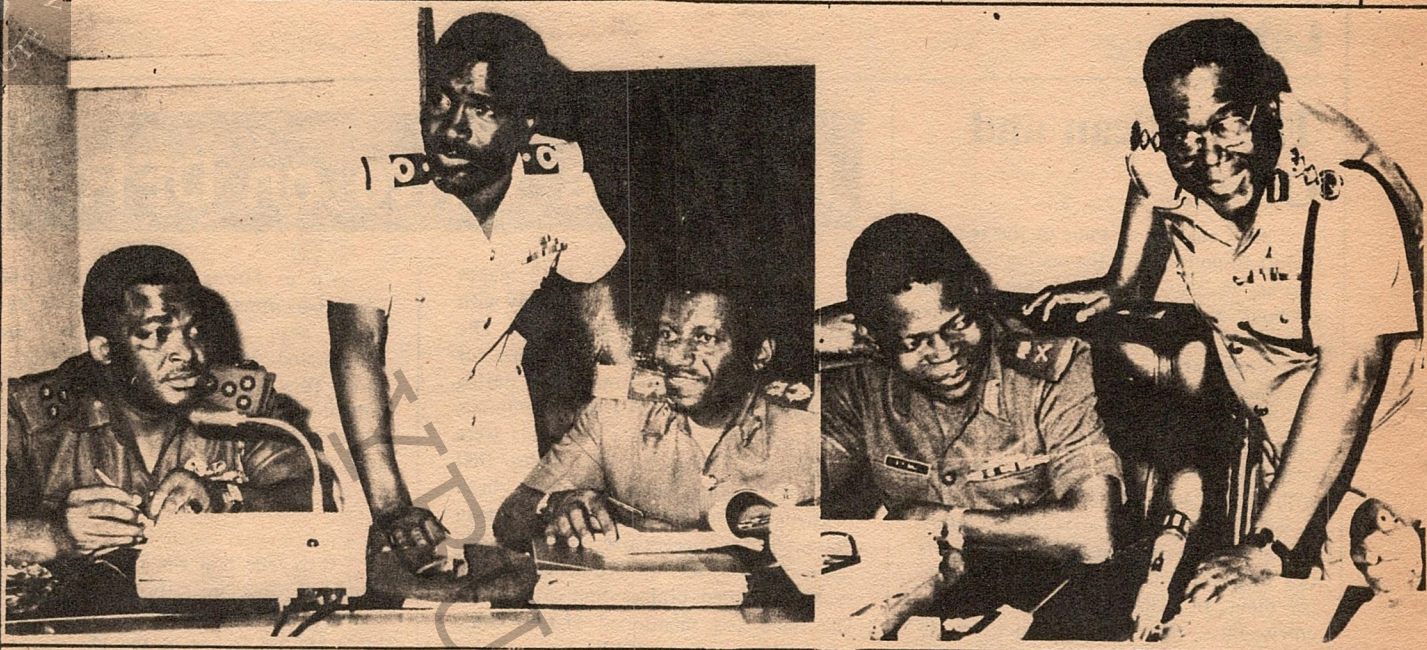
If these people are sent by the DFRRI to our District, they have done nothing for us and so we are yet to receive the blessing of the DFRRI, particularly in Singha Chiefdom of Gani District of Lantang Local Government Council in Plateau State.

*Vongmam Longmam Singha
Langtang, Plateau State*

EDITOR'S NOTE:

The letters published here are only a few of the many we've been getting from readers across the country in response to our invitation, contained in our last issue (Vol.2, No. 3), for people to write to us on how DFRRI is doing in their locality. Don't be left out. Write NOW to us and share your views and observations with others on DFRRI's performance, or lack of it, in your locality.

— Editor



AFRC in session . . . want assets kept secret.

COVER STORY

POLITICAL PROGRAMME AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

One thing stands out starkly and clearly in the political programme just announced by President Ibrahim Babangida. This is a desire to create the conditions and develop a blueprint for orderly and peaceful succession for individuals and groupings of Nigeria's ruling class, one after the other.

This obsession with orderly and peaceful succession runs like a fibrous thread throughout the President's speech of 1st July, 1987. There is talk about the need to work out a succession formula that is "strong enough to withstand the shocks of political crisis"; and such phrases as "political succession", "new social order", "viable political order", "new political culture", etc. punctuate the entire speech.

The gist of all this is that an arrangement will be worked out and established under which the various

member groupings of the Nigerian ruling class will patiently take their place in the queue for political office. Succession will be orderly — within the parties, and between the two registered political parties. With provisions made for re-entry as members or groups fall out from the top, they will come back and take their turn at the end of the queue.

With this beautiful arrangement, there will be none of the former bickering, violent eruptions over elections, or military coups. Patience, accommodation and tolerance will smooth this political queueing and succession process among the rulers of Nigeria. Politics will hence become "a game" — with rules for the players — rather than "a battleground".

But the fact is, that in the "game" (or "battle") of politics as it has been so far enacted in Nigeria, the people of Nigeria have been

merely spectators, paying a heavy gate-fee to watch the various members of the Nigerian ruling class kicking around the football of power. Will the new dispensation be any different? This will depend not only on the new political order that emerges, but more fundamentally on the way in which basic economic issues are resolved.

Every political programme, no matter how fine it sounds, rests on specific assumptions about the economy. The President's programme is not an exception. In every community, the economy is the foundation of all political practice. A solid economic foundation certainly offers a nation a solid or *stable* and *viable* political order. On the other hand, an economy that is fragile and ridden with contradictions and crises provides nothing but "shocks" and "crises" in the political

system.

It is therefore necessary to raise the following key questions: Do the President's and the AFRC's assumptions about the economy provide for even that stable and orderly "political succession" of one ruling group by another that they are dreaming of? Much more fundamentally, how do the vast majority of the poor, exploited and oppressed Nigerians fit into the President's assumptions about the economy and the so-called "new socio-political order"? Is it capable of liberating them from years of oppression? Or is it just another collection of fine but empty phrases designed to perpetuate their condition of slavery in their own country? Is the political programme, together with its assumptions about the economy, such that it can — once and for all — resolve the worsening crisis of the Nigerian economy and political life in the interest of the Nigerian people?

The only correct way of arriving at meaningful answers to these questions is by critically looking at the economic assumptions of the President's Political Programme.

THE FIVE CLICHES

What may be called the economic objectives of the Political Programme are nothing but a reversion to the five cliches known as "national objectives" enunciated in the Second National Development Plan (1970-74) which was launched by the then Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, seventeen years ago (i.e. in 1970).

These, now worn out cliches, are:

- a. A united, strong and self-reliant nation;
- b. A great and dynamic economy;
- c. A just and egalitarian society;
- d. A land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens;
- e. A free and democratic society.

But these fine phrases in themselves did not provide a self-reliant and egalitarian economy and society. Neither did they provide for a stable political system. By the time Gowon

completed this very Development Plan, both the economy and politics were in a mess. Very soon he was overthrown. At the time of his overthrow in 1975, these phrases had become a huge joke among Nigerians. Many observed cynically after the memorable Murtala probes of Gowon's lieutenants that it was "a land of bright and full opportunities for a tiny, greedy, and parasitic class". Some said, it was "a land where the rich got richer; and the poor got poorer"; "a land of 100 millionaires and 100 million beggars".

In fact, subsequent regimes, including that of Shagari, and in spite of that regime's notorious attachment to empty cliches and slogans, avoided these empty words from the Gowon era.

For the Federal Military Government to revert to these five sets of cliches in its purported drive to take the country to "the dawn of a new Nigeria . . . of our dreams" reveals the essentially conservative, and even



Babangida: "Ideological labels unnecessary" . . . What about SAP?

reactionary; nature of the political programme and its envisaged "new socio-political order".

Aside from borrowing Gowon's cliches, the political economy of this political programme is in fact by far more conservative and backward-looking than General Gowon's "mixed economy", which, despite its slogans, nevertheless widened the gap between the rich and the poor,

consolidated imperialism, and left a legacy of economic and political crisis.

This conclusion is based on our close reading of the Government's White Paper on the Report of the Political Bureau which is the background of the political programme. In the White Paper, Government takes a number of fundamental decisions on the Bureau's recommendations on the economy. Among these are:

a. The rejection of the Bureau's recommendation that "Nigeria shall adopt a Socialist socio-economic system in which the state shall be committed to the nationalisation and socialisation of the commanding heights of the national economy."

b. This is followed by a clear and unambiguous imposition of *privatisation* on the Nigerian people.

c. With this commitment to the promotion of the interests of the private sector — that is, the interests of imperialism represented by multinationals and their Nigerian managers — President Babangida and the AFRC proceed to the following statements:

— theoretically, land will be accessible to every adult; government will not establish mechanised farms as recommended by the Bureau, but, rather, will encourage private mechanised farms, which will effectively dispossess the peasantry, as is the current practice.

— government will not nationalise banks and insurance companies as recommended by the Bureau, but will continue with the current level of participation, which does not however rule out the possibility of privatisation. In other words, these vital nerves of the economy will continue to be controlled by this tiny parasitic class of foreign agents to serve its own narrow and selfish interests, as is the current practice.

— Similarly, government categorically rejects the Bureau's recommendation that the oil industry (currently dominated by Western companies from exploration to marketing, with all sorts of illegal practices prevalent), should be nationalised. Much as we believe that

COVER STORY

for the moment a certain level of foreign participation in this sector is necessary, a more patriotic policy can be evolved.

—Above all is government's dogged commitment to the privatisation of parastatals at both Federal and State levels; a policy the government has been pursuing as part of the IMF-dictated Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) — a programme which, since its inception in 1984, has brought untold suffering to the vast majority of Nigerians, leading to mass retrenchment, sharp falls in living standards, increased break-up of families, acute misery of the population, and a sharp rise in the number of deaths among both children and adults in the population.



Cooley: "Nigerians want socialism."

It is because of this that we think the President and members of the AFRC are either being cynical, or are completely alienated from the ordinary people, by talking of "consolidating the gains of Structural Adjustment Programme" during the 3rd and 4th quarters of 1988, i.e., after "terminating" the said "Structural Adjustment Programme" in the 2nd quarter of 1988.

As we have pointed out in our "Comment", the only gains of the Structural Adjustment Programme will be the inestimable suffering of the Nigerian people, and the huge debts of over N60 billion that will mature for payment on 1st January 1993, effectively destroying any

possibility of democratic political life in Nigeria.

This is the bankruptcy of the political economy of the transition programme. No empty phrase mongering can save this shaky foundation of President Babangida's "new socio-political order", and the new "political culture" of queueing.

Rather, given that SAP is even more reactionary and conservative than General Gowon's 1970-74 Second National Development Plan, not only will it increase the polarities of the social classes, but it will escalate the current economic crisis, which will in turn worsen the social and political crisis in the 1990s.

ABJECT POWERLESSNESS

There is no mystery as to why



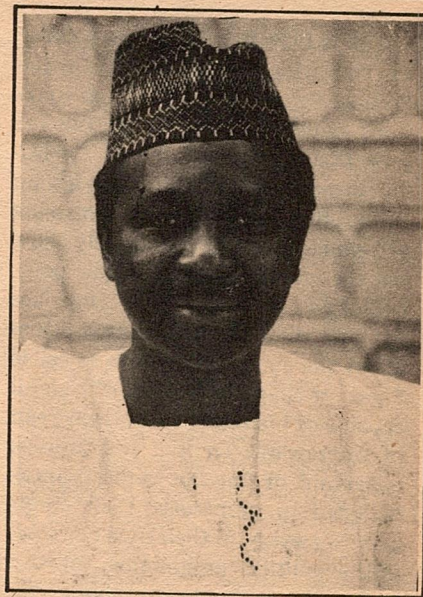
Paul Omu . . . Panel rejected socialism.

our economy has remained like this, generating chronic social and political instability. As the Political Bureau has correctly pointed out, the explanation for all this is to be found in the fact of

"the abject powerlessness of the large majority of the Nigerian people—the workers, peasants, petty and medium-term traders, the unemployed and the rural dwellers".

The Political Bureau reports that this very serious condition is caused by, among other factors, the fact that

"access to power, wealth and status and the exercise of these resources are dominated and indeed monopolised by the domestic owners



Gowon . . . His five cliches resurrected..

and/or controllers of capital and land, including the non-propertied elites, in a structured collaboration with foreign capital".

When the great majority of citizens live in conditions of *abject powerlessness* due to the structure of the existing socio-economic order, how can the Federal Military Government's political programme, which is committed to the maintenance of this existing economic situation, be taken seriously in its declarations about democracy, citizens' participation, and the right of every citizen to ascend to political leadership? How can the people of Nigeria, so much knocked around and battered by the existing economic crisis, be expected to believe that the political programme has anything for them beyond more of the same, when it is aimed merely at stabilising political succession at the top of this system, and does not provide the means for changing it and for enabling them to take their destiny in their hands?

DISENFRANCHISEMENT

In his broadcast, President Babangida went back into Nigeria's political history. He said:

"Those of us who were old enough did witness the practice of politics in the First Republic, from October 1, 1960 to January 15th 1966. The lack of adequate and

guided political culture had led to the politics of intolerance and indiscipline among politicians . . . Rigging of elections, and the violation as well as deliberate and warped interpretation of electoral laws and provisions were rampant. The people had been deliberately disenfranchised."

The lesson President Babangida is drawing does not go far enough. It remains only at the surface. For it is not only election rigging that disenfranchises voters. Far more basic causes of disenfranchisement of citizens are hunger, disease, poverty, landlessness, indebtedness, illiteracy, unemployment, and general social and economic insecurity. If the majority of the people of Nigeria were not already actually disenfranchised by their abysmally poor, oppressive and insecure conditions of life, election rigging would be almost impossible, as they would be in a position to organise and oppose such a violation of their political rights. Election rigging is only the political expression of the economic and social disenfranchisement of the majority of citizens.

WHAT NIGERIANS WANT

Much as the political programme is committed to the maintenance of the existing economy and society as they are, the Political Bureau has reported that from its finding, the majority of Nigerians want some fundamental changes. According to the Bureau's report:

" . . . the people of Nigeria expect a new social order . . . to meet the following:

- i. the provision of social justice and welfare for people;
- ii. the eradication of the marginalisation and alienation of the masses from the decision-making process;
- iii. the maximisation of production and the assurance of equitable distribution of resources;
- iv. the establishment and operation of a truly democratic political system; and
- v. the promotion of national unity by the reducing of areas

of tension."

The Bureau concludes by recommending a socialist system for Nigeria as the only one capable of ensuring that the people of Nigeria achieve these goals for themselves.

But the Federal Military Government, instead of recognising this desire for socialism and popular power over the decision-making process, reacted to these findings and recommendations by taking Nigeria back to the vacuous and empty cliches of the later years of the Gowon regime, discredited over a decade ago in the eyes of most Nigerians, and offered them as "lofty objectives . . . to achieve greater happiness for the masses of our country."

about any labels. The issue is one of *power* and *powerlessness*. Who should have power? Should economic and political power in Nigeria remain in the hands of the same tiny class of greedy parasites who for twenty-seven years have only generated political instability in the country and have now wrecked the economy? Or, should economic and political power be taken over by the vast majority of Nigerians who, as the Political Bureau reports, have produced all the wealth of the country, but have been marginalised and alienated from the decision-making process and reduced to a condition of abject powerlessness?

The central issue facing Nigeria



Okongwu . . . Dubious debts, empty treasury by 1993.

It is certainly true that people's power and socialism, which is what the Political Bureau reports the majority of the people of Nigeria want, cannot be promulgated and imposed by decree or any fiat of a government. These are fundamental changes which only the majority of the people can, by their revolutionary energy and activity, bring about and defend.

The Federal Military Government, however, has a duty to respect the wishes of the majority of Nigerians, not by decreeing socialism by fiat, which is in any case not possible, but by eliminating all the factors which entrench the *abject powerlessness* of the majority of the people of this country.

The issue is not one of ideological labels as the President's broadcast presents it. In fact, the issue is not

and Nigerians over the political programme of the Federal Military Government is the issue of who should have power in this country. Should the people take over power and exercise it, from the lowest grass-roots level to the highest national level, or should it remain in the hands of the tiny class of parasites who have held this power for over twenty-seven years, but have failed to develop the country, forge its unity and ensure its survival, as is very clear from all that we are suffering from right now?

We should not be diverted from this central issue of the historical necessity today for people's power, which is the only way that the progress and survival of this country can be assured. We should address ourselves to this issue now, whoever may be afraid of it.

What is People's Power?

People's power is the mobilised and organised power of a people — the conscious and vigilant workers, peasants, artisans, traders, women, youth, students, and their middle-class allies — especially socially committed intellectuals and professionals who apply their labour power in the production and distribution of goods and services, and ensure that it is impossible for a tiny parasitic class to continue to enjoy special privileges, pile up huge fortunes, and dictate to the people.

In the process of doing this, the working people themselves establish democratic structures and institutions that direct political and cultural life in the interest of the majority, and defend them against foreign predators. The exercise of this collective power liberates the creative energies of the people, thereby enabling every member of the community to develop and realise his/her full human potential, and to make maximum contribution to the realisation of the common aspirations of the society as a whole, knowing fully well that the well-being of the society is also his/her own well-being.

SOURCE OF PEOPLE'S POWER

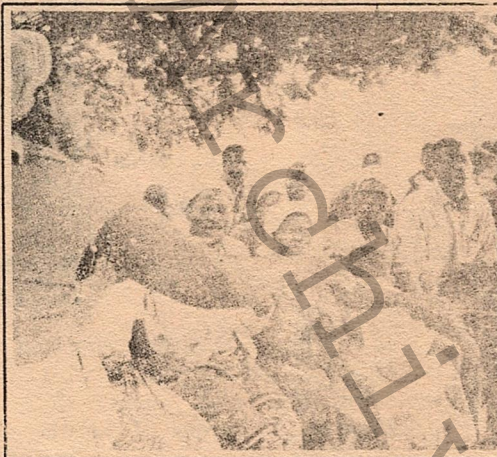
People's power is not something from the outside. It is there living among the people, but inconsequential because the people have not organised themselves into a coherent force. They have not educated themselves to understand that their oppressors — chiefs, emirs, capitalists, landlords, tycoons, big bureaucrats and managers of multinationals — were not ordained by God to come and rule them.

By organising themselves, educating themselves and seeking to control the running of their own lives at the ward, village, clan, district, Local Government, and State and Federal levels, they — the working people — will realise how

enormously powerful they are. They need no degrees or diplomas. The basic education required is to understand their plight as oppressed people, irrespective of tribe, religion, state or region; that is, to be educated about the common interest that links one oppressed person to the other, and the desire to abolish all exploitation of man by man.

STRUCTURES OF PEOPLE'S POWER

Only the skeleton of the structures can be mentioned, since people's power, immensely creative, is persistently changing and introducing new structures, new organs, and new relationships among the people.



Democratic village council. . . people's power in action.

The army must be made to serve the people, providing defence not for the oppressor and the parasite, but for the producer, with every soldier a worker, and every worker a soldier. The army should also promote high level discipline and democracy among the soldiers, and a comradely working relationship between the soldiers and the people.

The people themselves work out democratic political structures with elected representatives of the people participating in decision making and policy implementation, from the grassroots level to the highest level

of government — and all are subject to recall. Accountability becomes a fact in theory and in practice.

Further, the people abolish the corrupt and cumbersome judiciary of their oppressors, which sacrifices justice on the altar of technicalities conjured by 'learned' magicians who can be purchased by the highest bidder. With this dismantled, people's justice is enthroned, with elected representatives of the people sitting in judgement, with no special privileges, but as a duty, meting out justice to all without fear or favour. Justice becomes accessible to all, and not just in the service of the rich.

Finally, rather than serve the office holder, bureaucracy is so restructured, and made so open, that it serves all members of the community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Mobilised, organised and armed with literacy, numeracy and political vigilance and a higher level of consciousness, the working people control state power and guarantee its democratic content by consistent popular democratic practice in the factory, village/ward, clan, Local Government, State, and at Federal Level; in the law courts, educational institutions, etc. Effectively in control, they promote the well-being of all the oppressed classes: land to the tiller, factories to the workers, food for all, all houses to those that live in them, cheap transportation, good water, schools for all, health care for every citizen, and a rich and varied cultural life available for everybody.

People's power is therefore that organised and consciously exercised collective force which liberates the vast majority of the working people from the tyrannies of their oppressors.

It is this which, the world over, imperialists, parasitic oppressors, and ruling classes fear. It is people's power.

BUREAUCRACY OR DEMOCRACY?

Lessons of the 1979 Constitution

The 1979 constitution was not the handiwork of the generality of the Nigerian people whom by and large the process of making it ignored. The Constitution Drafting Committee of 1976 was not asked to, and never did, conduct a preliminary public debate even in the Federal and State capitals, still much less at district and village community levels. The C.D.C. was a bureaucratic rather than a democratic committee, which worked in a closet, and in conditions that isolated its members from the pressure of public opinion.

Of course, the Constituent Assembly to which the Military Government of the day submitted one of the C.D.C.'s two reports was certainly less bureaucratic in the mode of its selection than had been the Drafting Committee, but this is not to say that it was a democratic body. The Assembly was partly nominated and partly elected, not by universal popular suffrage, but by electoral colleges made up of the local government councils of those days, i.e., councils that had themselves been partly nominated, and partly elected by a highly controlled, indirect method, at least in half of the 19 states. But the Constituent Assembly was less than democratic, not only in the mode of its selection but also in the mode of its operation. It hardly debated the draft put before it by the C.D.C. except with regard to the issue of establishing a Federal Sharia Appeal Court, an issue which leading members of the Assembly, both Muslim and Christian, deliberately used to polarize the people of the country along religious and regional lines, while they themselves were consolidating political alliances across these same regional and religious lines. And as if to drive home the point that in

its view it was not the people that had the right to make the constitution, the Supreme Military Council, after receiving the draft constitution, made seven alterations to it before promulgating it into law on 21st September 1978, and an additional alteration after the 1979 Presidential elections. Perhaps nowhere else did the undemocratic and anti-people nature of the 1979 constitution come out more clearly than in the provisions dealing with the bureaucracy, political parties, and the local governments.

DOMINANCE OF BUREAUCRACY

Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, the 1979 constitution enthroned bureaucratic rather than democratic government. The constitution's bias for bureaucracy and against democracy can be seen in:

a. its artificial and arbitrary division of State power into three, namely, legislative, executive and judicial;

b. its limitation of the role of the elected representatives of the people (i.e. the Senate, the Federal and State Houses of Assembly, and

the President and Governors) to only a legislative one;

c. its assigning of judicial power, including the power over life and death, largely to an unelected and self-regulating bureaucracy, otherwise known as the judiciary, made up of Supreme, Appeal, and High Court judges, magistrates, area court judges, customary court judges, etc.;

d. its assigning of the power to execute the will of the people presumably as expressed by the elected representatives of the people, largely to an unelected, self-regulating bureaucracy, the so-called civil service — although elected officers, namely the President and the State Governors, were given a supervisory role, unlimited in theory, but in practice very much limited by the fact that each government contained only two elected executive officers, namely the President and the Vice President, or the Governor and the Deputy Governor, i.e., too few to be expected to supervise a large and unwieldy body of persons such as the Federal and State civil services were.

This way the 1979 constitution gave ample opportunity for a likely practice whereby the people elected one set of men, while another, unelected body, exercised state power. With regards to this relationship between the elected representatives of the people and unelected bureaucrats it should particularly be noted that the legislature, made up of the representatives of the people, was deprived of the power of interpreting even the laws that it itself made, a power which was alienated to a bureaucratic wing of the state — i.e. the judiciary. Indeed it is not only with regard to the interpretation of laws that the judiciary was placed above the legislature. Even



Udo-Udoma . . . Presided over an undemocratic Constituent Assembly.

COVER STORY

with regard to the function that people generally assume was reserved for the legislature, namely the enactment of laws, the legislature was placed under the judiciary. This can be seen reasonably clearly in section 4, sub-section 8 of the constitution which says:

“Save as otherwise provided by the Constitution, the exercise of legislative powers by the National Assembly or by a House of Assembly shall be subject to the jurisdiction of courts of law and of judicial tribunals established by law; and accordingly, the National Assembly or a House of Assembly shall not enact any law that ousts or purports to oust the jurisdiction of a court of law or of a judicial tribunal established by law.”

This way the 1979 Constitution in effect limited the competence of the legislature to merely exposing corruption and the arbitrariness of officials, and hence the Constitution made the Assembly hardly distinguishable from the Press.

By way of further highlighting the bureaucratic and undemocratic nature of Government under the 1979 Constitution, it is important to point out that whereas the Constitution provided that:

“There shall be for the Federation a President,” and that: “The President shall be the Head of State, the Chief Executive of the Federation and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation;” and whereas the constitution made it mandatory for the President to appoint Ministers and to set up a Public Service Commission, the constitution, far from insisting that the Ministers and the members of the commission must be appointed from among elected representatives of the people, (i.e. from among members of the National Assembly) insisted, on the contrary, that both Ministers and members of the Public Service Commission must be unelected bureaucrats. This was so much so that in the event of a member of the National Assembly being appointed a Minister or a member of the Public Service Com-

mission, he had to give up his membership of the National Assembly.

Likewise, whereas section 140 of the constitution demanded that a Judicial and a Police Service Commission be established for purposes of regulating appointments and dismissals from the bench and the police respectively, the constitution insisted that members of these commissions too must be unelected bureaucrats, including some members of the bench itself. Likewise whereas the 1979 constitution provided for a National Defence Council, a National Population Commission and a National Security Council, it excluded elected representatives of the people from these crucial councils except for the inclusion of the President and the Vice-President on the National Defence Council and the National Security Council. Thus these crucial bodies, as well as the cabinet, or Council of Ministers, were



Ovie-Whisky: “Nigerians are not ready for democracy”.

all but made the preserve and the monopoly of unelected careerists and bureaucrats.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

With regard to the local governance of the country it is stunning that whereas the 1979 Constitution, in schedule I, listed the local govern-

ment areas that would make up each and every one of the 19 states of the Federation, thus, correctly, making the creation of both new states and new local government areas a constitutional issue; and whereas in schedule IV it listed the functions of local government councils, indeed very important and wide ranging functions that closely touched on the lives of the people, the constitution did not find it necessary to stipulate how the local government councils themselves were to be constituted. This crucial omission should suffice to show up all the talk about the constitution having institutionalised the local government as the third tier of the nation’s government as so much sham, and so much humbug. By refusing to decree that, like the National Assembly and the State Houses of Assembly, the local government councils too derived their right to exist from the people who must elect them, the 1979 Constitution subverted not only democracy but also the autonomy and the authority of the local government councils and reduced them to the adjuncts of the state, and indeed of the federal governments. Either of them could legitimately insist on appointing the members of these councils, on account of the 1979 Constitution’s glaring default, in not specifying how these councils were to be constituted.

POLITICAL PARTIES

As for political parties, the 1979 Constitution did well in investing lessons learnt during the First Republic with the force of law — especially in its outlawing of regional, ethnic and religious parties. The 1979 Constitution also did very well in not limiting the number of parties that could be set up. This is so because in fact parties are not arbitrary constructs that could be limited at will, but the reflection of actual class and sub-class divisions, which can be managed, contained and resolved only by being allowed to express themselves and to form their own alliances, subject only to the dictation of the desire to be effective and not to be marginalised.

As Nigeria Repeats Ghana — WHO SHALL BE NIGERIA'S BUSIA?

Nigeria and Ghana have always shared many things in common. They were both colonised by the British at the turn of the 20th century. They both achieved their flag independence from the British about the same time (1957 and 1960). They experienced their first military coup d'états in the same year, 1966. Both coups were bloody. The first crop of the two countries' military officers were all trained in the same military institutions, Teshie, Sandhurst and Mons.

But the parallels between Nigeria and Ghana go even beyond these common historical experiences. Politically, the "development" of the two countries exhibits several common tendencies; and these parallel tendencies are nowhere more glaringly exhibited than in the recently announced transition programme of the Babangide administration. However, before these similarities in the political transition programmes can be fully appreciated, it is important to understand the parallels in the economic policies that preceded the formulations of the programmes.

On the 24th of February, 1966, a Lt. Colonel Emmanuel Kotoka and a Major Akwasi Amankwa Afrifa overthrew the government of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in a military coup d'état. Among the reasons given for the coup were that the right to free elections had been undermined, and that Ghana was in a serious economic predicament, with the country indebted to imperialist financial institutions and contractors to the tune of 640 million cedis.

The National Liberation Council (NLC) which was ushered in as a result of the coup gave itself three years to tackle the above problems. The economy was placed high on the agenda by the Military Junta. This

junta invited the I.M.F. to "help" in correcting Ghana's balance of payments situation, arrest inflation, provide more jobs to Ghanaians, and restore balance to the economy.

On the advice of the IMF, the NLC set about to "correct" the anomalies identified with the economy. All new projects were halted and only "economically sound" projects which were not completed before the coup were allowed to continue; trade with the outside world was liberalised; exchange controls were to be eventually abolished; and privatisation of public enterprises was embarked upon. Government's further participation in any venture was to be only

assumption of office by the NLC there was an attempted coup, led by Lt. Arthur, Lt. Yeboah and Lt. Poku. Lt. Colonel Kotoka, the leader of the first coup who had by then promoted himself to a general, was killed during the attempt. After a "trial", the coup plotters, Lt. Arthur and Lt. Yeboah, were publicly executed.

Undaunted, the NLC, with the active support of the imperialist countries, principally Great Britain, the United States (which had helped in organising the coup that dislodged Kwame Nkrumah from power) and the advice of the IMF, which by now was in firm control of the management of the Ghanaian economy for



Afrifa, Busia, Acheampong... Can't we learn from their failures?

in areas where private capital was not available.

Private investors had a field day. Some state enterprises were handed over to them on generous terms. Foreign companies were invited to run even state hotels.

The cedi was devalued and workers were massively retrenched. Those Ghanaians who had bought the coup leaders justification, hook, line and sinker, had their hopes dashed. So dashed were these hopes that in less than one year after

world imperialism, pursued with keen vigour the dismantling of the Convention Peoples Party's economic programme.

Under their "guidance", debt rescheduling meetings with external creditors were held in 1966, 1968 and 1970. At each meeting the noose around Ghana's economy was tightened. Having satisfied all the demands of her Western creditors and the IMF, Ghana under the NLC got a short term debt repayment relief for 2½ years in 1966, and at

COVER STORY

the 1968 debt rescheduling meeting one for 3½ years.

However, far from solving the economic problems, the NLC rather postponed these problems to 1969-70, the time they had planned to quit and hand over power to the civilians. In reality the conditions under which Ghana accepted her debt rescheduling were such that they imposed an extra 250 million cedis burden on the people of Ghana, which was equivalent to 40% of the original debt.

Before signing the 1968 rescheduling agreement the leader of Ghana's negotiating team, Dr. J. A. Mensah, complained to the creditors thus:

"... because repayment conditions were so harsh, per capita income in Ghana had fallen from \$261 in 1965, under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, to \$239 in 1969... unemployment was as high as 30-35 per cent."

At another debt rescheduling meeting in 1970, the same Dr. J. H. Mensah, then Ghana's Minister for Finance, like a weeping boy, lamented:

"It is impossible to convince any Ghanaian that public money should be spent on paying such debts rather than developing a country."

But Dr. J. H. Mensah's lamentations fell on deaf ears. By the time Afrifa's NLC finally bowed out of office, they had added a whopping 602 million cedis debt burden on the people of Ghana.

The parallels between what happened in the economic sphere in Ghana under the NLC and what has been happening in Nigeria since 1984 are clear enough. The present Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the privatisation and commercialisation of public enterprises, the devaluation of the Naira under SFEM and FEM, and the spree of external borrowings from the IMF, World Bank and the Paris and London clubs, read almost exactly like Afrifa's economic blueprint. Similarly, just like in Ghana, the bulk of all those foreign loans now being borrowed would mature just at the

time the present junta would be handing over to the civilians.

But if the parallels between Nigeria and Ghana are striking in the area of economic policy, they are even more so in the political transition programmes. In Ghana all political office holders under Kwame Nkrumah were banned from contesting or holding public office in the new disposition. Here too, all Second Republic political office holders may be barred. Again, just as the Babangida transition programme envisages elections into local and state governments, legislative and executive organs in 1990, with the military continuing in power at the centre for another two years supervising the performance of the new civilian rulers, so did Afrifa's NLC provide in their transition programme for the Prime Minister to be elected in 1969, but to work under the tutelage of a Presidential Commission headed by Afrifa.

Afrifa's transition programme also included political education for the military in the interest of the "stability of the nation". Same for Babangida's transition programme.

Just as the Babangida transition programme envisages the setting up of a Directorate of Mass Mobilization, so did Afrifa's NLC set

up the Centre for Civic Education with Dr. Busia as the Director. This position enabled Dr. Busia to use state resources to tour all parts of Ghana, make contacts, and also establish the structures of their then proposed party - the Progress Party (a reincarnation of his earlier party, the United Party) which eventually took over power from the military. In the Nigerian case, there is a strong possibility that People's Progressive Party (PPP) will be reactivated.

Given all these, it is clear that there is nothing new in Babangida's transition programme. It has been done before in Ghana.

In the case of Afrifa, he took his exit just when the loans were about to mature and repayment to start. The new civilian regime in Ghana was from day one burdened with onerous debts, and before long was crippled and finally overthrown, having stayed in power for about two years.

In Nigeria, 75 per cent of our foreign debt now estimated to be about \$18 billion (N72 billion FEM rate) will mature and repayment will start on 1st January, 1993 - just the time the new civilian regime will assume power at the centre. This naturally raises the question as to whether Ghana will be repeated in Nigeria.

ISSUE

M.A.N. Confirms The Analyst

Since *The Analyst* started, we have consistently shown, with facts and figures, that the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) imposed by the Federal Military Government on Nigeria and Nigerians, under the direction of the I.M.F. and the World Bank, will just further wreck the economy. The Nigerian capitalist class and their academic and technocratic praise-singers have turned a deaf ear to our analyses and warnings.

Now, nine months after the Structural Adjustment Programme

was formally launched in September 1986, all that we have been pointing out is being proved to be true by the very way the economy is being further wrecked by SAP.

The main organisation of Nigerian-registered companies engaged in packaging and assembling, called the "Manufacturers Association of Nigeria" (M.A.N.) is now beginning to admit the truth and correctness of our analyses of what SAP will do, and is already doing, to the Nigerian economy.

Here we reproduce for you what

we said about two central aspects of the economy in which the damage of SAP can be seen clearly, namely the home market and employment. We also reproduce for you what M.A.N. is now being forced, by concrete reality, to admit. This is what only six months ago, when the last budget was released, they would never admit, busy as they were singing the praises of the government and its SAP

THE 1987 BUDGET AND THE HOME MARKET

What *The Analyst* said in Vol.2, No.1, January 1987 (page 10) is:

"When these extensive tax cuts for the rich are seen alongside the very heavy burden of poll taxes, cattle taxes, 'development' levies, market fees and all sorts of fees on crafts, trade and even cultural activity, which the states and local governments have in their 1987 budgets, imposed on the peasant farmers, workers, artisans, craftsmen, herdsmen, fishermen, hunters, and petty traders and small businessmen, it should be clearly seen whose budget this is. . . . Moreover since most of those who are going to benefit from the tax cuts do not consume Nigerian-made products and are not going to significantly lower the prices of these Nigerian-made goods for those who consume them, the home market is being further squeezed. For, those who constitute this home market have lower income and cannot afford to buy as much as before. Already factories that have revived production can not find a market for their goods in Nigeria and are not making any significant reductions in the prices."

What the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria is saying in its half-yearly review of the Nigerian economy, published in *Business Concord*, vol.4, No. 311, 7th July 1987, page 8:

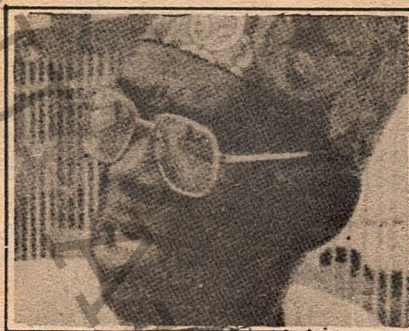
" . . . there has developed strong consumer resistance. This is reflected in the mountain of unplanned excess stock of finished goods valued at over N70 million representing about

15% of a total production valued at N469.4 million by only a sample of 31 companies. In the circumstances there is clearly no incentive for manufacturers to increase their production. This trend will also serve to discourage new investments, both local and foreign, in view of the decline in the domestic market."

UNEMPLOYMENT

What *The Analyst* said in Vol. 2, No. 1, of January 1987 (page 13) is:

"But pious hopes and wishes aside, what real chances are there



Babatunde Jose: "Debt Service Ratio now 60% of Export Earnings".

that these measures either singularly or in their totality, will have any significant or salutary impact on the high rate of unemployment in the national economy. To be honest there are none whatsoever. To begin with let us examine the first component of the administration's strategy, i.e. that of employing direct labour for the special public works programme. In the first place, the total number of people that would

be so engaged is bound to be negligible. Indeed for the whole country, provision is made under this strategy for the absorption of only 20,000 people. Twenty thousand out of a grossly underestimated unemployed population of three million and an unestimable armada of underemployed and semi-employed millions in the villages and towns where many do no more than hawk kolanuts or groundnuts, is to say the least, negligible. It is tinkering with the top -most tip of a huge iceberg."

What the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria is saying:

" . . . the problem of unemployment, particularly of youths, in the country, is of such enormous dimensions that the government's measures can only be regarded as mere palliatives, a mere drop in the ocean of mass unemployment."

Now that the lords of the private sector in M.A.N. have finally seen the light, do they not owe the teeming masses of Nigerian workers and peasants an apology, and more? The least that is now expected of M.A.N. is for it to team up with other patriotic Nigerians in working out a genuinely Nigerian alternative to SAP — an alternative that will not only stem the downward slide of our economy but more importantly ensure its rehabilitation in the interests and greater wellbeing of the majority of this and future generations of Nigerians.

FROM THE PRESS

The Gusau Oil Mill

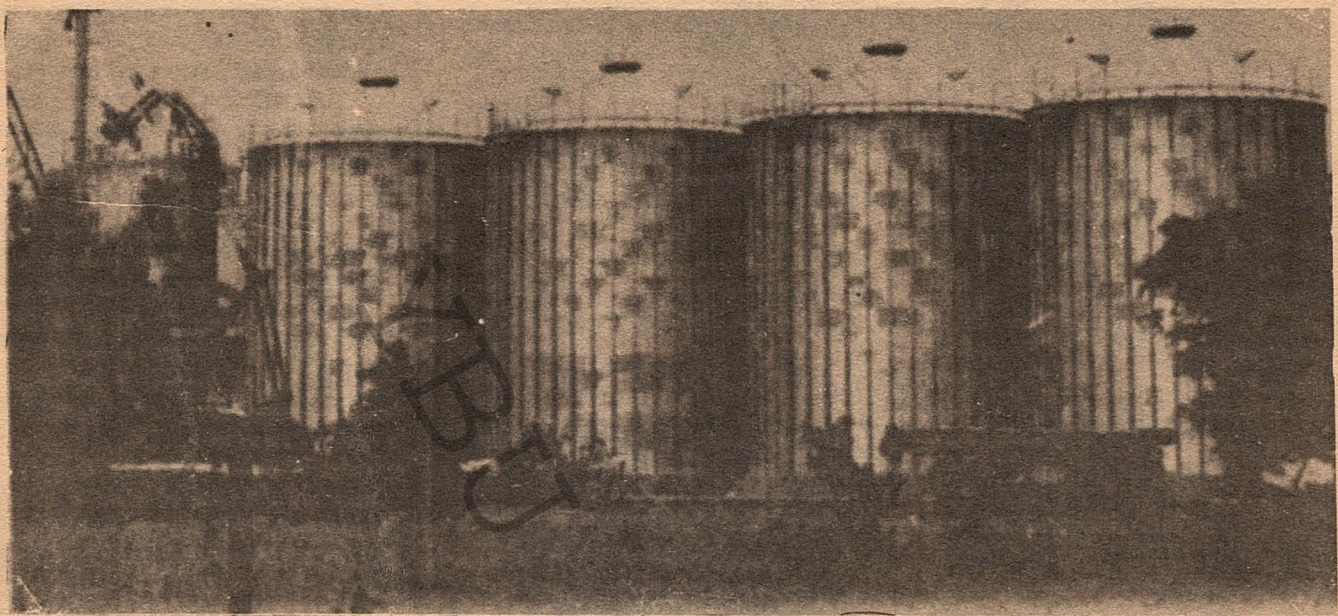
In the November 1986 issue of *The Analyst*, we brought to you, in the UPDATE column, the story of how the Gusau Oil Mill was wrecked. The story was based on the *White Paper of the North-Western State Government on the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Activities of*

some Institutions and the Divisional Tenders Board.

The story brought out clearly the role of some individuals, among them three Sokoto millionaire princes, in the wrecking of the Gusau Oil Mill, a N3.9 million agro-industrial project of the North-

Contd. on Page 20

PHOTOSPEAK



The structures above appear to be silos. They are located on the sprawling 1,119.50 acre farm of Lt. General (Alhaji) Muhammadu Inuwa Wushishi (Rtd.), former Chief of Army Staff (1979-1983) and now a multi-millionaire and chairman of the Rotary Club, Kaduna. The farm, NIGERFIRST, occupies a strategic location some 16 kilometres along the Kaduna-Zaria road just before the Jos road junction. Situated just about eight kilometres from the Nigerian Air Force Base,

Kaduna, the farm is also well sited in relationship to other major military installations in the Kaduna area. The large complex is dotted with various buildings and structures, all of whose construction was carried out by Solel Boneh, the largest Israeli construction company operating in Nigeria, the Cameroons, and other African countries. But the disturbing question in the minds of many patriotic and alert Nigerians is: What exactly are these silos for? Grains only, or . . . ?

UPDATE

NEUTRON BOMB IN THE CAMEROONS?

On the 21st August, 1986, a mysterious disaster occurred at Lake Nyos in the Cameroon highlands, just over a hundred kilometres from the border with Nigeria: according to official reports, over 1,200 peasant farmers and cattle rearers, together with all of their animals — in fact, nearly all life (human and animal) in the area — were silently and instantly killed. Unofficial figures, however,

put the human death toll at about 5,000. What killed these people?

At the time, the deaths were reported to be the result of an explosion in the volcanic lake, which was said to have released poisonous gas and fumes, which suffocated the people who breathed them. *West Africa* magazine reported that survivors in the area reported hearing a loud explosion at about 9 P.M.,

when most people were asleep. This was followed by a foul smell in the air, similar to cooking gas.

However, doctors who went to the area after the tragedy noticed that survivors suffered from burns in the lungs and on the skin; the dead bodies too showed clear evidence of burns and cuts — which were not 'compatible with the contention that the victims died merely of suffoca-

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breathing in poisonous gases. The actual cause of the explosion and the deaths has remained a scientific controversy up to now. Recently, as reported by *New African* of July, 1987, a group of 120 experts and scientists met at a conference on the Lake Nyos disaster, which was held in Cameroon. After a week of discussion, going through about 5,000 documents, the scientists agreed on why and how the disaster took place, although they could not agree that what actually happened to the people was some type of volcanic eruption releasing carbon dioxide. But the exact cause by which this occurred remains unknown. Cameroon, Nigeria, and American scientists argued that the gas was released from the bottom of the lake due to a sudden temperature change or a volcanic eruption. Italian, Swiss and French scientists contended that there was an explosion in the Lake due to a sudden build-up which released the gas. However, neither of the theories is able to answer all the questions raised by events at Lake Nyos. *New African* notes, if there had been an explosion, there should have been debris, but there was none. On the other hand, doctors cannot explain the cuts and burns found on the victims, which would not have been caused by a release of carbon dioxide.

There have been strong advocates of developing the neutron bomb, which has the capacity for killing all human and animal life in an area, while leaving property undamaged. The fact that Israel has been acting in many parts of the world as a surrogate and substitute for the U.S. in sensitive matters over which the U.S. may not want to be directly involved, is also noted by the commentator. In fact, as one Washington insider put it recently, "Israel has become just like another federal agency (of the U.S. government) . . . one that's convenient to use when you want something done quietly."

The development of the neutron

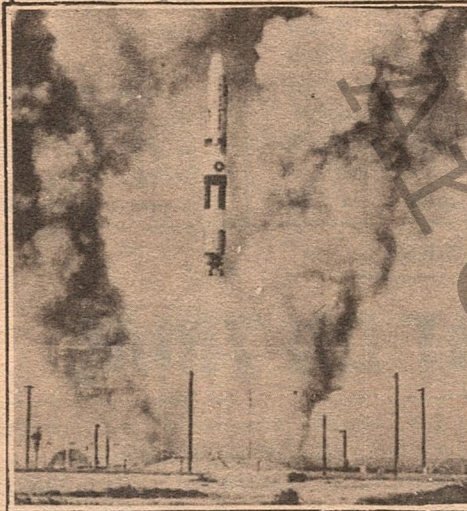
and the Black South African population, as well as neighbouring African states, in the case of South Africa) are located in adjacent territory. They want to develop weapons to be used against these "enemies", which, at the same time, would leave their own populations unaffected.

However, before a weapon like the neutron bomb can be made available for use, it must be tested. An area like the Cameroonian highlands, near known volcanic lakes where gas eruptions have killed people in the past, would provide an ideal test site for the neutron bomb, as any deaths could be blamed on gas

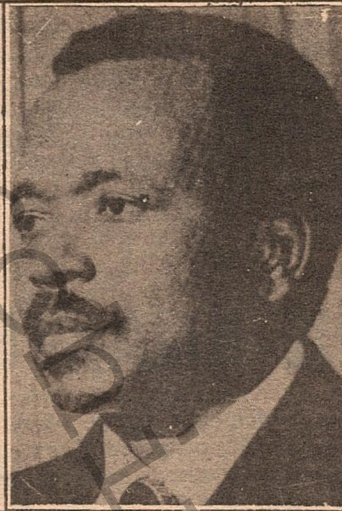
being emitted from the lake. Thus, against its Black population as well as its African neighbours; and of course Israel has played a central role in the Iran-Contra arms deals currently under investigation in the U.S. In Black Africa, Israel has been wooing pro-imperialist regimes, and has renewed diplomatic and other relations with Zaire, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Cameroon; and is about to do so with Togo, Sierra Leone, and possibly with the Gambia, Gabon, Senegal, Guinea and Niger. Israel is working intensively to receive diplomatic recognition from Nigeria. *New African* of July 1987 reports that some 15,000 Israelis are currently working and living in Black Africa, including 4,000 of them in Nigeria, "some as security advisers to the present military administration."

All of this increased Israeli activity in Black Africa, combined with Israel's obvious role as a front for the U.S. and other imperialist activity against the forces of progress in Africa, raise questions for us in Nigeria that we cannot afford to ignore: What, for example, was Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres doing on an official visit to Cameroon precisely at the time of the disaster at Lake Nyos? Why did he bring with him on the visit 18 Israeli scientists to study what happened at the lake? Why was a British naval ship, sailing in Cameroon waters at the time of the disaster, told that its assistance was not necessary (i.e. why were they kept away from the area?) Why was Israel so interested in what happened at Lake Nyos? Was their interest purely humanitarian, given the fact that they have never been so interested before in this small country?

What, actually caused the explosion at Lake Nyos? Nigerians must find out the truth — the continued survival of all Nigerians, of other Africans, and of every person, depends on this. We can no longer afford to have the truth covered up.



Titan II Intercontinental Ballistic Missile . . . Carries a 10 megaton nuclear warhead



Biya . . . How much did the Israelis pay him?

Recently, however, new light has been shed on the disaster which raises some disturbing questions for us, and for all Africans. According to an article in the U.S. newspaper, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, written by political commentator Mae Brussel, the disaster at Lake Nyos was actually caused by the explosion of a neutron bomb being secretly tested in the area by the U.S. and Israel. She noted that the current theories of the tragedy would not explain the cuts and burns found on the victims. She also noted that both the U.S. and Israel

have been deeply shrouded in secrecy for several years. There has never been an official test of the weapon, which is very dear to the heart of strategic specialists in the capitalist world because of its capacity to kill human and animal life, while leaving buildings and other property untouched. Israel and South Africa have a particular interest in developing a neutron bomb, as well as so-called "theatre" nuclear weapons, because of the fact that their current and most immediate adversaries (the Palestinians, in the case of Israel,

the real cause of the deaths could be easily covered-up. Was this what happened at Lake Nyos?

Meanwhile, increased Israeli penetration of Black Africa, as well as Israel's role as a U.S. surrogate, has been causing increasing concern among progressive forces. As readers of *The Analyst* are aware, Israel has been supplying arms and finance to brutal dictators in Central and South America; has been a major source of arms for the fascist regime in South Africa and has been cooperating with South Africa in developing nuclear weapons for that country to use

The Gusau Oil Mill

Contd. from Page 17

Western State. The three million-are princes involved in the Gusau Oil Mill scandal are: Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, Baraden Sokoto, Alhaji Shehu Malami, Sarkin Sudan Na Wurno, and Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau, Sarkin Malaman Sokoto. At the centre of the scandals were the Raccah Brothers — the Kano-based businessmen and British Zionists—who single-handedly negotiated the turnkey contract for the supply of machinery and buildings and bank borrowing for the Mill. It was the Raccah Brothers who paid for the shares of the millionaire princes, and others, in the Mill, at the rate of N2.00 per share.

According to the White Paper, the Raccah Brothers, together with the others, crippled the Mill from the very beginning by buying obsolete machinery, diverting funds from the Mill to bribe officials, juggling the Mill's accounts, and then burning it down in 1974 to

cover up the shady deals.

Now, the Sokoto State Government has instituted a Commission of Inquiry to probe the activities of the Mill from the time of its inception. According to the *National Concord*, Friday, July 10th, 1987:

GUSAU OIL MILL FOR PROBE

Sokoto State government has instituted a commission of inquiry to probe the activities of the Gusau Oil Mill.

The four-man judicial commission sworn in by Mr. Justice Frank Udeh of the Sokoto high court has Mr. Justice James Amachree as chairman.

Other members are Alhaji Adamu Ibrahim, Alhaji Sani Yeldu and Alhaji Umaru Sanda Ibrahim who is secretary to the commission.

The judicial commission is charged with the task of investigating the financial affairs of the mill

from its inception to date.

It will also look into the marketing, purchasing and other related procedures of the mill.

The commission will also investigate the roles of the mill's management and that of Raccah Brothers in the pursuit and promotion of the company's objectives.

The relationship between the management, its shareholders and the Ministry of Trade and Industries would be examined as well.

The commission has been given 4 months to complete its assignments.

The oil mill has been facing various operational problems caused by disagreements between the Sokoto State government and the Raccah Brothers, its foreign partners.

The workers of the Gusau Oil Mill, the people of Gusau, the people of Zamfara, the people of Sokoto State, and the rest of Nigeria are watching!

JUDGEMENT

THE ANALYST ON TRIAL

Lugard Hall Kaduna on the morning of Thursday, 9th July, 1987 was like the venue of a mini-carnival. By 9.30 A.M. all the available seats in the horse-shoe shaped main hall (except for those reserved for officials) had been taken. The upper gallery normally used by the press and observers when the legislature is in full session had similarly been jam-packed. At the double, wood-panelled doors which form the entrance to the hall, stern-looking plain clothes policemen were busy frisking and scanning newcomers, apparently for guns and explosives. All this activity and excitement was because of one thing: The Analyst was on trial for an alleged contempt of the Kaduna Special Military Tribunal on the Recovery of Public Property for its last cover story on "Nigeria's Growing List of Sacred Cows". The outcome of that trial is now history (the charge was dismissed), but the implication of the judgement for free speech and for the struggle for justice, public accountability, and a democratic society in this country is enormous. This is why we are publishing it unedited:

CHARGE NO: SMT/KDZ/03/87

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA (COMPLAINANT)

Vs

ALHAJI MOHAMMADU GONI (ACCUSED)

IN THE MATTER OF

(1) ALHAJI ABDULKADIR BALARABE MUSA
(PUBLISHER OF THE "ANALYST")

(2) A. AHMED

(3) YUSUFU BALA USMAN

RULING

During the pendency and determination in this Tribunal of the above-mentioned case: The Federal Republic of Nigeria against Alhaji Mohamradu Goni, a one time Governor of Borno State during the Second Republic, our attention was drawn by the learned prosecuting Counsel, Mr. F. N. Adamgbe, to an article in the Magazine rejoicing in the name and style — *THE ANALYST*. The said Magazine is published monthly by the 1st Contemptnor, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, himself a one-time Governor of Kaduna State during also the above material times. The No. of the Magazine in question is Vol.2 No.3 of 1987 published by Dansa Publications Limited at No. 1 Kurra Street, P.O. Box 1632, Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria and read everywhere in the country. The 2nd and 3rd Contemptnors are the authors of the alleged

offending article under the heading "Nigeria's Growing List of Sacred Cows".

Mr. Adamgbe moved this Tribunal on the 30th June, 1987 saying that the Publishers and the two authors named above by the said article have been guilty of contempt of this Tribunal. The article and the pertinent paragraph read as follows: It starts at page 7:-

"... another 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..."

(The underlined word 'hauled' is ours).

And on page 10 of the same Magazine was the photograph of the said Alhaji Mohammed Goni with a foot note "Goni... on his way to jail".

The article for all intent and purposes referred to this Tribunal and was suggested by the prosecution to be contemptuous of this Tribunal.

Submitting in the same vein Mr. Adamgbe emphasised that the combined effects of the words used are that this Honourable Tribunal has formed the opinion to send the accused to jail. He further submitted that the use of the word "haul" refers to the Prosecutor, who as it seems, did so irresponsibly and ruthlessly. That the ordinary and common sense meaning of the words so used in the context are that both the prosecutor and the Tribunal have decided already to victimise the accused. That nobody has the right and audacity to comment on any matters pending before a Court or Tribunal, as this, and to suggest that the accused in the case should go to jail amounts to contempt of this Tribunal.

Although he conceded that the authors, as well as the Publishers, have right to express their opinion on matters of social concerns. Such right, he opined, should be limited to the rule of law. Quoting from Abraham Lincoln

"Nearly all men can withstand adversity; but if you want to test a person's character give him the power".

That dictum, he submitted, was relevant in the times of Abraham Lincoln, as well as in the present time as those who wield political, judicial and pen powers reflect their character in the exercise of such power and which ever way this matter goes it will go to demonstrate and will ever demonstrate the character of those involved in the matter. He urged us to book the parties down for contempt and to set the appropriate legal machinery against them in redress of their crime of contempt committed outside the precinct of this Tribunal.

Mr. Pat Aigbogun, learned Counsel for all the contemptors replied and submitted that the meanings attached to the publication are not intended in anyway to harm this Honourable Tribunal as they have been presented to it by the prosecution, who has over played with the words used in the context, for example the word "haul" shows that there has been wicked and arbitrary dragging on the floor in the way it was used in the context as the same word was so used in page 9 paragraph 2 of the same Magazine. He would rather urge this Tribunal to regard the word as portraying "Humour". He further submitted that the word "Jail" used again does not mean that the particular accused should and ought to be convicted and that the general intentment is quite different from the way the prosecution has presented it to this Tribunal. On the other hand he submitted that even the prosecution has observed that the article in itself was not intended to ridicule the Tribunal when he added that the authors have the right to express their opinion in matters of public interest. He urged us not to allow elements of temperament to play but to concentrate on the main issues before us and drop the idea of referring the matter to the

Attorney-General to take out a writ against the parties.

Mr. Abraham Adesanya, as Amicus Curie, submitted by throwing more light to the situation in the sense that as the contemptors had explained the meaning attached to the article he appealed to us to ignore the whole thing and regard them all as a storm in the tea cup and to allow the parties to go, after all, the accused, as he opined, would have been in jail by now if this Tribunal had not been kind enough to grant him bail at all material times the case is being heard.

We are now being confronted with a case the first of its kind since the inception of this Tribunal, namely the question of contempt or no contempt against this Tribunal. Without mincing words, this Tribunal, as any Court of records, has the inherent jurisdiction to punish for contempt and as was put by Lord Denning, M.R., as he was then, in his book - *The Due Process of Law* - "The Course of justice must not be deflected or interfered with. Those who strike at it strike at the very foundation of our society. To maintain law and order, the Judges have, and must have, power at once to deal with those who offend against it. It is a great power - a power instantly to imprison a person without trial. So necessary, indeed, that until recently the Judges



Pat Aigbogun:
"An accused person on trial is a prospective jail candidate."

exercised it without any appeal".

But as in the case in hand the alleged publication was not in the face of the Tribunal or in its presence. If a case is made in the context we have every power to refer it to the Attorney-General to take out a writ against the parties as we cannot be the accusers as well as the judges. A charge can be laid in accordance with the provision of S.6 of the Penal Code Law and S. 314 of the Criminal Procedure Code Law would be followed in prosecuting them.

Coming to the law of contempt itself, it is trite law that when an action is pending determination before any Court, no one shall comment on it in such a way that there is a real and substantial danger of prejudice to the trial by prejudicing the public in general against the Court. It is difficult to classify cases or instances which would amount to contempt of the Court. Each case depends upon its facts and peculiar circumstances, but conducts, which tend to pervert the course of justice has been held to be in contempt, use of threats either by letter or otherwise to a party in pending suit had been also held. Further, publications which offend the dignity of the Court or calculated to prejudice the course of justice has been so held. Examples are legion. But in the case of publication in a newspaper or magazine the Court will not hesitate to punish for contempt where there was REAL contempt - see the case of *The Williams Shipping Company Limited Vs. H.W. Dillon & Sons Limited* (1930) 2 Ch. D. 368/

JUDGEMENT



Composite picture shows the crowd of supporters that converged outside Lugard Hall in Kaduna to witness the judgement, and right . . . Alhaji Balarabe Musa and Bala Usman in the dock.

375/376 where it was held –

“There should be no such application made unless the thing done is of such a nature as to enquire the arbitrary and summary interference of the Court in order to enable justice to be duly and properly administered without any interruption or interference.”

The question which comes now to play in our mind is this. Is the article in question likely to affect the trial of issues in the case in our hands? Undoubtedly, our attention was drawn to the article in question almost at the end of the evidence of both sides when witnesses had almost given evidence for we dare say that the risk of deterring them from so doing was almost over. Perhaps the nearest one can make out of it is that it might likely influence our mind. But judging from our composition it is most unlikely that we would have been swayed by it in anyway. The Chairman and the Members of this Tribunal are professionals in their various fields and callings. The Chairman himself has been a professional Judge of so many years standing and the Members are equally professional Members of our three Armed Forces – namely – The Army, the Navy and the Air Force and without being pedantic and with all due modesty – we are all sufficiently well-equipped with our individual training to guard against being influenced by such a publication. For this application to succeed it has to be shown that the publication is likely to prejudice the proper trial of a cause. That is the contempt. Such would then be met with the necessary punishment in order to restrain such a conduct – see the case of *Vine Products Limited Vs Greeff* (1966) Ch. D. 484/498.

There is no doubt that the case in hand involves a former Public Office holder – an Ex-Governor of a State in the Federation. His trial before this Tribunal is by no means a matter of Public interest as one of the allegations in the indictment against him amounts to an offence against the society in general. His trial is of national concern and the inalienable right of the freedom of the press as well as that of speech comes to play. But that should be within the limit allowed by the law, namely to make fair comment on such matter as long as they do not offend the law of contempt for the risk is the mischief done to the due administration of justice. So as in the case of an individual.

We have examined the words used in the context and

construed them in their ordinary and common sense ways. In our Nigerian and by all our domestic reasonings we hold that anybody being charged or faced with any suit in Court, albeit, a criminal charge is always said to be in “soup”. That might imply “JAIL” or “IMPRISONMENT”. Those are the ordinary meanings and that is what we will make and weigh the phraseology used on page 10– “GONI ON HIS WAY TO JAIL”.

We are equally grateful to Mr. Adesanya who in no small measure threw a great light to the construction of the offending phrase quoted above. We hold that the words complained of were nothing but inordinately, exuberantly over used and played with. Such would in no way have deterred us from doing justice to the case as it would not prejudice fair trial of the action. Indeed we are not likely to have read the publication had it not been brought to our attention let alone being influenced by it. But we warn that freedom of speech and the like would not be carried too far to degenerate into disorder and chaos in a way as to bring the Government of the day into disrepute. That would not augur well for the Government and the governed. In the case of *Regina Vs. Gray* it was held that:

“Judges and Courts are alike open to criticism and if reasoned argument or expostulation is offered against any judicial act as contrary to law or the public good, no Court could or would treat that as contempt of Court.”

In the above circumstances we will not regard the publication as it was captioned as being contemptuous of this Tribunal. It has not measured up as such. We shall inhibit making any further order. We will let go all the parties before us and dismiss the application accordingly.

WING COMMANDER J. A. ALAGBE
MEMBER

COMMANDER F. I. BIAMBO
MEMBER

LT. COL. A. A. ODE
MEMBER

HON. JUSTICE V. J. O. CHIGBUE
CHAIRMAN

LAND AND FAITH: Dr. Chris Abashiya and the Donli Committee

There is hardly a better time to assess and get to really know a person than in a period of crisis. It is the time when friends stand by their friends or ditch them; a time when people's commitment to a cause can be properly assessed. And for an organisation, a crisis period is the best time to identify and weed out charlatans, saboteurs, fifth columnists and fair-weather compatriots!

For the people of Kaduna State, in particular, and of Nigeria as a whole, the recent 'religious' disturbances in some parts of Kaduna State was a veritable period of crisis. For both Muslims and Christians alike, the men and the women, the young and the old, what happened between Friday 6th and Sunday 12th March, 1987, was an eye-opener — a veritable test that helped to determine the real essence of many people.

But if there has been any one test which the Kaduna disturbances has occasioned that is of particular significance, it has been with regard to the exposure it has made of the absolute hollowness of the religious and moral pretensions of our demagogic religious leaders and personages. Put more bluntly, the Kaduna disturbances — and the events that have since followed it — has helped in no small measure in once again exposing the real class basis of the morality and the publicly-acclaimed 'faith' of many of our so-called religious leaders. It has also shown how different (and bankrupt) the morality of the rich and powerful amongst us is from that of the working and toiling masses, of different faiths and different ethnic identity.

An example of all these things can be glimpsed from the role and conduct of a very prominent member of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). This man is no other than Dr. Chris Shuaibu Abashiya.

You must, of course, have heard of Dr. Abashiya! A very articulate, smooth-talking and urbane fellow, Dr. Abashiya must have seen it as a rare honour and privilege to represent CAN on the Donli Committee which was set up by Lt. Col. Abubakar Umar, the Governor of Kaduna State, to investigate the causes of the riots, lootings and killings of last March.

Of course, Dr. Abashiya has for decades paraded himself as a militant spokesman for Christians and Christianity in Nigeria. In fact, when in the late 1970s he resigned his appointment first as a Commissioner with the Kaduna State Government, and subsequently as a Director of the Kaduna Polytechnic, he was reported by the *New Nigerian* as saying that he was resigning in order to be able "to serve God" more actively. And indeed for a while, Dr. Abashiya worked with a missionary organisation in Jos as Secretary of the Bible Translation Centre, assisting amongst other things in the production of tracts and generally in the proselytization activities of the organisation.

There can be little doubt that Dr. Abashiya has earned a great deal of influence, prestige, power and even material well-being partly on account of this.

But how did Dr. Abashiya's christian zealotry translate into practice in the performance of the concrete tasks assigned to the Donli Committee of which he was a member? Of course, you could expect that Dr. Abashiya's christian faith would come out, in one way or the other, in the final report of that committee. And even if for any reason he could not impress his positions on the majority of the members of the Committee, you would, at the very least, expect him to submit a minority report.

But when we look at what actually happened, we find that our assumptions are not borne out by the facts.

How come, for instance, that a Committee on which a Christian zealot like Dr. Abashiya was sitting could come out with a recommendation that not only should 'secularism' as a basic principle of state policy be discarded, but even that its use in our day-to-day discourse ought to be proscribed because it does not exist in the 1979 Constitution? Or is secularism or the maintenance of a secular state in Nigeria no longer a major demand of CAN? Are we to take it that Dr. Abashiya and his Christian brethren now no longer consider religion as a personal affair or that they no longer demand that Government should not take sides, or be seen to be taking sides or favouring any religion?

Again, how come that the Donli Committee on which a militant Christian spokesman like Dr. Abashiya sat can come out with this recommendation over the Sharia:

"In the event of Government accepting that Sharia should be introduced and applied in its totality to Muslims, provisions in the law should be made allowing non-muslims to opt out for a court of their choice. In case of conflicts, courts of resolutions should be established."

Does this not amount to destroying Nigeria by partitioning this multi-ethnic and multi-religious country into Muslim and Christian enclaves? Is it not intriguing that a representative of CAN like Dr. Chris Abashiya would sign this Donli Committee's report which literally seeks to impose Sharia on this country? Maybe, as a prominent member of CAN, Dr. Chris Abashiya

CONTROVERSY

nurses the ambition of using this partitioning to enhance his political and economic interests over the Christians of Southern Zaria.

In its own comments and observations on the Donli Committee's report, the CAN raised many points. However, they are misdirected. CAN should direct these critical comments to Dr. Abashiya, who was one of those who represented its 'interests' on the Donli Committee. Since he signed the report, Dr. Chris Abashiya must be held responsible for it. CAN cannot evade this. They must ask him and its other representative Mr. Victor Gwani to explain their role.

However, if our very christian Dr. Abashiya is not forthcoming with any satisfactory answers for his role in the Donli cover-up, then I would advise the CAN to look and search for more concrete reasons for his betrayal. CAN should investigate Dr. Abashiya's own material and personal interests — interests which all his religious posturings and masquerading merely serve to mask and camouflage.

For instance, in 1979 Dr. Abashiya connived with the Emir of Jema'a, Alhaji Isa Mohammed, a Muslim, to seize the farmlands of



*Dr. Chris Abashiya
... The Judas Iscariot of CAN.*

nine families of the Bara community of Kagoma District of Jama'a Local Government, in Kaduna State. Most of these peasant families were -- and still are -- Christians. This is how their representative, Mr. Joseph Baballe, narrated their ordeal with this prominent CAN member who also hails from the same area, to the Kaduna State Land Investigation Commission, in 1980:

"He (Baballe) complained that their farmlands were seized by the Emir of Jama'a near Unguwar Chori and given to Dr. Christopher Abashiya to make a farm . . . Dr. Abashiya brought a caterpillar and

cleared the farms. . . . They further said that these farmlands which were given to Dr. Abashiya belong to 9 families. They said that they do not know Dr. Abashiya and they were not consulted or paid any compensation and even the village heads were not contacted before the acquisition was made." (*Report of the Land Investigation Commission, vol. VIII, Jema'a Local Government, pp. 30-31.*)

It is in the context of the concrete reality of the landed interests and greed of Dr. Chris Abashiya and the Emir of Jema'a Alhaji Isa Muhammad (and their ilk) as opposed and counterposed against these nine peasant families of Kagoma District that an explanation for the role of Dr. Abashiya in the Donli Committee's cover-up should be sought. It is the only way that the gap between Dr. Abashiya's supposed christian faith and his actual behaviour, even as a representative of the CAN on the Donli Committee, can be properly grasped.

We should thank Dr. Chris Shuaibu Abashiya, the veritable Judas Iscariot of CAN, for further opening up our eyes, fortuitous as that may have been.

By John Kwabang

BAKORI TRIALS

PROSECUTION UPSTAGED

"The laws of our land recognize the inherent right of a person to take defensive measures in the protection of his life or means of livelihood. Similarly, these very same laws nowhere empower a judge or a court of law (the Supreme Court inclusive) to issue Certificates of Occupancy on land to anybody, corporate or individual. The courts can only confirm or transfer the title to a land under dispute to either of the two contending parties, on the clear basis of a proper application of justice."

These were the basic contentions

of the Defence Counsel, Mr. J. B. Maigida, at the resumed hearing on 9th July 1987 by the Bakori Area Court in the case of criminal trespass and assault preferred against Yakubu Maidaji and sixteen other peasants of Maiyadiya village in Kaduna State.

According to Mr. Maigida, the land on which the alleged criminal trespass took place actually 'belonged' to the defendants and it was therefore impossible for them to trespass on it. Mr. Maigida was addressing the court after cross-examining six of the eleven prosecution witnesses who had earlier testi-

fied before the court. Amongst those cross-examined were Alhaji Hassan Alhassan, the rich Kano-based businessman who is now claiming ownership of the land; Mr. D. Daji, the policeman who investigated the case; Alhaji Badamasi, the man who was allegedly beaten up by the peasants; and Mallam Saidu Yusuf of the land surveying department of the Funtua Local Government Secretariat.

Under cross-examination, Alhaji Hassan admitted that he did not buy any land from any of the defendants. Said Alhaji Hassan: "I bought the

land through the village head of Tsangamawa and through my agent, Alhaji Badamasi." Asked by Mr. Maigida to stand up and identify from whom amongst the docked peasants he bought the land on behalf of his patron, Alhaji Badamasi who had earlier claimed that he knew all the defendants personally, could not identify anybody. Rather, he sat down insolently, mumbling almost inaudibly that the ownership of the land was not the central issue.

In his own testimony, the investigating Police Officer, Mr. D. Daji, could not state categorically who owned the land. He admitted however that Alhaji Hassan had submitted a document to him which was purported to have confirmed the title of the land to Alhaji Hassan. This document, Mr. Daji said, originated from the Funtua Upper Area Court.

Mallam Saidu Yusuf, a member of the team of surveying staff who went to survey the farmlands for Alhaji Badamasi and Alhaji Hassan, admitted under cross-examination that he did not know the real owner of the farmlands. Nor could he or Alhaji Hassan and Alhaji Badamasi tell the court who authorized the staff of the Survey Department to survey the peasants' farmlands. In fact, the fourth prosecution witness, Saidu Yusuf, admitted to the court that "anybody can engage our services, like Badamasi and Alhaji Hassan did, without following any formal procedure or established guidelines."

At an earlier sitting of the Court, defence counsel Mr. J. B. Maigida had caused a stir in the court when he announced the defence's intention to re-call some of the prosecution witnesses for cross-examination. Citing relevant sections of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Criminal Procedure Code and the Edict establishing the Area Courts, Mr. Maigida had also told the court that the defence would also be cross-examining the Registrar of the Upper Area Court, Funtua, and Alhaji Bello

Organiser, Chairman of the Funtua L.G. Land Use and Allocation Committee.



Hansine Donli,
Attorney General, Kaduna State

The Bakori Area Court judge, Alkali Shehu, after initial hesitation, adjourned for two hours to enable him to consult his legal books before determining whether or not to grant the application. As he argued, "You have the right to make the application, we have the power to grant it or not to grant it."

When the court resumed at about 3.00 P.M. the following dialogue ensued:

JUDGE: Mr. Maigida, why do you want the court to summon the Registrar of the Upper Area Court?

MAIGIDA: Because it is in our interest.

JUDGE: How?

MAIGIDA: These people are charged for trespass and assault on the grounds that the land on which they have lived, all these years, and on which their grandfathers have lived, was purportedly given to Alhaji Hassan Alhassan in a judgement delivered at the Upper Area Court.

JUDGE: When was that judgement given?

MAIGIDA: I have given you the number and the year...

JUDGE: Mr. Maigida, what date? You are talking as if I have already granted your application. Do not forget that you have the right to apply, and I have the power not to grant!

MAIGIDA: My Lord, I was a Chief Magistrate for 8 years. I know the procedure.

JUDGE: I don't care whether you are the Chief Magistrate or the Chief Judge or the President of the Federation.

MAIGIDA: Sir, you must care, because we are talking law. Anyway, you may rule.

At this juncture, a *dogari* (traditional bodyguard) of the District Head of Bakori, Alhaji Tukur Idris, entered the court and handed over a written message to the Judge who read it for about two minutes. The judge then turned to *The Analyst* correspondent in the court and said: "You may write whatever you want to write, I do not care. And by the way, are you not from Katsina? Why are you doing such things?" The correspondent answered: "Your worship, *The Analyst* stands for the truth."

At the tail end of the hearing of the case on 9th July, the Judge again asked *The Analyst* correspondent to stand up in the court. When he did, the judge, referring to the then pending case of alleged contempt against *The Analyst* at the Kaduna Special Military Tribunal, said: "Now you people should learn from what is happening to you. Because you do not speak the truth, you have been booked for contempt. *Allah ya kara.*" (which in English means "May God make it worse for you.")

Hearing in the case continues on 23rd July, 1987 when the village head of Tsangamawa and the Registrar of the Upper Area Court, Funtua, are expected to testify.

From Abubakar Siddique and Rabiu S. Hassan in Bakori, with additional reporting by Richard Umaru

EARSHOT

Appeal Funds Bonanza?

As top level Kano technocrats run around lobbying for the post of the Director-General of the Kano State Foundation, people in Hadejia drove away those sent there to collect fresh donations for another appeal fund, this time for the State's Destitute's Committee. The complaint in Hadejia is that the huge amounts extorted from poor people and collected at the launching of the fund in Hadejia on 6th July 1986 have not been used for anything useful that they can see, so why should they donate money for another appeal fund?

In Maiduguri, at the last meeting of the Borno Emirate Development Association, there were anxious calls that the Borno State Education Appeal Fund should begin to do something tangible and that every local government area should get back for its own educational development at least the amount collected within it. The concern at this BEDA meeting is the same as at Hadejia. What happened to the millions extorted from the poor and collected from others in the name of these state appeal funds?

While all this is going on in Kano and Borno, two other states, namely Bauchi and Sokoto, have launched their own at impressive ceremonies. Again millions were said to have been collected.

What is going to be done with the money? Is it going to be used for anything beneficial to the impoverished people of these states? Or is a curtain of silence going to descend on the millions of naira collected, as has happened in the case of the Gongola State Appeal Fund of 1985; the Kwara State Appeal Fund of 1985; the Plateau State Industrial Development Appeal Fund in 1986; the Benue State Appeal Fund in 1986?

In Kano, as the young technocrats scurry around lobbying for

positions to sit on top of the millions collected for the Foundation, ordinary people are asking questions about the finances and real purposes of the whole exercise. The release of The Report of the Steering Committee of the Kano State Foundation was intended to take the heat off the whole issue, but instead it has raised more questions and increased public concern.

For example, one question being widely asked by those with access to the highly restricted report is: if the total donations announced at the various launchings in 1986 came to N85. million, but only N16.2 million was actually collected, what happened to the balance of N69.6 million? Why does the report not list the names of those who had their donations announced but who refused to pay, after getting favourable publicity as public-spirited citizens? Or is the Steering Committee refusing to list the names because some of this N69.9 million was actually collected at the launchings or afterwards, and misappropriated by the organisers? It is possible that some of those whose donations were announced will claim to have paid, but the organisers kept the money for themselves. So, unless the Steering Committee publishes the full list of all those who announced donations but refused to pay up, the suspicion will remain in the minds of many people in Kano, particularly the poor peasants, petty traders, artisans and workers who were forcefully levied for the appeal fund, that most of the balance of N69.9 million was actually collected and cornered by the organisers.

Moreover, people are saying that if only N16.2 million was actually realised, and Alhaji Aminu Dantata actually paid the N12.00 million he announced at the various launchings, it means that the levies extorted from the ordinary people in each

local government, and the donations of everybody else, including the Isiaka Rabi, the other Dantatas, the Garba ADs, the Sani Marshalls, the Dan Kabos, etc. etc. only came to N4.2 million. If that is the case, it means Alhaji Aminu gave 75% of the fund, and the Foundation should therefore be called the AMINU DANTATA FOUNDATION, and not Kano State Foundation. The common people levied should be refunded their money and Alhaji Aminu and the few others supporting him be allowed to go on with a genuine philanthropic organisation.

There are many other questions which people are asking over this Kano State Foundation, which we will reveal in later issues of The Analyst.

The broader issue, however, is that as we move towards the return to politics and try to build a new political culture of democracy and participation, we must ask whether the tens of millions extorted from poor people and collected from others in many states of the Federation will be left in the hands of self-appointed cliques? Should these appeal funds not be subjected to the requirements of public accountability according to the law? How can people be assured that these appeal funds are not means of raising money for a political party?

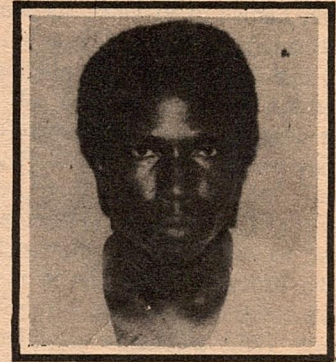
We know that in 1975-79, many appeal funds for education, development, and even for churches and mosques were used for financing the organisation of political parties. One of the most notorious was the case of the Katsina Mosque Appeal Fund, under which about N1.0 million was raised and used to finance the N.P.N. in Katsina. Almost nothing was done for the mosque, even up till today. There are many other such cases.

The fate of the tens of millions of naira collected and extorted under the cover of these appeal funds is a very serious matter. In some states the State Governors themselves are said to be deeply involved. Watch out for more on this in the near future.

AWO: BEYOND HYPOCRISY

This the concluding part of Mahmud M. Tukur's assessment of AWO which we began in our last issue.

By



**MAHMUD MODIBBO
TUKUR**

In his bid to build a pan-Nigerian base for his career Chief Awolowo did not write off anyone, including those who were his bitterest political opponents. That he tried to draw the Sardauna over to his side by warning him about the dangers of radicals and of radicalism in the North is now becoming widely known, even though the significance of this has not been sufficiently brought out.

But as has been brought out in *The Analyst*, Vol.1, No.5, p. 20, Awolowo's overtures to the Sardauna for the containment of "revolutionary elements" in the North underlines the bourgeois nature of his politics. His subsequent adoption of socialism was at best rhetorical and did not alter the bourgeois essence of his doctrine and politics. It was on the basis of this doctrine, which is aptly summarised in the catch-phrase "life more abundant" that he made serious attempts to create a political power base across Nigeria. I will illustrate these attempts with what he did in Adamawa Province in 1959-61, and then touch on similar cases elsewhere in Nigeria.

ADAMAWA

Whereas up to 1959 the Action Group had been present in Adamawa, as in some other parts of the North, only via its alliance with the United Middle Belt Congress which had by then established strong bases among the Chamba and the Bachama, in 1959 Chief Awolowo decided that the Action Group should both register its direct presence in that Province and take the battle for "emancipation" right into the midst of the Fulani, who had hitherto been avoided as too incorrigibly NPC and "feudal".

For the purpose both of making a direct entry into Adamawa and of capturing the Fulani, the Chief chose Isa Ribadu, one of Mahmudu

Ribadu's three eldest sons. Isa was then about 30 years of age, and had already been estranged from his father. The Chief very lavishly equipped him with buses, Volkswagen "beetles", motor cycles, gowns and money — to an extent that briefly changed the scale of quite a few things in Yola, then a mere provincial town. Isa, already the chieftain of a coterie of disgruntled youths in town, resigned his secretarial job with the Adamawa Native Authority and got going in town and village, all over the Province, but especially in the Adamawa Central constituency of his old man, selling the Chief as the people's saviour from age-old abuse and poverty. So great was Isa's impact on the populace that he was arrested within three months of his debut as an AG stalwart, and was sentenced to a two-year jail term for a charge that might have been technically correct, but was trumped up in every other sense. After about three months in jail where his presence adversely affected



Ribadu . . . Awo enticed his son.

'discipline' among the inmates, and, no doubt, after receiving one or two nocturnal visits from venerable family and local elders, Isa agreed to accept a remission of sentence and leave jail as an NPC supporter.

By now the Action Group had been well established in Adamawa although as far as the Fulani were concerned none, apparently, was ever willing to run on its ticket in the 1959 Federal Elections. Further, Chief Awolowo had himself taken to the field by the middle of 1959 and quite unmistakably made Adamawa Province the focus of a special attention by himself.

Indeed throughout the years 1959, 1960 and 1961, a short period that for Adamawa saw one Federal Election, one Regional Election and two internationally-supervised Plebescites, the Chief might have spent his nights in Ibadan, but very much seemed to spend his days in Adamawa, campaigning for his candidates; and in the same spirit in which the Chief had tried to win Isa over to his side, throughout the 1959 campaign for the House of Representatives whenever he visited Yola, which was at least once a fortnight, he took care to hover over Ribadu's house and bombard it with several kilogrammes of leaflets and balloons: perchance some woman or some youngster from Ribadu's household might see the light as Isa had momentarily done!

In the end this special and rather hostile attention towards Ribadu by

ASSESSMENT

a whole Regional Premier who was seeking the office of Prime Minister, merely helped to convince the people of Ribadu's constituency that in him they had one of their own playing in what the Americans would call the "big leagues", and that therefore, whoever might have stood to benefit from his downfall, their own prestige, if not their welfare also, stood to suffer if they allowed him to be brought down. Hence in the 1959 elections, the first ever — the March 1959 plebescite excepted — to be conducted through a secret ballot in the North, Ribadu was elected by a considerable majority over his three opponents — Yahya Ahmed of the NEPU, Samson Nadah of the AG, and Hayatu Waziri, an independent candidate — combined.

BAUCHI AND SOKOTO

Chief Awolowo's efforts — not entirely unrewarded — to penetrate the core of the Adamawa Emirate were not isolated, though they seemed so to the residents of the Emirate. He made similar, if less intense, efforts to capture Bauchi Province where also, as in the case of Ribadu, he tried to engineer the defeat of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in the latter's own Bauchi Central constituency, with similar results as attended his efforts in the Adamawa Province. Likewise, in the 1961 Regional Elections he not only made sure the Sardauna had an Action Group opponent in his Wurno-Rabah constituency, but also that this opponent came from the Sardauna's own native town of Rabah. Indeed during that election the Action Group registered its presence in the Sultanate of Sokoto sufficiently to annoy Shehu Cigari, an NPC stalwart, a son of the much venerated Sultan Hassan (1931-1938), and a member of the House of Assembly, for the latter to feel compelled to organise some 'direct action' against one of the party's lawyers, right in front of the Sultan's Palace, a violent demonstration which earned Cigari a two-year jail term from Sir Algernon Brown, the British Chief Justice of Northern Nigeria, soon after which trial the Chief Justice was retired

'with immediate effect', allegedly in order to enable him to go home and take care of a sick son, in protest against which removal Sir Algernon, instead of packing and going home, committed suicide right there in Kaduna itself!

It should also be noted that the Action Group through its alliance with the UMBC on the one hand and the Borno Youth Movement on the other, made a great impact in Benue throughout the period 1952-1966, and in Borno in the years 1955 to 1958.

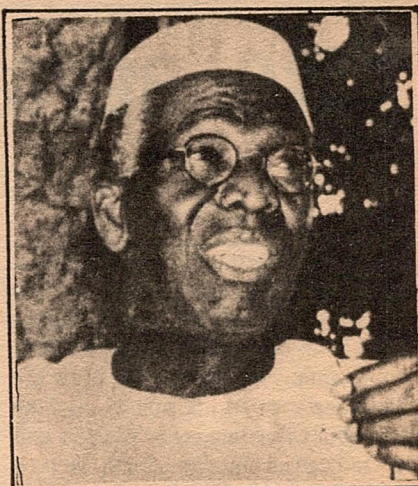
EASTERN REGION

Needless to say, Chief Awolowo's efforts to expand into the North were duplicated in the East also, though to a somewhat lesser extent for a number of reasons only one of which perhaps needs to be mentioned here. This was that Chief Awolowo, and to an even greater extent Dr. Azikiwe also, believed that given the size and the population of the North as well as its relative cultural distinctiveness, any Southern-based party aspiring to rule Nigeria must either establish a direct political presence in the North or at least enter into an alliance with a political party originating from, and largely based in, the North itself.

Chief Awolowo's efforts in the East, as in the North, was partly based on winning the support of a son whose own father was entrenched on the other side. This



Terka . . . His UMBC allied with AG



Awo . . . From Ijebu merchant to Yoruba leader.

was S.G. Ikoku, son of the well-known educationist, Alvan Ikoku. So also did the Chief's efforts take the form of concentrating on areas largely inhabited by the minority ethnic groups, namely the Calabar, Ogoja and Port Harcourt Provinces of the Region. His efforts in the East yielded similar results as they did in the North. The Action Group was the main opposition party in the Regional House there too, and captured a few federal seats, almost all of these being in the non-Igbo speaking areas of the East.

THE 1959 ELECTIONS

From these and other efforts right across Nigeria Chief Awolowo, in addition to his 33 seats from the West, also picked up 29 seats from the North and 14 from the East. He nonetheless lost his bid for an AG majority in the House of Representatives, and, partly for that reason, lost his bid for the much-coveted office of Prime Minister.

It should by now be clear that if Chief Awolowo never had enough seats from the North and East to change his image of a largely Western, more specifically Yoruba, politician, it was not for lack of trying. It was due to economic, political, cultural, and bureaucratic 'facts of life' in these two other Regions, 'facts' of the type that it is usually one thing to comprehend, and quite another to alter, at least in a single life time, try as one might, indeed try as Awolowo did.

Angola: The Truth about UNITA

In our last issue we brought to you factual and detailed information about one of the crucial battlefronts in the struggle for the total liberation of the people of this continent. We laid bare the truth about the real origin and nature of the RENAMO (MNR) bandits who are now attacking Mozambique and Zimbabwe. We exposed, with facts and figures, what the BBC, VOA, Radio France International, Reuters, and their local megaphones like the News Agency of Nigeria, FRCN, and others, have been hiding in their subtle campaign of disinformation over the nature of the large-scale war the white settler regime in Pretoria has launched against the frontline states of Southern Africa since about 1980.

As we explained in that issue, there are powerful elements in Nigeria, among the millionaire generals, the retired super permanent secretaries, the sacred-cow politicians, the corrupt and mentally subservient military officers and academics, and the parasitical feudal satraps, who actively oppose any serious support by Nigeria for the liberation movements and the frontline states beyond empty speeches, gestures, and diversionary postures like the latest charade about "Medium Powers"

They deeply fear and hate the socialist paths of development chosen by most of the governments and liberation movements in Southern Africa, but they lack the credibility to openly say this because it means going against the basic principles of Murtala's African policy, which the people of Nigeria so dearly love and are proud of.

In this issue we bring to you the truth from another crucial battlefront of the struggles in the frontline. We take a close look at Unita in Angola, in order to see clearly what this organisation actually is, beyond

the lies, half-truths and distortions of the BBC, VOA and the rest of the imperialist disinformation apparatus.

Unita was formally set up on 13th March, 1966, and therefore existed for almost ten years before Angolan independence. It had fighters in the provinces of central and eastern Angola, and claimed to control most of these provinces in 1975-1976. Its spokesmen have, over the two decades of its existence, issued statements, made speeches and proclamations full of anti-imperialist and revolutionary rhetoric, which in the early days were full of Maoist phraseology, and which later came to be replaced by 'blackist' clichés and slogans.

So in many ways it can be made to appear that Unita was a liberation movement which is now engaged in a civil war for the control of Angola, with another liberation movement, the MPLA, whose ethnic and geographical base is different. Thus the appearance can be created that what is really happening in Angola now is a civil war between liberation movements, each of which is supported by different foreign powers. But does this appearance reflect the actual reality of what is happening in Angola? What is the truth about Unita?

This takes us back to the basic question of what is a liberation movement? Is a liberation movement



Victims of Kassinga massacre (4th May, 1978)

STRUGGLES IN THE FRONTLINE

any political organisation which declares that it is fighting for liberation? Or has a liberation movement got to be a political organisation which not only *declares* that it is fighting for liberation, but is *actually doing so in practice*? In the case of Angola, the struggle for liberation in *theory* and in *practice* meant armed struggle to overthrow the structures of Portuguese colonial domination; and now means building up an independent African state, which is not only independent of Portugal, but also of the NATO powers who control Portugal and who exploited the people and resources of Angola through it.

If this is what a liberation movement in the case of Angola meant, and now means, can Unita qualify to be called a genuine liberation movement? Or was it a liberation movement only in *appearance* and not in *essence*? In other words, was it a fake liberation movement, created deliberately to deceive the Angolan people, the rest of Africa, and the world?

SAVIMBI AND UNITA

To answer this question we must turn to the nature of Unita. Whatever it is, it has been built around the charismatic personality of Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, who was its founder, and has been its president ever since. Even among its followers the slogans "Unita" and "Savimbi" are regarded as the same and interchangeable.

So, who is this man Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, born on 3rd August 1934 at Munhango in Central Angola? In 1972 this question was put to the late Amilcar Cabral, that outstanding African revolutionary leader and intellectual, whom the Portuguese killed on 20th January 1973, after the PAIGC, which he led, had virtually defeated them in Guinea. Cabral was a doyen of African revolutionary leaders in the Portuguese colonies, and was one of the leading revolutionary thinkers of the world in the twentieth century. His honesty, clarity of purpose and integrity are legendary.

A FAITHFUL SERVANT

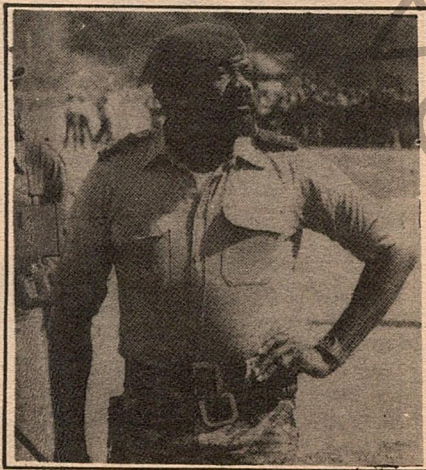
Jonas Savimbi had gone around

in the late 1960's and early 1970's claiming that he was a close comrade of Cabral and of that other legendary hero, Che Guevara.

When Cabral was asked about Savimbi, this is what he said, in a letter he wrote to Basil Davidson in April 1972:

"Yes, I know Jonas Savimbi in Lisbon as a faithful servant of the Portuguese colonialists. In 1959 he even made a speech at the Geographical Society in favour of the Portuguese colonialists and their great work. Later he became a 'nationalist', a 'minister', 'leader of so-called Unita', etc., but in my opinion he is still serving the Portuguese colonialists. So the revelations of the German journalist do not surprise us. Jonas Savimbi is well aware of my opinion of him, because I told him in Lisbon as well as in Africa."

If we follow Savimbi's trail from 1959 when Cabral saw through him, and identified him as a faithful servant of the Portuguese colonialist, we find him registered to study medicine at Fribourg in West Germany in 1960, and meeting Tom Mboya, the well-known Kenyan politician and C.I.A. agent, at a students' conference in 1961. Reportedly on the advice of Tom Mboya, Savimbi joined Holden Roberto's FNLA (then called UPA) in 1961, and straightaway rose to be the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.



Savimbi . . . "Faithful servant of the Portuguese colonialists"

During his European stay in 1959-65, Savimbi was on an American scholarship from some evangelical organisation. This American organisation was also at the same time responsible for the scholarships of other Angolan students, all of whom later rose to be leaders of Unita alongside Savimbi. These included Jorge Valentim at Temple University, Jorge Sangumba at Manhattan College; with Jose Ndele, Toni Fernandes and others with Savimbi in Switzerland.

Savimbi's lifestyle as a "play-boy", according to Professor John Marcum, the leading American authority on Angolan nationalism, did not allow him to complete his studies in medicine at Fribourg. He dropped out and was enrolled at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland) where he completed a bachelor's degree in political science in 1965, which he however misrepresents as a doctorate degree and hence calls himself "Dr. Savimbi", perhaps in an effort to cover up his failure to become a medical doctor like Agostinho Neto.

Meanwhile, he had fallen out with Holden Roberto, and in July 1964, in Cairo, he left the FNLA. He denounced Holden Roberto as an agent of "American imperialism" and Roberto accused him of cornering a donation of \$50,000 that Nasser had given their organisation.

In 1965-66 he was associated with a shadowy organisation called Amanglo (Manifesto of the Friends of Angola) and was said to be moving around in Europe and even going to China for military training.

1966-1969

In March 1966 he surfaced with Unita, with members drawn largely from Angolan refugees in Zambia and the leaders from his fellow American scholarship mates. On 25th December 1966, Unita mounted its first operation against the town of Teixeira de Sousa in Angola near the Zambian border.

After that Unita seemed to have done nothing except issue communiques claiming fictitious victories

against the Portuguese. The Portuguese High Command in Angola however never mentioned Unita in its war communiques. By 1970 a U.S. State Department report estimated that Unita had a total of 200 fighters.

Savimbi continued to claim to be inside Angola fighting, but eyewitness accounts from Zambia say that he was almost always in Zambia or in Europe, where he developed a reputation among ladies of easy virtue for his lavish generosity and for being a good dancer.

A PORTUGUESE AUXILIARY FORCE

There is now some evidence that by 1969, Unita was already operating under the direction of São Jose Lopes, the director of the Portuguese Secret Service, the PIDE, in Angola.

After the collapse of the Portuguese empire with the coup of 25th April 1974, one of the radical leaders of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, the MFA, Major Otel Saraiva de Carvalho, gave photocopies of letters written between Savimbi and the Portuguese High Command in Angola to Aquino de Braganca, a leading FRELIMO intellectual and adviser to the late Samora Machel, who was killed with him by the South African racists in that air crash of 19th October 1986. Aquino de Braganca arranged for the publication of these letters in the 8th July 1974 issue of the magazine *Afrique-Asie*.

Of course Unita spokesmen denied the authenticity of these letters, but in August 1982, the Portuguese Government itself opened some of the PIDE files in Lisbon and the originals of these were identified among other documents, which further confirmed Unita's service to the Portuguese colonial army.

These letters and telegrams from Luanda to Lisbon reveal that the major functions of Unita were to fight the MPLA on behalf of the Portuguese army, stand as an "alternative" liberation movement particularly for the people of central Angola and in some parts of the world, and serve as a source of

military and political intelligence about the MPLA, Zambia and the OAU.

PROFOUND SERVILITY

In the letter dated 26 September 1972 which Jonas Savimbi wrote to General Luz Cunha, the Portuguese Commander-in-Chief in Angola, this faithful servant of Portuguese colonialism began the letter as follows:

"Before getting to practical matters, I wish Your Excellencies to transmit my heartfelt compliments on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the coming to power of His Excellency Professor Marcelo Caetano, President of the Council of Ministers. I would also like to use this occasion to send my congratulations to His Excellency General Luz Cunha, for his nomination to the very responsible post of Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in Angola."

He continued:

"We see the MPLA as the principle obstacle to peace not only in the east but throughout Angola. First hand information we possess leads us to believe that MPLA is preparing other ambushes and operations against the armed forces and against Unita. . . . Whatever the thoughts of the government, we will never entertain taking up arms against the authorities. We use our arms so that one day we will force the MPLA to abandon the east." He then offered guides for the Portuguese to take them to where they could attack the MPLA:

"As for your question of us providing you guides, our position remains the same. We are ready to provide them as soon as the camp has been positively located. The difficulty comes from the fact that the enemy discovers the footprints of our men as soon as they leave. We have therefore adopted the procedure of sending in groups whose mission is to immediately attack any camp they locate. We believe that what would facilitate those missions would be joint actions between our troops and yours in a predetermined sector."

Savimbi concluded this letter by

asking the Portuguese for supplies of ammunition and camouflage uniforms of good material for himself and his lieutenant Nzau Puna:

"I once again ask Your Excellency to furnish me with at least 1,500 rounds of 7.62 ammunition since our action against the MPLA and the UPA always takes place with weapons of this calibre. . . . My request for hand grenades can be ignored as we still have enough for the time being. As regards camouflage, we will ask the timber merchants for another type of cloth, as you recommended, but I ask that if possible at least two good uniforms, in genuine camouflage cloth be sent, one for me and one for Puna."

In another letter written by Savimbi to Lt-Colonel Ramires de Oliveira, Chief of Staff of the Eastern Military Zone, he offered an OAU document to the Portuguese High Command:

"I have in my possession a document of the OAU which I consider to be of great importance. I have just received it. It concerns the procurement of weapons by the MPLA and other movements in Portuguese territories, finances, transportation, etc. I think it is quite useful in that it reflects the state of mind present at the last meeting of the African Chiefs of State in Rabat. As soon as I have finished studying it I will have it forwarded by the usual means, as it would be a pity if such an important document were lost."

He concluded this letter on a note illustrating the profound servility of this leader of a "liberation movement" toward the colonialist:

"I would like to use this occasion to send my respectful greetings to His Excellency Engineer Santos e Castor for his nomination to the high post of Governor General of Angola. Respectfully, Jonas Malheiro Savimbi."

Thus Unita, as the MPLA bitterly learnt from the attacks it got from it when trying to build its forces in Eastern and Central Angola, was a native auxiliary force of the

STRUGGLES IN THE FRONTLINE

Portuguese Army in Angola. There were however enough African governments servile to imperialism who would insist that Unita is recognised as a liberation movement; and the OAU came to recognise it.

CEASEFIRE

As soon as the Portuguese coup of 25th April 1974 took place, Savimbi moved fast to sign a ceasefire with the representatives of the Spínola regime which had refused to agree to the right of self-determination for the Portuguese colonies.

The co-called "ceasefire" between Unita and the Portuguese colonial army in Angola was signed on 14th June 1974, and the Portuguese High Command in Luanda issued a communique which illustrated further how fake the whole Unita posture and status was:

"... this High Command wishes publicly to make known the atmosphere of friendliness and sympathy in which the talks took place, in which the political maturity, loyalty, and true love for the Angolan people on the part of Dr. Jonas Savimbi were made plain and which therefore we pay due tribute."

The MPLA of course refused to agree to any ceasefire with the Portuguese until they had agreed to the principle of the right of the Angolan people to self-determination in November 1974.

DECISIVE DEFEAT

Savimbi, right from June 1974, was given all support and assistance by the Portuguese fascists then in control of the government of Angola, to travel around and sell himself as the rightful leader of the whole country. The boss of the Anglo-South African conglomerate Lonrho, Tiny Rowland, gave Savimbi an executive Lear jet aeroplane to carry him throughout Angola and to anywhere in the world.

Savimbi soon dropped all his Maoist and other revolutionary slogans and became openly a champion of the continuation of Portuguese and Western domination of Angola. In a British Journal To

The Point International of 25th February 1975 he said:

"We must have free enterprise. If we took away the stimulus of profit then we would have stagnation. I think we should follow the example of that great African Statesman President Houphouët Boigny of the Ivory Coast."

The American C.I.A. and the South African Defence Force and BOSS came together to build up and train his very small units — and bolstered them with white mercenaries. Together with FNLA and Zairean troops they attempted to take Luanda, until the MPLA, backed by the Cuban Internationalist Brigade, smashed them up at the famous battle of Kifangondo, 20 kilometres north of Luanda, on 10th November 1975, and at subsequent battles when the South African armoured column from the south was also smashed.

Between these defeats and the arrival of Ronald Reagan in 1980, Unita virtually disappeared outside the camps provided for the remnants of its troops by the South African Defence Force in northern Namibia.

From 1980 however it was resurrected to play an auxiliary role to the South African Defence Force in its full-scale war against the people and government of Angola. The truth about the nature of this war shall be covered in full in later issues of *The Analyst*. In the meantime, it should be clearly understood that Unita has never been a liberation movement and Savimbi has never taken part in a liberation struggle. He was from the very beginning of his political career a faithful servant of imperialism, as Amílcar Cabral recognised in 1959. He has continued this service faithfully, for twenty-eight years, up till today, under Salazar, Caetano, Spínola, Vorster, Botha and Reagan.



Neto... Founder of the Peoples Republic of Angola.

MEMORIAL LECTURE

Transportation and Exploitation

The 4th Bala Mohammed Memorial Lecture to honour the memory of the martyr Dr. Bala Mohammed, who was assassinated on Friday, 10th July, 1981 in Kano, was delivered by Comrade Pascal Bafyau, Secretary-General of the Nigerian Union of Railwaymen. The lecture was delivered on Friday, 10th July 1987 at the main hall of the Kongo Conference Hotel, Zaria, under the Chairmanship of Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa.

The First Bala Mohammed Memorial Lecture was delivered in Kaduna on 10th July, 1983 by Mallam Saleh Ladan, then serving as the National Secretary of POSSAN, on the subject of "The Assassination of Bala Mohammed and the Struggle of the Nigerian Workers and Intellectuals". The Second Bala Mohammed Memorial Lecture was delivered in Kaduna on 10th July 1985 by Mallam Umaru Aji, the founding director of the Kano State Mass Literacy Agency, on the subject of "Mass Literacy Education and National Development". The Third Bala Mohammed Memorial Lecture was delivered in Bauchi, the birth-place of Dr. Bala Mohammed, on 10th July 1986 by Dr. Yahaya Abdullahi, the Chairman of the Kaduna State Land Investigation Commission (1979-80) on the subject of "Political Stability and the Land Question in Nigeria."

The Bala Mohammed Memorial Committee has promised to publish these three earlier lectures together with this recent one by Comrade Pascal, in a book to come out soon, therefore we shall only bring to you here excerpts from the lecture, which is very coherent, lucid and educative — full of facts and figures — and brings out clearly the relationship between transportation and exploitation in Nigeria.

THE OCCASION

"We congratulate and salute the Nigerian patriots that have created

this form of gathering to commemorate a rare Nigerian youth who lived and was brutally murdered because he believed and physically waged a struggle to emancipate the down-trodden Nigerians . . . History in the course of time shall prove without ambiguity that the blood of Bala was shed to usher in a new era and a just Nigerian society where there shall be no exploitation."

THE TOPIC

"Today I choose transportation as my topic for this all-important lecture because I have observed and I am sure all of you have equally observed that not only has our industrial growth been retarded as a result of ineffective and un-coordinated transport policy in the country, but also because the masses of this country are under daily economic, mental and physical enslavement as a result of the chaotic and inaccessible means of movement."

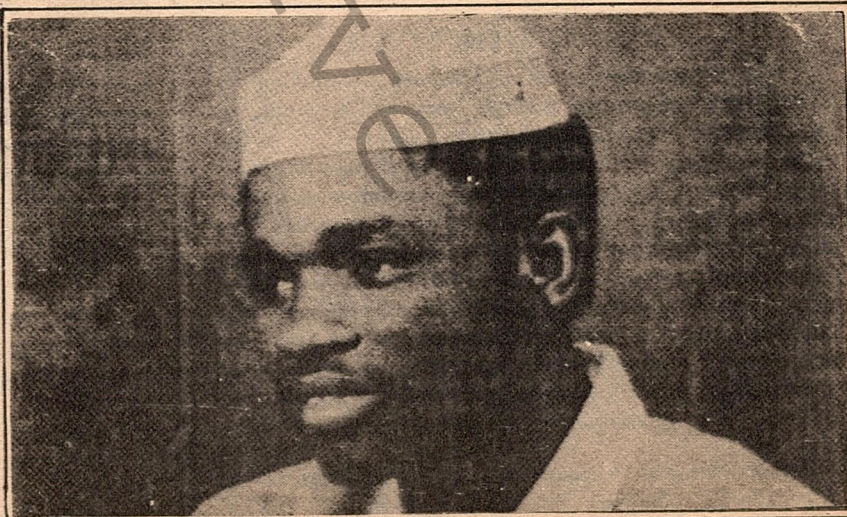
VESTED INTERESTS Vs THE PEOPLE

"From the colonial administration and through the civilian and military regimes, no Nigerian government has committed itself to the planning of an effective transport

system for the transportation of the masses and their goods at the cheapest unit cost. Nigerians placed to oversee public transportation have turned round to establish their privately owned transport network to compete and sabotage the state transport system they are supposed to protect. Examples of these characters can be seen in the shipping business and in the road transport syndicates. The railway that is supposed to be the common man's means of transport is the most neglected sector."

THE RAILWAY

"The Nigerian Railway Corporation today has two mainlines and seven branch lines totalling 3,505 km of 1,067 mm gauge. It has a single track that is characterised by severe curves and steep gradients. It employs presently, after retrenchments, 34, 997 workers . . . Since 1976 no new stock has been bought by the Federal Government for railway operations. New aircraft are being bought yearly. The cost of one Airbus is sufficient to buy 20 locomotive engines. That will go a long way to solve railway problems. With the rapidly growing Nigerian population at the rate of 3.5% this



Bala Mohammed. . . Assassinated Friday, 10th July, 1981.

country needs a well-distributed railway network in order to get to all parts of the country. The system covers 15 of the 19 states of the federation. Steel rolling mills are not connected with the railways. The roads are being destroyed by heavy haulers carrying billets to the steel-mills."

THE ROAD TRANSPORT SYNDICATES

"It is very interesting to see how the Federal Government expends its funds on transporting commodities.

[Here Pascal gives a comparison of the rates per tonne of fertiliser charged by the railway and the rates the government pays private road transport syndicates, who are given the transportation of most of the fertiliser.]

"On the 24th of June 1987 the Minister of Transport was said to have announced an increase of 85% and 20% for freight and passenger fares (for road transporters)."

PRIVATISATION OR PLUNDERISATION

"As at December 1985, total investment in the air transport mode has been estimated at about N2.0 billion, out of which airports development gulped about N1.2 billion, while as at the same date total investments in Nigerian Airways is put around N350 million As a matter of fact the President in his last 1987 budget speech clearly said that the private sector will be encouraged to operate in Nigeria's air transportation industry. It will be interesting

to note that these airlines combined convey far more domestic passengers than the Nigerian Airways. In 1985 alone the total number of passengers carried by them stood at 2,182,144. We therefore have no doubt that since there is a daily registration of these private airlines, and Nigeria continues to have bourgeois administrations, the national carrier will either be finally privatised or forgotten as the case is with the Nigerian Railway Corporation."

THE WAY FORWARD

"Comrade Bala lived and died for the myriads of problems facing the Nigerian workers and peasants. I am therefore convinced that our late comrade would wish to see a dynamic transport policy that shall adequately move all Nigerians and their properties conveniently from one location to the other; a transport system that is cheap and can enhance massive industrial development and a transport system that shall generate more employment for Nigeria's rapidly growing population and thus contribute to eliminating totally unemployment."

From	To	Railway	Road
Apapa	Maiduguri	N46.20	N155.40
Apapa	Kano	N34.50	N129.50
Apapa	Jos	N35.90	N131.33
Apapa	Kaduna	N30.10	N166.55

CAUGHT OUT

MEDICINE AFTER DEATH?

"Up to one-third of all official and private loans to Third World nations, for example, may well be ending up in hospitable havens outside those nations. . . . The corruption escalated during the heyday of high oil prices when Western banks recycled vast amounts of petrodollars in the form of loans to Third World countries. Too often the availability of new money in countries eager for rapid development offered opportunities for local businessmen to connive with foreign counterparts in a range of practices from overinvoicing of imports and underinvoicing of exports to supplying grossly inferior goods and services — or, worse still none at all. Corruption became more pervasive, the amounts skimmed off more colossal."

[General Olusegun Obasanjo, in "Debts and Drugs in the Third World", The New York Times, 15th April, 1987.]

Hmm! Is the General only becoming wise after the

event? Or is he trying to subtly pull the wool over our eyes? After all, was it not the very same General who as Head of State negotiated Nigeria's first jumbo loan of one billion U.S. dollars?

"DO AS I SAY . . ."

"The assets of all affected officers and politicians should, upon declaration and verification, be published for general public announcement, claims and counter-claims".

[Political Bureau Recommendation]

"Government does not accept this Recommendation."

[Federal Government's position as contained in its White Paper on the Political Bureau Report.]

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