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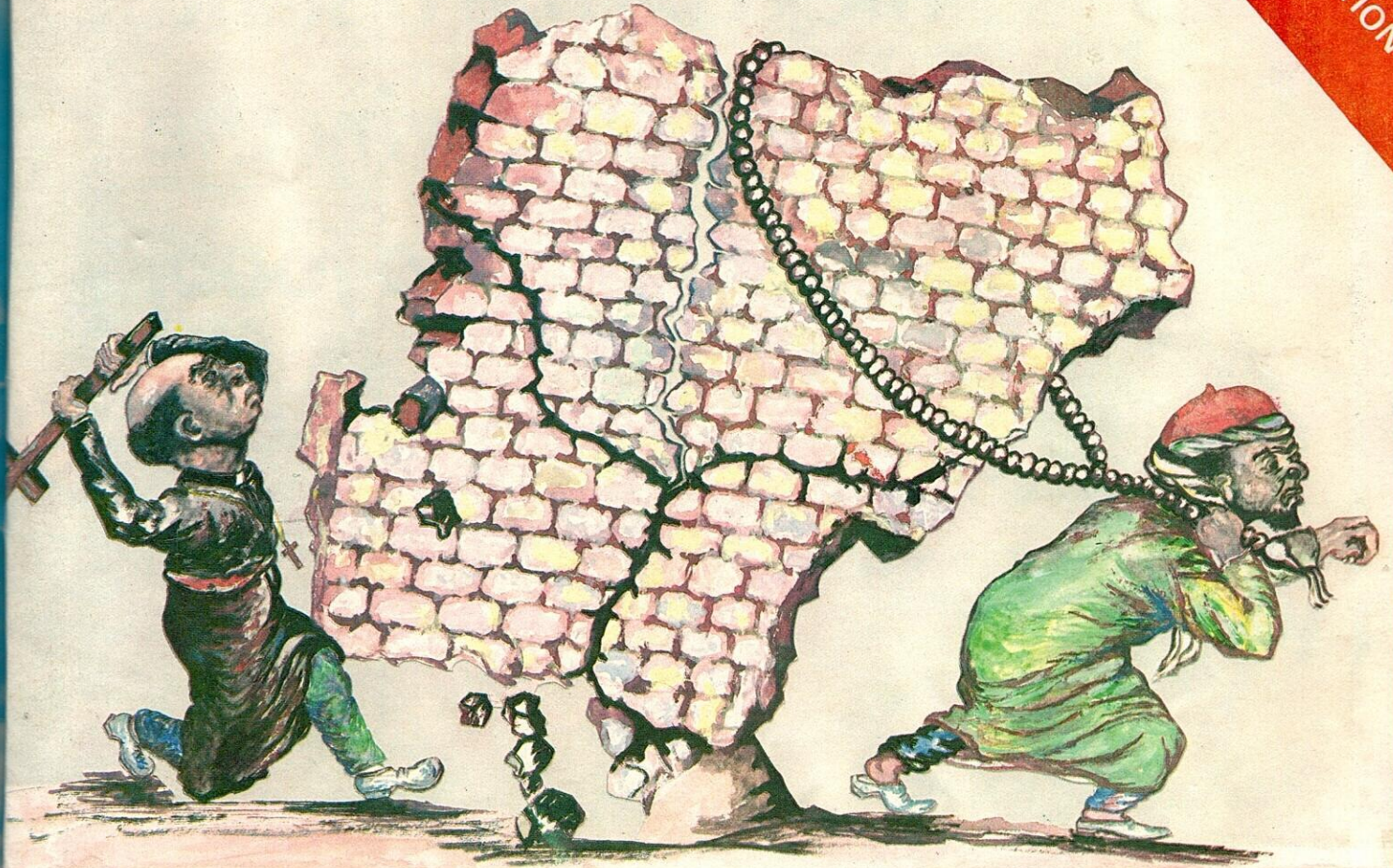
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Vol. 3, No. 5

says it, as it is

September — October, 1988

IRAN: REVOLUTION BETRAYED
CHRISTIANITY: A THEOLOGY FOR LIBERATION

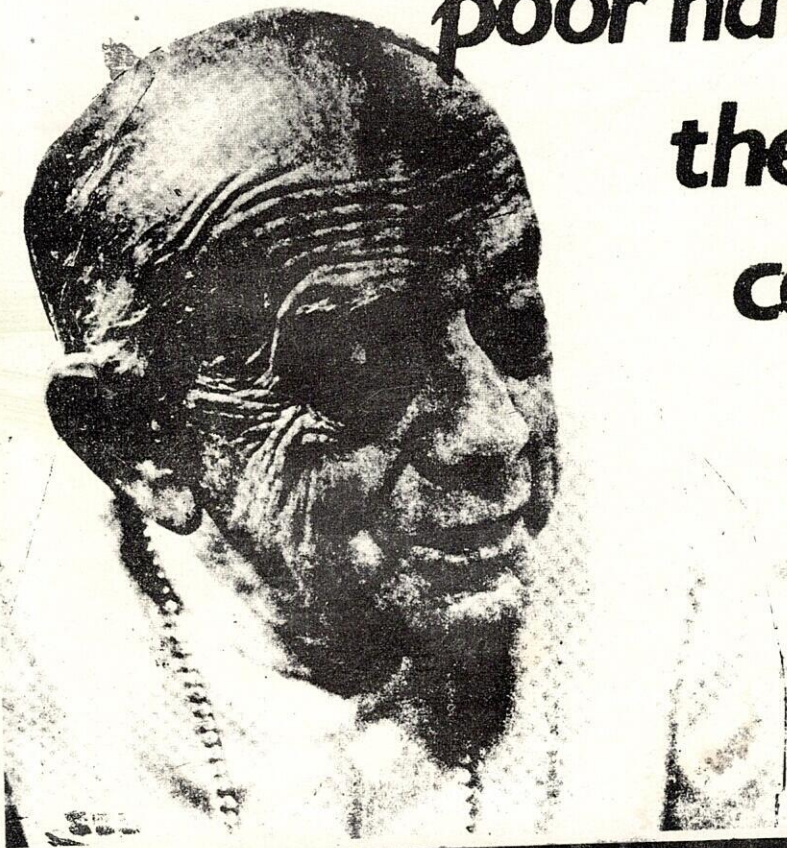


Devils At Work

REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

**'When I give food to the poor,
they call me a saint.
When I ask why the
poor have no food,
they call me a
communist.'**

— Dom Helder Camara



NOTE:

Dom Helder Camara, a north Brazilian catholic bishop, played a very prominent role in the Medellin Conference of 1968 and has been the inspiration behind many leaders of the 'Liberation Theology' movement in the Church.

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In this issue

MARK OF THE DEVIL

The hunt is on throughout Nigeria for the Devil. He is being chased out from mosques, churches, schools, offices, homes, and even pubs. But who is the Devil, and what are his marks?

Turn to page 6

IN GOD'S NAME...

In God's name, anything and everything is possible: Save life or destroy life; build faith or destroy faith; speak truth or spin lies; build the community or destroy it; heal wounds or spill blood. How, and for what, has God's name been used in Iran, Sudan, Pakistan, Guatemala and Libya?

See page 10

GIANTS IN THE SUN



There are men, and there are Men. Men, who dwarf other men in their life time. Men who straddle the world, leaving indelible marks in the sands of time. Men who strike fear in the hearts of oppressors. Men like Omar Mukhtar and Camilo Torres 24

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LETTERS

LESSONS OF HISTORY

Your comment (Vol.3, No. 3) is a very nice piece but contains a little misinformation. You have allowed sentiments to becloud your full vision. That is to say, in arguing that our so-called founding fathers were the very cause of the nation's problems you included amongst them an innocent and true patriot - Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. In fact, I am of the belief that Balewa died a true jihadist and therefore shouldn't be included in your list.

Finally, I agree with you that it was the Nigerian people who stood firmly for Nigerian unity and not these so-called 'founding fathers'. This is because it is they who took up arms against our rebels during the civil war. And it is they who are suffering under the acronym of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

*Ibrahim Dan'Azumi,
Gwarzo.*

The letter written by Kabir Yusuf Mawashi is not only absurd, but provocative to all progressive elements. He told us that the state apparatus (police, soldiers and judges) massacred the people of Rafin Gora because they tried to evade tax. But Kabir forgot that during that period, Gamji and his stooges in the NPC were in full control of the state apparatus. And they used this state apparatus in killing, maiming, torturing and exploiting innocent peasants without being challenged. They usually justify their criminal deeds by accusing the victims of being rebels and tax evaders. But the only offence of these progressive peasants was their constant resistance and opposition to the exploitative and oppressive regime of Gamji and his disciples.

The history of a people is the future of the people - this statement will only be correct if we search with powerful microscopes into the lives of our past leaders. And their crimes, committed against the people, must be quickly exposed and condemned, so that our future leaders will take progressive steps towards solving the problems of the vast majority of the people being exploited by this tiny parasitic class.

All progressive elements must be able to stand by the truth, to tell the truth without fear, even if the truth entails some difficulties. Long live THE ANALYST.

*Isiaka M. Danjuma,
Gongola State.*

The letters you published by Kabir Yusuf Mawashi Katsina and Muhammad Bukhari Zubairu (THE ANALYST, July-August 1988, Vol. 3, No.4) were just unscientific and atavistic nonsense.

Kabir says that the case of Mato Uban 'Ya'Ya, for example, is correct, but it was only the place that's wrong. The essential thing here is that the exploitation, suppression, degradation, oppression and total subjugation really happened to Mato even if the name of the town where it happened was wrong.

Muhammad on the other hand said he was pained by the way THE ANALYST is bringing the general public to become aware of our oppressors' exploitative nature right from the time Nigeria got its so-called political independence. He even went further to say that most of our exploiters were dead, and it is "contrary to the norm observed here" to say someone has done wrong when he is dead. But Muhammad, you failed to tell us what "here" is to you.

*Bashir Ahmadu Gambo,
Sokoto.*

I'M A GAMJITE, PERIOD.

If at all Sardauna and his likes were corrupt, then what of the publisher of this your damnable magazine? Where did he get the capital to establish such a publishing company? Is it his gratuity or what? Why didn't he establish the company before the Second Republic?

In spite of all your criticisms, we are Gamjites. Period.

*Iliyasu Y. Dahiru Dambam,
Darazo, Bauchi State.*

WHY 3RD REPUBLIC IS DOOMED

Your edition on the Third Republic is worthy of praise. In fact, you spoke many of your readers' mind about how the imminent Third Republic of Nigeria will be.

*Walter C. Aneke-Oku,
Kaduna.*

Your piece, 'Why Second Republic Failed' was a masterpiece, and a warning to us in this period of transition. We all know that transition is continuous. Please, you should not forget to focus on how Ministers, PLOs, Junior Ministers, Leaders of Houses (Senate/Representatives) were elected, selected or appointed, and how they steered the course of corruption and self-enrichment and nepotism. This may help to avert a repetition of this during the Third

Republic.

*Rabiu Yusuf,
Kano.*

The present regime wants the masses to be convinced that a democratic government will be formed when the country returns to civil rule in 1992. But this is a farce, and is unconvincing.

Democracy in capitalist Nigeria is a democracy that is curtailed, wretched and false; it is a democracy for the rich and for the minority. While restrictions and exactions continue to be imposed on the poor by the ruling classes. Only in a socialist society will a truly complete democracy become possible, a democracy without restrictions or exceptions whatsoever.

The recent industrial unrest clearly proves the determination of the Nigerian workers, peasant farmers, students, etc. to raise their position to that of the ruling class and to win a battle for democracy through socialist revolution.

*Danjuma Ishaq A.,
Gongola State.*

N.N.P.C. ACCOUNTS

Mr. Rasheed Olayinka has asked "who accounts for what in this country?", when referring to the 'missing' N2.8 billion and the Pan Ocean oil deal under Buhari in your popular magazine (THE ANALYST, Vol.3, No.3, May-June, 1988). The *Headlines* (No. 184, August, 1988) has explained that only General Obasanjo and General Buhari did not appear before the Irikife tribunal. The *New Nigerian* editorial (23/6/88) has talked about financial chaos and confirmed that Ayida did say the money was moved into a private account. And when he took over power in December '83, Buhari, then just one week in office, recalled Chief Marinho who had earlier on been redeployed by Shagari. Two weeks later, Buhari called for the file on the N2.8 billion oil scandal (*The Guardian*, Friday, January 13, 1988).

To a layman like me, both Buhari and Obasanjo should be asked to say what they know on this matter. This may be the beginning of accounting by our leaders, past and present. The poor people of this country should know whose account this money was paid into "temporarily".

*Yussuf Olatunji,
Agege, Lagos.*

COMMENT

THE BLOOD-BATH WE MUST AVOID

A political controversy under the cover of religion is being used once again to threaten the survival of Nigeria. Powerful forces well entrenched in the government machinery, including the security services, seem bent on creating the conditions for another civil war. This time, a civil war pitching Nigerian christians against Nigerian muslims. This is not being alarmist. It is stating the plain truth. The survival of not only Nigeria, but of each and every Nigerian, is being threatened.

Since the palaver over Nigeria's role in the Organisation of Islamic Conference in 1986, political tension over religion has been heightening. The rioting and arson in Kaduna State in April 1987, aggravated this even further. Today, this tension is being deliberately intensified to a new pitch over Shari'a in the Constituent Assembly.

On Thursday, 8th September 1988, a Committee of the Assembly broke up violently over the Shari'a issue. In a desperate attempt to hide the rowdy, and possibly violent, scenes likely to occur when the Committee submits its report to the full house, metal detectors have even been installed, and the Chairman of the Assembly, Justice Anthony Aniagolu, has directed that for the rest of its life, the Assembly shall sit in camera. That means the public and the press shall be excluded.

For a body set up to produce a democratic constitution for a country of one hundred million people, such a move is very damaging. If the Constituent Assembly has to sit in camera because its members are not responsible enough to hold open and democratic debates, what shall happen in the state and national legislatures the constitution they will produce is going to establish? This disgraceful situation at Abuja shows how serious this political controversy under the cover of religion has become.

Nigerians therefore cannot afford to ignore the tragic experiences of other nations on this kind of politics of deceit using religion. The bloodbath that will occur in Nigeria in the event of a religious civil war will make the Sudanese, Irish and Lebanese tragedies seem like child's play.

Those who think that this blood-letting will give them the political leadership of a christian crusade, or a muslim jihad, should stop fooling themselves. The in-fighting and sectarianism within each of the

two religious groups will lead to such fragmentation that the only victor will be the vultures.

In any case, the working people of Nigeria in the urban and rural areas, and the patriotic elements in the professions and the armed forces, will not allow this to happen. They are increasingly becoming alert to the serious dangers of the ongoing manipulative campaigns over religion. They are aware that this campaign has no other purpose but to enable the same crooks to continue sucking the nation dry.

These crooks are now desperate.

They have used tribalism, and it has failed. They have used regionalism, and it blew up in their face. They have tried statism and it has failed to take off. Now they are going back to religion. But here again, they will fail.

They believe that by masquerading as the Christian Association of Nigeria or the Jama'atul Nasril Islam, or the Fellowship of Christian Graduates, or the Council of the Ulama, etc., they can continue to divide the people of Nigeria, protect what they have stolen from them, and continue looting. But they are mistaken. Both Islam and Christianity emerged and spread because of the commitment in their original messages to social justice and human dignity and equality. The people of Nigeria are increasingly awakening to this fact and are turning away from the hypocrisy of these swindlers and exploiters. It is on the basis of this new awakening that all patriots are now coming together to crush the devils now dancing on the gallery of religion. The commitment of the people of Nigeria to national unity, democracy, genuine national independence and socialism is becoming stronger every day. This was clearly articulated in the IMF and the Political Bureau debates of 1986-87. The dirty and sordid politics of divide and rule, using religion, can only be crushed by organising on the basis of that popular commitment.

Sentimental appeals for the unity of Nigeria, or of the North, the East, or the West, to counter this divisive campaign, are a complete waste of time. The challenge that faces all patriotic Nigerians — muslims, christians, and others, is clear. It is to respect one another's beliefs and unite to save this country from being wrecked by blood-sucking devils parading around as religious champions.

THE MARK OF THE DEVIL

Everybody in Jos, the Plateau State capital, knows the Hill Station Hotel. Delicately balanced, like a Shagari cap, on the scraggy tops of volcanic rocks, the Hill Station is the hallowed haunt of the new rich. And the Hill Station it was that recently provided the venue for an extraordinary gathering: the Prayer Week Against the International Conspiracy of Witches.

The attendance list read like a 'Who's Who'. Judges were there. Retired and serving generals were there. University dons were there. So were the money-bags and their jesters. For days, in an orgy of prayers and songs, they built themselves up to a state of hysteria, blubbing

unintelligible incantations.

But Jos is not the only state capital privileged enough to host such bizzare events. Benin City, home of the Ogboni Cult and of Idahosa's Church of God Mission, had earlier on hosted a similar convention. This time, however, it was a National Convention of Witches and Wizards — the very phantoms that were being exorcised at the Hill Station. From all corners of the country, witches and wizards trooped to the city, bringing along with them their broom sticks, feathers, cauldrons, oracles, fly-whisks, animal skins and exotic roots and herbs.

While all these were happening, 'mullahs' in Katsina, Sokoto and elsewhere in the country were busy

chasing out their own devils: prostitutes, pimps and the unemployed. Reason: these social groups are regarded as the cause of our social and economic misfortunes — too little rain and too much rain; soil erosion and desiccation; hunger and disease; crime and poverty.

Yes. In Nigeria today, the devil is being chased everywhere. And to every group, its own devil. For the reactionary mullahs, the devil is the unemployed and the victims of unemployment; and everybody else who does not fit into their narrow conception of the world. For the 'christians' at the Hill Station, the devil is the same, even if seen as a witch or a wizard. As for the witches and wizards themselves, the devil is modernity.

Devils indeed Nigeria has aplenty. But are they the devils being chased by these pretenders and their ilk? To answer these questions satisfactorily, it is necessary to take a short excursion into the historical and social origins of religion.

ORIGINS

Religion is as old as human society. The product of men's efforts to come to terms with a harsh and uncertain world, religion has always been the last resort of all those in distress. Almost all religions known to mankind started in conditions of social and economic dislocation, and were originally movements composed and led largely by the poor and oppressed in society. Unfortunately, however, as soon as they become popular among the masses, they are captured by the very oppressors that they were meant to dislodge, and are turned into instruments of deception and domination. This is as true of the world religions — for example, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam — as it is true of our so-called traditional religions.

Take Buddhism for instance. At the time this religion emerged in the mountainous area to the north of the Ganges Plain, in present-day India, five hundred years before Christ, it was a response to the destruction of the old communal organisation of the society, dominated by elders. The division of Indian society into



Landless peasants: How they would love to crucify the Devils!

emergent castes had just begun. The old tribal confederations, such as the Ajjian Republics, were being subjugated by newly-rising monarchs. In short, the society was in a state of turmoil.

It was in these conditions that a man known as Gautama, who was later to assume the religious title of the Buddha (the enlightened one) emerged. The message of Buddha, known as Dhamma, may be summed up thus: a return to a final state of holiness when all fires of greed, hate and illusion are eliminated. To Buddha and to early Buddhism, the ideal man (the Nibbuta man) is the "unprovocable, him of unclouded mind, freed from all lustfulness, void of all indolence".

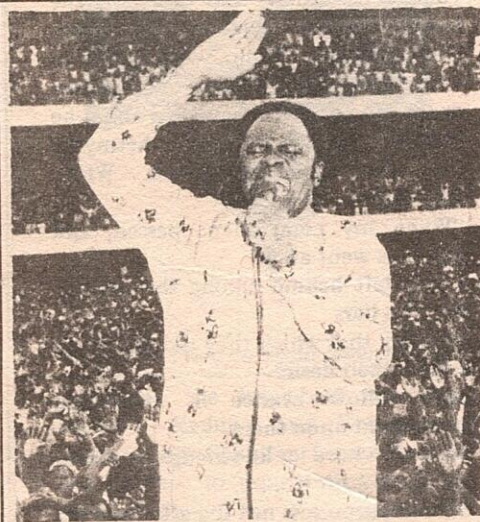
The early Buddhists practicalised these concepts and ideals by banding together into communes called sanghas. These sanghas disregarded the merging social and economic distinctions in their recruitment. Buddha's teaching was addressed to all and sundry.

However, soon after the death of Buddha, this popular religious movement was hijacked by the royal courts. The first to do so was Emperor Asoka (270-232 B.C.), who became a Buddhist eight years after his ascension. Hiding behind the cloak of Buddhism, Asoka embarked on a process of incorporating the Buddhist monks into the service of the state. They were given land and other forms of property, and recruitment into the sanghas became the preserve of the upper castes in the community, while the poor were left high and dry, clinging coins at the feet of the Buddha.

CHRISTIANITY

The same process of decay occurred in the case of Christianity. In its beginnings, Christianity was the religion of the slaves, the poor, the outcasts and the flotsam and jetsam of society. Jesus of Nazareth himself had very poor earthly parentage. His father, Joseph, was a carpenter. He was born in a manger, amongst sheep and cattle. His entire ministry was devoted to fighting the cause of the poor and the down-trodden. Indeed, that is why the early christians, particularly the disciples, were drawn from the most harassed and oppressed classes of Judaea: slaves, fishermen, artisans, and shepherds.

And persecuted indeed they were, by the rulers and the wealthy of their time. Jesus himself had to be 'crucified'. Simon Peter had to deny being a christian to save his skin. Judas even went as far as betraying Christ. And Paul had his eyes plucked out. Yet, Christianity continued to grow in strength because of its message of social justice and its popular social base. The ruling classes of Rome and Judaea were so frightened that they had to adopt the religion in order to tame it, corrupt its leadership, and turn it into an instrument of domination. In fact, at the height of the decay of the church, salvation had become so commercialised that for a specific amount you could buy your way into heaven.



Idahosa: Faith healing is big business.

ISLAM

Like Jesus of Nazareth, the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) also had humble origins, even though his clan, the Quraish, had high status. He was an orphan. He was poor. To survive the turbulent changes that were rocking the Arabia of his day, that is the breaking up of the old order based on camel wealth and clan loyalties, to the new commercial upsurge centred around the pagan shrines of Mecca and the wheeling and dealing of Medina, he had to work for a wealthy widow. His message was first received by various groups oppressed by the old order.

This is reflected in the values and composition of early Islam: its rejection of hereditary principles of succession to leadership, its concern

for social justice and the protection of the weak and the poor, its insistence on accountability and probity in public life, and its call on all the oppressed to stand up and fight for their rights.

But Islam also could not escape the putrefying hands of the rich and the powerful. No sooner had it conquered Arabia, and began its world-wide expansion, establishing itself as the religion of the state, than it became the victim of the rapacious greed, capricious avarice and lascivious appetite of monarchs, kings, merchants and the official clergy. The discredited hereditary principle of leadership found its way back into the Umma. Controversy riddled succession to the caliphate. The third caliph, Usman, was assassinated by hired killers. His successor, the Caliph Ali, was also assassinated, this time in the mosque. Since then, the Caliphate became the sole preserve of dynasties. The level of decay under the Ummayyad, for example, reached such a low point that special songs were composed at the courts, celebrating debauchery and the pleasures of the flesh. Little has changed since then.

AROCHUKWU ORACLE

But the use and abuse of religion is not something peculiar to the world religions. For centuries, African traditional religions have also lent themselves to positive, as well as negative, use. Perhaps a typical example is the Arochukwu Cult of the peoples of eastern Nigeria. The Aro Oracle, or Long Juju as it is generally known, was based at Arochukwu, in present-day Arochuku in Imo State. Arising out of a communal society where the fear of the unknown was particularly strong, because of the low level of human control over the environment, the Arochukwu Oracle served to assuage society's fears and to explain its misfortunes. The barren went to the oracle. The diseased went to the oracle. The distressed also sought solace from the oracle.

However, the emergence of the slave trade changed all that. The Aro Oracle became a snare. The Aro priests transformed themselves into merchants in human merchandise. Unsuspecting supplicants who went to consult the oracle and make offerings were lured into a labyrinth

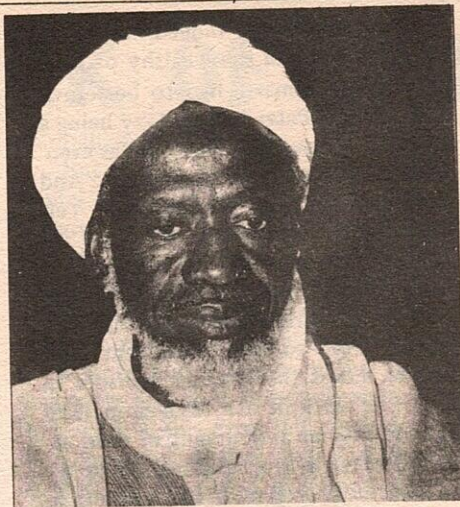
of caves which opened up into slave ships. As W.B.Baikie graphically described in 1856: "When a man goes to A'ro to consult Tshuku, he is received by some of the priests outside of the town, near a small stream. Here he makes an offering, after which a fowl is killed and, if it appears unpropitious, a quantity of a red dye, probably camwood, is spilled into the water which the priests tell the people is blood, and on this the votary is hurried off by the priests and is seen no more, it being given out that Tshuku has been displeased, and has taken him. The result of this preliminary ceremony is determined in general by the amount of the present given to the priests, and those who are reported to have been carried off by Tshuku are usually sold as slaves."

DAN FODIO

However, one of the best examples of the use and abuse of religion in Nigeria is to be found in the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. The jihadists mobilised people on the basis of concrete social and economic discontent. For instance, in his *Kitab-al-Farq*, Shehu Usman Dan Fodio condemned the imposition by the rulers of Hausaland on the peasantry of such a wide variety of taxes, levies and other extortions as *jangali* (cattle tax), *kurdin ghari* (poll tax), *kurdin salla* (festival tax), *ghaisuwa* (institutionalised bribe to officials), *tawasa* (butchers' tax in kind), *aghama* (meat tax) and *kamuwa* (seizures of humans and livestock). It was this concern with the well-being of the majority of the people, and of their rights and dignity, which enabled Shehu and the other leaders of the Jihad to overthrow the old order.

But Dan Fodio did not stop at that. Soon after the success of the Jihad, he retired from active politics and concentrated his efforts on writing guidelines on the proper conduct of state affairs for his successors. He warned against the dangers of ostentatious living and the insensitivity of rulers to the welfare of their subjects. He frowned at the wearing of silk and other forms of easy and corrupt living. He examined the hereditary principle in determining succession to the throne, preferring instead merit, consent, and knowledge.

Shehu Usman Dan Fodio's warnings fell on deaf ears. Barely a decade



Gumi: Qadi or fox?

after the success of the Jihad, Shehu's younger brother, and one of the leading commanders of the Jihad, Abdullahi Dan Fodio, was forced to write a scathing attack on the new order, *Tazyin-al-Waraqat*, in which he indicted the new rulers for betraying the ideals of the Jihad. Wrote Abdullahi:

"When my companions passed, and my aims went awry
I was left behind among the remainder, the liars
Who say that which they did not do and follow their desires
And follow avarice in everything incumbent upon them,
And who have no knowledge, and who do not ask for it. . .
Whose purpose is not the affairs of the Mosque,
Nor the schools of learning, nor even the affairs of the Quran schools,
But whose purpose is the ruling of the countries and their people,
In order to obtain delights and acquire rank,
According to the custom of the unbelievers and the titles of their sovereignty,
And the appointing of ignorant persons to the highest places,
And the collecting of concubines and fine clothes,
And horses that gallop in the towns, not in the battle fields,
And the devouring of the gifts of sanctity and booty and bribery,
And loots, and flutes and the beating of drums,
Their activities weaken those charged with managing affairs,
And the country people make off from every side;

Their purpose is fleeing from the judge, the breaking of faith, And the befriending of the unbelievers for fear of the outcome. They were many, but their righteous men were few; They showed the dissimulation of wicked people, the people of the squadrons, And of the sellers of free men in the market; Some of them are posing as *qadis* in the clothing of foxes."

There could not have been a more eloquent indictment of a Jihad betrayed.

BIBLE AND SWORD

Indeed, even in the colonisation of this country, religion was used. For the missionaries came hand in glove with the European traders. And both were pathfinders, scouts and spies for the colonial soldiers and administrators. Ade Ajayi has, for instance, graphically recorded what took place at Abeokuta. He writes: "By Christmas 1846, within four months of the arrival of missionaries at Abeokuta, Thomas Hutton, Agent-General in Cape Coast of the firm of Thomas Hutton and Co. visited their factory in Badagry, still the only establishment there. He visited mission schools, contributed '120 heads of cowries to the good cause', and, together with his agent, Parsons, proceeded to Abeokuta in January 1847. There, he gave the school children a new year feast, contributed to mission funds, and in particular, looked round the town and investigated for prospects for trade. Very soon, other traders followed"

But the use of religion did not stop at smoothening the penetration of colonial capitalism. Even after colonialism had been firmly established in the country, the colonial administrators resorted to playing off one religion against the other, manipulating different religious sentiments so as to confuse people and subvert their yearnings for independence and self determination. This was done particularly in the educational institutions. On the one hand, and in some selected schools, they would promote the virtues of Christianity and western civilisation and denigrate traditional religions and Islam; and on the other they would extol the teachings and

examples of the Sokoto Jihad, which they reduced to a Fulani affair.

The chosen successors of the colonial regime were to perfect this political trickery using religion. For example, on Thursday, 10th March, 1955, the Premier of the Northern Region, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, whose party — the Northern People's Congress (NPC) — had as its main rallying cry the motto "One North, One People, irrespective of rank, tribe or religion", rose during the Third Reading of the Native Authority (Amendment) Law of 1955 to state that:

"The right traditions that we have gone away from are the cutting of the hands of thieves and that has caused a lot of thieving in this country. Why should we not be cutting the hands of thieves in order to reduce thieving? That is logical and it is lawful in our own tradition and custom here. As regards slaves it is only because the moslem power is not strong here that we have not got slaves to sell."

But in November 1958, as the 1959 federal election approached, the same Sir Ahmadu Bello visited the Northern Mission Council at Jos and told them that:

"Firstly our government is a government of Northerners both Muslims and Christians. We wish to allow all men to practise their religion as they wish."

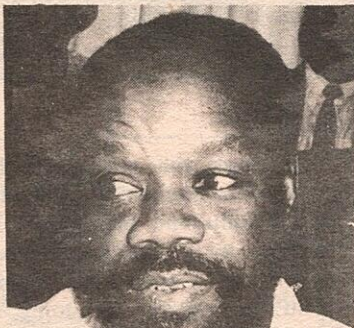
Meanwhile, in the Western Region, another political 'wizard', Chief Obafemi Awolowo, would at one and the same time operate with the priests of the Ogboni Cult and the Rosicrucians and still see nothing wrong and hypocritical in going to church and even donating custom-built organs.

CIVIL WAR

Yet such cynical manipulations could not prevent the emergence of violent contradictions amongst our political 'wizards'. Their insatiable greed, their cut-throat, dog-eat-dog, man-eat-man competition could only lead to one thing: chronic political instability. This led to the bloody, but totally unnecessary, civil war. But not even the blood of tens of thousands of innocent victims was enough to stop them from continuing with the deceptions and manipulation of religious sentiment and differences

in furtherance of their narrow and selfish ends.

From Ojukwu's bunker, Radio Biafra continued to cry wolf about the Biafrans being the victims of a so-called jihad launched by the 'muslim vandals of Northern Nigeria' against the black 'Christian Jews' of Biafra. And from Kaduna the shrill voice of Isa Abdulmumini and Lamido Muhammed Bajoga would retort: the rebels of Eastern Nigeria are but the illegitimate children of the christian colonialists and the black servants of the Vatican.



Ojukwu: Tried to dismember Nigeria.

While the brick-bats continued between Kaduna and Enugu, the international Christian hierarchies did not hesitate to pour petrol onto the conflagration. In an ecumenical service held in Westminster Abbey in May 1968, the Catholic Archbishop of London, Cardinal Heenan, told the congregation, amongst other things, that the civil war in Nigeria is a war of unbelievers against Christians. Similarly, in its September 1967 edition, the *African Monthly Review* wrote: "The Arabs have tried three times to wipe out Israel from the earth, but their efforts were on each occasion abortive. Today a similar situation is taking place in the West Coast of Africa. More than 30,000 inhabitants of what used to be Eastern Nigeria were murdered in cold-blood. Pregnant women, children, unarmed christian worshippers, were among the victims of the pogrom in Northern Nigeria last year. But the almighty God is fighting with the innocent Biafrans".

Powerful propaganda. But damnable lies. But then, in times of

crisis and rising tempers, the bigger the deception the better the effect.

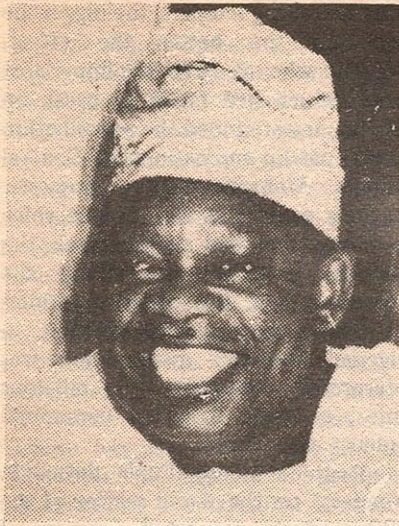
And when in 1976, the imperialist forces which had failed to break up Nigeria masterminded the assassination of that patriot and nationalist, General Murtala Mohammed, the domestic religious pretenders rose in one voice to chorus their old refrain: 'Look, the Nigerian muslims are killing the christians; hey, the christian infidels are killing our muslim brothers in Nigeria.' Murtala's assassination was interpreted variously, in religious terms, in order to foster communal violence and distrust.

Reuter's Collin Fox's despatch, broadcast on the world service of the BBC, falsely reported communal rioting after Murtala's assassination. The World Muslim League, whose Saudi sponsors had all along opposed Murtala's policies, sent a condolence message to its Nigerian cabin-boys commiserating with them "for the loss of a Muslim leader". The noisy Chike Obi rushed to the 1976 convention of the National Union of Nigerian Students at Enugu to charge that the backwardness of Nigeria can be directly traced to the door-steps of Islam and the Fulani.

But even in more recent times, religion has continued to be a convenient camouflage for the thief and the dissimulator. Classical example: the Shari'a debate of 1977-78. In this cheap show of the most theatrical rabble-rousing exercise Nigeria had yet witnessed in its history, corrupt, hypocritical and morally bankrupt ten-percenters, contractors and verandah boys stood the nation on its toes, ranting and raving, chanting and hollering, barking and baying half-digested religious quotations. And at the end of the whole show, after all the charade and the deception, they all banded together under various political canopies, looted the treasury, and sucked and sapped dry the life-blood of the nation. So much for their religious piety!

TWINS OF EVIL

Yes. If anybody is in doubt about who the real manipulators of this country are, and about their adeptness at using religion and religious sentiments, even at quoting the Bible and the Qur'an to whitewash their seamy deals and wicked strategies, need he do more than refer to the Abiola-Benson



Abiola, Benson: Quarreled over the spoils.

correspondence of 1979? Abiola, of course, everybody knows. T.O.S. Benson, too, is not exactly unknown — a Minister of Information in the Tafawa Balewa government, he became a top notcher in the defunct NPP. Chief Benson claims to be a prominent Lagos Christian, while Chief Abiola is even a *Baba Addini*. But these differences did not prevent the two coming together in big business.

For some time, the two friends wheeled and dealt together, garnering for themselves millions of naira in the process. But as often happens to such relationships, things fell apart over the sharing of the juicy morsels. Benson accused Abiola of deliberately excluding him from a juicy telecommunication sub-contract, a charge which Abiola promptly refuted. Benson was, of course, unimpressed. In the end

they both took the matter to the Almighty for adjudication, liberally quoting the Bible and the Qur'an. In his letter to Abiola, Benson thundered: "... only Allah knows what you are capable of doing to people who are not well-placed. But let me remind you, that in the words of Psalm 52 Verse II, 'Power belongeth to God'. And so it is also written in the Qur'an. It is also pertinent to mention that financial power corrupts, just as absolute power corrupts absolutely."

Of course, Abiola was not one to be beaten in this type of game. He responded in a newspaper advertisement on November 8, 1979, thus: "I wish to state that if you know anything about what it is to be a Muslim, you will appreciate that Muslims derive no pleasure in ruining their fellowmen as you claimed. I can say,

without any fear or favour, that I am not merely a stout Muslim, but my life and attitude has been guided by Islamic injunctions. . . . It is a general adage that 'the devil will always cite scriptures to suit its purpose'. I am not, therefore surprised by your quotation from Psalm 62."

The grandmasters of the religious chess board played out their hands most openly during the period 1977-1983. Today, they have left the show for their cretins in Abuja. This rowdy crowd has since started parodying the motions of the Shari'a shouting-match of 1977-78.

In a nation where, today, a single meal a day is becoming a rarity for the vast majority of the population; where children are dying in their thousands from malnutrition; where millions are going about unhoused and unclothed; where every day large numbers are being driven mad; and where life in general has become nasty, brutish and short, a select, over-fed, over-clothed, and over-pampered few are wasting our time, and diverting attention from the real issues of the day.

But Nigerians everywhere are fed up. They have begun to see through the gimmicks of these hypocrites. Like Abdullahi Dan Fodio, they are beginning to recognise the fox behind the *qadi's* attire. They are beginning to identify the devil behind the priestly cassocks. The people shall crucify the real devils in their midst. It is just a matter of time.

By Pius Gbasha, Sa'idu Adamu and Gabriel Abu, with Sule Mohammed.

USE AND ABUSE OF RELIGION

In their essence, religious tenets can be instruments for forging peace, progress, and social justice in society. This is as true of Islam as it is true of Christianity.

While in a few cases, leaders have used these religious tenets of Islam and Christianity to cement social bonds and move society forward, in many other instances the opposite has been

the case. Military and civilian dictators masquerade themselves as religious leaders to harass, intimidate and oppress their people in collaboration with imperialism. The following examples from Iran, Sudan, Pakistan, Guatemala and Libya illustrate how religious ideas could be used for or against the people. Please read on:

IRAN: A Revolution Betrayed

Today, apart from Ayatollah Khomeini, Hashemi Rafsanjani is, perhaps, the most powerful man in the Islamic Republic of Iran. As speaker of the Iranian *Majlis* (Parliament) and as the Acting Commander-in-Chief of the Iranian Armed Forces, he wields enormous power in the country. The 200,000 strong peoples' militia, popularly known as the Revolutionary

Guards, are directly under him. The hierarchy of mullahs organised around the Islamic Republican Party take orders from him. Indeed, his influence over the Ayatollah Khomeini is so strong that he recently made him to take a decision which no observer of Iranian politics would ever have dreamed the Ayatollah would have taken in his life time: to accept the

United Nations resolution 598, order a cease-fire with Iraq, and resume peace talks. A decision which the Ayatollah said was like drinking a "cup of poison".

Given this exalted position of Rafsanjani in the Iranian political and spiritual hierarchy, and given the puritanical posturing of the leaders of the Iranian revolution — a posturing which has led to the hanging of several hundred women for an offense as small as refusing to wear a veil — the least one would have expected from a leader like Rafsanjani is the observance of the most basic principles of decency. But in Iran, decency is for the ordinary people and not for some of the leadership, whatever noise is made in the *Majlis* and the mosques to the contrary.

While his Revolutionary Guards round up Iranian women for not wearing the veil, and while Iran's executioner-judge, Ayatollah Khalkhali, sends such women to the gallows, Rafsanjani busies himself in his numerous hideouts having fun.



Rafsanjani: Moral double standards.

An attractive Canadian female journalist, Carole Jerome, herself a mistress of Khomeini's former foreign minister, the late Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, has opened a little window into the moral bankruptcy of most of the present Iranian leadership. Recalling an interview she recently had with Rafsanjani, Carole recounts how Rafsanjani "spent much of his energy making a play for my beautiful Iranian translator — he even went so far as to remove his cloak and sit with his chest partly exposed".

The story of Rafsanjani is, in a sense, the story of the Iranian revolution — the story of a revolution betrayed. Perhaps in no other way will the extent of this betrayal be understood and appreciated than by recounting the massive wave of demonstrations held in Iran on the ouster of the Shah in 1979. For instance, the American news magazine, *Time*, of January 29, 1979, which is no friend of revolutions, reported the scene in Tehran on the announcement of the flight of the Shah from the country thus: "... people danced in the streets and hugged and kissed one another in joyous abandon. 'The Shah is gone! The Shah is gone!!!' they shouted. They garlanded their windshield wipers with flowers that seemed to dance in the air. They toppled statues of the Shah and his father and blacked out his picture from bank notes. Demonstrators and army troops embraced, red carnations sprouted incongruously from the barrel of soldiers' rifles."

For weeks the entire country was in a state of euphoria. The police were in hiding, the SAVAK (the Shah's secret police) disappeared underground. After about four months of

literally non-stop demonstrations by the Iranian people against a most fascistic dictatorship, the 2,500-year-old monarchical system had been brought down.

To fully appreciate what great relief this was to the Iranian people, and to understand the hopes for the future rekindled in every Iranian, we must dwell a little on the atrocities perpetrated both by Shah Pahlavi and earlier monarchs.

Perhaps the most graphic display of the monarch's total lack of patriotism, and his callous insensitivity to the hopes and aspirations of the Iranian people is best demonstrated by his handling of Iran's oil resources. In 1901, the Shah granted a concession to a British engineer — William D'Arcy — giving him exclusive rights to exploit the country's oil resources. The conditions were shamelessly loaded in favour of the foreigner: Iran was to receive only 16% of the profit; 20,000 pound sterling shares in the venture, and a miserable promise of an additional £20,000. Seven years later oil was found in commercial quantity, but the promised £20,000 had not been paid. In 1909, D'Arcy incorporated the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC). And from then on it was business — but business more for Britain than for Iran. Five decades later, the total investment in Iran's oil industry made by the British amounted to £22,000,000, yielding for them a profit of £800,000,000. But for Iran, its profits amounted to a mere £105,000,000, most of which was cornered by the Shah and his clique.

Naturally, this rape of the Iranian people and their resources by foreign business concerns and their lackies generated popular resentment and protests. Sporadic riots broke out in different parts of the country. Secret societies opposed to the monarchy mushroomed. Leading this ferment were those social groups most affected by the autocracy of the monarchy — merchants, and the clergy, who were closely linked up with them.

This ferment was to force the monarchy to grant political concessions leading to Iran's first *Majlis* (Parliament) in 1906. This experiment in constitutional monarchy was however to be short-lived. Incessant bickering between the secular and ecclesiastical members of the *Majlis*, deftly manipulated and encouraged by the palace, ensured its premature demise.

But this was not to be the end of the popular protests and organised resistance against the Shah and his foreign masters. By 1941 a popular organisation called the Tudeh (Masses) Party had emerged in the country to champion the struggle of the people.

The popular upsurge in the country was eventually to lead to the election of a fiery nationalist, Mohammed Mossadeq, to the *Majlis* in 1949. By 1951 the popularity of the man and his uncompromising nationalism had earned him the prime ministership of the country on the ticket of the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the Iranian economy. Naturally, Mossadeq's first port of call was the oil industry, which he nationalised without blinking an eye. But this immediately made him the number one enemy of the powerful Western oil mafia. The CIA received 400,000 dollars and a simple enough instruction: 'Mossadeq must be finished'. Reactionary mullahs, verandah boys, and royalist troops were mobilised under the command of General Zahadi. The tanks rolled down Tehran's streets, slaying thousands on their way. Mossadeq was overthrown. The Shah returned to the throne triumphantly, and within a month about 600 army personnel, all members of the Tudeh Party, had been purged from the military. Over 7,000 members of the party were arrested. And in one prison alone,

the Qasr prison, 100 members of the Party were hanged. The Tudeh had resigned itself, arms akimbo, while Mossadeq was being overthrown. Now they had become the number one target of the Shah.

The history of Iran thenceforth became a history of official terrorism. The army was reorganised, strengthened and armed to the teeth. A new vicious and royalist secret police, the SAVAK, was constituted. The entire society was bureaucratised under a single party, called the Resurgence Party, whose supreme commander was the Shah. This was the period of the so-called 'White Revolution'. The purpose of all this was to marginalise Iranians, and under the cover of industrialising the country, to introduce foreign-motivated programmes which serve Western business interests at the expense of Iranians.

Of course, all these meant further hardships and suffering for the people. This led to the emergence of radical and populist organisations committed to the overthrow of the Shah, the wresting of genuine national independence, and the ending of foreign domination. The most prominent of these new organisations were the Mujahedeen and the Fedayeen. Founded in 1964, the Mujahedeen was a radical muslim organisation committed to popular and progressive Islam. The Fedayeen, on the other hand, was formed in 1971 and was a Marxist-Leninist organisation with Maoist and Castroist leanings. These two organisations believed in instant action and a guerilla approach to the Iranian problem, and wasted no time in establishing fighting columns in the urban centres.

Since the extermination of the Tudeh however, direct contact on a routine basis with the people became increasingly the preserve of the mullahs. The clergy was well placed to take the leading role in the anti-Shah campaign. They had a network of mosques that criss-crossed the country. They had ready-made cadres in the form of theological students and low and middle ranking priests scattered all over. They controlled a respectable amount of wealth gotten from tithes, gifts and direct donations from the merchants. And they were in daily contact with the people through the obligatory prayers and other spiritual gatherings.

The first salvos in the new wave of discontent was fired by Ayatollah Khomeini in 1964, when he criticised the Shah's industrialisation programme. Khomeini was promptly arrested by the SAVAK. In May 1977 the country's intelligentsia started writing critical letters and articles in the press. And when, between June and August the same year, the government attempted to relocate slum dwellers, 50,000 Iranians spilled into the streets in protest. In January the following year the administration had the temerity to sponsor a virulent attack against the exiled Khomeini on the occasion of the death (some have said, in the hands of SAVAK) of his son. Iranians were scandalised. Four thousand theology students at the holy city of Qom went on a mass demonstration, demanding for the Shah's head. Their example spread like bush fire throughout other Iranian cities and towns. Meanwhile, in the working class city of Abadan, the SAVAK was brewing a more horrendous potion of intrigue. On the evening of 19th August, 1978, about 500 of the city's inhabitants seated themselves in a cinema theatre to enjoy a movie. Half way into the show, agents of the Shah's secret police bolted the entrance and exits of the theatre and set the whole place ablaze. After the ensuing tragic stampede and hopeless cries for help, 410 lay dead — men, women and children — grotesquely mangled in the charred ruins. Iran, indeed the entire world, was stunned. Millions of Iranians poured into the streets in unprecedented demonstrations of their rejection of the murderous regime of the Shah.

From then on, as far as the Iranian people were concerned, there was to be no more peace until the dictatorship was toppled. September 7, 1978; martial law declared in Tehran and eleven other cities. September 8, 1978: hundreds of demonstrators slain at Jaleh Square in Tehran. September 9, 1978: Tehran oil refinery workers go on indefinite strike. September 11, 1978: other oil refinery workers at Isfahan, Abadan, Tabriz and Shiraz join the strike movement. September 12, 1978: print workers join. October 1, 1978: other oil workers join the wave. December 1978: millions spill into the streets all over the country shouting 'death to the Shah', and at night on roof tops chanting 'Allah-u-Akbar'. December 10: some soldiers join the demonstrators. December 31: a nationwide general strike brings the economy to a halt and forces martial law administrator, General Azhari, to resign. January 16, 1979: the Shah capitulates, flees Iran tail in between his legs. February 1, 1979: Khomeini returns after 14 years in exile.

The people of Iran had triumphed. A blood-sucking



The Shah: Chased out of Iran.

armour plated vampire of a dictatorship had been overthrown, against all odds, and in defiance of the so-called informed Western predictions.

But it was a costly victory for the people of Iran. In the course of their courageous struggle against the Shah, mothers lost many children, husbands their wives, children their parents, and spouses their loved ones. Indeed, between 1971 and 1977 alone, a total of 355 Iranians were murdered by the security forces of the Shah. Not to talk about the hundreds that just simply disappeared, and the thousands who were maimed and deformed from gun shots, electric shock, horse whips, and other horrendous forms of torture which was SAVAK's speciality. At the height of the martial law, on September 18, 1978 to be precise, over 500 demonstrators were gunned down at the Jaleh Square in Tehran.

But what became of this revolution? What happened to the rekindled hopes for a new beginning? How did the spiritual guides, the bearded, beads-carrying clerical leaders of this revolution shepherd the Iranian society?

The answer is simple enough: they dashed the hopes of the people, diverted the course of the revolution, and turned it upside down. Barely weeks after Khomeini's return, a clamp-down on all popular organisations and progressive individuals began. Workers strike committees, which had organised the strikes and protests against the Shah, were systematically disbanded and their leaders liquidated. In their place, mullah loyalists were entrenched. The cadres of Mujahedeen and the Fedayeen, who had led the assault on barracks, royalist

fortresses and ammunition dumps, distributing fire arms to the demonstrating youth, were systematically disarmed, detained and slaughtered. In their place, the rump of the SAVAK was exhumed, around which a new secret police loyal to the mullahs, the SAVAMA, was built. Women, who had made courageous contributions to the popular insurrection, tending the injured, carrying food and medicine, preparing molotov cocktails and even physically engaging in street battles, were especially singled out for the most callous repression. The Family Protection Act of 1975, which had given protection to women on issues like polygamy, divorce, and family relations, was first of all reviewed and subsequently scrapped altogether. The mullahs enacted a decree making the wearing of the *chador* (veil) compulsory for all women. And when about 10,000 women protested against this in Tehran in March 1979, the *Hezbollahi* thugs were let loose on them. Within a few weeks, thousands of women lost their jobs. Many were arrested, and scores sent to the executioner.

All vestiges of popular democracy were expunged from the statute books. The Mujahedeen and Fedayeen were banned. The Kurdish, Arab, and Azerbaijani and other national minorities were trampled under foot; the universities were purged of so-called communists and their sympathisers. A new constitution was enacted placing the entire society and government in the firm grip of the mullah-led Islamic Republican Party (IRP), with Ayatollah Khomeini as the 'grand spiritual guide'.

But perhaps the greatest crime, and the most painful betrayal, that the Ayatollah and his mullahs have wrought on the Iranian people lies in the bloody eight-year-old war which should have stopped the moment the Iraqi invaders were kicked out of Iran in 1982. As a result of the senseless decision of the Ayatollah to conquer Iraq, the country lost about a million of the most active segment of its population, and another 630,000 maimed and permanently impaired. Estimates of Iran's total military expenditure between 1980, when the war started, and today, stands at about 77.5 billion dollars, according to the Stockholm-based International Peace Research Institute.

But what went wrong? How come a revolution which cost so much and which promised such a great deal, withered away so soon? Why should a revolution led by such 'holymen', such 'ascetic' men, so easily turn out to be such a monster?

Here again, the answer is straightforward. The Iranian revolution was a revolution led by a wrong social group for wrong — very wrong — reasons. From the beginning of that revolution to the end, those on top of it were the merchants and affiliated members of Iran's traditional middle class. The merchants were the ones that funded the mullahs right from the word 'go'. The merchants were the ones that held key positions in the IRP structures. And the merchants were the ones who have benefitted most from the 8 year tyranny of Ayatollah Khomeini's rule. The glib, rancorous and prolific sermonising about Allah, the Shari'a, and 'spiritual guidance' was largely to intimidate and bamboozle the Iranian people.

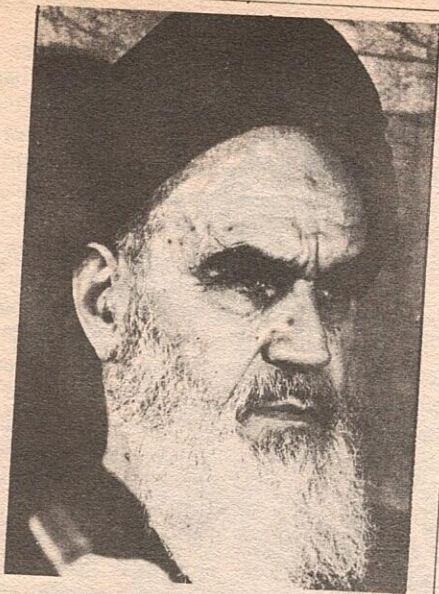
A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. The Speaker of the Iranian Parliament, current Acting Commander-in-Chief of the country's armed forces and right hand man of the 'czar' of the Iranian revolution himself, the all-powerful Hojatoleslam Ali Hashemi Rafsanjani, essentially belongs to this merchant class. The son of a nut farmer, Rafsanjani became in the 1970s a reasonably wealthy man through dubious deals,



*Ashraf Rabie (fought against the Shah but murdered by Khomeini's men):
"How stupid they are; these small pebbles which want to block
the tormenting floods and rivers of life."*

the most important of which was property speculation with the collaboration of a construction company called Dezh-Saz-Castle Builders.

The 'czar' himself, i.e., Ayatollah Khomeini, and his son Ahmad, are by no stretch of the imagination men of small means. What is true of Rafsanjani and the Ayatollah and his family is also true of many more leaders of this 'holy' state. This is why they will condemn the yankees, organise processions against the U.S., kidnap all sorts of people, and generally decry imperialism, and at the same time make huge personal profits of hundreds of millions of dollars buying highly inflated arms from the CIA and MOSSAD through such international crooks like Manucher Ghobanifar, Adnan Kashoggi and Albert Hakim. For, as R. Keivan correctly observed way back in 1984, the war itself, and the smashing of the left, as well as the erosion of the democratic achievements of the Iranian revolution, can only be for one interest: "The interest of the U.S. In political terms, society has become so passive that people from all classes



Khomeini: Took his "cup of poison".

infinitely prefer the past to the present. They associate the U.S. with the past and thus welcome it. America which was cursed after the revolution, is now looked on with a favourable eye by important segments of the population and thought to have been right all along."

If anybody was previously in doubt as to who the war was benefitting, that doubt was put to rest when Khomeini saw that the Iranian armed forces were on the verge of collapse and took his 'cup of poison' and accepted ceasefire. Reports Van Petrossian for *The Guardian* (London) on August 11, 1988: "Ayatollah Khomeini's decision caused the black-market value of foreign currency and goods to collapse. The dollar fell from 1,450 rials to about 700 rials — from 20 to 10 times the official rate — before settling down at about 500 rials. . . . The impact on those who had banked on high black-market prices has been devastating. Several traders are said to have committed suicide. Seven top money changers and some businessmen have suffered heart attacks. Heart specialists have been besieged."

The Ayatollah Khomeini and the mullahs say they are carrying out Allah's will. The facts however show that for eight bloody years, they have been mammon's servants.

SUDAN: The Shari'a Debased

When in 1983, in nearby Sudan, Field Marshal Ja'afar Nimeiry realised that his rule was hated by the Sudanese people, he brought the Muslim Brotherhood into his government and imposed what he called the Shari'a Laws. This violated the Sudanese Constitution which had been worked out on the basis of the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972. This agreement brought peace to the Sudan after 17 years of civil war (1955-1972). In that war, one of the most important issues was freedom of worship for all Sudanese, and an end to any attempt to impose muslim law over christians and others.

Nimeiry used this agreement to consolidate his rule after the coup that brought him to power in 1969, only to turn around in September 1983 to destroy the basis of that agreement by imposing what he claimed was muslim law on the country.

He did this because he, and the section of the Sudanese ruling class he had come to represent, had become so corrupt, greedy and incompetent that in 14 years (1969-83) they had wrecked the economy of this richly-endowed country of over 20 million people. It is now so deeply in debt that the Sudanese pound is worth virtually nothing.

Sudanese of almost all religious and political tendencies, except the fascistic Muslim Brotherhood, built up by the CIA in the 1950s to oppose Gamal Abdul Nasser's Arab nationalist programmes, rejected Nimeiry's so-called Islamisation. The majority of muslims in the Sudan refused to call Nimeiry's new laws Shari'a. They just called them "the September Laws".

This action of a drowning Nimeiry gave greater justification to the rebellion led by the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) which had started in May 1983. From a local affair, the SPLA developed into a national liberation movement committed to a united, secular, independent and democratic Sudan.

As the SPLA intensified its guerilla war, and the trade unions, other opposition groups, and large sections of the population came out to challenge Nimeiry's corrupt regime, he declared himself an *Imam*, and in April 1984 imposed a state of emergency.



Nimeiry: Alcoholic champion of 'shari'a' laws.

The following year, he executed a 76 year old Qur'anic scholar, Mahmoud Muhammad Taha, leader of the Republican Party of the Sudan, who had courageously exposed the very anti-Islamic nature of Nimeiry's regime and its fascistic Muslim Brotherhood supporters. Taha was charged, tried and convicted on the false accusation that he had ceased to be a muslim.

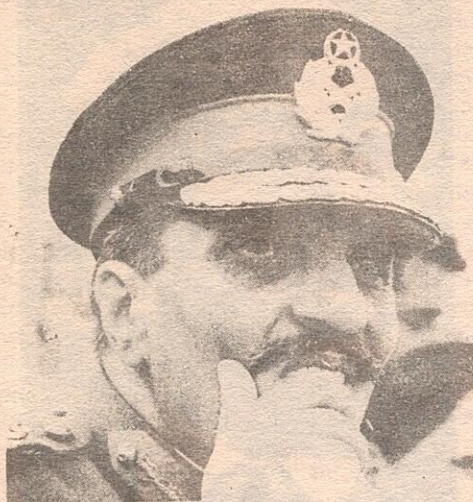
This regime of Nimeiry's is the one responsible for the so-called "Operation Moses", in which leading figures of the Muslim Brotherhood in the regime, and others, got millions of dollars from Israel and American Zionists for the secret transportation of thousands of Ethiopian *Falashas* from Ethiopia to Israel, where they live as black, second-class citizens in that racist enclave.

Nimeiry and his cohort of so-called Islamicists were also responsible for one of the earliest deals to dump toxic waste in Africa.

In 1985 Nimeiry was overthrown, and as the SPLA, led by John Garang, correctly foresaw, that did not mean the end of the reactionary, bankrupt and divisive policies he had come to represent in the Sudan.

The present Sudanese government, controlled by oligarchic clans like the Mahdi and the Mirghani clans, and by the Muslim Brothers, is continuing with this pseudo-Islamic fascism. It is also facing increasing patriotic resistance from all parts of the Sudan.

PAKISTAN: Zia's Double Face



Zia: Good riddance.

Pakistan, on the other hand, provides one of the classical examples of how a corrupt and repressive military and bureaucratic clique seized power and tried to use religion to sanctify its rule. The obvious failure of General Zia ul-Haq to stabilise the military dictatorship he led for eleven years (1977-88) and to eliminate all democratic political forces in Pakistan, and his spectacular assassination in an aircraft explosion on 17th August, 1988, have aroused a lot of interest about Pakistan.

What most outsiders do not know is that Zia seized power through a military coup in July 1977 as part of a well-orchestrated campaign of destabilisation, supported by the United States of America. This was directed against the democratically-elected civilian government of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by the late Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto. Zia subsequently hanged Bhutto on a dubious charge of murder, in 1979. A leading role in this campaign of systematically destabilising a democratically-elected government in order to create the right conditions for a military coup, was played by a fascist organisation masquerading as a political movement committed to Islam. This organisation was the *Jama'at-i-Islami* of Pakistan, which in the 1970 elections suffered a humiliating defeat by the PPP when it received less than 5% of the votes. Its leader, Mina Tufail, was in fact a relation of Zia.

The *Jama'at* was sponsored into existence by the British to oppose the anti-colonial movements in the Indian sub-continent, under an Islamic cover. It opposed the Indian National Congress because it claimed it was Hindu-dominated. It opposed Ali Jinnah's Muslim League because it had a non-theocratic programme.

Since independence, it has emerged as a clearly fascist organisation, particularly from the early 1970s, as Pakistani scholar Aijaz Ahmad describes succinctly:

"The *Jama'at* has always been a semi-secret, conspiratorial organization of trained and highly disciplined cadres, giving priority to organisational efficiency and loyalty over numerical strength. In its political work, it has always concentrated on urban centres rather than the countryside, which it considers largely irrelevant for its political strategy of urban agitations, selective terror against the urban left, recruitment from among the urban petty bourgeoisie, and infiltration of existing apparatuses of the Army, bureaucracy. . . the *Jama'at's*

propaganda among vast numbers of troops was officially sanctioned by commanding officers on the battalion level and above. Generals, like Zia himself, a close relation of Mina Tufail, the present Chief of the *Jama'at*, provided ample protection for secret cells of the *Jama'at* inside the Armed Forces; it was the only political organization which had such opportunities. . . . Since the elections of 1970, we have witnessed a similar process of the *Jama'at's* successful bid to infiltrate every other civic institution and social structure as well. In addition to the Army and bureaucracy, which are of course critical in conspiratorial takeovers, the *Jama'at* has attached special significance to the educational institutions and the vernacular press, partly in pursuit of long-term ideological hegemony over the petty bourgeoisie but more urgently because students and newspapers play a decisive role in the mass-scale urban agitation which is in turn necessary to create the type of social crisis which can be used to legitimize political intervention by the Armed Forces, for instance the urban agitations of March-July 1977 which provided the justification for the coup that followed. *Jami'at*, the student front of the *Jama'at*, is now the largest and most disciplined organisation in the country. This dominance has been obtained through years of perseverance, painstaking development of elite cadres, monetary benefits for its members, enormous amounts of available funds, and organized terror campaigns against opponents among students and faculty alike."

It was however not the *Jama'at's* propaganda and terror that sustained the Zia military dictatorship. It was sustained largely by massive military aid in armaments, training and intelligence from the United States of America. Many of those who are misled into seeing Zia as a patriotic muslim leader, for example, do not know his true nature and background. He was one of the planners and executors of the 1970 massacre of Palestinians by King Hussein of Jordan, known as Black September, when tens of thousands of Palestinians were killed, maimed or driven out of Jordan. Brigadier Zia ul-Haq, as he was then, was military advisor to King Hussein at this time. It was his role in this assault on the Palestinians cause which confirmed American confidence in him as a future alternative to the Pakistani politicians, when the time was ripe.

Zia continued in this role as a paid henchman of America in the Middle East up to his death. By mid-1986 the Pakistani Army was, together with American official and semi-official troops, the main foreign guardians of the Saudi Arabian regime. Zia had in Saudi Arabia one division of 13,000 infantry soldiers, with two armoured and two artillery brigades numbering a total of 10,000 men. Besides these 23,000 Pakistani troops, there were numerous air force and naval personnel, all to ensure that the corrupt and parasitical Saudi monarchy continued to rule that country in the service of America.

Zia and his cohort of crooked generals and crooked mullahs were handsomely paid for this mercenary service by the Saudis.

But the value of the Zia military dictatorship to the USA really rose when they decided in 1980 to start sending arms to the right-wing rebel forces trying to overthrow the Afghanistan government backed by Soviet troops. In 1979-1988, Zia received about 3 billion dollars in American aid,

following Israel and Egypt closely in the list of the top receivers of US military aid. It is not surprising that he was killed while sitting next to the American ambassador to Pakistan, Arnold Raphael, who groomed him to seize power in the mid-70s when Raphael was the senior political officer in the U.S. embassy in Islamabad. In the same C-130 Hercules plane was Brigadier General Herbert M. Wasson, the U.S. defence attache and former deputy commander of the U.S. Central Command in charge of the American rapid deployment force targetted on the Middle East.

Not only did the Zia dictatorship serve American official interests in Afghanistan, its leaders also lined their pockets through armaments deals and a booming narcotics trade. General Akhter Rahman, who died with Zia, and was the boss of Pakistani Military Intelligence, was widely known to have made millions through the drugs trade.

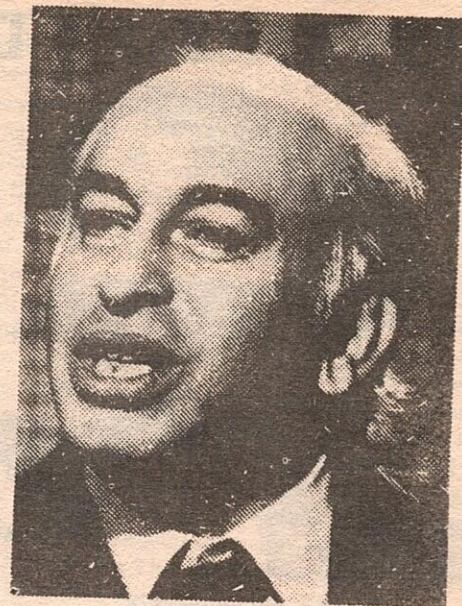
So bad was the drugs trade involving the Afghan rebels that by last year, Pakistan had a very serious drug addiction problem in its own population. There were reported to be about half a million known drug addicts in the country.

Not only did drug addiction become rampant under Zia, but divisions along religious and ethnic lines among Pakistanis also worsened.

The Zia regime, for example, persecuted Pakistan's Shia minority. In fact, the murder in Peshawar in the first week of August 1988 of Allam Arif Hussaini, the leader of the main Pakistani Shia group, was by Zia's security services.

In spite of the regime's Islamic posture, Pakistani muslims of different ethnic groups were encouraged to slaughter one another. The Punjabis were set against the Muhajirun; or the Sunnis against the Shia, in an almost monthly round of rioting, massacres, assassinations, and violence. All this was under a regime claiming to be promoting Islam — the religion of peace.

The economy of Pakistan was, on paper, shown to be averaging a growth rate of 6%, but in fact it was on the verge of bankruptcy, as Dr. Mehsul Haq, the Finance Minister, admitted in June of this year. But not only was the economy in shambles, but the government's own economic survey for 1987-88



Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto: Murdered by Zia.

confirmed that income distribution in both rural and urban areas was worse than it was in the 1960s, when 22 families controlled two-thirds of the country's wealth. Under Zia, this two-thirds was probably controlled by a dozen serving and retired generals and rich mullahs.

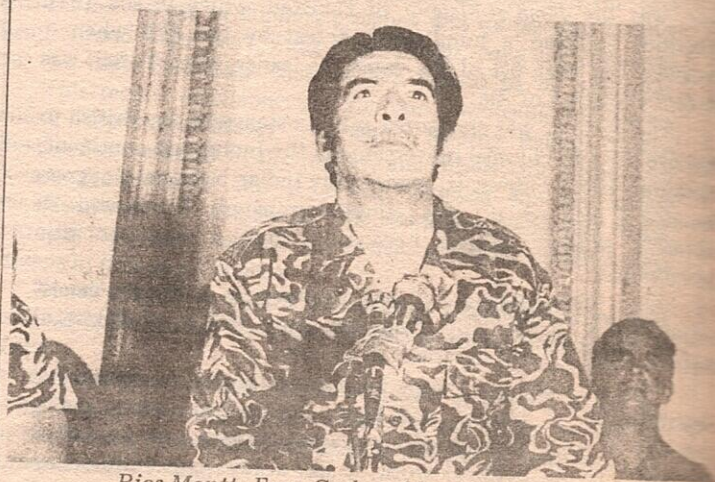
It is not surprising therefore that when the dictator was blown to ashes in the sky he was only mourned in Washington, London, Riyadh and in some top circles in Lagos, Kaduna and Kano. In Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad and all over Pakistan there was rejoicing. Sweets and flowers were thrown on the streets and the popular saying was: "Thirty people may have died, but millions have been saved".

That is how dictatorships go, no matter how cleverly or brutally they try to use religion to cover their oppression.

GUATEMALA: Born-Again Butcher

In the Republic of Guatemala, in Central America, half a world away from Pakistan, we also find a military dictatorship misusing religion to sanctify its brutal exploitation and oppression. In Pakistan, General Zia ul-Haq and his cohorts used a version of fundamentalist Sunni Islam. In Guatemala, General Efraim Rios Montt, retired, used a version of fundamentalist evangelical Christianity. Both have failed. Zia has been assassinated, leaving Pakistan torn, divided, unstable and bankrupt. Rios Montt was overthrown in another military coup in August 1983. Since then, Guatemala's protracted civil war has intensified, and the ramshackle military-political structure he tried to consolidate is daily crumbling under the onslaught of Guatemala's revolutionary forces.

In Guatemala, with a population of about 7,000,000, the ruling oligarchy, fully backed by the U.S., has been trying to stabilise its domination of the politics and the economy of the country since the CIA-instigated overthrow of the patriotic and democratically-elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in July 1954. In spite of its rampant election-rigging, vicious and systematic use of death squads and electronic surveillance and sophisticated counter-insurgency warfare, the Guatemalan oligarchy, backed by the U.S. and Israel, has failed to eliminate



Rios Montt: Even God could not save his regime.

the democratic and revolutionary organisations and their guerilla armies.

It was in an attempt to crush these forces that a section of the Guatemalan oligarchy brought in the retired General Rios

Montt, a former Chief of Staff of the Army, who in 1974 contested and lost the presidency on the ticket of the Christian Democratic Party. Having lost the election, Rios Montt was brought in as President in a military coup in March 1982. The lessons for Nigeria, with its power-hungry retired generals and a desperate ruling class, is clear. This is how the journal of *NACLA—Report on the Americas*, explains the situation:

“In Guatemala, evangelical churches swelled after the devastating 1976 earthquake. Evangelical organizations and faith missions responded with millions of dollars in aid and a legion of missionaries to dispense it. They brought the survivors a message too: that the earthquake was a warning from God for Guatemala to repent its sins. In 1976 church membership leapt to 14%. Growth was steady for the next five years and surged again in 1982 by 18%. By now, 22% of the population — 1.5 million people — had converted.

“By 1982, the prospect of an imminent guerilla victory frightened evangelical leaders. On the initiative of two US preachers, hundreds of congregations ‘interceded with Christ through prayers that the March elections would bring a miracle to save Guatemala from the devil’s grasp’.

“The electoral fraud brought no miracles, but a military coup sixteen days later did. To the delight of the evangelicals, the army named as head of a three man junta, General Efraim Rios Montt, a devout born-again Christian and member of the Church of the Word, a mission of the California-based Gospel Outreach. Rios Montt promptly appointed church elders as senior government advisers. One sponsor of the prayers of intercession, Florida preacher Hap Brooks, hailed the coup as ‘the greatest miracle of the twentieth century, formed in heaven before it was formed on earth’.

“The frenzied counter-insurgency campaign that followed Rios Montt’s takeover did not spare Protestants. In one gruesome incident, helicopter-borne troops landed in the village of Tuchabuc and slaughtered 30 members of a Pentacostal congregation as they worshipped. Yet evangelical leaders failed to raise a word of protest, and all exempted Rios Montt from responsibility for his soldiers’ excesses. The aim of the army’s *Plan Victoria ’82* was to break the guerilla movement by destroying its base of support in the Indian highlands. But military strategists recognised that lasting gains depended on

instituting permanent controls over the rural population. This was where the evangelicals’ tendency to collusion made them valuable allies of the military.

“In the newly established ‘strategic hamlets’, they became the preferred liaison between the army and the local community, leading civil defence patrols and weeding out guerilla sympathisers. Army commanders in turn rewarded this cooperation by appointing evangelicals to posts of local authority.

“By October 1982, the army had driven the insurgents out of much of the highlands and on to the defensive. Most evangelical leaders decided that this was an appropriate moment to demonstrate their support for Rios Montt in public. As their occasion, they chose the celebration of Protestantism’s centennial in Guatemala. At a November rally, over half a million people crowded into Guatemala City’s Campo de Marte in the greatest display of evangelical zeal ever witnessed in Latin America. For nearly two hours, the crowd heard Argentine evangelist Luis Palau lavish praise on Rios Montt’s Guatemalan “Miracle”.

“It was the biggest show of public support for Rios Montt in his seventeen months in power, suggesting that a mobilized evangelical community could become a lasting base of political support. There was even talk of a political party with an ‘evangelical agenda’. But as the clouds of right-wing hostility gathered around Rios Montt, it became apparent that the same qualities that made evangelicals such docile subjects — sectarianism, passivity and ‘apoliticism’ — made them reluctant allies in a political showdown. Instead, they became a liability, evidence to Rios Montt’s enemies of his fanaticism.

“Rios Montt’s overthrow on August 8, 1983, has not lessened the pervasive ideological influence of Guatemala’s evangelicals, nor their usefulness to ruling groups. But it has dispelled the notion that they could become an active political force. They have simply gone back to their traditional ‘apolitical’ stance.”

Rios Montt has been kicked out of the Presidential Palace in Guatemala City. The ruling oligarchy which put him there and removed him when his born-again repression failed to stem Guatemala’s revolutionary forces will soon be kicked out of the whole of Guatemala.

LIBYA: Religion For Social Justice

Religion can be used to advance the cause of the people, or to subvert it. Whether it is used for the one or the other is determined by the material interests and social composition of those using it. Libya provides an example of how the Islamic religion can be used to advance the cause of the people.

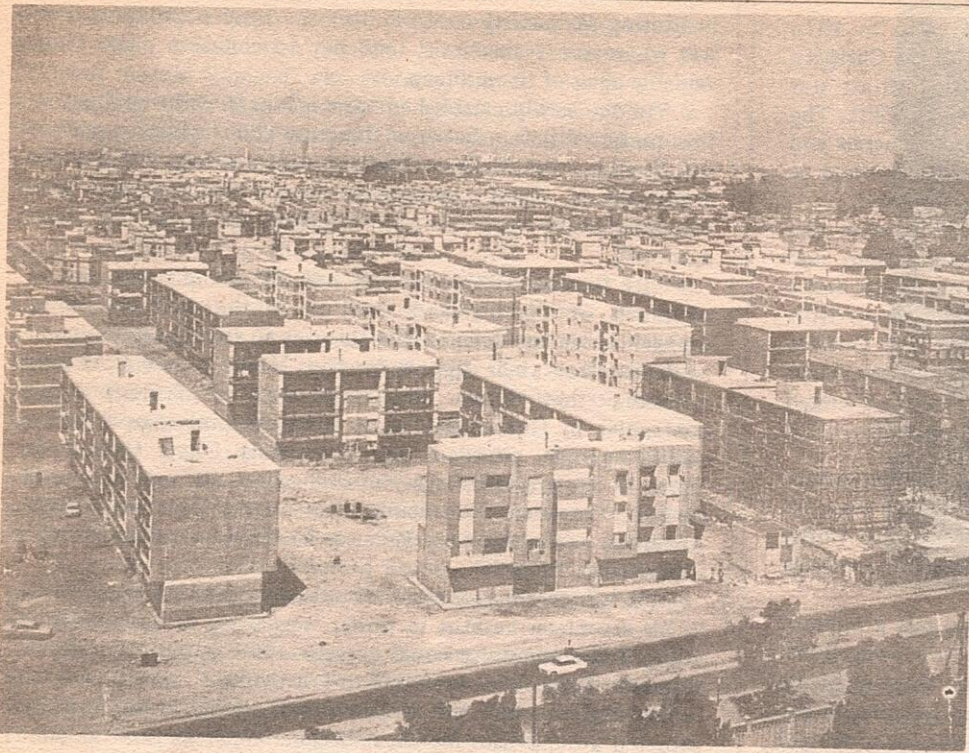
The Libyan Revolution of September 1, 1969, was a historic turning point in the country. On that day the Libyan monarchy, headed by King Idris El-Sanusi, was overthrown by young army officers under the command of a 29 year old major, Muammar Gaddafi. Although a descendant of the great Sanusi family which led the resistance against Italian

occupation of Libya, the King literally turned the human and material resources of the country into private fortunes of relatives, friends and foreign companies.

Even though Libya had become independent since 24th December 1951, and had made a net revenue totalling 4.3 billion dollars from oil alone between 1962-69, little progress had been recorded in the economic and social development of the country. For example, the number of students attending secondary schools increased from 537 in 1951 to 6,237 in 1969. The country’s food imports rose from 1.7 million dollars in 1959 to 95 million dollars in 1969. Agricultural export, on the other

hand, declined from 4.2 million dollars in 1956 to 108,800 dollars in 1968. Very little progress was recorded in other social service sectors like health, housing, transport, etc.

Since 1969, Libya has been declared an Islamic State, where the Qur’an serves as the constitution and the sole point of reference in personal matters. No alcohol is brewed, sold or consumed in Libya, and there are no prostitutes parading the towns and villages. But the Islamic State of Libya does not rely on such external appearances as proof of its Islamic character. Factors which make it a popular Islamic state are the ways in which the leadership has made efforts



Houses for the people in Libya.

to establish a just society since 1969, in accordance with Islamic principles.

By the time of the first anniversary of the Libyan Revolution in September 1970, the government had increased the minimum wage by about 50%. It also set out to provide housing to all those in need, free of charge. Rents were slashed by 40%. The government also made interest-free loans available to people to build their own houses. By the second anniversary of the revolution, the Libyan government had made factory workers part-owners of the companies where they work. This entitled the workers to receive up to half of the profits declared by the companies.

In the case of the peasants, the 1969 Revolution eliminated landlessness — farmers were in many cases given up to 25 acres in addition to interest-free loans to purchase farm inputs. This interest-free loan was payable in 20 years. As for the agricultural estates owned by the Italians, these were confiscated and distributed to the farmers in the nearby villages and to farm labourers.

Since 1969, Libya has recorded tremendous achievements in the provision of such basic services like housing, education and health. For example, the government built 480,156 houses between 1975-1980.

In the case of education, the number of pupils in pre-primary, primary and secondary schools rose from 214,954 in 1969 to 809,268 in 1980, an increase of about 400% in just one decade.

The most spectacular achievement in the field of education is the way the enrolment of girls rose dramatically. At independence in 1951 there was not a single girl enrolled in secondary school. But by 1975, 43% of the 734,000 total enrolment in schools were girls. In the case of primary schools, 46% of the total enrolment of 556,000 by 1975 were also girls. Of the 12,000 enrolled in universities in 1975, 17% were girls. By 1981, Libya with a population of just three million people had a total of 870,000 students in school. This means that by 1981, about one Libyan in every three was in school. Indeed, between 1969-1988, Libya had almost wiped out illiteracy.

In the provision of health care too, Libya's achievement is very impressive. For example, the number of hospital beds increased from 6,421 in 1969 to 14,695 in 1975. And by 1980, the ratio of hospital beds to population stood at seven to 1,000; and that of doctors to population was one to 1,000. This is comparable to the advanced countries. Similarly, only five years after the revolution,

as many as 102 health centres had been built. The attention given to health by the new government had by 1980 made Libyans among the healthiest people in Africa.

But the beauty of the Libyan revolution does not just lie in these statistics, impressive as they are. Indeed, these real achievements would never have been realised but for the fact that the regime paid careful and serious attention to ensuring that power was firmly placed in the hands of the people. The democratic principles promoted by the new regime were based on such authorities as that provided in the Holy Qur'an, Suratul Al-Imran, Verse 160:

"It is by the great mercy of Allah that thou art gentle with them, for if thou hadst been rough and hard-hearted they would surely have dispersed from around thee. So bear with them and pray for forgiveness for them and take counsel with them in matters of administration." (emphasis added).

On the basis of such holy injunctions, the Gaddafi-led government embarked on a bold democratisation programme in the Libyan society. This involved the setting up of People's Assemblies in the urban and rural areas, in homes, factories and offices, and even within the armed and security forces. The standing army was disbanded, and a people's militia was given responsibility for defence and security. Libyan women, who had suffered centuries of oppression under patriarchal domination dressed in Islamic garb, were consciously encouraged to take part in all aspects of public life — the militia, the professions, and in cultural revival.

Today, whatever the many shortcomings which the Libyan revolution — like all other popular revolutions — must have, Libya everywhere is a force to be reckoned with, and the Libyan people are the better for it. The experience of Libya shows that there can certainly be marriage between Islam and social progress, but this matrimony has to be one entered into and led by the popular masses, and not by self-proclaimed *qadis* in the clothing of foxes.

By Hauwa Mahdi, Bata Usman,
Gabriel Abu, Alkasum Abba, and
Pius Gbasha.

A THEOLOGY FOR LIBERATION

Early in 1983, the Catholic Pontiff, Pope John Paul II, paid a pastoral visit to the small Central American republic of Nicaragua. As is usual, when the Pope's plane landed at the Managua International Airport, the country's ecclesiastical and governmental dignitaries were on hand to receive and welcome him to the land of Sandino, home of the Sandinistas. Pope John Paul II got off his plane and started shaking the hands of the dignitaries, one after the other. When he got to Nicaragua's Minister for Culture, the poet-priest, Rev. Ernesto Cardenal, the Pope quickly withdrew his hand. And shaking his head vehemently, apparently in admonition, he stalked away.

This incident, which was televised to the whole world, came to many Christians as a rude shock. Though it was widely known that Rev. Cardenal, along with such other Nicaraguan priests and faithfuls involved in the Sandinista administration were at the time not in the best of relations with the Church, it was nevertheless still a shock.

However, this disgraceful scene at the Managua Airport was only symptomatic of the storm which, for the past two decades, has been raging in the Catholic Church, and indeed within the Christian faith, over what ought to be the proper conduct of a christian with regard to the social, economic, and political issues of his time. Whereas the conservative church hierarchy, true to its age-old slavish linkages with imperialism and the ruling oligarchies has consistently argued that christians in general, and priests in particular, should only concern themselves with saving the soul of man, and with life hereafter; a new, radical, even revolutionary, tendency has emerged challenging this orthodoxy. This new tendency holds that the proper role of a christian, both priest and laity alike, is to identify with the poor and the downtrodden, and to join their struggles, whether peaceful or armed, towards seizing political power and restructuring society.

This fresh impetus in theology and christian praxis today finds its most lucid and complete expression in

what has come to be termed 'Liberation Theology'. And it is indeed not surprising that this 'Liberation Theology' has come to have its deepest roots in that part of the world that boasts of the largest concentration of christians on earth, and which has, perhaps more than anywhere else, suffered most from centuries of exploitation, repression and domination. This is Latin America.

The watershed in this divide in the Church were two events of historical note: the martyrdom of the Colombian revolutionary priest, Camilo Torres; and the publication in 1967 of the papal declaration, *Populorum Progressio*, which addressed itself to the development problems and needs of the Third World.

These two events gave impetus to the calls for a radical reorientation of the work of the Church and the role of christians in the struggles of the oppressed people of Central and South America, and the Third World as a whole.

These radical viewpoints crystallized during and around the time of Pope John Paul II's visit to Colombia in 1968, and the Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM), which took place in the Colombian city of Medellin that same year.

But what are the basic tenets of this liberating theology? Let us turn to Sergio Arce, a Cuban priest, for an answer. According to Arce, Liberation Theology, "obligates us as christian theologians to liberate humankind from the misrepresented christianity that has been forced on it; from the Constantinized Church that has been conveyed to it; from the adulterated gospel that has been preached to it and from the emasculated Christ to whom it has given witness".

In other words, to the liberation theologians and activists, the orthodox christianity that has been handed down to South and Central America, and the rest of the world, by the churches of Northern Europe and North America has been a distorted and falsified christianity. It has been a distorted and falsified christianity in three major respects:

1. It has been a 'Europeanised'

christianity, whereas true christianity while being universal, must make itself relevant to the peculiarities of the soil it seeks to sprout from;

2. It has been a gospel which has become adulterated as a result of almost two thousand years of close and intimate association with the court and the ruling oligarchies, whereas true christianity is for, and with, the poor, the hungry, the oppressed, and the downtrodden; and

3. It has been a christianity which has emasculated, which has ignored, which has suppressed and caricatured the concrete example of the life and work of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.

Thus, it follows that if theology is to liberate itself from the stranglehold of the cultural subjectivism of Europe and North America, from the vice-grip of the economics and ethics of feudalism and capitalism, then it must go back to the original gospel of Jesus Christ and to the basic tenets of the early christians. That is, it must go back to the period when christianity was the religion of the poor and the



Pope John Paul II: Whose side is he on?

oppressed, and not when — as it is now — it had become the religion of the court, the emperors, the princes, and the money-bags.

Thus, to get the true essence of christianity, to re-acquire genuine 'christian mentality', we have to go back to that primitive christianity and, in particular, to Christ's example. Christ was not a prince, he was not rich but poor. He lived with the poor, spoke against injustice, and was crucified by the rulers, by Pontius

Pilate, for his advocacy. And like Christ, the early christian fathers lived with the poor, fought against the injustices of the authorities of their day and resided amidst the poor. For these, they, along with their believers, were persecuted.

Jesus Christ and the early christian fathers, argue the liberation theologians and their activists, did not just preach for the salvation of the soul. They also, and perhaps even more importantly, preached and struggled for the material wellbeing of their followers. Jesus Christ turned water into wine and multiplied bread and fish so that his disciples could feed. They did not address themselves only to celestial things, but also to this real world — material, palpable, concrete, earthly, political, social, and economic.

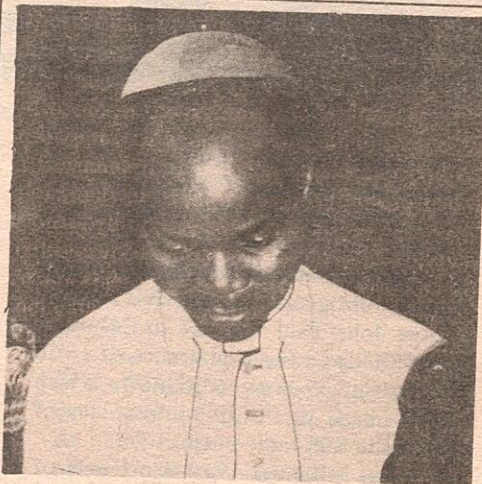
As Rev. Arce has argued, "Jesus Christ, who was a real, genuine person, a human being of his time, was not a ghost or 'superhuman'. As a human being, he took human options, in accordance with the human time in which he lived, the circumstances of his life, and as part of his calling We are not required to be Palestinian Jews like Jesus of Nazareth, but rather to be 'Christ' to our neighbours!"

It is obvious, therefore, that Jesus Christ and the early christians were revolutionaries in their time. As the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, told Jamaican bishops in 1977, "to be a christian in the era of the emperors was worse than being a communist in Pinochet's Chile, worse than being a communist in Brazil or Argentina. Of course, just as communists have been persecuted during the last decades. . . so was the history of the christians for many centuries. Why? Because the ruling classes, the slave owners, the ones who ordered the gladiators to kill each other in the circus, the ones who enjoyed all the social privileges, all were sworn enemies of the christians because the christians opposed all that. Who were the early christians? The poor, the poorest people, the humblest people, the slaves were the first christians. And they were persecuted for centuries until at last one emperor became a christian himself."

But not only was early christianity revolutionary, it was also relevant and in organic harmony with the social and economic aspirations of the masses of the toiling people of that

part of the Middle East where it sprouted. It was not a christianity which was removed from the material, social and political realities of the people.

But, as both Camilo and Castro have noted, as soon as christianity left the abode of the poor and became sanitised as the religion of the court, it lost all these qualities. From that moment, christianity and the church became conservative and anti-poor. The revolutionary essence of Christ and his testament became muzzled, and the church placed itself at the service of the ruling classes. The church and christianity became ossified. "Christianity ceased", as Rev. Arce has put it, "to be Christ, or a faith, and became a sacralized culture, a sanctified civilization and a stereotyped ideology, with its dogmatic



Okogie: For the rich or the poor?

philosophy; it became an imperialist socio-economic structure, with its unjust spiritual superstructure".

Or, as Camilo Torres poignantly lamented, "Nowadays, unfortunately, the church of Christ — the son of a carpenter, as Saint Luke says, the one who did not have a stone on which to lay his head — unfortunately, that church appears as a church prostituted by the rich".

What liberation theologians, therefore, seek to do is to return to the source, to go back to the basic teachings of Jesus Christ and the early christians, and to relate these teachings and principles, as Jesus did in Palestine, to their own societies in their own historical time. In doing this, they will not only be fulfilling their primary duty as christians and the children of God, but they will

also be living up to their responsibilities to their societies and to their neighbours, in fulfillment of God's injunction: 'Love your neighbour as yourself'".

When the Latin American liberation theologians and activists take a look at their societies, at their countries, they see a continent that has been subjected to plunder and spoliation for more than four centuries; they see children dying en-masse from malnutrition; they see thousands and millions go unfed, unclothed, and unsheltered. And the true christians and patriots that they are, their hearts bleed. They bleed because, as Camilo also lamented, "Christians, and Catholics, seem to be stoic spectators of the downfall of a world which appears alien to them. . . . They believe that in the words 'my kingdom is not of this world' the term 'world' has the significance of 'present life', and not 'sinful life', as it is in reality. They forget Christ's prayer to the father, 'I do not ask you to remove them from the world, but to deliver them from evil!' We often remove ourselves from the world, and do not deliver ourselves from evil". Their hearts bleed because after all, as Saint Thomas Aquinas once pointed out, even the practice of virtue requires certain minimal economic conditions.

Looking around their Latin America, the liberation theologians, christians and revolutionaries that they are, see clearly that the greatest problem facing their people and societies is not any so-called 'cold war', or a much mythologised communist holocaust, but enervating poverty. They see poverty everywhere — a poverty punctuated here and there by islets of wealth enjoyed by the ruling oligarchies and their foreign patrons. They see poverty — mass poverty — at an age when science and technology have advanced to the extent that this poverty could be vanished within notime.

In anguish, they ask why? why? and why? They find that orthodox theology or philosophy cannot provide the answer to these crucial questions. So they turn to history, and the science of Marxism-Leninism. And then clear as crystal appears the answer: their Latin America, like the rest of the underdeveloped

REPRESSION

Hidden Agenda Of The Religious Right

In the United States, it has historically been the case that the main church groups — both Protestant and Catholic — have been in the forefront of struggles for progressive change, from their support for the civil rights movement of the 1960s, to the movement to end the war in Vietnam; and more recently, in their prominent role in the anti-apartheid campaign, as well as in the 'Sanctuary Movement' giving refuge to victims fleeing from political repression in Central America. While there have always been many who opposed the churches' role in these struggles, the most notable face of organised christianity in the U.S. has usually been a progressive one.

However, with the presidential campaign of 1980, and the subsequent election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States, a large number of evangelical fundamentalist and pentacostal religious groups — previously considered to be outside the mainstream of religious life in the U.S. — came to national and international prominence. They had, of course, been around for a long time, but the growing right-wing political tide in America thrust them into the foreground. Through the use of TV evangelism, and other sophisticated communications media, these groups loudly claimed to be representing the "true American values". They even claimed to be the "moral majority". But behind this smokescreen of supposed moral revival lay their true agenda — to support the reactionary domestic policies of Reaganism, which give to the rich and take from the poor, as well as to pursue an active role in the Third World in support of repressive, dictatorial regimes, and aiding in the overthrow of progressive ones — all in the name of "fighting communism". For these groups of the religious right, communism is equated to the anti-Christ. Thus the religious right-wing organisations took on the role of the moral defenders of the Reagan doctrine in international affairs.

Progressive church groupings like the National, and World, Council of

Churches, as well as supporters of Liberation Theology in the Catholic Church, believe that religion is a tool to be used for the pursuit of social justice here on earth. After all, they point out, Jesus Christ was not crucified simply because he was a saint, but because he challenged the unjust status quo of his own time. For these progressive churches, religion must be on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors.

The followers of the new religious right hold no such notions. Even

around the world where these groups operate.

So far, most of the activities of these right-wing fundamentalist groups have centered on Latin America, and to some extent in the Far East, particularly in the Philippines. However, they are currently making rapid inroads into the African continent; and even in Nigeria, many of these groups can be found in major towns and cities. They operate insidiously, concealing their foreign connections and funding — but they are busy pursuing their hidden agenda which is cloaked in religious guise, and aimed at deluding their followers and the wider society.

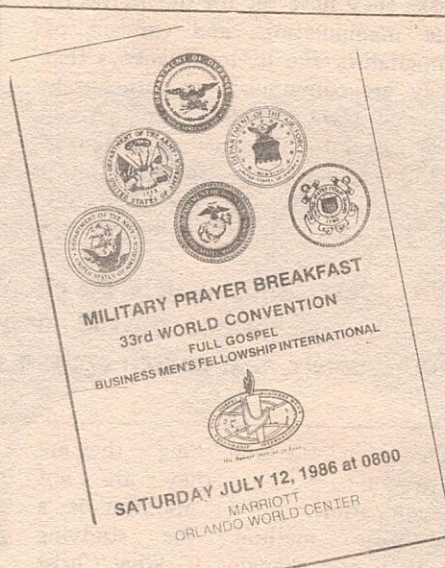
These right wing groups include many of the fundamentalist sects (i.e., those who believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible), as well as pentacostal groups (those who practice speaking in tongues, faith healing, and prophecies). Some of the most prominent of them are:

CAMPUS CRUSADE FOR CHRIST

Led by Reverend Bill Bright, this organisation operates in 149 countries around the world. It is funded by reactionary U.S. millionaires Nelson Bunker Hunt, cowboy Roy Rogers, and Wallace Johnson, who are all known for their financial support for right-wing causes. Its supposed aim is to fulfill the "great commission" (Matthew 28:18-20) to evangelise the world in this, what they consider to be the "last generation". The organisation is heavily involved in Latin America, supporting retrograde causes like that of the Nicaraguan contras. In Nigeria, it is represented by the Great Commission Movement, which has an imposing headquarters complex in Jos, Plateau State. The Campus Crusade for Christ International has an annual budget of well over 30 million dollars, and over 5,000 full time staff.

CHRISTIAN BROADCASTING NETWORK (CBN)

Founded and headed by politician-evangelist Pat Robertson,



God in the service of the U.S. military?

though many of their leaders have become multi-millionaires, and even though many of their supporters live very much in this world, as members of the top echelon of the U.S. military-industrial complex, these groups claim that their only goal is salvation in the hereafter. They feel they have already been chosen to go to paradise, so nuclear war is no threat to them — in fact many of them even welcome the idea.

But this religious right has a hidden agenda beyond that of saving souls. This agenda consists of two things: firstly, to make the leaders of these groups extremely wealthy; and secondly, to actively participate in frustrating any movements for social change, whether in the United States itself, or in the many other countries

CBN produces evangelical programmes like the "700 Club" and "Another Life", which are shown on many TV channels around the world, including Nigeria. The CBN collects over 200 million dollars a year from its viewers and supporters, including donations from many large U.S. corporations. The CBN has been heavily involved in propagating reactionary ideas through its religious broadcasting. It has been a firm supporter of the contra bandits in Nicaragua, and of reactionary dictators in Latin America and elsewhere. It also produces propaganda for the racist regime in South Africa.

For instance, in the "700 Club" broadcast of 11 September, 1986, the topic was "Who is the ANC?" The programme showed what it claimed to



Pat Robertson: Friend of Apartheid.

ANC atrocities in South Africa — a 'necklace' killing (where a victim was burned alive with a petrol-filled tyre), and another person being stabbed to death by a crowd. In between these scenes were shown pictures of Oliver Tambo and Winnie Mandela, advocating all-out war against the South African government. This programme concluded with an interview with Pat Robertson's friend and a former employee of CBN, Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton, who claimed that U.S. 'fitness' towards supposedly 'terrorist' groups like the ANC pardoned U.S. supplies of crucial metals like chrome, platinum, and manganese, which are crucial to U.S. defence industry, and

supplies of which come to the U.S. from South Africa.

In another programme supporting the racist regime, aired in 1986, black co-host of the "700 Club", Ben Kinchow, went to South Africa in March of that year, and sent back a live broadcast via satellite. Kinchow testified that with only one exception — a "whites only" sign on a beach — he personally did not experience any racism in South Africa! The programme also featured a live interview with Foreign Minister Pik Botha — at a time when other U.S. journalists were not allowed access to the top leaders of the racist regime. But for friends of the South African racists like Pat Robertson's CBN, access was obviously not a problem.

FULL GOSPEL BUSINESSMEN'S FELLOWSHIP INTERNATIONAL

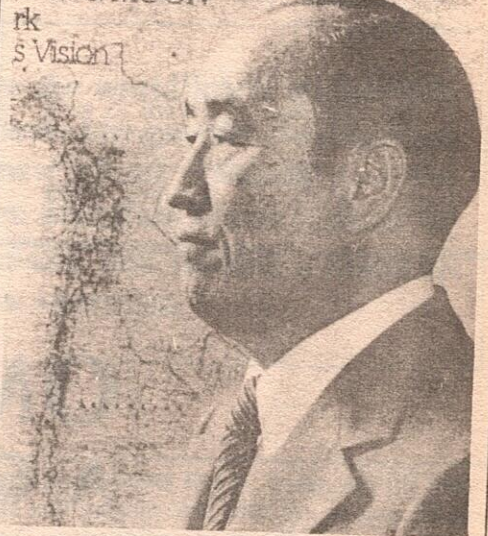
This organisation is not a church or sect as such, but comprises members from all christian denominations, including Catholic charismatics. It is a pentacostal organisation, made up largely of professionals, businessmen, and serving or retired military officers. It was founded in Los Angeles, California, in 1952, and today operates in 92 countries, including an active movement in Nigeria. Its members include a number of right wing evangelists and other activists. The members speak in tongues, praise Jesus, practice faith healing, and engage in prophecies. Members meet for prayer meetings, prayer breakfasts, and banquets, at which they offer personal 'testimonies' and praise the Lord.

In the case of the Jos, Plateau State, chapter, the branch normally meets in the Hill Station Hotel for regular prayer breakfasts and other events. Recently, this chapter organised a week-long prayer meeting at the Hill Station, to save the world from "The International Conspiracy of Witches". Viewers of the TV evening news in Plateau State that week were treated to the astonishing sight of prominent individuals in the Jos community, including judges, doctors, university dons, etc. shouting, waving their arms in the air, and generally carrying on like lunatics in full view of the TV audience — all in their effort to save the world from the "International Conspiracy of Witches".

The Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship has very close political ties with the Reagan administration. James Watt, former Secretary of the Interior, and Herbert Ellingwood, former assistant to the Attorney General (now working for Pat Robertson) are among its members, as are many military men and those in the defence industry, like Sanford McDonnell, Chairman of the Board of McDonnell Douglas corporation. A Full Gospel pamphlet produced in the U.S. lists some of its prominent members in the U.S. defence establishment:

"The Secretary of Defence, who built us two prayer rooms in the Pentagon, Lt. General Dick Shaefer, Col. Speed Wilson, Col. Hank Lackey, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Commandant of the Marine

YUNG MOON



Moon: "God is phasing out democracy".

Corps, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force. . . "

Even Ronald Reagan himself has given 'testimony' at Full Gospel meetings, and has credited a Full Gospel prayer group for "instantly" healing his ulcer during his term as governor of California.

In Latin America, Full Gospel was active in bringing to power and supporting General Rios Montt in Guatemala. Montt came to power in a military coup in 1982, and exercised power in Guatemala with an iron fist, repressing, torturing, and slaughtering much of the population, including Catholic priests and protestant evangelical pastors. In December 1982, a group of North Americans

interviewed a church pastor who was a Montt supporter. They asked him about the army massacres of indigenous people. The pastor replied:

"The army doesn't massacre the Indians. It massacres demons, and the Indians are demon possessed; they are communists."

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

This group has operated in Nigeria in past years. Its full name is the Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators. Under the guise of translating the Bible into various indigenous languages all over the world, they were actually doing the work of the CIA. They had a headquarters in Zaria, and operated in several parts of Nigeria until they were exposed and expelled some years back.

UNIFICATION CHURCH

An organisation which is now beginning to make inroads into Nigeria is the Unification Church, usually called the Moonies, under the leadership of South Korean Rev.



Montt: Born-again dictator.

Sun Myung Moon. This sect, which aims at global theology, believes that Rev. Moon is the new messiah. The Moonies believe that a final war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is inevitable, and in fact is a holy crusade against communism which will lead to the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. The Moonies are

closely associated with the World Anti-Communist League and with other fascist groups. In fact, most of their founders were associated with Nazi and fascist causes. The Moonies are openly against democratic government. Rev. Moon himself has said that "God is phasing out democracy..."

For the religious right, then, the Christian crusade goes hand in hand with anti-communism. It is enough to declare that your enemy is a demon-possessed communist to justify exterminating him. This is the true agenda of the religious right. They are daily making more and more inroads into all corners of Nigeria, as Nigerians — both christians and muslims — seek escape from their bitter economic situation in religious fundamentalism. Nigerians should beware of the activities of these groups in their midst. We must closely scrutinise and expose those groups and individuals who — in the name of doing the work of Jesus Christ — are actually doing the work of imperialism and Ronald Reagan.

By Patrick O...

PROFILE

OMAR MUKTAR

A Giant In The Desert

For 20 years, between 1911-31, a giant of a man straddled the shifting sands of the North African desert. He was a giant not so much because of the hugeness of his frame. Not even because of his martial disposition. He was a giant because of the largeness of his heart, because of the unconquerable spirit that lay inside that frame. And because of his unquenchable patriotism.

This man was no other than Sidi Omar El-Mukhtar, The Lion of the desert. The terror of Italian colonialism in Africa. The towering mineret of Libyan resistance.

Born in 1862 at the oasis settlement of al-Qasur, south of Benghazi, Omar Mukhtar had his early education at the Sanusiya school at Janzur. This basic education was further advanced at Jaghub. While still in his youth, his sterling qualities as a leader and a patriot were unmistakably glaring. The local tribal leader Sheik Sayyed Ahmad Al-Sharif was one of the first to recognise these qualities. He nominated him to represent the tribe at community meetings. Soon Omar Mukhtar was selected to serve in the contingent that fought against French incursions at Wadai. After an exemplary service at the front, Omar Mukhtar returned to his home at al-Qasur in 1906.

He was soon to take up arms again in the subsequent



Omar Mukhtar

Libyan war of resistance led by the Sanusiya between 1911-17. When that war came to an end in 1917, through a negotiated truce with the Sanusiya Brotherhood, Omar did not let down his commitment. He mobilised his fellow Bedouin countrymen even in peace time, to resist Italy's indirect colonial overtures.

But the real test of this great son of Africa — a test which was to leave his name writ large on the sand dunes of the Sahara — came with the second Libyan war of resistance against the Italians, which was fought between 1923 and 1932. It was an energy-sapping, protracted struggle, which went through three distinct phases. At the beginning, the Italians employed traditional strategies of pitched battles. They deployed 20,000 troops, armed with artillery, rifles, and other weapons of a classic standing army. The Italians enjoyed a superiority in men, materials, and fire-power. This superiority enabled them to easily overrun the coastal urban centres. But when they moved into the hinterland and tried to employ the same strategy, they found themselves in quicksand.

This is where Omar Muktar seized the initiative. With lightning speed, he mobilised the Libyan resistance. A hitherto fragmented society, divided along lines of lineage, clan, and tribe, soon found a unifying factor — the defence of the hinterland. Even before the world knew about Mao Tse Tung and his guerilla bases; even before it knew about Vietnam and the battle of Dien Bien Phu, Omar Muktar set about organising and leading a sophisticated guerilla operation. From each Bedouin tribe a dozen or so sturdy young men were selected to form the nucleus of Omar's guerilla army. An elaborate network of supply lines was established, linking previously disparate communities with Omar's mobile headquarters. A similar network of informants which extended right into the ranks of the enemy forces was also put in place. A labyrinth of safe houses, munition dumps, and camel watering holes, was also carefully organised.

With this infrastructure and a total number of men under arms which at no time in the war exceeded 700, Omar Muktar started his decimation of the invading Italian vandals. In a flash, bands of between 10 and 20 guerillas would descend on the enemy camps at night, eliminate the commanders, blow up fuel dumps, disrupt supply lines, and in a matter of seconds, melt into the limitless expanse of the desert night. And in the morning, the same members of the band would go about weekly as ordinary shepherds, as date hawkers, and some even as the 'moronic' servants of the Italian colonial officers and their families. Indeed, that colonial anthropologist, Evans-Pritchard, who did a study of the war, speaks of how many of the Tuaregs who carried identity cards were in reality militants of the guerilla struggle.

The Italian counter-offensive was ineffective. The Italian war machine was cumbersome and unwieldy. The massive outlay of men, munitions and material at their disposal ended up being like an albatross around their neck. Their techniques proved totally useless against the elusive nature of Omar's strategy. In desperation, the Italian commanders employed every trick they could find. They strafed the Bedouin villages, murdering men, women, camels, and other livestock. They herded the population into 'protected' camps. They constructed several hundred kilometres of barbed wire fences, in an attempt to block the guerilla supply lines from Egypt. They harassed the tribal chiefs into signing away their sovereignty. But all these were to no avail. Omar Muktar's men kept the heat on. Throughout Libya, there were almost nightly engagements.

In one year alone, Italian commanders reported 53 engagements and 210 skirmishes. Springing from among the people, the guerillas would hit the barracks in the towns and retire to the villages. With lightning speed, they would hit the colonial military bases at the ports, and withdraw to their caves. The next day, they would be mingling in the bazaars of Tripoli and Benghazi, only to mount another ambush of enemy columns shortly thereafter.

Governor Teruzzi, the colonial boss of Cyrenaica, was so frustrated by this tactic that he lamented in a note to his home government: "against 200, 500, 1,000, 2,000 rebels, dressed in picturesque rags and badly armed, often 5,000 or 10,000 of our soldiers are not sufficient, because the rebels are not tied down to anything, are not bound to any impediments, have nothing to defend or to protect, and can show themselves today in one place, tomorrow 50 km away, and the following day 100 km away, to reappear a week later, to vanish for a month, to disperse to fire from afar. . . on a patrol of inspection, or on a column which files along the edge of a wood, or at the foot of a hill."

"Even before the world knew about Mao Tse Tung and his guerilla bases; even before it knew about Vietnam and the battle of Dien Bien Phu, Omar Muktar set about organising and leading a sophisticated guerilla operation."

The basis for this phenomenal feat of Omar and his men was their inseparable and organic link with the people. Their supplies were gotten from the voluntary contributions that each tribe made to its guerilla detachment. Their wives and children were taken care of by the communities. The camels and horses they used were supplied gratis, fed gratis, and replenished gratis by these same communities. Under the intimidation of the colonial invaders, a tribal chief would publicly submit to the Italians, but privately organise the transmission of supplies to Omar's heroic fighters.

This intimate bond between the fighters and the people was further cemented by the unifying ideology of Sufism. Omar Muktar, like the great leader he was, employed these Sufist ideals in a deft and brilliant manner to boost the morale of his men, to consolidate their patriotic zeal, and to lay the basis for the foundation of an emergent Libyan nationalism.

It should be remembered that during the active periods of this guerilla campaign, Omar was no longer a young man. Indeed, at the beginning of the guerilla campaign in 1923, this remarkable patriot was already 60 years old. Yet he brought such youthfulness, such vigour, and such enthusiasm into the cause despite his years.

But every man, and every war, has its bad moments. In the long run, the massive resources available to the colonising

power, as well as the betrayal by internal opportunistic elements, combined to win the day for the Italians. But Omar, like the patriot that he was, fought to the bitter end. At the ripe old age of 69, Omar Muktar was wounded in battle — on September 11, 1931. Helpless and bleeding profusely, Omar was dragged to the town of Suluq, where he was hanged before a crowd of 20,000 who silently cheered him even in death. In death, as in life, Sidi Omar Muktar remained triumphant.

It is not for nothing that even his arch enemies, colonial plunderers, had to admit and acknowledge his greatness. "Our irreducible enemy, the faithful and able servant of Idris, the heart and soul of the Cyrenaican rebellion" — this was how General Rodolfo Graziani described him. And so it was.

By Alkasum A

CAMILO TORRES

A Priest And A Revolutionary

*"The duty of every christian is to be a revolutionary;
The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution"*

In 1929 Madam Isabel Restrepo de Torres gave birth to a bouncing baby boy in the quiet upper class quarter of Bogota, the capital city of the South American Republic of Colombia. The little boy was duly christened Camilo Torres, in accordance with the family's deep catholic traditions. At the time, little did his parents know that this little boy was to become one of the most revered revolutionaries in the contemporary history of South America.

Like his other privileged upper class contemporaries in Bogota and other Latin American countries, Camilo Torres attended Jesuit-run elementary schools in Colombia before eventually drifting into the Seminary, where he was ordained a priest. After his ordination, Camilo studied sociology for a masters degree at Louvain, in Belgium. On graduation, he taught at the same university, rising to the position of Vice-Rector.

In 1958, Camilo returned to Colombia and was appointed lecturer in sociology at the Bogota National University, doubling up as the university's chaplain.

From a very early age, Camilo was sensitive to the social problems of his country and to the poverty and abject misery and suffering which he saw around him. In fact, it was this sensitivity which led him into the priesthood, as well as to the study of sociology at the university, in the first instance.

Camilo brought this empathy with the poor and the oppressed to his

teaching. Within no time he became the university's most popular teacher. He mobilised students into participation in community programmes designed to help the poor and the underprivileged. And when, in June 1962, students at the university went on strike, and many of them were expelled without even being given a hearing, Camilo defended the striking students and he was in turn spontaneously 'elected' by the students as Rector.

The conservative establishment in



Camilo Torres

the university, and within and outside the Catholic Church, could however not take this. The Archbishop of Bogota consequently directed Camilo to resign from his posts in the university. On leaving the university Camilo Torres joined the Higher School of Public Administration, as Dean. This position enabled Camilo to be an ex-officio member of the Board of the strategic Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA).

The Colombia of Camilo's time (like the Colombia of today), was a nation in which the majority were so poor that they lived a sub-human existence, while a tiny oligarchy of the rich and the powerful owned more than 90% of the land and lived a life of pomp and pageantry. In Bogota, the capital, over one million of the city's two million or so inhabitants were literally homeless — it was a city in which every one hour at least four children died from hunger and disease, "a city of children and of thieves", a city of sub-human, not persons.

Camilo Torres committed himself to fighting this sordid state of affairs. From his base at the School of Public Administration he organised schools for the children of the poor. He set up vocational training centres and spear-headed peasant grievance campaigns.

Camilo's commitment to the struggle for the liberation of the poor, as he persistently argued, was based on the gospel of Jesus Christ and the christian ethic of love and the brotherhood of all men. Says Camilo, "Saint John tells us: 'Anyone who says that he loves God whom he does not see and does not love the neighbour whom he does see, is a liar'. However, that love of neighbour must be effective. We shall not be judged according to our good intentions alone, but chiefly according to our actions on behalf of Christ, represented in each one of our neighbours: 'I was hungry and you did not feed me; I was thirsty and you did not give me drink!'"

Having thus argued, however, Camilo was quick to add that just professing love for one's neighbour is not enough. That love, if it is to be real, if it is to be concrete, must be

effective. And the only way to make it effective was through radical and revolutionary transformation of the social system: "If the welfare, the alms, the few housing plans, and what has been termed "charity" do not suffice to feed the majority of hungry persons, or to clothe the majority of badly clothes persons, or to teach the majority of those who are unlearned, we must seek effective means of achieving the prosperity of the majorities. These means will not be sought by the privileged minorities who hold power, because such effective means generally force the minorities to sacrifice their privileges. . . . Hence, it is necessary to take power away from the privileged minorities, so as to give it to the poor majorities. This is the essence of revolution. Revolution, therefore, is the means of achieving a government which will feed the hungry, clothe the naked, teach the ignorant, and perform works of charity and love of neighbour, not only for a few, but for the majority of our neighbours. Hence, revolution is not only allowed but is compulsory for christians who see in it the only effective and extensive way of practicing love for all".

Camilo fervently believed that it was the duty of the church, priests and all christians in the underdeveloped countries to commit themselves to the revolutionary transformation of the economic and social structures of their countries so that the oppressed of these countries may regain the dignity and material well being to better serve God. In a lecture tour of Europe in 1964, Camilo warned that if the ruling oligarchies of Latin America and other parts of the Third World were going to continue to "profane democracy by violence, it is important that they know we are going to meet force with force".

Camilo was so married to the aspirations of the oppressed that he persistently argued that "revolution is a christian imperative". The christian, he would argue, if he is to be a genuine christian, in both words and deeds, must have to participate in furthering structural changes that would lead to a more just society. Indeed, on one occasion he lamented: "the catholic who is not a revolutionary, and who is not on the side of the revolutionaries, is in a state of mortal sin".

If there was any one thing that Camilo Torres hated it was the manipulation of religious sentiments by the reactionary and oppressive oligarchy to divide the people in their struggles against oppression. He once told his followers: "we cannot allow anything as sacred as religion to continue to be a tool for exploitation on the part of the oligarchical classes".

On another occasion, Camilo asked, "What good does it do for us to hold discussions between catholics and communists over whether God exists or does not exist? Why are we locked up here in the coffee shops, discussing whether the soul is mortal or immortal, when we know that poverty is mortal? We shall not allow ourselves to be deceived by such discussions. We shall deal with matters of benefit to the Colombian popular class; we shall hold a campaign; we shall do what we shall be judged by as christians: whether we have provided food, whether we have provided drink, whether we have provided housing, whether we have provided clothing, whether we have provided education".

Not for Camilo the sectarian distractions within christendom. Not for him the artificial division between believers and non-believers in the struggle for human dignity and against oppression. "No one", he would argue, "is going to judge us on whether we have devotion to one saint or another. We believe that Christ is in each one of our neighbours, whether they be communists or protestants, and that, in particular, Christ is in each one of the poor of Colombia. Whatever we may do for any of the poor, we are doing for Christ".

For, as the Cuban Priest, Sergio Arce, has correctly pointed out, the most important point about this revolutionary priest is that "he lived his faith, not as a theory, but as a practice, without thereby underestimating the need for theory".

On his return from his European lecture tour, Camilo organised a political movement called the United Front of the People, in 1965. In June of that same year, the inevitable fall-out with the Colombian church occurred. Archbishop of Bogota, Cardinal Concha, pronounced that "the activities of Father Camilo Torres are incompatible with the very ecclesiastical habit he wears". Rather than allow himself to be silenced by the pro-oligarchy and pro-imperialist church hierarchy, Camilo requested that he be allowed to temporarily revert to the status of a lay person, explaining that, "I sacrifice one of the rights which I love most dearly — to be able to celebrate the eternal rite of the church as a priest — in order to create the conditions that make the cult more authentic".

From then on, Camilo threw his complete energies into organising for the Colombian revolution. He started a weekly paper called *Frente Unido*, the first issue appearing on August 26, 1965. In one of the editorials of this weekly paper, Camilo argued that whereas it may be true, as Cardinal Concha had argued earlier in that year, that all authority comes from God, and that the scriptures and the teachings of the Popes have tended to condemn the overthrow of 'legitimate' authority, it was in fact the people who appointed that authority, and when this authority is against the

"The christian who is not a revolutionary, and who is not on the side of the revolutionary, is in a state of mortal sin."

But the beauty of Camilo's ministry and example did not lie solely in what he preached or theorised. No, it lay in what he practised; in his concrete and practical contributions to the struggles of the Colombian working and struggling classes, to the Colombian revolutionary movement.

people, then it is not legitimate and is a tyranny. In this situation, to take power from such authority is "not only permitted but is obligatory for christians who must see in it the only effective and complete way to achieve love for all".

In October 1965, Camilo put into practice what his *Frente Unido* had

been preaching: he left for the mountains to join the guerilla columns of the Marxist-Leninist Army of National Liberation (ECLN). His message to his fellow countrymen as he left for the mountains was simple and matter-of-fact: "Legal avenues are exhausted and only the way of force is left. . . . I have involved myself in the armed battle. From the mountains I will continue the fight, with arms in hand until power is conquered for the people. . . . Not one step back! Freedom or death!"

Four months later, news filtered out from the mountains to Bogota, that at the young age of 37, this

devout priest, this committed academic, this proletarian theologian and unflinching revolutionary, had been killed in battle on 15th February, 1966, gun in one hand, the rosary in the other, and an unquenchable love for the masses in his bosom. He had fallen fighting for what he believed in, for what he believed was his duty as a christian and a Colombian.

Camilo Torres Restrepo had been killed by the bullets of the fascist Colombian security forces. But Camilo lives on. He lives in the heart of the revolutionary upsurges going on in Colombia, South America, and other parts of the Third World today. He

lives in the many Camilo Torreses that have sprouted and are sprouting around the world today. He lives in the theology of liberation which is now raging on in the Catholic Church, conquering many more hearts and souls. But above all, the soul of Camilo Torres reigns in the innermost cells of all true christians, in the pores of all revolutionaries, irrespective of their creed. For, like Camilo, and with Camilo, they are, one and all, proclaiming: ". . . not one step back! Freedom or death!"

By Richard Umaru.

UPDATE

JOLLY TANKO YUSUF From Hysteria To Xenophobia

There is a genuine fear all over the country that there are internal and external forces systematically preparing the ground for another civil war in Nigeria, only eighteen years after the last one. This time, the civil war is being prepared around political conflicts ostensibly built on religion.

Some of the parallels are striking. Some of the moves and manoeuvres are similar. Some of the personalities are the same! This is what makes the whole thing seem like a bad dream which refuses to go away, even in the daytime.

In the mid-1960s, one of the leading politicians who drummed up violent anti-Ibo hysteria which prepared the ground for our bloody tragedy of 1966-70 was Jolly Tanko Yusuf, the Waziri of Wukari. Now that he is the best of friends with millionaire Arthur Nzeribe and other active advocates of the political polarisation of Nigeria along religious lines, Jolly Tanko Yusuf may not like the Nigerian public — particularly the Ibo Christians — to be reminded of his role in the anti-Ibo hysteria which had such a bloody and ghastly outcome for Ibos and for other Nigerians. But try as he might, Jolly cannot run away from the shadow of his past.

According to the *Nigerian Citizen* (Wednesday, 21st October, 1964) Jolly Tanko Yusuf, as the Provincial Commissioner of Benue Province, told a 70,000-strong campaign rally at Keffi that the Northern People's Congress (NPC), whose Commissioner he was, must rule Nigeria for ever. The Provincial Commissioner gave eleven reasons for this. The most important reason, he argued, was that the NPC was the only party that could prevent the Ibonization of Nigeria. Foaming at the mouth, Jolly Tanko Yusuf thundered:

"There is acute unemployment problem facing Eastern Nigeria today, where there are as many as 100 graduates not mentioning secondary and primary school leavers roam the streets aimlessly (sic). If the UPGA wins the elections there jobless fellows will not only push out few Northerners now serving (sic) in the Federal Public Services but also replace those serving in the North in the name of 'one Nigeria'."

For good measure, he went for the Ibo State Union, urging his audience to "Reject the Ibo State Union by rejecting NEPU at

the poll for your own good, for that of this region, and of your children. Because it is only the NPC leaders under the directive of Allah that are honest and deserve to rule the country."

It does not take much to imagine what the effects of such vicious propaganda will have been on the Keffi unemployed, semi-employed, applicants and school leavers, after the January 1966 coup, particularly after Ironsi's unification decree and the jubilation that accompanied these by Ibo chauvinists. This crude anti-Ibo rabble rousing must have obviously played a part in fueling the pogrom that soon followed.

Yet, twenty-two years later, the very same Jolly Tanko Yusuf would travel to a meeting organised in Ibadan by the United Christian Association, and on Saturday, 6th September, 1986, would summon journalists and shamelessly utter these hypocritical words: "Chief Awolowo did not rule the country because Nigerians were brain-washed to believe that he would serve only the interest of the Yorubas" (*National Concord*, Tuesday, 9th September 1986). But Jolly did not stop at that. Having placated the Yorubas, the Ibos also had to be placated



Jolly Tanko Yusuf

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too, and whitewashing Zik's political image was naturally the most opportunistic thing to do. He said: "the same thing applied to Zik who was seen as an Ibo leader". Jolly capped it all by observing that a Yorubaman should become the leader of the country and this leader must be a christian.

Thus it was that in one fell swoop, Jolly Tanko Yusuf, yesterday's fierce defender of the NPC, who just two decades ago publicly declared that "it is only the NPC leaders, under the directive of Allah, that are honest and deserve to rule the country", became transformed overnight. Who says miracles no

longer happen?

The hysteria that Jolly Tanko Yusuf generated at the Ibadan meeting of the United Christian Association was against muslims, who are now the newly-discovered enemies. From anti-Ibo hysteria in 1964, our Jolly has in 1986 turned to anti-muslim xenophobia. But then what did Jolly Tanko Yusuf lose from the carnage of 1966-1970? He rose from a Provincial Commissioner to Ambassador to Presidential Liaison Officer, and is now a millionaire. Such are the juicy rewards of generating hysteria and xenophobia!

LABOUR

WHICH WAY THE N.L.C.?

The Nigerian Labour Movement is in disarray. It is plagued by a labour aristocracy of union leaders who have contented themselves with careerist prospects and the making of a lot of money at the expense of the welfare of the workers. For instance, during the retrenchments since 1982, most union leaders did not do more than make empty noises, as they continued to collect millions of naira every month from the workers' check-off, guaranteed for them by decree.

The political education of the workers, one of the most important functions of any labour movement, has received no serious attention from the union leaders and officials in the industrial union or at the level of the Nigerian Labour Congress.

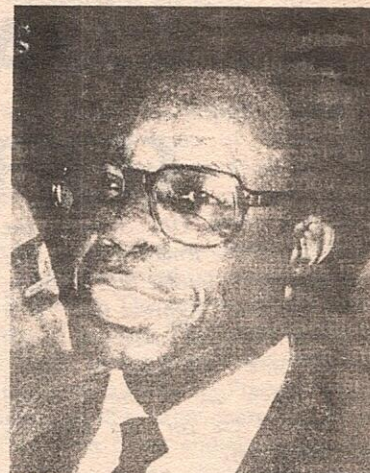
Union leaders continue to draw fat salaries, allowances and loans from the union funds. And even some union officials indulge in the wasteful luxury of expending union funds on litigation to settle their personal squabbles over posts. For instance, the leadership struggle in the National Union of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions Employees (NUBIFIE) has consumed a whopping N500,000 of union funds. What most workers do not know is that huge sums of money accrue into the coffers of the trade unions every month. NUBIFIE, for example, has about 70,000 members and collects from them as union dues over three million naira annually!

In that same union, the Acting National Secretary, A. A. Taiwo claimed N26,500.00 for housing loan and further, he is asking for another N30,000.00 to bring his flat to a "habitable stage". In addition, the same Mr. Taiwo is asking that his accumulated leave between 1983-88, totalling 270 days, be commuted to

cash. And when it is calculated, it comes to N23,082.06. On top of this, he is asking for N10,000.00 vehicle repair grant.

The present travails of Nigeria's labour movement have their own background. The labour movement in Nigeria started under colonial rule which influenced its character. The petty-bourgeois approach to the anti-colonial struggle constrained its development. Its composition and dynamism has also been determined by the generally low level of development of modern industry and agriculture in the country.

But in spite of all these limitations, the Nigerian Labour Movement has played an active, and initially a vanguard role, in the struggle for national independence, national unity and social progress in this country. Before the emergence of any of the political parties that came to control the governments of Nigeria, the first Trade Union Congress of Nigeria was, in July 1943, calling for the



Ogunkoya: Hatchet-man

industrialisation of Nigeria and "the nationalisation of mining, and timber industries, township transport and other important public services". Moreover it was doing this through its paper, the *Nigerian Worker*, whose circulation reached 10,000 copies in 1944.

In 1949, the Nigerian National Federation of Labour committed itself to bringing about a socialist republic in Nigeria. At this time it was the most important trade union centre in the country and was spearheading the militant nationalist struggle, which was reaching its peak.

In its submission to the Political Bureau in June 1986 the present Nigerian Labour Congress continued on this path and categorically stated that: "... we believe that only a socialist option can ensure a viable and stable political and economic arrangement in Nigeria", and that this requires "... a people's government in which the workers, peasants, progressive professionals and intellectuals, students, etc. play a leading role".



Ahmed Gunu

But instead of the labour movement being in a position to carry on with this struggle to a successful conclusion, it is now politically and administratively in disarray. Elections to many industrial unions and to the NLC are only a few months away and there is no socialist platform around which to rally the progressive forces.

The bankruptcy of the Nigerian labour aristocracy has helped the Babangida regime to cripple the labour movement at the industrial and

political levels. Retrenchment is being intensified. Privatisation is advancing. The labour movement seem incapable of fighting these although as the April and October 1988 strike waves show it still has the capacity to resist these policies, and advance forward.

The immediate way forward for Nigerian workers therefore, is to deal with the labour aristocrats and bureaucrats in their unions by voting them out in the forthcoming elections. There is also no alternative to a

sustained political education of the workers so that they would rise above the levels of ideological consciousness at which the ruling class wants to keep them. To make all this possible, genuine workers' democracy and accountability must be made the basis of the current struggle to revive the NLC and carry it forward to play a leading role in the fight for a genuinely independent and socialist Nigeria.

By Ahmed Gunu.

FROM THE PRESS

'JAIL THEM'— OONI

Nigerian traditional rulers and tycoons seem to carry their bankruptcy and backwardness with them wherever they go. For example, on 8th August, 1988, Oba Sijuade, the Ooni of Ife, at the Emancipation Day celebrations in Trinidad and Tobago, told the Trinidad Express that "if it were left to me most pressmen would be behind bars". He was, of course, seriously taken up in the Trinidad and Tobago Press for this brazenly fascist statement.

The Trinidad-born American Black power militant of the 1960s, Stokeley Carmichael, who has lived

in West Africa for many years, told his compatriots that: "In Nigeria, as in all former British colonies, the chiefs were instruments of oppression of the people. In fact the British paid them salaries, so perfect they were to the system of colonialism and exploitation. Today it is little different. They are backward elements while Africa is moving forward. I am surprised to learn that supposedly progressive people in Trinidad and Tobago have turned to someone like the Ooni for inspiration".

But what really got the urbane Sijuade to come out in his true

fascist colours with that outburst about pressmen was a front page story in a Trinidad newspaper, The Mirror, of 5th August, 1988, which related his scandalous court case with the Sodipo family and his business interests. This and the editorial that accompanied it, so incensed the Ooni that he got lawyers then and there in Port of Spain, Trinidad, to threaten The Mirror with a libel suit. The Mirror treated the threat with the contempt it richly deserved, and wrote another editorial reiterating its stand. Below is the editorial of The Mirror of 12th August, 1988:

vain effort to recover some of the loot.

The Mirror is not into that kind of hypocrisy, which borders on criminal negligence in media terms.

If there is a story to be told, if the facts are there, and moreso if the culprit is, or pretends to be, a leader in society, he or she must be exposed.

If democracy is to have any meaning, the media must play an important role, one no lesser than that of the judiciary or the executive arm of government.

The Ooni, however, and his colleagues in the Nigerian power structure, are accustomed to operating differently. Very often, might becomes right, and the rule of the gun supercedes the rule of law, with justice being buried under piles of bodies of ordinary citizens.

It was not surprising, therefore, that this so-called man of religion could say to the Trinidad and Tobago public before he left (via the Express): " . . . He said, however, that had he been a politician, "if it were left to me, most press men would be behind

Someone must have told Oba Sijuade Okunade, the Ooni of Ife, that Trinidad is a province of Ife giving him the divine right to treat us like a bunch of fools.

When, last Friday, the *Mirror* exposed the facts that the visiting Nigerian had been sued in his homeland over a sex scandal, and that he was a Christian, not an Orisa, the Ooni and his entourage, and a handful of gullible Trinidadians were down our throats.

How dare we write such things about the Orisa Chief?

The *Mirror* was racist, others argued.

And they ranted and raved.

But none, not one, not even the Ooni himself, disputed the facts that we reproduced.

Instead, putting emotions before integrity, the Ooni's supporters suggested that we should sweep the leader's mess under the carpet, at least until after he left the country.

But that's precisely what government and the established media did in



Ooni of Ife

the case of the late Johnny O'Halloran: conceal the facts, allow him to leave, then raise hell.

The end result of that one we know only too well. O'Halloran escaped with hundreds of millions of taxpayers money, died in peace, and now the NAR Government is making a

bars. . . ”

That is an open attack on our constitution, which guarantees the freedom of the press.

But there was the *Express* proudly reproducing it.

Had Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua or Errol McLeod of the OWTU said the same thing, the *Express* and *Guardian* would have savaged them in front page editorials.

But the Ooni, this Joker from Ife, wins praises from them for uttering such threat.

Let us make this point: at no time, either before or during the Ooni's visit, did we attack the Orisa

religion or its followers in Trinidad and Tobago.

In fact, this paper has a history of encouraging traditional religions, of boosting local culture.

But we will not be cowed by the likes of the Ooni or other traditional parasites who have lived off the fat of the land and the sweat of the people.

Those who wish to be hoodwinked by archaic, outmoded crap may feel free to do so: after all, this is a democratic society, not some fiefdom ruled by the wave of a hand or the barrel of a gun.

The vast majority of our people,

though, will have no part of any Nigerian overlord telling us what to do in our own country.

As for the threat by the Ooni to sue this paper for 10 million dollars, we treat that with the contempt it deserves.

We have no apology to give him; rather he owes this nation an apology for his ancestors having sold ours into brutal slavery.

He owes us an apology for having openly threatened the freedom of the press enshrined in our constitution.

Blackness is no excuse for either arrogance or stupidity.

REVIEWS

THE DEVIL CRUCIFIED

Lucifer, Satan, the Beast: call him whatever you will, the one thing he has, which sets him apart from other beings, is his evil nature. And evil, everyone knows, is the trade mark of the Devil — that demon who is always waylaying and ambushing man, debasing man's humanity.

How beautiful it would, therefore, be to have this Beast, for once at least, cornered and nailed to the cross. How lovely it would indeed be to prevent him from continuing to “pursue the task of building Hell for the people on earth. . . .” But — hold on. Three days after the people had crucified this Demon, and had gone away singing songs of victory, his acolytes on earth — dressed in flowing gowns, dark suits and ties — took him down from the cross, knelt before him and prayed, beseeching him “to give them a portion of his robes of cunning”. Thus was the Devil's evil ways inherited by man — of course, not by all men, but by that man whose trade mark is his swollen belly.

It is on such devils that Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's *Devil on the Cross* (Heinemann, London and Ibadan, 1982, 254 pps.) dwells. Originally written in the Kenyan language of Gikuyu, the book tells the macabre story of the Devil's disciples in our midst — men and women who worship at the shrine of the god of money, and whose sole profession is the stealing of the product of our collective sweat and blood.

Ngugi's story is a story richly sauced in African folklore. He tells us that the imageries often used in stories told to the young in the fields at daytime, or by the fireside at night — imageries of the witty young man or woman pitched against the man-eating, one-eyed ogre; of the weak but clever hare against the brutish lion; of the good, hardworking producer against the wicked thief — that all these are imageries that reflect the good, as well as the evil, in society. Good here being used to refer to collective wellbeing; and evil to destructive, anti-social behaviour. For Ngugi, good and evil are not abstract attributes, but concrete, earthly phenomena. Muturi, a worker character in the story, argues, “the nature of God is the image of the good we do here on earth. The nature of Satan is the nature of the evil we do here on earth. The question is this: What are evil actions, and what are good actions. . . . ? There are two kinds of man: he who lives by his own sweat and he who lives by the sweat of others”.

Devil on the Cross is not a mythical story, even if centred, as the plot is, around a Devil-sponsored competition in a ‘Thieves and Robbers Den’ in Kenya. The competition is organised to choose “seven Experts in Modern Theft and Robbery” with prizes guaranteed in “Bank Loans and Directorships of one of several Associations of Finance Houses”. Preposterous as this theme may initially sound, all the major characters in the novel can easily be identified with living and dead names in Nigeria's public and business circles, in the universities and the clerical establishment, and in the armed and the security forces.

Take Mwaura, the *matatu* (i.e. *molue* bus) driver in the novel, for instance. Mwaura is a ‘Devil's Angel’ — a struggling, but vicious, petty businessman. As Mwaura used to say, there is no universe that he will not visit, no river that he would not cross, no mountain that he would not climb and no crime that he would not commit, “in loyal obedience to the molten god of money”. Listen to Mwaura's standard boast: “I would sell my own mother if I thought she would fetch a good price!” Now, look around you here in Nigeria. How many Mwauras can you see amongst businessmen and women; amongst factory owners; and amongst the so-called transporters?

Or take the example of the second competitor in this contest of thieves and robbers, Gitutu wa Gataanguru. Gitutu “had a belly that protruded so far that it would have touched the ground had it not been supported by the braces that held up his trousers. . . . Gitutu had no neck — at least, his neck was not visible. His arms and legs were short stumps. His head had shrunk to the size of a fist. . . . His walking stick was decorated with pure gold. While he talked, Gitutu stroked the side of his belly with his left hand and swung his walking stick with his right hand (and he) panted as he talked, like a person carrying a heavy load”. The revelations made in Gitutu's testimony of theft and robbery were equally obscene. Just listen to his vain boasts: “. . . my real home is here at the Golden Heights, Ilmorog. I call it my ‘real’ home because it's where my wife and children live. It's like my HQ. But I have got many other houses in Nairobi, Nakuru and Mombasa. I am never happy staying in hotels. When I am on a smuggling mission I like to spend the night in a house that bears the name of Gitutu wa Gataanguru. Of course, those are the houses known to the

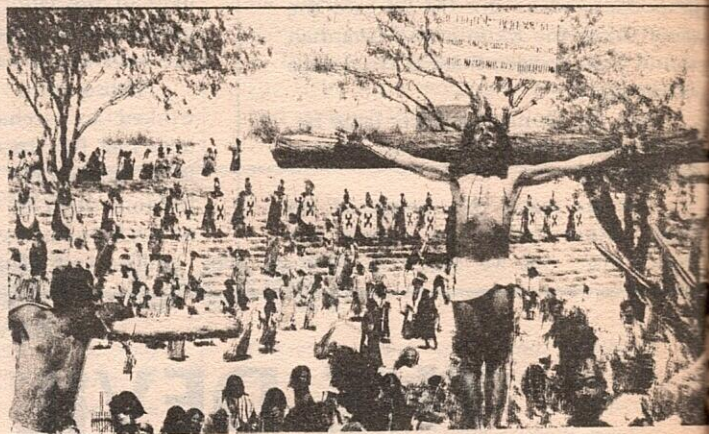
mother of my children. But I have a few other private lairs in Nairobi. Those are for me and my *sugar girls*. And for my car, I normally go about in a *chauffer driven Mercedes Benz 280*. But in addition I have a *Peugeot 604* and a *Range Rover*. Those are for *my personal use*. The mother of my children drives a *Toyota Carina*. Just a little shopping basket for carrying goods from the market. There are other vehicles — lorries and tractors — that I need for my business activities. I won't waste your time counting those. Oh! I was about to forget my young girl friends. I gave one *sugar girl* a Christmas gift of a *Toyota Corolla*, and I bought the other one a birthday present, a *Datsun 1600 SS*. Modern love is inconsistent with a tight fist!"

And what are Gitutu's abiding 'commandments'? "Reap where you never planted, eat that for which you never shed a drop of sweat and drink that which has been fetched by others!"

No wonder. Gitutu learnt his principles of theft from his father who, as a black member of the colonial *native tribunals*, had learnt how to "straighten the law here, to break it there, and particularly how to bend it here and there to make it serve certain ends", such as grabbing other people's land. It was also his father who left him the following legacy, just "before he died of the disease of over-eating": ". . . A salary is nothing for a man with a family to look up to. But at the same time we black people cannot manage petty trades that need patience. . . . A career of theft and robbery is the only one for anybody who calls himself an adult. Learn from the whites, and you'll never go wrong. The whiteman believes that there's no business to beat that of theft and robbery". Thus armed with these cunning words of his father's, Gitutu proceeded to make his 'fortunes' through deception, land speculation and smuggling.

Is Gitutu a far-fetched character? Doesn't his description and even boasts, for instance, fit many of the stinking rich amongst members of the Nigerian bar, the chambers of importers and the blackmarketeers who masquerade as industrialists?

Kihaahu wa Gatheeca is another member of this band of robbers and blood suckers — but of a slightly different, and for us in Nigeria, all too familiar, cast. Soon after setting out on his journey on the highway of self-seeking individualism, Kihaahu realised that holding public office in the state is the surest ticket to theft and robbery. Says Kihaahu, "I saw that as soon as people accumulated property they all wanted to enter parliament. With my own eyes, I have seen someone sell his farm and auction his very beautiful wife in order to meet his election expenses. I paused to think: what's in this business, which has become the object of so much infighting, to the extent that people are prepared to scatter millions of bank notes about and sell their wives and daughters and farms? So plunge Kihaahu did, into the murky, greasy and violent horse-trading that is Kenyan politics. Having bought his way into a local government council, and become the chairman of its *Housing Committee*, Kihaahu knew he had arrived at the gold mine. His game is a game all too familiar in Nigeria. Hear him: "I can remember one time when the council demolished some shanties at Ruuwa-ini. The plan was to erect a thousand houses there instead. The money was loaned to the Council by an Italian bank. The company that won the tender for building the houses was Italian. But, of course, it has first given me a small backhander of about 2,000,000 shillings. I



Brazilians re-enacting the crucifixion of Jesus.

put the money in my account and knew that the campaign money had been repayed. Now I waited for the returns on my investment in the elections. It was only after the houses had been built that I found what I had been looking for. Anybody who wanted a council house first had to buy me a cup of tea worth 2,000 shillings. I made another 2,000,000 that way. . . . These days I don't wait for the council before I pocket titbits. I have teamed up with some Italian foreigners and have formed a construction company: Ruuwa-ini Housing Development Company. It is my company that usually wins tenders from the Council". Kihaahu's long-term ambition is to one day build and hire out to the masses "houses the size of a nest", constructed in such a way that they can be folded and carried about on shoulders!

However, even amongst this decadent band of robbers and speculators are to be found characters like Mwireri wa Mukirazi who advocate self-reliant theft, or the doctrine of "patting your stomach alone in a corner".

An advocate of national capitalism, Mwireri argues: ". . . Modern theft is of two kinds. There is the kind of theft that is domestic or, lets say, a national affair" and there is another kind of theft — "in this case, the thieves and robbers of one country go to another country and steal from the masses there and take the loot back to their own country". Mukirazi, of course, resolutely rejects the second kind, evoking, in the process, the evil ire of his fellow brothers. Mwireri's death warrant is sealed.

The Master of Ceremony had to apologise for Mwireri's 'infantile effrontery', on behalf of Kenyan thieves and robbers, to the delegation of International Thieves and Robbers. "Distinguished guests, we are your slaves. You have come back to see what we have done with the talents you bequeathed to us in grateful recognition of the services we rendered you in suppressing those of our people who used to call themselves freedom fighters. That is good. I would like to remind you that even today we have continued to hoodwink our people into believing that you did actually leave the country. That is why we don't call you foreigners or imperialists, or white robbers. We call you our friends. Therefore I beseech you please resume

marvellous, but it was interesting when one considers how it became an entirely socialist affair. In the hammer throw, the Soviet Union took the gold, silver and bronze after the other throwers had been marginalised. In the pole vault, which was contested for five and a half hours, the Soviet Union did not even join in the early part of the competition until after the 5.70 metres mark had been reached! By the time the competition became very tough, only six competitors — three of them from the Soviet Union, two from East Germany and one from the U.S., continued. The coaches from East Germany even insisted that the increase in height should be in multiples of 50 centimetres. By the end of the competition, the Soviet Union not only took away the gold, silver and bronze medals, but even its silver medalist broke the old record. It was indeed one of those events that dramatically showed the spirit of the Olympics.

Of course, Africa was very much present at Seoul. But the presence was more that of officials than of competitors. Nowhere was this more evident than in the Nigerian camp. The Nigerian contingent was made up of 75 sportsmen and women and an astonishing 300 officials, with three members of the AFRC shepherding the flock. And what did we have to show for all these? Of course, not even a zinc medal. In the track and field events, despite our highly rated athletes such as Egbunike, Chidi Imoh and others, there wasn't a single African in the 100 metres final. In fact, even "Egbunike of Africa" (courtesy of Arap Moi), had to be contented with a fifth position! On the medals table, Nigeria, the "giant" of Africa and the "greatest" black nation, led the rear, plodding in the 160th position. Only the Kenyans managed to secure any glory for Africa by their brilliant performances in the long distance running events.

By the time the Olympics came to an end, not only had the Soviet

Union emerged as the leader on the medals table, but even the total gold it won were more than all the gold medals won by the leading Western capitalist countries put together, excluding the U.S.! In soccer, despite Brazil's traditional superiority, it was humbled by two goals to one by the Soviet Union. This gold medal brought the total gold haul of the Soviet Union to 55, plus 31 silver and 46 bronze. In other words, the total number of medals won by the Soviet Union was 132. East Germany placed second, while the USA had to be content with third position.

But why this triumph for the socialist countries at Seoul? This



Ben Johnson: Wasted by drugs

question is particularly important for us in Nigeria at this time that our sports officials are talking glibly about the advantages of emulating Western Europe and North America, and turning to professionalism.

The answer, of course, is simple enough. Firstly, in the socialist countries sports is an integral part of everyday life. The sports facilities are free and open to everybody. Indeed, right from kindergarten, sports is part of the daily diet of a child's upbringing for both mental and physical development.

Secondly, in the absence of such debilitating pressures as unemploy-

ment, high medical bills, hunger and homelessness which bedevil everyday life in the capitalist societies, the socialist citizen is free to fully develop his potentials in sports as well as in other fields.

Thirdly, one feature which is often ignored but which is nonetheless central to sports in the capitalist societies today, is that sports is big business. As a big business, it has to be a source of massive profits for the sports barons: Adidas, Kodak, NBC, Seiko, etc. While the sports superstars are proclaimed by the media to be making millions of dollars from their respective sports, and from advertisement rights, in reality they are milch-cows — always under pressure to be in the headlines, always haunted by the fear of getting old and going under, and everywhere chased by the taxman. They have sold themselves — body and soul — to their coaches, managers, and to the companies whose products they advertise.

This is professionalism in all its naked ugliness. This anxiety to always be on top is indeed the key to understanding the drug scandal which now threatens to destroy the ennobling ideals of the Olympics in particular, and international sports competitions in general. This profit motive and the commercialisation of athletes themselves is what is also responsible for eliminating mass participation in sports in these capitalist nations, with all its obvious consequences.

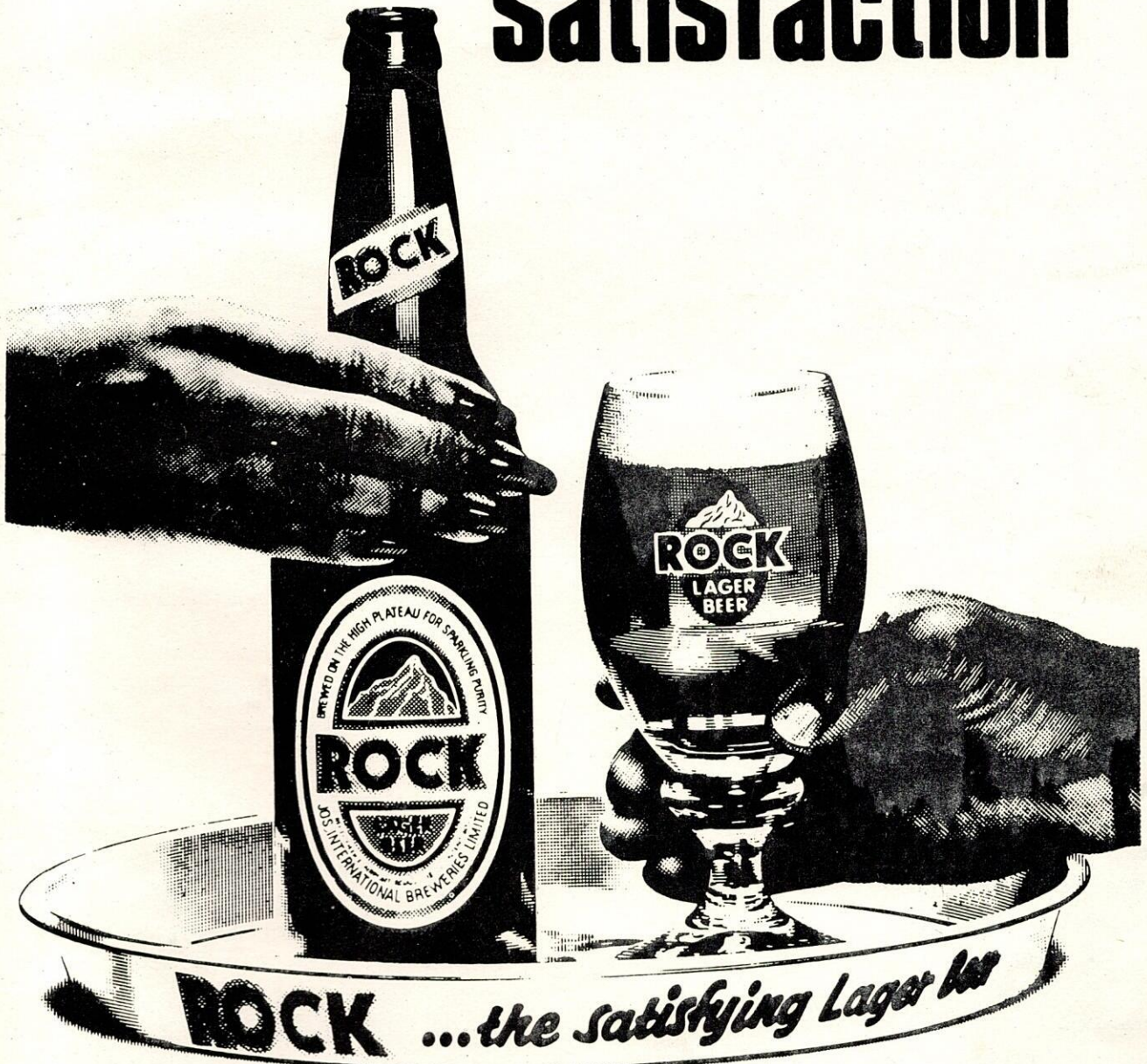
Nigeria therefore has a choice — to continue going down the valley of international disgrace in sporting competitions through aping the decadence of the capitalist West, or to face up to the challenges staring her in the face, and to move forward and start laying the foundations for a new beginning in sports as well as in the economy and politics. Whichever way, posterity will judge us.

By Sule Mohammed.

NOTICE TO READERS

We wish to apologise to our numerous readers over our inability to bring to them in this edition, as earlier promised, the second part of our article on 'The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale.' However, this shall be published, unfailingly, in our next edition.

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ONE COUNTRY, TWO NATIONS



THE REAL EXTREMISTS

In his recent definition of extremists at Kuru, President Babangida said that extremists are "uncompromising, fanatical or immoderate in their views... (They) do not bother to delineate where their own rights end and where those of others begin. They are not believers in the politics of equality; they are not democratic."

According to Babangida, these extremists are of two types: ideological and religious. Both, he says, are going to be excluded from the transition programme.

Fine. But who are actually the real extremists in Nigeria today? Are they those who just shout down others at meetings and make a lot of hullabaloo, playing to the gallery for mere crumbs? Or, those who deny and violate the right to life of the majority of Nigerians, through their seizure of our

national wealth, leaving the rest of us pining away under extreme conditions of disease, hunger and poverty?

The custom-built limousines in the picture above, bought with money belonging to Nigerians, are each worth over ₦750 000.00. The amount can build a rural hospital, fully stocked with drugs and equipment. It can also build a cottage industry capable of providing dry-season employment for a whole village.

The parasites riding these limousines are sure not only robbing the political rights of millions of Nigerians, but even denying them their very right to live.

Mr President, are the owners of these limousines, and others like them — military and civilian — not the *real extremists* in Nigeria today?

The Analyst

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says it, as it is

November — December 1988

COMPAORE EXPOSED!
BCCI: THE COCAINE
CONNECTION



YOU...
AND
YOUR
FUTURE

REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

**“Every onlooker
is either a
coward or
a traitor.”**



—Frantz Fanon (1961)

NOTE:

Frantz Fanon was born on 20th July, 1925, in Martinique. He died on 6th December, 1961. Although Fanon lived for only 36 years, he was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant, prophetic and courageous revolutionary intellectuals in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa.

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In this issue

A FUTURE SO BLEAK

"If there is life, there is hope," runs an old adage. True, a life without hope is a hollow one indeed. But then what can Nigerians today reasonably expect the future to hold for them and their children? See Page

7

ONCE MORE. THE IMF



Of course, since 'The Debate' the IMF has become almost a household word in Nigeria. Government officials talk about it. Housewives discuss its impact on their shopping baskets. Even school children have to grapple with it in their term papers. Yet, we all knew little about the IMF's inner workings — until, that is, Davison Budhoo opened a can top full with worms. Turn to Page

THE COCAINE CONNECTION

The Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) is the world's fastest growing multinational corporation. Its plush offices around the world and the high-living officials who run them leave no one in doubt about this. Enterprise and hard work used to be given as responsible for the bank's phenomenal growth. Now we know there is a cocaine connection. See page

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COMMENT

FACING THE FUTURE SQUARELY

Man lives in the present. But to really live his present, he must have a future to look forward to. This future cannot drop down to him like manna from heaven. It is also not something that he can see in a crystal ball. This future is something he has to prepare, plan, and work for, here and now. At no time is pondering about the future more appropriate than at the end of one year and the beginning of another.

Here in Nigeria, what does our future look like at the end of 1988? What can we realistically expect for our children in the coming years?

To face up to this, we must frankly and realistically admit our present condition and how we have come to be where we are today. Beating a chest full of medals and making empty boasts about 'our great country' will not get us anywhere. Neither would the pompous claims about 'our rich traditions and culture' serve any useful purpose.

Today, our individual and collective survival is being threatened in so many ways. Secure access to the bare essentials of life — food, water, housing, and clothing — is now a privilege for an increasingly tiny minority controlling the government and the economy. Even official statistics confirm that the daily food intake per person in this country is now lower than it was before independence, and it is getting worse. In the last two years, the price of staples like garri, maize, yams, millet and guinea corn has quadrupled, and continues to rise on an almost weekly basis. More than one in ten of all Nigerian babies born, die before they reach the age of one. Many of those who survive are mentally and physically damaged for life by the undernourishment of their parents and themselves.

In the area of housing, the conditions which were already bad, are now rapidly deteriorating. In 1985, about nine out of every ten urban families lived in single rooms — an increasing number of whom have no

toilet or kitchen facilities.

It is also becoming increasingly impossible in many parts of Nigeria to move or carry goods from one place to another. The railways and waterways have virtually closed up, and the roads and the vehicles are everyday crumbling.

Education and health services are increasingly getting beyond the reach of even the middle class because of the high charges.

Furthermore — in 1980, the percentage of the urban working population in full employment was 72%; in the rural areas it was 62%. By 1985, these had dropped to 57% and 54% respectively. Today, even conservative official estimates would concede that over half of the population in both urban and rural areas are not employed.

On top of all this, the country is being crushed under a heavy burden of external and internal debts, most of which are bogus. For example, the burden of external debt hanging on the neck of every Nigerian was only N25.00 in 1979. By 1984 it had gone up ten times, to N250.00. Today, it is N1,250.00.

We have found ourselves in this terrible state, not because our country has no natural endowments. We are in fact well endowed. We are in this mess because of the systematic exploitation and plunder of our human and natural resources by rapacious foreign and domestic forces. These forces have treated and continue to treat this country as one of the biggest milch cows in the world, and are determined to keep things that way, even if it means that most of us perish.

We must face the future squarely. To survive, we must dislodge these parasites. We can only meaningfully address ourselves to the future by facing up to this challenge.

...DISHONOURABLE MEN

Members of the Constituent Assembly would want to pose as honourable men. But happenings in that Assembly since its inauguration show that they are far from being honourable in their conduct as members of the Assembly.

When they were directed by the President to keep off from discussing crucial areas of the draft constitution, like the two-party system, the federal structure, the presidential system, etc., they meekly surrendered to this diktat.

When the election of the Deputy Chairman of the Assembly by themselves came up, they split into ethnic, regional and religious factions, and would have been at each other's throats if the elections had gone ahead.

By the end of November, their activities had become completely paralysed by all sorts of political theatrics over Shari'a. When the Chief of General Staff, Vice-Admiral Aikhomu, flew to Abuja, warned them, and made the judicature another "no-go" area, all the noise and fury ended without even a whimper.

This is not the conduct of honourable men. Honourable men would have, in the first place, either refused to accept the dictates of the military over the "no-go" areas, or would have resigned. Honourable men would also have been able to elect from among themselves a deputy chairman. They would certainly have avoided the sordid wranglings over a diversionary issue like Shari'a.

But it is not surprising that such was their behaviour. They were not democratically elected.

Not having been democratically elected, they cannot be expected to stand by democratic principles by rejecting military diktats. They cannot also be responsive to the real needs and aspirations of the people of Nigeria. For as far as the majority of Nigerians are concerned, the issue over judiciary is not Shari'a or no Shari'a, but the fact that the whole system of justice in this country is a system of injustice. It is corrupt, repressive and nepotistic. The majority of Nigerians try as hard as they can to avoid any contact with the judiciary and the courts of every type. They know all too well that these have very little to do with true justice.

But instead of addressing themselves to this and other fundamental concerns of Nigerians, these Assembly men and women — who are already preening themselves to be the "honourables" in the Third Republic — are only wasting the nation's time and money on bogus issues. Given this, and their generally dishonourable conduct, it is little wonder that many Nigerians believe that the Third Republic is doomed before it is even born.

LETTERS

DEVILS AT WORK

I have just completed reading your September-October, 1988 edition. As usual, I read it from cover to cover. The topic is very illuminating indeed. Please correct a mistake for the benefit of your readers.

In your article "A Theology for Liberation" on page 19 you referred to the Latin American Bishops Conference at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968. It was Pope Paul VI who went there, not Pope John Paul II. Pope John Paul II only became the pontiff in 1978 after the death, in rapid succession, of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul I. I wonder why in your contribution on Liberation Theology you did not mention such giants as Leonardo Boff or Gustavo Gutierrez.

Similarly, while referring to the Right Wing Churches in the West, you did not dwell attention on Jerry Falwell, who referred to apartheid as a system that implements God's will on earth, and to Archbishop Tutu as a "phoney priest".

Anyway, despite these, your edition was wonderful and marvellous. You should also concede a fact to Ayatollah Khomeini, who asked Iranians to vote for "Islam of the bare-footed", and not "American" or "capitalist" Islam in the last elections in Iran.

I wish you all success.

Abubakar Dungus,
Maiduguri.

The difference is clear. Here comes the genuine THE ANALYST at last. The September-October issue is a testimony. Why not retitle our THE ANALYST as "The Original Analyst"?

Sule R.N.,
Jos.

For the first time, I bought a copy of the September-October issue of THE ANALYST, and knew what I have been missing before now.

I found of great interest the expose on the Nigerian wolves in religious garb, as well as your articles on dictators masquerading as saints, claiming to have been sent by the

divine from on-high.

One of such self-proclaimed leaders was General Zia ul-Haq (or Zia ul-Kazzab?) who under the guise of religion not only tore Pakistan apart, but also perpetrated the most inhuman atrocities on the minority (religious) sects, notably the Ahmadiyya and Shiia, etc. Your failure to make a particular mention of Ahmadiyyas as the most dehumanised victims of Zia's machiavellian politics really made me sad.

Nonetheless, I would like to appeal to every Nigerian to read the September-October 1988 issue of THE ANALYST, page by page, in order to comprehend the mischief of the so-called advocates of religion in the corridors of power.

R.A. Muhammad,
Bauchi.

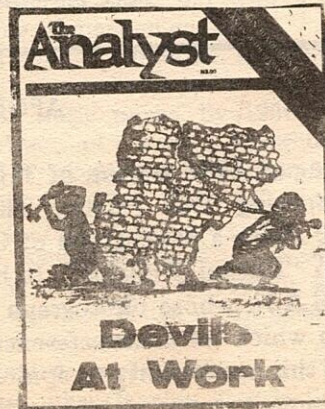
While other religious leaders, as revealed in your publication, have used their vantage position to better the lot of their followers and the society in which they live, for us in Nigeria the reverse is the case.

Our religious leaders are nothing but greedy elements, just like our political leaders. This has been the hallmark of our polity since independence.

Religion in Nigeria has been politicised, prostituted and commercialised for the self-interest of a few individuals who parade themselves as religious leaders.

We musn't allow these devils to succeed.

Isaac A. Abegye,
Numan.



Richard Umaru's two articles (THE ANALYST, Vol. 3, No.5) were quite interesting. True christianity is certainly akin to socialism.

A christian should not only be a theoretical preacher, but should have a very strong, violent passion, directed by a very firm will and by ardent christian and revolutionary principles for the betterment of society and mankind.

Unless one takes up his sword to fight for not only peoples' salvation, but peoples' power, in the christian call, he is yet to be a born again christian.

*Atsevogo J.A. Tsanyu,
Akwang.*

Your creative arts on the cover of your September-October 1988 issue really told the bitter truth. From the picture itself, one can see that the nation has been hanged, the chain running from Kano down to Gongola.

In the picture too, the cross was used to uproot the nation. It has already chopped off Kwara and Rivers States.

Like THE ANALYST rightly put is, everything should be done to avoid the impending doom of religious war. Over to IBB.

*Paulingo C.D. Okoro Anumodu,
Kano.*

LIBYA

The way you wrote about Libya one would think she actually has no internal problems. And the manner Col. Gaddafi was portrayed, you would say he was a saint.

Unlike Gen. Zia ul-Haq, Col. Gaddafi was exonerated by you of every wrong doing. Were there no atrocities committed during the coup? What about his intervention in the fratricidal war in Chad, in Vietnam, in the assassination of President Anwar Sadat, and in his call for forceful annexation of Lebanon by Syria; not to talk of his conflicts with President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia? You concealed these facts just because you wanted to make him a saint.

Socialists are propagandists, and that is



Rotimi Williams

what you are!

*Aloysius D. Garba,
Maiduguri.*

IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Your magazine (Vol.3, No.5, 1988) criticises Iranian officials because of their strong and incessant efforts in bringing down socialism and what socialism has in store; and because of THE ANALYST magazine's strong support for socialism. You particularly attacked the Iranian Majlis Speaker, Hujjatul-Islam Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, because he is in the fore-front in denouncing this evil system (socialism) and exposing its hypocrisy to the muslim world, in which Bala Usman and his likes are hiding to achieve their nefarious and selfish ends. We are aware of the fact that THE ANALYST magazine wants to lead this satanic and hypocritical campaign in blackmailing Rafsanjani to mount pressure against him to quit from the Iranian political scene, so that the so-called selfish advocates of socialism will breathe free air to continue their devilish propaganda using the poor and innocent masses to achieve cheap victory for their lords in the far east of the world.



Rafsanjani: Moral double standards.

I would like to remind you that Iranian officials will, *insha-Allah*, forever remain steadfast in propagating Islamic ideology.

*Ahmad Khadi Mumin,
Bama, Borno State.*

ONE COUNTRY, TWO NATIONS

The back cover of your edition of September-October, 1988 (Vol.3, No.5) has clearly shown to us who the real extremists are in this country (Traditional rulers and Retired Generals) as against Mr. President's Kuru definition.

How can an individual ride a car worth N750,000.00 at this time, leaving the rest of us queuing up all day long in government hospitals to end up being referred to chemists to purchase the prescribed drugs?

*Umar Farouq Mayanchi,
Zuru, Sokoto State.*

LANDLESSNESS

I read with enthusiasm the July-August issue of your publication. What interested me most in your articulate, fact-based articles was the one captioned "Landlessness: Time Bomb of the Third Republic".

It gave a little more light into the treacherous and fraudulent manner those 'who have made it' in our society are robbing the hapless peasants of their legitimate rights to land, and the government's nonchalant, untowards attitude towards this retrogressive development.

I recall with sorrow the ordeal meted out to my people in Agenebode, Etsako Local Government Area of Bendel State, about three years ago.

A high-ranking military General (still in service) told the people that he needed a very fertile, arable land to establish a mechanised farm in preparation for when he retires from military service.

With the connivance of the District Head, who is now dead, and the Village Head, the hapless peasants were dispossessed of their land.

The worst happened when the farmers requested that they be allowed to harvest their crops. Instead of sympathising with these farmers, the General - then a Brigadier - sent down caterpillars, accompanied by armed soldiers, to destroy everything and beat the hell out of anybody who refused to co-operate.

*Mustapha A. Amegbe,
Kano.*

APOLOGY

In the July-August 1988 edition of THE ANALYST, we published, at page 22, an article titled "Imposing Two Parties: The Politics of Hypocrisy and Deceit". We published therein, above a photograph of Chief Rotimi Williams, S.A.N., certain statements referring to "Rotimi Williams". It has been drawn to our attention that Chief Rotimi Williams, S.A.N. whose photograph appears in the publication is playing no part in the activities to which we made reference. We accept that this is the position, and we are happy to take this opportunity to apologise to Chief Rotimi Williams S.A.N. for any distress or embarrassment caused to him by the said publication.

YOUR FUTURE

As the curtain closes on the year Nineteen Hundred and Eighty Eight, and the lights come on to usher in another New Year, it has become imperative for you and me to pause a while and ponder over the future. Yes, the future! Of course not the future of this planet, or this continent, or even this country — important as these are. But your own future, and the future of those closest and dearest to you.

Just what does this future hold in store for you? What can you reasonably expect from the coming years, or even the coming months? The answer is: uncertainty, panic, suffering, and pain.

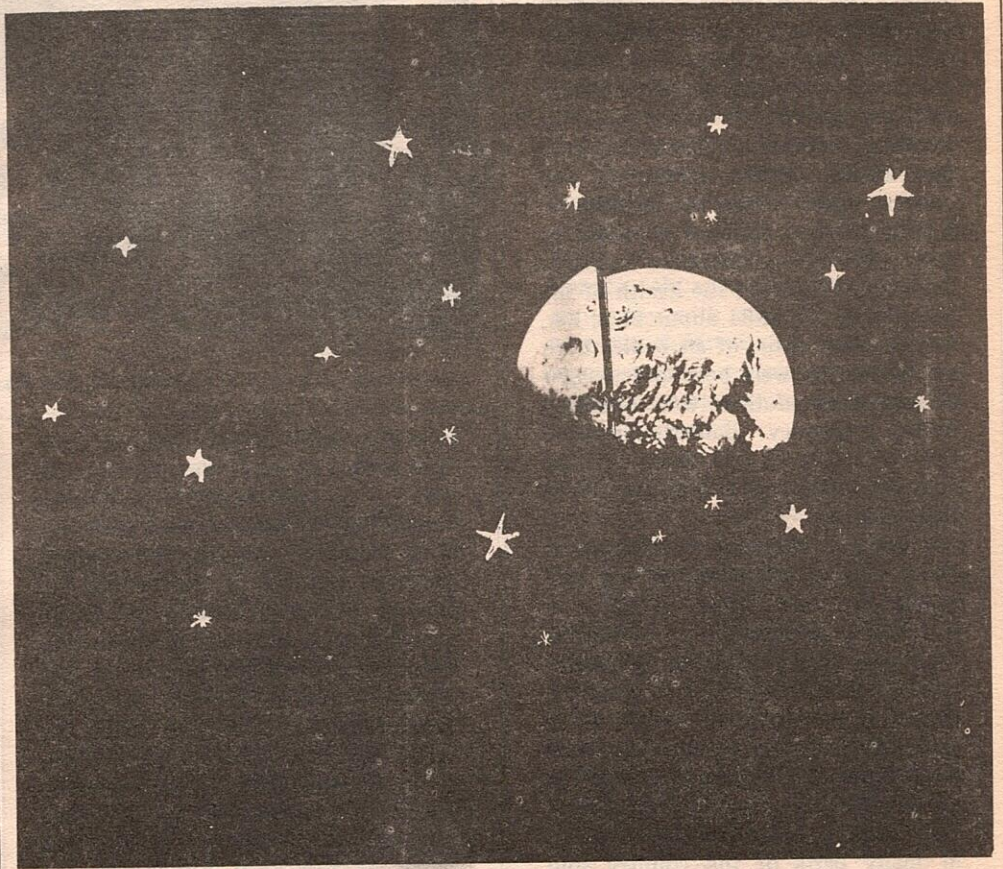
This is no exaggeration. Given the direction the rulers of this country have made her to take, your future — like that of the overwhelming majority of other fellow Nigerians — looks like a long, dark night.

This bicycle, motorcycle, or car that you are riding today is probably your last. That house that you have sweated so much to get may soon go to the auctioneer. The jewelry you are so proud of will probably soon end up with the pawn-broker's shop. Even that stereo set you are listening to now, you might not be able to keep, because you have to eat. Your children will not receive the education you so much desire to give them. Those of them lucky enough to have already finished schooling will find no jobs. That little farm you now cultivate shall be taken away from you. And there is nothing you can do about it.

As for food, this Christmas and New Year season is probably the last time you will eat rice and chicken. And there shall be no more having two square meals a day.

It is indeed that bad. Your future is indeed that bleak. Are you in any doubt? Consider the following government statistics for a moment. They are, of course, conservative — having been derived mainly from official sources, and covering, as they do, mainly the years 1979 - 1985. Nevertheless, they still paint a picture. And you should look at this picture very closely, because it is about your future.

Let us start with housing. Of course, everybody in this country



Star-gazing won't just do!

knows the sorry state of housing for most people. But perhaps only a few know that in reality these conditions have been progressively getting worse over the years. A national survey conducted by the Federal Office of Statistics, covering the period 1979 to 1985, has come out with quite revealing information on this.

In 1980, for instance, some 86% of urban households in the country lived in single rooms. By 1985 this percentage of urban households living in single-room facilities had jumped to 89%. Put differently, while in 1980 about every eight out of ten families in Nigeria's cities were living in one room, by 1985 it was about nine out of ten urban families that were so housed.

Similarly, while in 1979 some 7% of these urban families lived in flats and duplexes, by 1985 the number of families living in such flats and duplexes had dropped to only 4%.

But it is not just the rooms housing these urban families that are so cramped. Even the facilities available are terrible. In 1980, 17% of all urban families, i.e., about two families in every ten, had no toilet facilities at all — not even a pit latrine. By 1985, the percentage of these urban families without a toilet had risen to 21%. Also, by 1985, less than 15% of urban families had access to a water closet toilet.

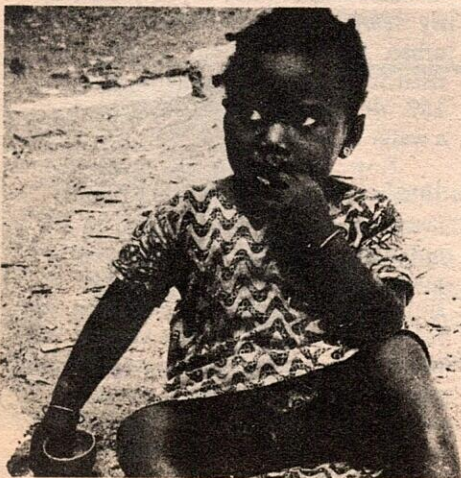
Now, if this was the situation in 1985 when the retrenchment fever was just taking root, and when SAP had not fully begun its sapping of our pockets, you can imagine what the situation is like today. Add to this the rate at which inflation has inflated the prices of basic building materials like cement, iron rods, roofing sheets, etc., and it will become obvious that if, before now, you had dreamt of one day building your own house, you might as well forget it. Indeed, the

way rents are going up, you might very soon not even be able to pay for the 'hole' you are now living in.

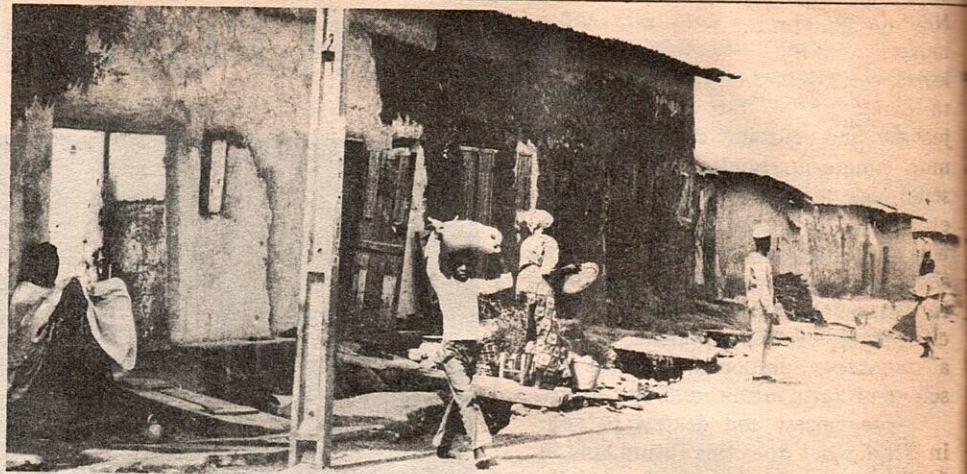
If we turn to agriculture and food supply, the situation is no less grim. In the period since independence, the quality and quantity of food consumed by most Nigerians has been reducing instead of increasing. For instance, whereas in 1965 the daily per capita calorie supply in the country was — on the average — 2,185, this had declined to 2,139 by 1985. Of course, this poor nutrition shows its effects on the health of the population. In 1984 about 25%, i.e., one in every four, of all babies born in the country were born underweight because their mothers were underfed during pregnancy. Similarly, in 1986 out of every 1,000 born in the country, 104 died before they were five years old.

Today, this poor nutrition is being further compounded by the stagnation, and even decline, in agricultural production — a decline which has been guaranteed by government policies which, for instance, make the prices of such basic agricultural inputs as fertilizers and insecticides rise beyond the reach of all but the few wealthy big farmers. This year, a 50kg. bag of fertilizer in many parts of the country sold for between N40.00 and N60.00. Next year it will undoubtedly be much higher. So, if you had thought that "going back to the land" is the solution to your problems, then you had better think twice. It is not your solution!

But clinging on to your 'white collar' job is no solution either. For



The Nigerian Child:
What hope for the future?



Houses of The Poor: Homes or holes?

not only have the jobs become more and more insecure, but the income levels — in real terms as well as in appearance — have also been declining. For instance, whereas government statistics give the per capita monthly income of urban families as N64.30 in 1982, by 1984 this had declined to N56.37. Similarly, whereas the per capita monthly income for rural families was N45.62 in 1982, by 1984 this had dropped to N38.84. Now, this was 1984 — some four years back — before SFEM/FEM had wreaked their full havoc and the value of the naira had received a buffeting. You can imagine what the per capita income is today — and, more seriously, what it is likely to become if the trend continues in the coming years.

And this is against the background of rising unemployment. Official unemployment statistics in this country are grossly unreliable. But even as unreliable as they are, they give a very sorry picture. In 1980, the percentage of the urban working population in full employment was 72%. By 1985, this had gone down to just 57%. In other words, in 1985 about half of all those people residing in our urban areas who could work were out of jobs! The situation in the rural areas — known for their high levels of under-employment — was hardly brighter. By 1980, the percentage of ruralites in employment was 62%. By 1985 this had dropped to 54%. Of course, these are very conservative figures.

What is quite clear, however, is that many more Nigerians are getting thrown out of work, and many more

are finding it difficult to find any work to do at all. The number of the jobless can, however, only continue to increase, given the current economic and social policies being pursued by government. The impact of bodies and schemes like the National Directorate for Employment (NDE), where they are not fraudulent, are just like drops of water in the sea.

So — watch it! That job you are holding now may not be there tomorrow. With the on-going privatization and commercialization, your job is threatened on a daily basis. For once a venture is sold or commercialized, the new 'owners' would want to 'rationalize' their new possessions. Invariably that, of course, means that you — or your brother, or your friend — will be sacked.

But then, you may shrug your shoulders and say: "well, if the future is bleak for me, it is at least not bleak for my children. I will work hard to ensure that they get a better deal".

Fine. But hold on for just a moment. Do you know that as of 1979 the total amount of external debt hanging around the neck of every Nigerian was N25.00; that by 1984 this had gone up by more than ten times to N250.00; and that by 1988 this has multiplied five times to N1,250.00? By the year 1992, this is likely to double to around N2,500, and the country would have been completely mortgaged to the IMF and other foreign interests.

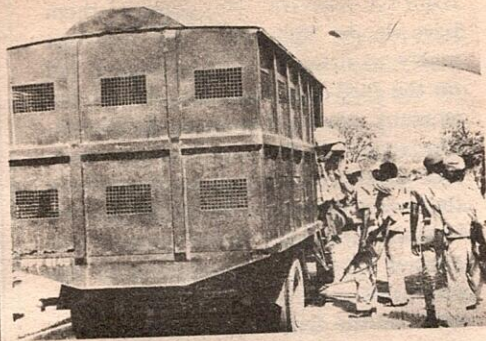
After considering all these, do you still believe that your child has a future?

The fact is that even right now you can just barely maintain him or

ber in school. For every child you have in secondary school, for instance, you must be spending not less than N300.00 a term for tuition, feeding, uniforms, books, transport, games, levies, etc. In a year, that is, you have to cough up no less than N900.00 just for one child in school. Of course most parents have at least three such school-age children. Thus, inevitably, even right now some of your children will not receive adequate education simply because you cannot afford it. Indeed, the official figures show quite clearly that there has, of recent, been a stagnation, and even a decline, in school enrolment.

While enrolment in primary one in Nigeria in 1979 was 2.8 million, by 1983 it had dropped to 2.7 million. Similarly, total enrolment in primary schools in the country declined from 15,210,481 in 1981 to 14,674,539 in 1985. Again, enrolment in secondary/technical and vocational schools slumped from 3,015,777 in 1982 to 2,999,088 in 1984. Furthermore, between 1980 and 1983, admissions to first degree courses in the universities increased by no more than 2,000 — from 20,429 to 22,049.

But these figures do not even begin to tell the whole story of the shadow that now hangs over the future of your child. Because even if this child is lucky to complete his/her education, the nature of the tutoring he or she has received is such that it would hardly prepare him



Black Maria: Home for an increasing number of Nigerians

for the challenges he would face in life. Besides, even if the education he receives is good, chances are that he would only end up roaming the streets searching for jobs that are just simply not there.

Given such gloomy realities it is little wonder that the incidence of frustration-related crimes are daily rising throughout the country. In 1981 only 2,483 people were sent to prison for affray. By 1983 the figure had jumped to 3,242. While in 1981 some 14,769 were convicted for assault, by 1984 this had risen to 19,196. Again, while in 1981 some 38,888 were convicted for stealing, in 1984 the number had risen to 63,174.

The figures for the more recent years have not yet been published. But

there can be no doubt that the crime wave in the country is mounting.

But even as you mark the end of 1988 and the dawn of 1989, you should spare a moment to think about the future — your own future, and the future of your children. You know that your country is well-endowed. You know that you, and millions of others, have been working hard. You know that you deserve a better deal than you have been getting. You know that your child deserves a future.

Are you going to continue sauntering along, arms akimbo, while a few people feed fat on you? Are you going to continue twiddling your thumbs idly while some blood-thirsty goons toy with your future and that of your children? Are you going to allow some seasoned crooks and religious charlatans to go on pulling you by the nose?

Or are you — finally — going to wake up to your responsibility, and stand up to be counted in the struggles that must be waged to stop the rot, and to turn things around?

Your life, and the lives of future generations, are in your hands to make or mar. As the saying goes, "if you are not part of the solution, then you are part of the problem". Your children, and future generations, will judge you by how you live up to this challenge.

Happy New Year!

By: Richard Umaru

LET ME SPEAK:

Sapping The Eggs

One of the major claims made by government for SAP is that it will boost production. But as everybody knows, this has not been the case. In fact, the middle-men who we are told SAP will eliminate, are the ones who are actually flourishing. In the area of

poultry production, where over N300 million has been disbursed as loans by the banks, the actual producers are going under, the banks are raking in huge interest payments, and the middle-men are walking all the way to the banks smiling.

Although the prices of chicken and eggs are well beyond the reach of most Nigerians — with an egg now selling for 60 kobo and a chicken for N20 — the actual producers themselves are being sapped out of business. The experience of Hajia Kande Mohammed in Jos is very revealing. Read on:

THE ANALYST: *When did you start poultry farming?*

HAJIYA KANDE: *I started poultry farming five years ago.*

THE ANALYST: *Can you tell us how many chickens you started with?*

HAJIYA KANDE: *From the beginning, I started with thirty chickens. But the number kept on increasing until it reached a time when I had 1,200 chicks. That was one year*

after starting.

THE ANALYST: *What kind of difficulties do you usually encounter in the course of your raising the chickens?*

HAJIYA KANDE: *Most of the difficulties I encounter relate to getting the feed for the birds. The price of the feeds increases on a daily basis. If you go out today to buy the feed at a certain price, tomorrow when*

you go to buy it, the price will be something different. But when you increase the price of your eggs to reflect the increase in production cost, you drive away many of your customers. And, you see, it is only from selling the eggs that I make my money; I don't sell the chickens. This problem of feeds is the biggest one I have been facing.

THE ANALYST: *When you started*

this business, how much were you buying a bag of feed?

HAJIYA KANDE: When I started, I used to buy a bag of feed for N8.

THE ANALYST: How much is it now?

HAJIYA KANDE: Now, a bag of feed costs N40.

THE ANALYST: What, in your opinion, is the cause of such phenomenal increase in the price of feeds?

HAJIYA KANDE: In my opinion, one of the main causes of such price hike is hoarding by some people. You see, such people buy these feeds, but instead of selling it straight to poultry farmers and at reasonable prices, they would rather hoard it and keep it for such a long time as to create artificial scarcity of the feeds, so that they can then dictate a very high price. This is

the main cause of the price hike.

THE ANALYST: Are all the raw materials used in making the feeds obtained locally?

HAJIYA KANDE: No, some of them have to be imported, And this fact partly explains why layer chicken fed on the feed sold nowadays do not lay as many eggs as they normally should. The reason is that most of the feeds now do not contain all the ingredients that are supposed to be mixed in them because these have to be imported and it's not easy to do so for most of the producers of these feeds. You see, most of the feeds now are made only from ingredients that can be obtained locally.

THE ANALYST: How many birds do you have right now?

HAJIYA KANDE: Right now I have

only 600 birds.

THE ANALYST: That's exactly half the number you had before. Why is this?

HAJIYA KANDE: The main problem, as I said before, is the feed. I can't cope with the price hikes and the attendant problems. You see, the 600 layers I have should, under normal circumstances, give me over 10 crates of eggs daily, but now I get from them only 7 to 8 crates in a day. So, you see, the daily production of eggs does not cover the cost of feeding them. My chickens now consume three bags of feed daily, which means N120 per day. So, any day that they produce only 7 crates, this means that they are run at a loss, because now a crate is sold at N13.50, and 7 crates of eggs will fetch you only N94.50.

STRANGLEHOLD OF THE I.M.F.

You must by now be fed up with hearing about the IMF. This is understandable. Since 1982, all talks about reviving the economy have revolved around the IMF and its 'conditionalities'.

Whether imposed directly by the IMF or indirectly through the World Bank, the Paris Club, the London

Club, etc., these 'conditionalities' have meant only one thing: greater suffering for you, and a bleak future.

But bored with the mention of the name of the IMF as you might be, you cannot afford not to properly understand what it really is and how it works. Nobody has ever revealed the inner workings of the IMF since its

establishment in 1944. It has been a closely guarded secret. But for the first time, in 1988, a high level official who has worked for many years with the IMF spilled the beans. This man, Mr. Davison Budhoo, a 48 year old Grenadian economist, had headed IMF missions to a number of Third World countries. His testimony is chilling.

Mr. Camdessus,
Managing Director,
International Monetary Fund,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Camdessus,

Today I resigned from the staff of the International Monetary Fund after over twelve years, and after 1,000 days of official Fund work in the field, hawking your medicine and your bag of tricks to governments and to peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean and Africa. To me resignation is a priceless liberation, for with it I have taken the first big step to that place where I may hope to wash my hands of what in my mind's eye is the blood of millions of poor and starving peoples. Mr. Camdessus, the blood is so much, you know, it runs in rivers. It dries up too; it cakes all over me; sometimes I feel that there is not enough soap in the whole world to cleanse me from the things that I did

do in your name and in the names of your predecessors, and under official seal.

But I can hope, can't I? Certainly I can hope. I can hope that there is compassion and indignation in the heart of my world, and that people

can stand up and take notice of what I have to say, and listen to your reply. For you will have to reply, because the charges that I make are not light charges — they are charges that touch at the very heart of western society and western morality and post-war inter-governmental institutionalism that have degenerated into fake and sham under the pretext of establishing and maintaining international economic order and global efficiency....

I hereby file accusation against the Fund in its dealings with Trinidad and Tobago on six counts, viz:

i. We manipulated, blatantly and systematically, certain key statistical indices so as to put ourselves in a position where we could make very false pronouncements about economic and financial performance of that country. In doing so, we created a situation whereby the country was repeatedly denied access to international



Mr Camdessus:
I.M.F. Managing Director.

commercial and official sources of financing that otherwise would have been readily available. Our deliberate blocking of an economic lifeline to the country through subterfuge served to accentuate tremendously the internal and external financial imbalances within the economy springing from the dramatic downturn in the price of oil;

- ii. The nature of our ill-will, and the depth of our determination to continue on a course of gross irregularities, irrespective of economic consequences for the country and its peoples, are clearly shown by the fact your senior staff bluntly refused in 1987 to correct even one iota of the wrong that we had done over 1985/86;
- iii. Congruent with action outlined in (i) and (ii), the staff has waged within the Fund an aggressive campaign of misinformation and derision about economic performance in Trinidad and Tobago. The insidiousness of that campaign is dramatically highlighted in the deliberately wild allegations made in the Briefing Paper to the last consultation mission — a paper that was cleared and approved by your good self in late June, 1987;
- iv. As the country continues to resist our Deadliest Medicine that would put it in a position to enter into a formal stand-by arrangement with us, we continue to resort to statistical malpractices and unabashed misinformation so as to bring it to heel. Among several misdeeds, we have influenced the World Bank, apparently against the better judgement of its own mission staff, to come out in support of our trumped-up policies and stances for the country;
- v. In our seemingly inexplicable drive to see Trinidad and Tobago destroyed economically first, and converted thereafter into a bastion of Fund orthodoxy, we have applied, and are applying, intolerable pressures on the government to take action to negate certain vital aspects of the arrangements, as enshrined in the constitution of the country, through which the government functions, and within whose framework fundamental

rights of the people are recognised and protected, and norms of social justice and economic equity maintained;

- vi. Our policy package for Trinidad and Tobago — i.e. the conditionality that we are demanding for any Fund program, and the measures that we are asking the authorities to implement as a necessary precondition for a loosening of the iron grip that we now hold on the fortunes of the country in so far as its recourse to international capital markets and official bilateral donors are concerned — can be shown, even in a half-objective analysis, to be self-defeating and unworkable. That policy package



Davison Budhoo

can never serve, under any set of circumstances, the cause of financial balance and economic growth. Rather, what, in effect, we are asking the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to do is to self-destruct itself and unleash unstoppable economic and social chaos. In this respect, this letter invites you to appoint urgently an independent expert group to look into all aspects of the charges made in Parts II and III of the Letter.

Self-defeating and unethical as it may seem, what we have done and are doing in Trinidad and Tobago is being repeated in scores of countries around the world, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean and Africa. Sometimes we operate with greater restraint, sometimes with less, but the process and the result are always the same: a standard, pompous recital of

doctrinaire Fund "advice" given uncompromisingly and often contemptuously and in utter disregard to local conditions and concerns and susceptibilities. It is the norm now rather than the exception, that when our "one-for-all and all-for-one" Fund cap doesn't fit the head for which it is intended, we cut and shave and mangle the head so as to give the semblance of a fit. Maybe we bust up the head too much in Trinidad and Tobago, but have no illusions that the way we operate throughout the world — the narrow and irrelevant epistemology underlying our work, the airs and affectations and biases and illusions of superiority of our staff vis-a-vis government officials and politicians in the developing world, our outrageous salaries and perks and diplomatic immunities and multiple "entitlements", the ill-gotten, inadvertent power that we revel in wielding over prostrate governments and peoples — can only serve to accentuate world tensions, expand even further the already bulging ranks of the poverty-stricken and destitute of the South, and stunt, worldwide, the human soul, and the human capacity for caring and upholding norms of justice and fair-play. . . .

Over and over again I've been told by people whose judgement I respect that the Fund will do everything in its power to decimate me as an individual, and to destroy me as a professional economist, in the wake of this Letter. The overwhelming advice of those with my interests at heart is that I had better resist all dictates of conscience and keep my mouth shut. I refuse to do that; I will not be muzzled one iota; I will speak up; I have taken meticulous care in writing what I write; I am prepared to prove everything that I say — send me before the harshest judge and see what you will see. In any event, in the broad sweep, individuals are not important; Davison Budhoo is of no consequence. I'm a vessel and the message that I carry will get through; that's the only thing that matters; irrespective of what may happen to Davison Budhoo, the message, the whole message, will get through. And this Letter does not define anything close to the whole message; it is only the tip of an iceberg. And as to what lies beneath — well, time will tell. Soon enough, time will tell. . . .

I want to go on now to the glib way in which we go about undermining people's fundamental rights as protected by the constitution of the country. Of course, once we set ourselves up as part of the State Machinery that would deny benefaction to certain groups while promoting the welfare of others — and we necessarily do this when we force the government to bite our bullet — we become, by definition, a domestic political force in the job of redistributing national wealth among social groups in a particular way that can enhance the effectiveness of our "program". We may say that we are merely out to ensure that adequate adjustment occurs in the economy — i.e. that "economic and financial balance" is restored — but that's only a fancy way of saying that we are taking a direct hand in reallocating the national cake to suit our own purpose and that we are punishing certain groups and rewarding others so as to further our own cause.

You know, not so long ago, the colonial power, in circumstances where the colony concerned was perceived to be errant, would just go ahead and suspend the constitution and take over power directly and brazenly and unceremoniously. We don't operate that way today; internationally that is unacceptable, and logistically it is impossible, but we get the same results through other means. And unlike the colonial power of yesteryear, we can fine-tune our intervention so that we take away today only those rights and constitutional guarantees that it is necessary to take away in order to achieve our immediate ends (which of course may change from time to time). In other words, we undermine constitutional rights gradually, and in a non-visible sort of way. And before we know it (if our relationship with the country concerned is intensive and sustained enough, and if we perceive that Great Things are at stake for us) we render the government naked and defenceless and on its knees before us, and we go about our business of doing absolutely as we please. And nobody, in retrospect, would seem to know how on earth we could have managed to subjugate both government and peoples thus, and how such a state of affairs could ever have been made to exist in the

first instance.

Well, as I said before, how far we are prepared to go in this neo-colonialist game depends on our vested interest in the country concerned. Because that differs tremendously from one place to another, our tampering with constitutional guarantees runs the whole gamut, from Jamaica to Zambia to India to China. Given this fact, one would have thought that Trinidad and Tobago would have been relatively safe and tamper-free, for it has never used our resources, or been involved in any Fund "arrangement". But surprise, surprise! Trinidad and Tobago was not allowed to remain virginal; over the years 1985-88 we tried to dig our tendrils into the constitution of the country and relieve certain sectors of the population from some of their most cherished rights.

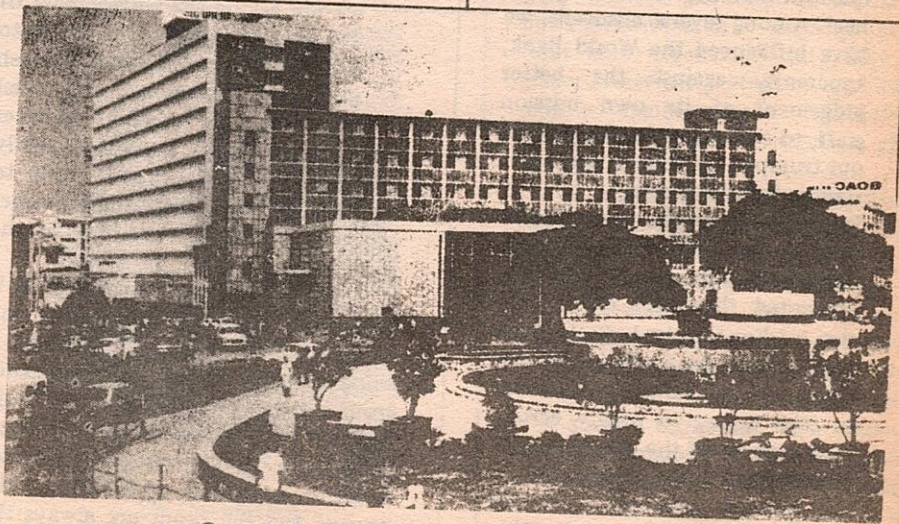
I will confine my remarks on the subject of our miniaturisation of constitutional rights to two matters.

The first relates to our concerted attempt over three years, to make the Public Utilities Commission a rubber stamp of a particular brand of government policy that we wanted to see implemented — a brand of policy that serves exclusively the interests of the shareholders of the companies, and which, demonstrably, is anathema to the interests of the people of Trinidad and Tobago — themselves the *raison d'être*, as consumers, for public utility services.

The controversy between the Government and the Fund on public utilities pricing stemmed basically from our policy stance that cost

increases should be passed on automatically and unexceptionally to the consumer, irrespective of the cause of such increases, or the technical and managerial efficiency of the company concerned. In 1986 the matter was discussed extensively during the course of our mission.

The position that we developed after listening to the views of the Commission was that cost inefficiencies were not immediately verifiable, and their removal, or partial removal, could not be guaranteed in the short term, and should not be a consideration in deciding whether or not to grant a price increase. We felt, moreover, that "social policy objectives" which implied elements of subsidy for the poor were inappropriate in the aftermath of the 1986 oil price collapse and the growing fiscal crunch of the Government. During the course of the 1987 mission, we debated extensively whether we should make a formal request to the Government to force the Commission to award immediate and substantial rate increases across the whole gamut of public utility services within its purview. In this debate, the plea of some mission members that the Commission was an independent body established by constitutional convention and could not, or should not, be "forced" by the government to implement a Fund policy based simplistically on marginal cost pricing and blissfully unaware of broader social considerations, was vehemently rejected. Instead, the mission took the view that irrespective of constitutional propriety, the



Central Bank: Where's IMF's invisible hands?

Commission must be made to toe our policy line, and that responsibility for making it to become as a captive Fund instrument was the government's. While the final version of our statement of "advice" to the government on the role of the Commission was toned down somewhat (presumably in deference to internal mission dissent), the message that it conveyed, and the implications that it carried for formal constitutional guarantees, were straightforward enough. Certainly, there can be little room for equivocation when you tell a government that public utilities' finances must be improved "by means of a more flexible and automatic processing of tariff adjustment by the Public Utilities Commission", while ignoring entirely the other very wide range of cost increase inducement factors, apart from our pet theme of "over-staffing", and the imperatives of "retrenchment".

Yes, Sir. Just establish that costs have increased and the Commission, foregoing its constitutional responsibility and bending to the will of the Fund, will do an "automatic processing" — i.e., will come up with an identical, or near identical, percentage increase in user prices. Matter closed. Next utility take the stand. The Fund is in control here. . . .

The second area of "constitution busting" that I want to highlight touches on the role of the Industrial Court — another creature of constitutional convention — in awarding wage and "pay package" settlements after established procedures for arbitrating industrial disputes had become exhausted.

Again, as in the case of the Public Utilities Commission, there was a heated discussion among mission members on the propriety of action by the Fund to 'request' the government to refuse to abide by the judgement of the Industrial Court in the event that the court ruled against the government. Sadly, in this case too, those who pleaded for respect of the constitution and for the laws and legal conventions of the country were overruled. Although the wording of the instruction in the Briefing Paper was softened somewhat, Fund staff was given explicit authorization to 'encourage' the government to ignore constitutional propriety and legal authority in its dealings with the



Kalu I. Kalu, Chu Okongwu: Any goodies from the Fund's honeypot?

public sector unions. Specifically, the mission's mandate was to encourage the authorities to implement fully the changes in wage policy introduced in the 1987 budget, although these revisions have been challenged on legal grounds by the public sector unions.

Need more be said? I think not; the implications are clear enough. . . .

I want to get on now with the juicy details of the Honeypot. And in doing that I will refer to my own situation. Admittedly that is not a very good example, for my Fund career has been punctuated with rebelliousness and non-conformity. Certainly, I have incurred the wrath of your High Priests; I have been put on short rations and my access to Honeypot's voluptuousness has been calculatingly restrictive. But given the fact that I do not want to reveal the Salaries and Allowances and privileges of others, I will have to speak about myself. So for what it is worth, here's my salary and benefits package as I leave the Fund, (excluding all benefits and emoluments on official travel and on mission and Fund representation work):

Total salary/benefits package = \$143,000

Breakdown:
 Basic Annual Salary = 114,000
 Other emoluments and subsidies (gross, calculated on base of \$114,000, annual rate, inclusive of education, family and home-leave travel and allowances, interest subsidy on loans for allowable purposes and other subsidies) = 29,000

Sir, I want you to note that I am being specific, so that the figures I give can be checked. If I am wrong in any detail, please issue a statement of denial; I shall be pleased to correct certain technicalities if I have to. But I suspect not. I suspect that I will not have to revise anything downwards. In fact, I may have to augment, perhaps significantly, my estimated figures of our Honeypot's largesse to our 'missionary staff'.

A word of caution is necessary as one tries to interpret the above package in relation to norms for other Fund staff members. That word of caution is as follows: my allowances are relatively modest because my family group is small. So let's increase the size of my family group and see what happens. Assume, for instance, that I had my grandmother residing with me in Washington, and I had chosen to have five children attend school/college in say, Geneva. In such circumstances, my gross package would shoot up towards the U.S. \$200,000 mark per annum. If, in addition, I was on field assignment in say, Guyana, as Fund Resident Representative (I was, you know, some years back) I would have earned close to U.S. \$300,000 per year.

My annual package, much less that of Big Family Man in Washington, or on assignment overseas, is more than the annual budgeted salary of almost every Head of State in the world; it is anything from five to ten times more than what virtually every President or Prime Minister of the Third World would get on his basic pay check. The Big Family Man with my identical basic

pay but on assignment in the Third World even as his five kids learn social graces in Geneva, compliments of our Honeypot, would receive more than the basic pay of every head of state in the world, including the President of the United States and the President or Chancellor or Prime Minister of every West European country. In relation to the developing world, his gross earnings would probably be about ten to fifteen times more than the budgeted salary of a typical African, or Latin American or Caribbean or Asian Head of State, and about one thousand times more than the per capita income enjoyed by two thirds of mankind.

Well, that's a handy little package of gold, you know. It is, indeed, a very handy little package of gold for a very handy job well done. You see how lightning did strike one day, several years ago, and brought me a-rushing unto Honeypot's ample bosom for a milk?

Oops! I forgot to mention the intangibles that come with the job. Like diplomatic immunities and our United Nations *Laissez Passer* that we flash before the eyes of cowering custom officers of Third World nations, even as officials from Foreign Affairs Ministries whisk us from VIP airport lounges to our Twenty Star Hotel in the capital city of the particular fiefdom that we are visiting. Like Royalty Class and First Class travel everywhere we go, and generous subsistence allowances for overnight stays in London and Paris and Copenhagen and Frankfurt and Rome and Rio de Janeiro and Caracas on our way to bust up the natives in Africa and Asia and elsewhere. Like high class nightclubbing and such-like follies in Sin Cities, Compliments of Honeypot — always compliments of our Lustful Honeypot. Like personal secretaries on each and every one of our "missions". Like maids that we bring into the United States on G-5 Visas, and at our pleasure, from Paraguay and Mexico and Jamaica and Greece and India and the Philippines and everywhere else. Like the very generous medical benefits plan and the Group Life Insurance Plan and the even more generous Pensions Scheme. Like the realization dawning upon us that we have finally made it to Ultimate Paradise.

I've spoken so far of Our Honeypot for Fund staff, and indeed the staff had always been the core recipient of All That There Is To Offer. But Our Pot transcends the staff; she radiates like a Glowing Flame from our headquarters in Washington; she is seen throughout the world as the Emblem of Easy Money, and High Living, and Exclusive Jet-Setting for Faceless People with Pretensions to Economic Technocracy. As such, she draws into her orbit pent-up hopes and aspirations and way-out fantasies of bureaucrats, and has-been politicians, and self-seekers from all around the world. They hope and aspire, and fantasize about getting a piece of the action, and a select few achieve their goal of consumption — at least at that minimal level that serves to tickle the palate and make them ask for more.

You lift your eyebrow, Sir, and you ask: "Just how generous is Our Honeypot to her myriad suitors of every creed and nationality?"

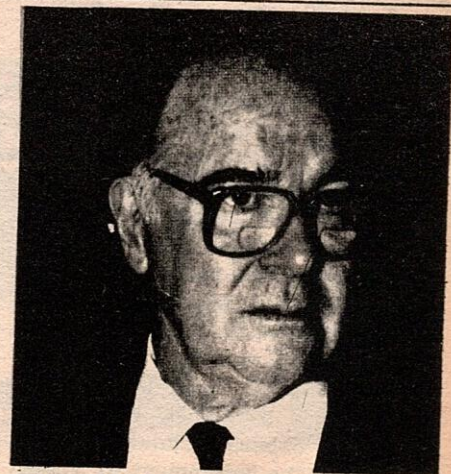
My answer, simple and straightforward, is as follows: "Exceedingly Generous, Sir, exceedingly generous indeed."

Our Executive Board and their staff — and both Board and staff sit permanently at our headquarters in Washington — are as equally subject to the Charms of Our Pot as we are, and she, in return, is generous to them to a fault. All the goodies that she bestows on us she gives to them, and more. Many years ago, as staff salaries became unrealistically inflated, salaries of Executive Directors and their staff became even more so, given the Fund's policy of maintaining percentage differentials between the emoluments of the faceless bureaucrats and those of our political directorate. Thus was the Board drawn into the fragrant bosom of beloved Honeypot, seemingly Very Pleased with Everything pertaining to her Form and Style and substance. The Board remains in general a happy but quiescent, almost anesthetised body. At any rate, it seems to operate today as a rubber stamp for action and initiatives of the staff, especially in relation to our Third World role.

You know, Sir, let me tell you something. One of the most depressing experiences you can have as a Fund staff member is attending Executive Board meetings to hear Executive

Directors singing staff praises and going through motions and repeating uncritically the data and conclusions that we serve up to them in RED and Staff Reports.

Sir, while I'm at it I should make another observation, it is this: even as the Board is becoming more and more immobilized as an effective decision making body, and as the monitor of Fund staff activities, Board staff members (who normally would serve for fixed and relatively short periods in Washington on nomination of their governments), seem to be aspiring more and more to remain in their present Glorious State, drinking ever more from the Honeypot. Indeed, a casual enquiry will show that the incidence of formal and informal applications from Executive Board staff for regular or fixed term Fund staff employment is increasing alarmingly; several members of the politically appointed staff of the Board have in fact been placed in the bureaucracy of the Fund. Of course, if you are supposed to be serving your government but are at the same time looking over your shoulder for a job in the Fund, invariably you will begin to play up to those High Priests who hold the power to give or to deny you the job; you will tend to butter them up and bend down to them even while you sit on the Board, or prepare policy positions for those who sit on the Board. Well, perhaps you'll tend to do even more than play up to them — perhaps you'll find it right to grovel at their feet and clap your hands in delight even as they rape the country that you represent, or otherwise



Connable: The other co-conspirator at the World Bank headquarters.

distort the policies and the credibility of the government that had elected you to the Board Staff in the first instance. What I'm saying is that a clear and easy identifiable conflict of interest is inherent in the current practice of recruiting Fund 'technical' staff from the ranks of aspiring Board staff members, and it is surprising that nothing has been done to halt this trend.

In scores of Ministries of Finance and Central Banks around the world, the hearts of aspiring 'technocrats' flutter when a Fund mission is announced, for hope springs eternal in the human breast — hope to gain access to the Honeypot's Lusciousness by picking-up a 'big work' in Washington. The means to achieve this dream, of course, is by being 'nice' to and by 'cooperating' with Fund missions, or to call a spade a spade — by doing all the things our Visiting Priests would have them do. Put another way, it can be said that active and 'I-scratch-your-back-and-you-scratch-mine' collusion between national government officials and Fund mission staff is becoming more and more prevalent. The purpose of such collusion is to set the stage and pave the way for All the Nasty Games We Love to Play. The *modus operandi* for this relatively new dimension of our operations in the Third World is to identify beforehand those key officials who are most vulnerable and influential (in the sense of aspiring to Honeypot's goodies and of having 'clout' with the political directorate). Thus preselected, we make it clear to them that their cooperation and ability to 'deliver the goods' could conceivably make them to win friends and influence people in High and Mighty Places. They come like moths to the candle: they can never fight her irresistibility. . . .

How on earth could we ever have got ourselves in a position where, with a straight face and without the batting of an eye, we could ever offer this brand of professional 'advice' to the myriad of developing member countries in our midst? My God, my God, what have we wrought unto ourselves and unto the world?

Frankly, Mr. Camdessus, I don't have a clean and clearcut answer; I don't know exactly how our dogma did crystalize into such monstrosity. But I do have some ideas of why we

are what we are, and how we did become that way, and I want to pass on these ideas to you. Probably you will find them worthwhile, probably not, I don't know. What I do know is that we cannot continue to sidestep the issue anymore; we cannot keep sweeping it underneath the carpet, pretending that it doesn't exist. We cannot continue to ignore the howls of pain of those in the developing world who drink our senseless medicine of death and destruction every hour of everyday. We cannot continue to mete out our own brand of punishment and justice to leaders who have the guts to stand up to us and say 'no'. We cannot continue to hold the whole world and its people to ransom to satisfy some undefined, and catalytically destructive quirk in our nature.



De Gaulle in 1967.

One of the authors of Bretton-Woods.

The first question I want to ask is perhaps a shocking question: at least you will think so, so let me ask it quickly, and get it over with. It is this:

Is the Fund staff running amok with the wholly unexpected and unexceptional authority that they wield? Are they churning out despair after despair, hunger after hunger, death after death in the name of Bretton Woods epistemology merely to satisfy their lust for power and punish those who run against their personal political ideology, and reward those who think as they do? Or maybe the creation of that despair and that hunger and that death is the way to promotion and personal aggrandisement within the Fund? Maybe it is the passport to an office as big as a church, and stuffed sofas to sit on

there, and high heeled secretaries constantly in attendance; and Young Economists listening gratefully to advice on how 'to make it' in the Fund? Or maybe it's a combination of all these things?

Be that as it may, I am firmly convinced that there is a close, and indeed watertight, link between our perverse role in developing countries and the epistemology that guides our action and the personal aspirations of our staff. More specifically, there is a widespread perception among Fund staff that personal progress and career advancement can best be served — indeed, can only be served — by an attitude that would deny, as being legitimate or valid the aspiration of 'the teeming masses' of the South for a better life. Thus in our day-to-day work we must trump up a missionary zeal to put the skids, *carte blanche*, on any effort of any government to alleviate destitution or to redistribute the gains of economic advances or to lighten, for the poor, the burden of economic adjustment. Put differently the staff through time has twisted and changed whatever may have been the original epistemology of the Fund into a dogma that says that irrespective of reason, or conscience, or necessity, or professional etiquette, Fund staff has an inherent right, springing from the Bretton Woods philosophy of 1944, to emasculate the Third World, and particularly the economically underprivileged of the Third World, and to wield unholy power there, and to line their pockets with the good things of life for doing so, and to solidify the myth that they are above the law and that they are The New Nobility on Earth.

. . . For Forty years, we chased that western dream of more and more prosperity and economic hegemony for North America and Western Europe. We chased it in the most unlikely places and at incalculable cost to hundreds of millions of hapless people in the South. And we knew no justice or fairplay, and we had no conscience or soul. And today, still in pursuit of that dream, we point our loaded gun at the Trinidad and Tobago economy and at the economies of scores of other hapless Third World countries, and commit statistical malpractices, and cheat and lie and wheel and deal on the rationale

that this is the only way that can safely allow us to plug in 'right' figures in our 'financial program' — 'right' figures that in turn will place us in a position to sing our theme song and fool ourselves that the nostalgic dream of our forebears may yet become a reality.

Devalue! Tax the poor! Remove all transfers and subsidies to the underprivileged! Fire the people! Cut out social services! Let the children starve! Let malnutrition of all in the shanty town be our performance criteria! Increase prices of bread and yams and soap and water! Negate the constitution! Kill all hope and aspiration from the heart of the downtrodden! Go back again to saying your prayers in the mosque, and begging in the street, and dancing in the jungle! Turn back the clock two hundred years and let us again be the masters and you the slaves! . . .

You know, Mr. Camdessus, the 'core' of our staff, and the overwhelming majority of our High Priests, are still 'technocrats' from the developed world, 'trained' at 'prestigious' North American and European Universities, or their mimics from the developing world who aspire to be just like them. It is these people who, two centuries ago, would have gone into the Colonial Service of their respective countries as colonial administrators, or would have migrated to 'their' colonies as entrepreneurs or plantation managers or slave owners. Times and employment opportunities have changed, but ingrained attitudes after hundreds of years of ruling the developing world as vassal states, and as contemptible

appendages of the metropole, have not. In more explicit terms, a lot of the seething contempt, and the 'higher than thou' and 'better than thou' and 'natural right to rule thou' attitude of our staff vis-a-vis our developing member countries, have their origin in the history and national mores, and pre-conceived expectations of our 'core' staff. I hesitate to say it,

Department — a Department, as you well know, that remains highly segregated along racial lines, in total contradiction to the international nature of the Fund?

You know, Sir, I don't know if our Founding Fathers in 1944 did ever envisage emergence of us as a New Nobility drinking endlessly from a Honey-pot; I suspect that they didn't.

"Why is South Africa classified as a European entity in Fund organisational structure and operational modalities? Is it not in Africa?"

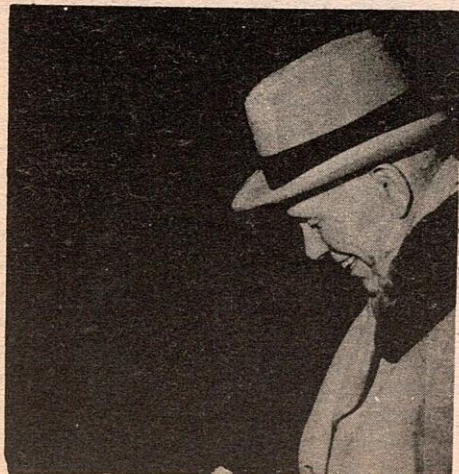
but the 'white man's burden' mentality that is the root cause of so much of the troubles of our age, is as evident in the Fund today as it must have been in the United Kingdom, or France, or Holland or any western colonial power three hundred years ago.

Of course it goes without saying that service in the colonies meant privilege and social status and high emoluments and perks — extremely high emoluments and perks — for material gratification was the motivation for everything. So it was then and so it is today. Within the Fund itself, as you must be aware, there is a very underhand and unwritten, yet highly operative and effective system for promotion and career advancement that contrasts starkly with the formalized and written one; unfortunately racial considerations have played a very dominant role in superimposing the former system on the latter. Nor must it remain unsaid that certain Departments of the Fund are virtually segregated along racial lines, and 'internal' race relations are deteriorating further, even as our relations with 'black' and 'brown' countries seem to worsen. And if you want to go further into an internal worm that's eating at our soul, I will ask one simple question: Why is South Africa classified as a European entity in Fund organisational structure and operational modalities? Is it not in Africa? Shouldn't it be within the African Department? Why is it administered by the European

They failed entirely to grapple with problems of internal organisational balance; certainly they never conceived that the nondescript and 'neutralised' army of neo-colonial civil servants that they were creating could ever dare to 'steal' the institution and wear its spoils on their chests, as Knights of an Equally Dark Age would wear Orders of Merit and Baubles of Exclusivity.

Not only were our Founding Fathers preoccupied with the foolish and wholly unworthy vision of Pax Atlantica — of western aggrandisement to maintain and increase western prosperity at the expense of all else — but in the process of trying to weave that vision into the warp and woof of post-war world institutional structures, they left the door wide open for the faceless bureaucrat, ignored by everyone at the beginning, to slink in unobserved and take charge and transform everything into a credo of Massive Personal Power and Massive Personal Material Advancement. With the Fund mask on our face, and your approved Briefing Paper in our hand, we roam through the world in our hundreds. We roam like Caesars and Gengis Khans and Hitlers. We roam, from one fiefdom of our creation to the next, dispensing harsh and summary justice on the poor and the defenceless and the underprivileged.

[Signed]
Davison Budhoo.



George C. Marshall

Another founding father of the IMF.

...And Budhoo Speaks



Davison Budhoo

On receiving Davison Budhoo's letter of resignation, our European correspondent, Abubakar Siddique, traced him to his Hampstead flat in London and had a chat with him. Budhoo spoke for hours on his experiences in the IMF and how, with the connivance of some Third World leaders and officials, that monster has messed up our future.

Below are excerpts from the interview:

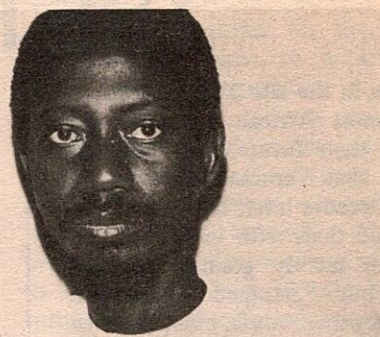
THE ANALYST: *Why did you resign from the IMF?*

BUDHOO: The immediate reason for my resignation was my total indignation about what we were doing in Trinidad and Tobago. I was a member of the missions in 1985, 1986 and 1987 to Trinidad for the annual consultation meetings. By 1987 I became very indignant for the way we were manipulating statistics of the country to get the results that we wanted to get. To have a particular programme for Trinidad and Tobago, rather than making a very hard objective evaluation of the conditions of the country, and trying to structure the organisation to those conditions. We did a tremendous amount of statistical manipulation that are documented fairly explicitly in my letter of resignation to the IMF. By 1987, I realized that we have gone to the extent that we lost all our professionalism as economists, and we were doing a very subjective thing based on the dogmas of the institution, rather than the needs and the realities of the country. And I really could not stand that any more.

But beyond that, working all these years with the IMF, I came to the conclusion that, really, the epistemology of the Fund, the dogma, the method and the approach, of the Fund to the problems of the developing world, were not only inappropriate but irrelevant. And it made a massive economic retrogression in the Third World and created unnecessary economic sufferings to their people.

THE ANALYST: *Can you please elaborate on these?*

BUDHOO: First of all the Fund was not established to serve the Third World. The Fund was established to serve the developed countries. It was established in 1944 by the Bretton Woods Conference, in the United States, before the World War II ended. The war had messed up the whole financial and economic system of the West, and the Fund was an instrument established to restore currency convertibility in Western economies, and to set the stage again for serious international



Abubakar Siddique

trade between Western countries. The problems of the Third World were never envisaged at the time of the Bretton Woods Conference. The need for economic development over the whole spectrum of social change, was never perceived, as well as the whole question of poverty and destitution. The purpose of the Bretton Woods Conference was to discuss the West. And whatever programme is undertaken in the developing countries, must *a priori* advance economic conditions in the West.

THE ANALYST: *You said in your letter of resignation that during one of the visits to Trinidad, you found out that the Government had already implemented some of the decisions which the Fund intended to advise it to implement, yet the technical committee went ahead to advise the Board on some other things.*

BUDHOO: Yes! Yes! We went there and that was at about the end of our mission. What we wanted in a sense was to take control of the fiscal deficits of the Central Government in order to reduce it to 9%. But when we went there, we found out that the government had already taken measures to reduce the deficits to 6%. So, in a sense we had already achieved what we wanted to achieve. But that didn't deter us from saying, 'Okay, the 9% was an error, but after looking carefully at the situation, it must be reduced further'. We told them other things that they must do, although they had already done more than we had expected in the first instance.

THE ANALYST: *In Nigeria, the decision to accept or reject the IMF loan was opened to a public debate. The people rejected the loan from the Fund and the Government accepted that verdict. It then decided to implement the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programme. Is there any link between the IMF programme and the World Bank's SAP?*

BUDHOO: Yes there is. The Structural Adjustment Loan of the World Bank is already a compliment of the Structural Adjustment of the IMF. What is even significant is that there is a common conditionality between these two facilities. As I know, the conditionality is identical. I think it is unprecedented for a country to take a Structural Adjustment Loan from the World Bank without taking a Structural Adjustment Facility from the IMF. What I am saying is that, although the Fund is not involved in this, it will expect that after a year or so Nigeria will come to ask for a Structural Adjustment Facility from the Fund.

RAWLINGS THE IMF'S FOREMAN

Ghana in the late 1950s represented for most African countries the mirror of their future, the "political kingdom" that Nkrumah urged others to seek. Decades later, Nkrumah himself realised that, with independence, imperialism merely granted political power, but retained economic control. In other words, independence did not mean real political power, but an elaborate state machinery designed to facilitate the continued exploitation of the masses, mediated by a bureaucratic and trading class who could be bought for a 10% fee.

It is against this background that the coming to power of Ft. Lt. Jerry Rawlings, on December 31 1981, 25 years after Ghana's independence, rekindled fresh hopes in the hearts of millions of Africa's workers, students and peasants.

When Rawlings and his team overthrew the corrupt Liman regime in 1981, they symbolized hope to the suffering masses in Africa, while at the same time sending fear into the hearts of many African leaders who use their position to plunder the wealth of their nation in collaboration with their foreign masters. In Nigeria, for instance, President Shehu Shagari immediately stopped petroleum delivery to Ghana on the pretext that she was behind in payment. Later in the year, Rawlings was even barred from attending an ECOWAS Conference in Nigeria, and Shagari even went as far as expelling thousands of Ghanaians from the country.

This was hardly surprising, given Rawlings' slogans of "Down with Imperialism" and "Power to the People", and the establishment of organisations with names like the "Workers Defence Councils" (WDCs) and the "Peoples Defence Councils" (PDCs), etc.

But the genuine popular euphoria the Rawlings coup generated was soon dashed. From a virulent anti-imperialist militant, backed by workers and students, Rawlings metamorphosed, in just under two years, into an imperialist foreman. The stage for this transfiguration of

Rawlings was set when, addressing workers at the Tema Dockyards, who were angry at the direction the movement was going, 'Junior Jesus' — as he is commonly called — said "You are shouting, 'Down with imperialism', 'No to IMF' — who gave you that shirt you are wearing? Is it not imperialism?" He then slammed the microphone down on the ground, disappeared into the turret of his ever-present armoured car, and ran to the safety of The Castle.

Immediately after, Rawlings and his band of 'revolutionaries' rolled out the red carpet, removed the 'No Entry' signs on their beaches and airports,



Rawlings: What happened to the revolution?

called in the IMF and begged for the full dose of its potion.

Ghana has now become a model and show case of the IMF in Africa. In December 1985, Meave Fort, head of the West Africa Department at the Foreign Office in London, said that Britain wanted other debtor nations to do what Ghana has been doing since 1983. She then went on to describe Ghana as "possibly the best example in Africa", praising the "courage and realism" of the Rawlings' foremanship.

This accolade poured on the Rawlings' regime by Meave Fort was not done for charity. Ghana is the U.K.'s fourth largest market in sub-Saharan Africa. Since the IMF insists on the elimination of import restrictions, Fort knew whose interest

this would serve. Britain had also enormously benefited from the 500 million dollars paid by Ghana to her foreign creditors.

The basis for Ghana being held up as a model for the so-called economic results she achieved rests on the claims that, between 1984 and 1986, its GDP grew at an average of 6%; that inflation, which was over 120% in 1983, has fallen to 39% in 1988; and that she has managed to pay off 500 million dollars in debts owed as far back as 1966.

THE COST OF GROWTH

This apparently impressive showing of Ghana's economy has been arrived at not through any genuine improvement of the economy, but by the super-exploitation of the workers, peasants, and other classes of Ghanaian people through the harsh Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).

For instance, the Ghanaian cedi, which was officially valued at 2.74 cedi to one U.S. dollar in 1982, fell to 30 cedi in 1983 and further slumped to 186 cedi to the dollar in 1988. By April 1988, the black market value of one U.S. dollar was 270 cedis. The cedi has now been devalued to a worthless piece of paper.

Apart from this assault on the Ghanaian cedi, cuts in public spending have resulted in a severe decline in social services. Price control and subsidies have been removed, accompanied by massive retrenchments.

This does not mean that life is any better for those who are lucky to remain in employment. A study by the World Bank in 1984 brought out the fact that the cost of a minimum nutrition diet for an individual was 168 cedis a day. In the same year, the minimum daily wage was 35 cedis a day!

The peasants who produce the cocoa responsible for the sharp increase in export earnings are in no better shape. Their lot is that of increasing destitution and rising indebtedness to middle-men. It was reported in 1987 that cocoa producers

in Eastern Ghana, on the borders of Togo, are indebted to middle-men to the tune of over 2 million cedis. Thus, any illusion that favourable produce prices are benefiting the direct producers is baseless. They are merely producing to pay for loans which they did not contract, and forced by worsening conditions of existence to mortgage their cocoa for a morsel.

Other social groups are equally affected. Recently, universities in Ghana were shut down because students were demanding for an increase in their food allowance, from 52 cedis to 156 cedis. This is still below the cost of feeding for an individual in a single day. Even full Professors in Ghana now operate 'kabu-kabu', with their rickety cars,

in order to barely survive. The Ghanaian education system that once held pride of place in West Africa is now in total shambles. All in the name of ERP.

That the ERP is actually destroying the economy rather than reforming it can also be seen from its effect on business. On 10th July 1985, the Central Revenue Department announced huge increases in taxes and fees on small businesses like tailors, shoe repairing, and hair-dressing. These increases are so large that on restaurants, for example, the tax was raised from 600 to 100,000 cedis.

THE FUTURE

Earlier this year, Ghana launched PAMSCAD (The Programme of

Actions to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment), which has become the latest buzzword among international technocrats. Its main function is to create public support for the ERP.

PAMSCAD aims to achieve: a public works programme; a credit scheme for small farmers and civil servants which would render assistance to about 3,200 families a year; and a small-scale enterprises scheme that would involve between 200-300 projects. But all this does not amount to more than a drop of water in the turbulent sea of suffering, misery and degradation that Ghana has now become.

By: Pius Gbasha.

LABOUR

The Railways Was The Best Way

The simmering crisis in the Nigerian Railways Corporation (NRC) between the management and the workers' union finally exploded on the 28th of November, 1988. On that day, the Nigerian Union of Railwaymen (NUR) called out its members on an industrial action. The immediate cause of the strike is the failure of the corporation to pay the salary of its workers for four months, as well as the retrenchment of about 8,000 of the workers in the past two months. Those retrenched have not even been paid their benefits and

gratuities. The NUR insists, that its members will not go back to work until all the arrears of salaries and allowances for September, October and November have been paid. The Government, through the Ministry of Transport, has on the other hand made available only N24 million to the corporation to pay staff salaries. However, this would only pay two months salaries and allowances.

It is estimated that the management of the corporation needs about N77 million to settle arrears of staff salaries

and allowances and to carry out other operations. *The Analyst* understands that the Government has flatly refused to grant this amount, arguing that the Corporation has first to account for how some grants made to it earlier were spent.

However, the question is: should this be at the expense of workers' wages? should workers be made to suffer on account of management's lapses? At a press conference held early December, the Executive Secretary of NUR, Akin Oduwole argued that the workers have in fact been the ones who have kept the NRC afloat. Argued Oduwole: "We are, as a matter of fact, subsidising the management of the corporation by their withholding our legitimate earnings. Where there is justice and equity, we could have demanded appropriate interests on the delayed salaries."

Another railway worker with 2 wives and 8 children, who gave his name as Ben, said that he had sent his wives and children home because the market women have stopped selling food to them on credit.

As a result of the industrial action by the railwaymen, the rail transport sub-sector has been paralysed. In effect, a great pressure has been put on the road transport sub-sector. Not unexpectedly, road transport fares have skyrocketed. For example, bus fares from Kaduna to Ibadan have jumped from N20 to N40. Similarly, taxi fares from Kaduna to Ilorin, which before the strike was N30 is now N60. Kaduna to Funtua is now N10.00 instead of the previous N6.00.

At the time of going to press, other unions had started reacting against the slipshod handling of the workers' grievances by the authorities. The Senior Staff Association of Statutory Corporations and government-owned Companies had placed its members on the alert. In a statement jointly signed by its President and Secretary, Messrs C. O. Nwagbara and M. A. Babayemi respectively, the Association gave the Federal Government a 21-days ultimatum within which to meet NUR's demands.

The present crisis in the NRC is a reflection of the neglect



Kaduna Junction: Passengers everywhere, but no train to board

and attendant decay of the rail transport system in the country. In 1987, the NRC spent 10.6 million monthly on salaries and allowances. In the 1988 Federal budget, N50 million was approved as **"Operating Deficit" for the NRC.** While it was estimated that the monthly salary bill might rise to between N15—20 million, only N8 million was available monthly to the corporation to meet its expenditure. Government stipulates that the corporation must generate at least N72.6 million, annually. However, the Managing Director of the corporation, Major-General Paul Tarfa (rtd.) believes the corporation cannot generate more than fifty percent of this.

The tracks themselves are archaic, being of only 3'6" gauge. These tracks cover a mere 3,505 kilometres. The rolling stock are also largely out-moded. Consequent upon all these, the maximum speed permitted on the tracks is 65 km/hr even though the locomotive engines in use are meant to make 110 km/hr. This situation is compounded by the prevalence of curves and severe gradients and old equipments for signalling. Needless to say, all these are unacceptable features of modern railway operations.

In 1963/64, the total number of locomotives in the fleet of the corporation was 307. This was made up of 250 steam and 57 diesel locomotives. By 1978, diesel locomotives had peaked to 219. But by December 1986, the number had gone down to 189. Out of the 188 locomotives still operational, 87 have exceeded the normal life span of 20 — 25 years.

As for passenger coaches, only 440 are effectively working as at 31st March, 1987. To meet passenger demands, or even present scheduled passenger services, the corporation needs at least 720 coaches.

In the books, there are 5,616 wagons for freight loading. Out of this, 3,109, or 60 percent have since passed their life-expectancy. For 47 years, they have been in use, whereas normal wagon life is 40 years. Besides, their construction and body work is not suitable for the job they are required to do. **What is required are flat container and open roof wagons for port traffic and transportation of billets and other goods.** There have been no new purchase of wagons since 1982, inspite of the increasing volume of goods to be transported.

Similarly maintenance facilities like workshops and tools are archaic and grossly inadequate.

Traffic operations have not fared better. Between 1982 and 1984, passenger traffic increased from 11.6 million to fifteen million.

But the depletion of passenger stock and reduced availability of diesel locomotives has made it impossible to maintain the increase in passenger traffic. By 1986 only 9.90 million passengers were ferried by the railways.

Similarly, from a peak of 2.1 million tons in 1982, freight traffic declined over the years to 0.9 million tons in 1986.

Between 1955 and 1962/63, the financial position of the Nigerian Railways was stable. During this period, most of its locomotives, coaches and wagons were relatively new. Government policy insisted that civil servants and government goods must be carried by rail.

By 1964, however, the tide had changed. Between 1964 and 1983, the corporation's annual deficits rose from NO.65 million to about N62.70 million. In 1978, the total revenue of NRC was N31.91 million while its total expenditure was N74.68 million. Operating deficit in the same year was N42.77 million.

By 1985 the total revenue of the corporation was N96.96 million, while total expenditure was N96.96 million. There was thus an operating deficit of N92.22 million.

The vastness of Nigeria as a country, its rich endowment of mineral resource, its colossal potentials in agriculture and industry, the size and distribution of population, all give the rail transport mode a strategic position among other modes. This is because it is more suitable for bulk movement of goods and mass transportation of passengers over long distances.



Tarfa:
N.R.C.'s Managing Director.

But this strategic importance of the railways has not been appreciated by successive Nigerian governments as is evidenced by the relatively lower emphasis placed on rail transport mode when it comes to financial allocation. The rail transport system got less than 7 percent of all funds allocated for transport in the Fourth National Development Plan 1981—80. Similarly, while under the 2nd National Development Plan, road development got 16.2 percent of Public Sector Development Expenditure, the rail transport sub-sector got only 2.14 percent.

Despite the Mass Transit scheme of the Federal Government, nothing has improved in the NRC. Instead you have a myriad of uncoordinated, half-hearted and media-directed catch-phrases. We hear from the transport

Minister, Idika Kalu, the Government has approved plans for the purchase of 5 locomotives, 160 self-generating coaches, 63 deluxe coaches, 64 sub-urban coaches, 325 openable roof wagons, and 100 brake vans under a financial arrangement still being discussed

We also hear that under the Nigerian/Romanian Debt Settlement Agreement the NRC will receive 200 wagons and workshop equipments. It was even reported that in March this year, wagons and workshop machinery equipments worth \$12,827,164 were delivered to the NRC under this agreement. Again the Minister has said that under the Japanese Technical Aid Programme 302 Japanese built passenger coaches and 12 power cars are to be rehabilitated.

An amount of \$17.9 million has been made available to the corporation to purchase spare parts under the World Bank assisted parastatal project. This would enable the NRC to rehabilitate 70 North American-built locomotives and improve its management information and accounting system.

Good and fine. But these patch-patch projects in themselves cannot move the corporation out of the morass it has found itself in. Until and unless the railways workers, passengers and other customers are given greater organised role in the **management of the day-by-day business of the corporation; and until the centrality of railway transportation in the country's economy is recognized and accordingly given a pride of place in our transport system, all these programmes would just end up being gold mines for kleptomanic public servants and their contractor agents.**

By: **Olu Yusuf**
with reports from
Muhammed Hussaini.

THE NEPA STAFF TRIALS ACID TEST FOR THE REGIME

One of the platforms, perhaps the only platform, on which the present administration stood when it came to power in 1980 was that of promoting fundamental human rights. Because the government took every opportunity to affirm it, some Nigerians gave president Ibrahim Babangida the benefit of the doubt.

However, certain actions of the government have long since chipped away from this human rights platform. One such action is the on-going trial of 10 NEPA staff before the Jos Zone of the Miscellaneous Offences Tribunal (MOT) sitting in Kaduna. Those standing trial are Messrs M. A. Odedina, S. F. Dawomi, G. M. Okafor, C. E. Dotie, E. O. Kuye, and J. Olatoke, Ben Boye, K. Okafor, M. N. Olotu, E. O. Ogwokegbe, O. Ijaola, M. O. Olgedu, D. A. Olaiya and I.T.T. Ategbu.

They are standing trial on a 6 count charge of conspiracy and sabotage. They are alleged by the prosecution to have on or about 26/9/1988, in Lagos, conspired together to unlawfully interfere with works belonging to NEPA designed for transforming electricity, contrary to section 3 (a) of the Special Tribunal (Miscellaneous Offences) Decree 20 of 1984, as amended

The NEPA senior staff strike itself was sequel to an earlier triennial delegates conference of the Senior Staff Association of NEPA. At the end of this conference a communique was issued demanding for the commercialisation of NEPA before October 1 and demanding further "that pending the actualisation of NEPA's commercialization, an

interim award by upward movement of one grade level of all workers in the authority be implemented with effect from July 5." The communique also demanded "that the result of the 1980 promotion interview be released."

On 5/10/1988, there was a nation-wide black-out which resulted from the strike action embarked upon by members of the Senior Staff Association of NEPA. Three days later, the action was called-off after agreement had been reached on certain demands. According to the president of the Association, Mr M. A. Odedina, agreement had been reached on a fifty percent increase with effect from July 5 this year. But this 'agreement' did not stop the authorities from rounding up the leaders of the strike and subsequently putting them on trial.

From the beginning the trial has been wading through one tangle after another. The trial was to have first of all been carried out by the Kaduna Zone of the Special Military Tribunal (SMT) presided over by Mr Justice V. J. O. Chigbue. However on 27/10/88, an order of *nolle prosequi* was served on the tribunal by the Attorney-General of the Federation and Commissioner for Justice, Prince Bola Ajibola, asking the presiding Judge to transfer the case to the Jos Zone of the Miscellaneous Offences Tribunal. The order was obeyed.

Similarly, there also was the tangle over the granting of bail to the accused. Heated arguments arose over the conditions under which bail could be granted to the accused. At the Kaduna Zone of the SMT, the presiding

Judge, Mr V. J. O. Chigbue ruled that the Chief of General Staff signed the order detaining them according to Decree No. 2 of 1984 and that only the CGS could therefore sign an order for their bail.

When the detainees appeared before the Jos Zone of MOT, the defence counsel argued that since the accused are being tried under Decree No. 20 of 1984; they could be granted bail. The defence further averred that since Decree 2 was promulgated in February 1984, and Decree 20 in July of the same year, the rule of precedence and supercession should be applied. However the tribunal was unimpressed by these arguments and the detainees were refused bail at the Jos Zone of MOT on the ground that they were being detained under Decree 2 but are being tried under Decree 20.

There has also been some mild drama over the decision of the Tribunal to obtain evidence from some witnesses in camera. Protesting that the accused could not be guaranteed fair hearing if the Tribunal sat in camera, the four

defence counsels withdrew from the tribunal.

The NEPA staff trials have been dogged by so many disturbing questions. For instance, does Decree 20 of 1984, as amended by Decree 22 of 1986, envisage the case of trade union organisations embarking on or contemplating of embarking on a strike? In other words, can Decree 20 of 1984, as amended by Decree 22 of 1986, be used to legally stop strike action by an **aggrieved, legally constituted trade union or association?** Should a strike action by a **legally recognised trade union or association** be said to constitute an act of conspiracy and sabotage? What is the **legal cut off point between legitimate trade union activities of workers and subversion?**

The defence counsels have contended that even if the accused persons were assumed to have committed the 'offences' in question, the Trade Dispute Act of 1976, provides for a Trade Dispute Tribunal that should adjudicate on such a case.

Describing the 6 count charge as 'invariably bad, bad in the sense that the tribunal has no jurisdiction to try the accused persons,' one of the defence counsels, Mr Adesanya, argued that the evidence of the 12 prosecution witnesses "stands to nothing, since some of the prosecution witnesses have been shown to be tainted," while their evidence were uncorroborated. Citing the case of the 11th prosecution witness who admitted, before the tribunal that he was giving evidence only "to save my skin," Mr Adesanya cautioned the tribunal against accepting uncorroborated evidence of



**President Babangida:
How now 'human rights'?**

such witnesses in the interest of justice.

When *The Analyst* asked Mr Adesanya to elaborate on the allegation of psychological, mental and physical torture allegedly inflicted on the accused persons by security agents, the defence counsel explained that he indeed was aware that the Police do use such methods but unfortunately the judges do not always investigate.

Another defence counsel, Mr Chioma Okwuanyi, however confirmed that besides mental and psychological strain, the living condition of the accused persons in jail

was so bad that "we had to intervene and sought the intervention of the tribunal's chairman to make things easier for them." According to Chioma, one of the concessions they got was for a separate feeding arrangement for the accused persons who were initially fed on Eba and raw palm oil by the prison authorities.

The allegation of torture was further re-affirmed by another defence counsel, Mr Ena Ojugo, in his closing submission.

The Analyst understands that at an earlier sitting of the tribunal, held in camera, a certain Major Agbo of the SSS,

who is also a prosecution witness, was identified by one of the accused as one of those who tortured them.

The detained NEPA staff claimed they were tortured through beatings, being striped naked, left in the cold etc etc. One of the accused, Mr Olotu Jonathan, alleged that he was slapped so badly that he nearly lost one of his eyes.

However, these tortures do not seem to have done much to dampen the combative spirit of most of the detainees. One of them, Mr M. A. Odedina, who is also the National Chairman of the NEPA SSA, when asked by *The Analyst* whether he

had any message or appeal simply said, "Go and tell them to organise...organise...organise." Since their arrest NEPA has stopped the salaries of the affected staff, and the dependents have been left high and dry.

The defence counsels have made their final submissions and what is now being awaited is the tribunal's judgement. But whichever way this goes, the NEPA staff trials represents one more acid test of this regime's human rights claims.

By: Olu Yusuf
with reports from
Rabi'u Hassan.

NIGERIA

THE SOKOTO SULTANATE ENTER THE MONEY-BAGS



Sultan's Palace, Sokoto: No sanctuary for paupers.

After all the fury and fire, and after all the killings and maiming, the battle for the Sultanate of Sokoto has finally been won, and lost.

Like it or not, Ibrahim Dasuki now sits pretty on the throne as the very first descendant of the Buhari line to be crowned. But just as he snatched the crown, so has Dasuki smashed a number of very powerful myths. But more of that later.

The announcement of Dasuki's selection in the afternoon of Sunday, 6th November 1988, was greeted with violent, popular protest. The anti-riot police failed to quell the protests, and armed troops in battle formation had to be drafted into the city. Check points were set up all over, and passers-by were frisked by grim-faced soldiers. A dusk to dawn curfew was imposed by the state's visibly worried military governor, Colonel Ahmed Daku. By the time the smoke cleared, the official count gave thirteen as dead, and many others injured. But more plausible, though unofficial, reports spoke of as many as between 30 and 50 dead. Scores of buildings, cars and other vehicles were also burnt in the course of the protests.

To the new Sultan, Ibrahim Dasuki, and the government, the demonstrators were 'hooligans out to loot'. But when THE ANALYST visited Sokoto, while the flames were

still licking the streets, it was quite evident that the entire city was in a mourning mood — an indication that even if the arson was actually perpetrated by a mob, the protest had the general sympathy of the vast majority of the city's inhabitants.

Yet, in spite of this clear demonstration of the man's unpopularity, the authorities, with the full might of gun-wielding soldiers and tear-gas-happy anti-riot police, went ahead and rushed Dasuki's installation ceremony. Contrary to customary practice, the Sultan-elect turned up at the Palace for the installation ceremony already turbaned, and in full regalia, under heavy military escort. Of course, time had to be saved!

But time is already against Sultan Dasuki. And the tottering feudal institutions in the country.

Hitherto, one of the most enduring myths about the Sultanate of Sokoto has been the claim made out to the effect that the Sultan enjoys religious and political suzerainty over the territory covering the former caliphate established by Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. If nothing else, Dasuki's grabbing of the title has finally shattered that myth, exposing it for what it is. For, in fact, the caliphate finally ceased to exist on Saturday, 27th July 1903. Appointing Attahirun Alu as the first *Sultan of Sokoto* (mark you, not as caliph), Lugard had this to say:

"The Fulani in old times under Danfodio conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, to depose kings and to create kings. They in turn have by defeat lost their rule which has come into the hands of the British. All these things which I have said the Fulani by conquest took the right to do, now pass to the British. Every Sultan and Emir and the principal officers of the state will be appointed by the High Commissioner throughout this country."

It is, indeed, one of the greatest ironies of history that the turbaning of Sultan Attahirun Alu had interesting parallels with that of Ibrahim Dasuki. Just as Dasuki, in loud contrast to tradition, was not physically turbaned in full public view at the palace but rather came to the palace already turbaned, so was

it that Attahirun Alu, also in contradiction to established custom, was given a turban, a gown, and an appointment letter by Colonel Lugard (see box). Previously, it was the caliph as the *Amir-al-mumineen*, who gave out gifts to subordinate emirs on such occasions. Thus, the caliph who used to be the authority that appointed emirs, was himself issued with a letter of appointment by the High Commissioner, Lugard, thereby reducing him to the level of any emir or chief.

It is therefore little wonder that the relevant legislation which was invoked in the appointment of Dasuki, i.e., the Chiefs' (Appointment and Deposition) Edict of Sokoto State, had its origins in Lugard's proclamation.



Dasuki, Maccido: Money's the game.

Indeed, even the very procedure by which Dasuki himself was supposedly selected, which required the king makers to present the names of three nominees to the government, is itself a British colonial invention. In the past, the king makers did not engage in such dilly-dallying — they actually made the king by selecting just one name out of several contenders.

But this is not the only myth that has now been shattered by Dasuki's *coup de grace*. The other broken myth is the popular conception that the process of making a new Sultan is a democratic one, which allows for the people's choice to emerge. Nothing could be further from the truth.

To begin with, the choice of the Sultan is limited to the descendants of

just one person — Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. Contrary to the clearly laid down Islamic principles of succession to leadership, the person who becomes Sultan is thus not necessarily the most knowledgeable, or the most upright, or the most humble. He becomes Sultan just because he is the son of his father.

Secondly, the same hereditary myopism applies to those who nominate the Sultan, i.e., the so-called king makers. Their selection is not subject to popular choice. Or to any criteria of merit. They are all hereditary.

Thirdly, to further compound matters, the coterie in the state Council of Chiefs which advises government on the selection exercise it again itself made up of people who owe their positions to inheritance. So



what sense does it make to talk of popular choice and popular participation in relation to these bankrupt and undemocratic institutions?

Therefore, if before now anybody had any illusions that these so-called traditional institutions had anything to do with religion, or tradition, or even popular aspirations, then — thanks to Dasuki — these illusions have now been put to rest. It is now as clear as crystal that the whole noise over these titles is just noise over money, power, and more money. Money is the name of the game.

So, enter Sultan Dasuki. Welcome the moneybags!

By: Sa'idu Adamu, Alkasum Abba, Richard Umaru, Rufa'i Ibrahim and Bala Usman.

SULTAN ATTAHIRU'S APPOINTMENT LETTER (March 2nd, 1903)

"Praise be to God, the one God".

From the Representative of His Majesty the English King (May God prolong his days) Sir Frederic Lugard the Governor of Northern Nigeria:

To the presence of Muhammadu Attahiru son of Ali Baba, Sarkin Musulmi and Emir of Sokoto salutations and peace.

Whereas Abdulla [Abdurrahman] the deceased son of Atiku, Sarkin Musulmi in the truth entered into a covenant with the Royal Niger Co., a covenant binding on his successors, and whereas the present Government of His Majesty the English King are the inheritors (assigns) of this covenant, and whereas in spite of this Attahiru son of Muhammadu Atiku the late Sarkin Musulmi did in truth declare that nothing but war and enmity could exist between him and the authority of the Governor, and whereas he raised forces against the Governor, now I the Representative of His Majesty the English King the Governor for that very reason do denounce that treaty and declare that it is void and of no effect for the future.

Now I in very truth select you Muhammadu Attahiru son of Ali Baba as Emir of Sokoto and Sarkin Musulmi as from the 22 day of March 1903 in the year of the Messiah; and under these conditions which I in truth made known to you clearly and explicitly in the presence of Major Burdon, Resident, Captain Abadie and Colonel Morland, and in the presence of the chiefs of the land as follows; that is to say, Muhammadu Buhari [Bukhari] Waziri, Muhammadu, Marafa, Shehu Galadima and others. And the principal conditions are as follows:

1. The authority and power over the land which you have inherited from your ancestors the Filane [Fulani] acquired by the edge of the sword, are now acquired entirely by the Government of His Majesty the English King by right of conquest of the land.

And His Majesty the English King he is the suzerain of the land, and the alternate power and authority over the land is in the hands of His Majesty the English King and his successors, and his Representative the Governor.

2. The plenitude of power over the land belongs to the Governor who may do with it what he pleases, likewise the imposition and collection of taxes, the selection of the principal chiefs and the chiefs that follow them; [their deputies] and the authority over all mines, and the authority over the laws, and changing of them or the adding to them is in truth from now in the hands of the Governor and the Governor select you Muhammadu as Sarkin Musulmi and Emir of Sokoto on the condition that you obey the authority of the English King and the orders of his Representative the Governor.

In truth the Governor has full power over the land and also on account of the acts of Mohamadu Attahiru the deceased the Governor has declared that the whole of the country of Sokoto is in the hands of the Governor as it is written in the Proclamation whose name is the Governor of the land.

But for all this it is not the intention of the Governor to strip you of all authority, but in the contrary he wishes to rule together with you, to strengthen your authority and that of the law of the land and to perpetuate the customs of the people in so [far] as this does not stand in the way of what is just, and in that of good Government; and [in so far as] it tends to

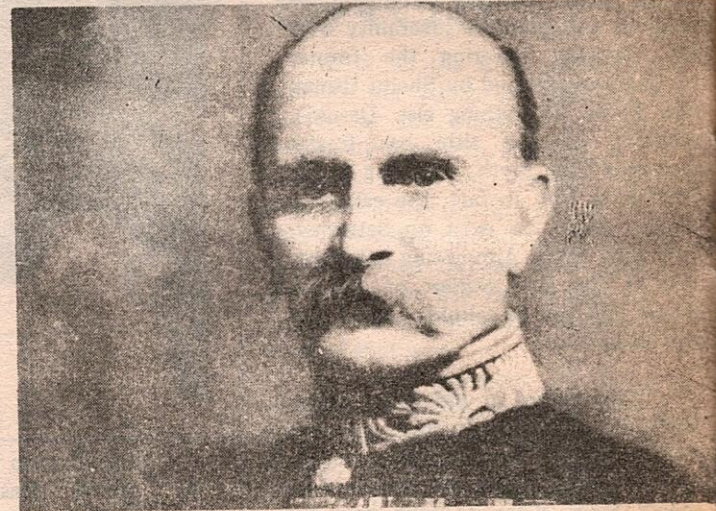
humanity, that is to say the duty of one man to another.

But taxes you have no power to collect them except those which the Governor agrees to, and with his consent; and the Governor has power to assign a part of them to be sent to the Treasury [so] that he may pay the people who govern the land, [country] and that he may defray the expenses of improving the country.

Again you have no power to appoint chiefs except with the consent of the Governor. And in the assessment of taxes, and the establishment of Native Courts in the cities, and the procedure in them, and in all other matters in the Government of the land, it is your duty to follow the orders of the Resident, that is to say the Christian Judge.

You have no power or authority of any kind over that piece of land which has been portioned off for the abode of the officials who attend to the Government.

If the Governor appropriates any piece of land for houses or for any other purpose it will be his care to respect the rights



Frederic Lugard: Mopped up remnants of the sultanate.

of those living on the piece of land. Any man from a foreign country who wishes to obtain the right to land, it is necessary that he obtains a title from the Governor.

War is forbidden you and also you are not allowed to do anything that will disturb the peace of the country.

And I by this letter in the name of His Majesty the English King Edward VII, (May God prolong his days) do promise you protection as long as you shall adhere to the conditions of your appointment and remain faithful to His Majesty the King; and further I guarantee that there will be no interference with your religion as long as there is no point in it which will cause acts contrary to good government and humanity (that is to say the duty of one man to another); or will bring about acts of oppression of the people.

Given under my hand and with the seal of the Government of His Majesty the English King in the district of Nigeria the Northern [Northern Nigeria] the year of the Messiah the 22nd March 1903, i.e. 24th Dzulveda 1321.

BCCI: THE COCAINE CONNECTION

'Dogon Daji House'. It is imposing. It is posh. It is, in fact, the Sokoto home of the fast-rising 'Third World's' first multinational banking empire: the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI).

But the 'Dogon Daji House' is more than just these — it is also owned by Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, the multi-millionaire businessman and Nigerian Chairman of the BCCI, who only last month was turbaned as the new Sultan of Sokoto.

Little wonder, therefore, that this posh, solid-looking storey building was one target that attracted some of the most vicious batterings in the protests that accompanied the imposition of Ibrahim Dasuki on the people of Sokoto emirate as their new Sultan. The building's doors, windows and glasses were shattered.

But even as this BCCI local headquarters was being battered and burned in Sokoto, its parent company — the BCCI Holdings S.A. — wat at the receiving end of another kind of battering in the U.S.A.

On Saturday, October 8th, 1988, eleven expensively-dressed executives (nine BCCI officials and three drug barons) were lured by U.S. customs and FBI agents to a phoney society wedding ceremony, at a plush and exclusive Florida hotel. On arrival, they were all arrested by their chauffeurs, who were actually FBI agents. They were subsequently indicted by a U.S. Federal Grand Jury for involvement in a complex network for laundering drug sales proceeds, amounting to a whopping \$32 million. A two year undercover operation, code-named 'Operation C. Chase', had come to a successful end.

Amongst those indicted were Mr. Gonzalo Mora, a Colombian financier and U.S.-based agent of the notorious 'Medellin Cartel', which is said to be responsible for 80 per cent of all cocaine shipments to the U.S. Also indicted with Gonzalo were nine BCCI officials, two of them in fairly high executive positions, namely: Mr. Amjad Awan, BCCI's Miami-based Assistant Director of the Latin American Division, and Mr. Nazir Chinoy, the bank's Regional General Manager for Europe and Africa.

The BCCI itself, alone, was said to have laundered up to \$14 million of the cocaine money involved, although the bank has strenuously denied any corporate knowledge of the deal. This denial, however, has cut no ice, given the fact that its officials had previously been under strong suspicion of cooperation with cocaine dealers. Indeed, just a couple of weeks before the Florida arrests, Mr. Amjad Awan was subpoenaed by a U.S. Senate subcommittee, in connection with his close links with Panama's strongman General Noriega. Noriega's involvement in the drugs business is an open secret. And the General kept between \$20 and \$25 million at any one time in a BCCI account in London.

The laundering of drug proceeds — i.e., the conversion of the 'dirty' money proceeds collected from sidewalks and city slums into 'respectable' legitimate money, and its eventual transfer abroad — is a very critical aspect of the entire drugs business. This is particularly so since U.S. laws provide that the banks operating in the country must statutorily provide information about any transactions of more than \$10,000.

Usually, the laundering process involves the drug syndicate employing the services of a legitimate firm which,

for a commission, will pass the money through its books and subsequently return it to the syndicate in cheques cashed overseas on foreign accounts. In the case of the BCCI deal, the drugs proceeds would first be deposited in their Tampa (Florida) branch. The BCCI would then transfer it to its head office in Luxembourg. From there the money would be sent to London. In London it would be converted into a certificate of deposit. This would then be used as security for a loan which the BCCI would give to a phoney firm in, say, the Cayman Islands or Panama, or Lagos or Rio. From there, the money can safely be returned to the U.S. or Colombia as respectable and legitimate money.

Nowadays, money laundering is a source of colossal 'profits' for banks in particular. It is estimated that the BCCI officially takes a 1.5 per cent commission on all funds laundered by it.

The bank itself was founded in 1972 by Mr. Agha Hassan Abedi, a London-based, Indian-born, Pakistani business man. Today, the secretive Mr. Abedi is the President of the BCCI. Mr. Abedi, a graduate of law and English literature, started his banking career with the Habib Bank in India, leaving the bank in 1959 to set up the



Dogon Daji House

United Bank of Pakistan. On the coming to power in Pakistan of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and his government's threats of nationalisation, Abedi left the United Bank of Pakistan in 1972. That same year he set up the BCCI, with the assistance of the Bank of America, which took up 25 per cent of equity shareholding, and wealthy Saudi Arabian families, the leading one of whom was the Bin Mahfouz family, owners of Saudi Arabia's largest bank.

On its founding, the BCCI had a capital base of \$2.5 million. But it has had such a phenomenal growth that as at the end of 1987 the bank had total assets of up to \$20 billion, and capital

speaking volumes about what the bank may after all, be up to. It is an open secret that Abedi was very chummy with the late Pakistani dictator, General Zia ul-Haq. Indeed, it has been alleged that Abedi was one of the financiers of Zia's 1977 coup against Bhutto. In addition, BCCI's sinister connections extend to the apartheid regime in South Africa, with whose approval it serves as the central bank of Swaziland. Interestingly enough, the king of Swaziland, a South African puppet, is a shareholder in BCCI's branch in Swaziland.

Abedi was also very friendly with former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and with Carter's Budget Director,

established in 1979, on the eve of the return to civil rule. And here too, in barely a decade, it has repeated the miraculous growth which its parent company has come to be known for. Its initial capital when it started business in the country in November 1979 was just N3 million. But in 1980, i.e., one year after its establishment, its profits after tax, were N1.72 million. In 1981 this rose to N7.84 million. Then to N14.26 million, N18.59 million, N21.75 million, N20.18 million, and N26.8 million in 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, and 1986 respectively!

Of course, a sizeable chunk of this phenomenal growth was due to the

If You Have Crooks For Customers...

On the day BCCI was taken to court at Tampa, Florida, that is on Tuesday 11th October, 1988, the United States Commissioner of Customs, William von Raab, issued this statement:

"Six years ago, I came to Florida concerned about sleazy practices among bankers. Today I am back, and I'm sorry to say that nothing seems to have changed. For some international banks, their sleaze factor is higher than their interest rates.

Operation C-Chase is the most important money-laundering case in U.S. Customs history. It is the first time an entire international financial institution and its top managers have been indicted. BCCI alone laundered \$14 million in illegal drug proceeds.

Operation C-Chase involved over two years of under-cover investigation by more than 20 agents of the Customs Service. These agents were able to infiltrate an extremely important money-laundering syndicate, which included the Gonzalo Mora organization, the Robert Alcaino organization, the Don Chepe organization, and BCCI.

Operation C-Chase brought us the first fruits of an international money-laundering initiative with the customs services of France and Great Britain. Over the past week-end, we made 39 arrests here and abroad, and we expect the potential seizure

of millions of dollars in bank accounts and real property. You might say that, in the last 72 hours, the Customs Service performed its first corporate raid. We have given new meaning to the term "hostile takeover".

These people will have to learn that civilized governments will no longer put up with the notion that business is just business. I'm putting the banking industry on notice — business with crooks is crime.

As long as there is an international web of deceit crafted by those who launder drug trafficking profits, the drug problem cannot be solved. People sell drugs for one reason and one reason only — that is, to make money. After these drugs are sold and our society corrupted, there is only one way for these profits to leave America, and that is illegally.

The gates for drug smugglers are closing around the world. Great Britain, France, and even Switzerland are improving their money-laundering laws. International bankers, take note: There are fewer places where you can hide.

What is the bottom line? The bottom line is that whatever kind of financial institution you are, if you have crooks for customers, then you are a crook.

What is my message to international bankers? Read my lips — your check has bounced."

of \$1.5 billion. It had \$17 billion in deposits but only \$9 billion of loans.

No wonder one of the bank's pet claims has been that it is the fastest growing multinational bank in the world. Its posh and over-polished offices around the world no doubt attest to the fact that it has been doing very well.

But at whose expense? The cocaine scandal in which it has landed itself has now begun to give a clue to this. The BCCI officials interrogated by the U.S. investigators say they were laundering the drug money not for their own personal benefit, but in order to broaden the capital base of the company. The associates of the bank's president, Mr. Abedi, also

Bert Lance, who was subsequently to stand trial for fraud. Similarly, Abedi's close friend and confidant, the editor-in-chief of his magazine, *South*, Mr. Altaf Gauhar, was accused by the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in the latter's death cell, of being a spy for a foreign power. The executed Pakistani leader had earlier on been accused by Gauhar, in a *Guardian* (London) article, of being a drunk dictator. Bhutto, characteristically, did not mention which foreign power it was, but the close connections between Abedi's BCCI, the powers-that-be in Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and the U.S. financial and political establishment, leave a very wide trail.

In Nigeria, the BCCI was

heavy patronage which the bank got from the N.P.N. politicians of the Second Republic, and from both the Buhari and Babangida regimes. The bank was, for instance, heavily involved in the rice *armada* of the Shagari presidency, being responsible for opening many letters of credit in respect of dubious rice shipments.

It is not yet clear what other sources have accounted for this phenomenal growth of the bank's profitability and capital base in this country. But even as we enter another new year, the recent disclosures in the U.S. about the BCCI raise interesting suggestions and give curious leads. Nigerians may soon get to know who their Gonzalos are!

RECOVERING THE LOOT:

The Trial Of Mr and Mrs Marcos

In the early morning of Wednesday, 23rd November, 1988, the news was flashed around the world that the former South Korean President, General Chun Doo-Hwan, who left office in February this year, had made an emotional appearance on South Korean television, confessing to some of his crimes while in office, and announcing that he had surrendered to the government, money and properties worth about \$23 million, which he had looted; he begged for forgiveness, and fled from Seoul. He is wanted by the South Korean parliament to appear before the committees it had established, under intense public pressure spearheaded by militant student organisations, to investigate the corruption and repression of his military regime which ruled the country from 1980 until February, 1988.

Earlier in November, the wire services had carried the sensational story of how the fashionable Mrs. Imelda Marcos, First Lady of former President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, was arrested and dragged before a New York court, fingerprinted, and photographed by the police, and allowed out on bail, as she was facing charges together with her husband, of looting hundreds of millions of dollars belonging to the Philippine government. Her husband, Marcos, only escaped such indignities because he was too ill to travel. But his passport has been seized and he is also to appear in court later on.

THE NIGERIAN PRESS

These two sensational stories of the fall from grace of former heads of state would normally receive headline treatment in the Nigerian press, with its love for stories about how the mighty fall. Moreover, these stories involve large-scale corruption, repression and even foreign exchange racketeering, which normally make the mouths of Nigerian pressmen water.

But, in fact, if these two stories were reported upon at all in Nigeria, they were mostly tucked away in some corners of the newspapers and news-magazines.

Why this lack of interest by the

Nigerian press in such sensational stories of the rise and fall of the mighty?

Could it be that the lessons contained in these stories sent cold shivers right through to the bones of the civilian and military owners and controllers of the Nigerian press? Could it be that these two stories sent these shivers because they shatter the myth that once you are out of office, you can escape with the loot you made while in office, particularly if you ensured before leaving office that you choose your successors carefully; or that the loot is safely stashed away in banks and in landed property and blue-chip investments abroad?

For the current fate of General Chun Doo-Hwan, who ensured that his successor President Roh Tae Woo was his man; and that of Ferdinand Marcos, who used his legal expertise and experience to hide away billions of dollars abroad, show that popular pressure from democratic forces in Third World countries and in the United States, can bring rapacious dictators — even those who faithfully served American interests — to face trials. If ex-dictators, even generals and seasoned lawyers like General Chun and Marcos, face such dangers, what about governors, ministers, commissioners, top military officers and civil servants and their **business patrons and partners, from a**

country like Nigeria, so severely ravaged by high-level corruption?

The full background to ex-President Chun's confession and flight is still emerging. But details about the New York trial of Mr. and Mrs. Marcos are already available in the library of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

The substance of the criminal charges brought against Marcos, his wife, and five collaborators by lawyers representing the Philippines government, are to be found in the accompanying box. The landed properties involved, which, although worth hundreds of millions of dollars, form only a very small part of the billions of dollars stolen by Marcos from the Philippines government, are located in the choicest parts of New York City. They are:

1. The Herald Centre, Sixth Avenue, New York.
2. The Lindenmere Estate, Centre Moriches, Suffolk County, Long Island, New York.
3. The Crown Building, 730 Fifth Avenue, New York.
4. No. 40 Wall Street, New York.
5. No. 200 Madison Avenue, New York.

THE FRONT COMPANIES

The Herald Centre was bought by the Marcoses in February 1981, in the name of a company called Voloby



Ferdinand Marcos, Imelda Marcos: Nowhere to hide The Loot.

Ltd., registered in the British Virgin Islands. This company had Mr. Joseph Bernstein, one of the New York lawyers fronting for the Marcoses, as its sole director. But the company itself is not registered as owned by the Marcoses or any of their front men and women. Voloby Ltd. was itself owned by three front companies registered in the Republic of Panama, namely Bedner Development Corp., Comparal Investment, S.A., and Dicot Finance Investment Corp. These three companies were themselves not owned through normal shares, but through what are called *bearer shares*, which legally provide that anybody who has them in his or her possession is the owner. This dubious legal arrangement is to make it possible for the real owners to hide themselves almost completely.

In the case of the huge Lindenmere Estate, on the outskirts of New York City, which was also purchased by the Marcoses in February 1981, the original purchase was by a company incorporated in New York in 1980, Luna 7 Development Corporation. The ownership was later transferred to a company registered in the Netherland Antilles, known as Ancor Holdings N.V., one of whose directors is Antonio O. Floirendo, a close friend and business associate of Marcos.

FAKE LOANS

The Crown Building, on the other hand, was bought in September 1981 for \$51 million and renovated with \$60 million. These came from a network of loans from Bank Paribas (Suisse), and an Arabian consortium. The ownership of the buildings was in the hands of another Marcos front company, Lastura Corporation, N.V., registered in the Netherland Antilles, which in turn was owned by three companies registered in Panama, namely, Trade and Commoditta, S.A., Yenell Compagnie Immobiliere, S.A., and Panales Porcelanizadas, S.A., which are themselves owned through bearer shares.

The building at No. 40 Wall Street, in the heart of New York's financial centre, was bought in December 1982 for \$70 million, and this involved a series of payments and loans from Citibank and Bankers Trust Bank, which are leading American banks. Its owners are given as Nyland,

N.V., a company registered in the Netherland Antilles, owned by three companies registered in Panama, namely, Beneficio Investment Inc., Bueno Total Investment Inc., and Excelencia Investment Corp., which are owned through bearer shares.

The ownership arrangement for the building at 200 Madison Avenue, involved Glockhurst Corp. N.V., registered in the Netherland Antilles, which is in turn owned by the three Panamanian-registered companies owning Voloby Ltd. mentioned above in connection with the Herald Centre.

This only summarises the intricate network of companies, accounts and "loans" through which the Marcoses tried to control, and still hide, the very small portion of their loot invested in landed properties in New York State.



Reagan: Abandoned Marcos, his old friend.

THE LOOTING

The amount of money Marcos looted from the Philippines government was colossal. He started out as President with a net income of \$62,000 in 1966, made up of \$15,000 Presidential salary, and \$47,000 payments from his legal practice, arising from the previous years before he became President. He owned a house in San Juan, in the Philippines, and some modest land holdings in Nueva Vizcaya, also in the Philippines.

But by 1966-67, Marcos was depositing huge sums of money in the Chase Manhattan Bank. In 1968 he started salting away millions of dollars in Swiss Banks like the Paribas Suisse, under the codename of "William Saunders" for himself, and "Jane Ryan" for his wife, Imelda.

By the early 1980s, his periodic raids on the Central Bank of the Philippines were brought to the

attention of the IMF and the World Bank. In 1983, for example, there was a shortfall of \$600 million in the Philippines foreign reserves, which could not be accounted for. In 1984 it was found that up to \$3 billion of foreign credit to the Philippines could also not be traced.

A group of companies owned by Herminio Disini, a relative of Mrs. Marcos, received commissions totalling \$11.2 million from the American energy corporation, Westinghouse, over the nuclear plant they built in the Philippines in 1978.

All this is besides the large-scale seizure of major companies and corporations by Marcos after he declared martial law in 1972. Some of these he placed in the hands of his cronies or relatives, and others were taken over by government agencies, which were then milked by his henchmen.

Thus Ferdinand Marcos, who started his first term as President in 1966 worth less than \$100,000, fled his country after having stolen tens of billions of dollars and salted them away abroad.

And as the criminal charges against him state, he left the Philippines economy in very bad shape, with the level of poverty of the people extremely high. The foreign debt of the country rose from \$2 billion in 1969 to \$30 billion when he fled the country in 1986. The Philippine currency, the peso, had been devalued from four pesos to one U.S. dollar in 1966 to 20 pesos to one U.S. dollar in 1986.

Throughout these ten years he was supported and protected by successive American administrations, as he ensured that the Philippines continued as a big milch cow for U.S. business corporations and others from Japan and Europe. He also ensured the provision of key military bases for the U.S. domination of the Asian and Pacific regions.

But when the patriotic and revolutionary forces in the Philippines united and made it impossible, by 1986, for his regime to continue short of an outright U.S. occupation as happened in Grenada, the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Congress, held hearings on his dictatorship on 21st, 23rd and 29th January 1986. It was there that some of his

American accomplices started to squeal. This made it easier for the Philippines government to compile the evidence for the charges against him.

ORANGE SQUEEZED DRY

Under United States law, there are clear provisions which enable the U.S. government to intervene in cases against former foreign heads of state and of government and declare that the cases should not be heard because they may harm U.S. interests. These doctrines of the act of state and of head of state's immunity are, however, only used when it suits the interest of particular U.S. administrations.

In the case of Marcos, although he was a faithful servant of the United States and of its business and strategic interests, he did not get this protection. This was because of the Reagan administration's anxiety to be seen to be supportive of Corazon Aquino's government, which was under intense public pressure in the Philippines to seriously pursue and recover the Marcos loot. Imperialism, of the American or any other variety, is

ruthlessly committed to promoting its own interests, and will thus squeeze any Third World leaders serving it dry, and then throw them away like the useless orange-skins.

THE LESSON

Those serving imperialism in Nigeria now, and those preparing to serve it, should never forget this. They should learn from the cold and calculated phrases with which the United States Department of Justice stated its refusal to protect Marcos, because he was no longer useful. In the statement filed on 10th June, 1986, the U.S. Government said:

"The proceedings involve claims that co-defendant Ferdinand Marcos is the beneficial owner of five pieces of real estate in the State of New York, and that the properties were acquired with money wrongfully taken from the plaintiff-appellee, the Government of the Philippines. . . . With respect to the act of state doctrine, the burden is always upon the party asserting the applicability of the doctrine to establish to the court's

satisfaction that adjudication would require review of the sovereign act of another government. Only after this burden is met do other factors relevant to the doctrine's applicability including foreign policy considerations, need to be considered. . . . The district court held that the defendants had not discharged their burden of proving an act of state and, on the basis of the record developed in the case to date, we agree. As to the allegation of head of state immunity, this issue has been raised on appeal by parties who are not competent to invoke the doctrine, even assuming the doctrine has any applicability in these proceedings. We therefore do not submit any views to the court on this issue."

In other words, Mr. and Mrs. Marcos are no longer useful to Uncle Sam, and are left to sink or swim on their own devices. Their trial in New York is a clear signal that there is increasingly no sanctuary anywhere in the world for the looters of our national wealth.

THE CRIMINAL CHARGES

"The defendant Ferdinand Marcos (herein after Marcos) became President of the Philippines in 1966 and on September 21, 1972 declared martial law. From and after the declaration of martial law, Marcos was the dictator of the Philippines and personally controlled its government and economy. Marcos fled his country on February 25, 1986 when it became evident through the overwhelming reactions of the Philippino people that they would no longer accept his rule.

"During the entire period of his reign and particularly after the commencement of his dictatorship, Marcos, in addition to engaging in a variety of activities constituting a gross denial of human rights, including murder, torture, summary incarceration and execution, control of the media, and disappearances, also participated in widespread purloining of funds and properties which were and are the property of the Philippino Government and people. The said taking of Government properties was effected by a range of techniques, including but not limited to the following: accepting payments, bribes, kickbacks, interests in business ventures, and other things of value in exchange for the grant of government favors, contracts, licenses, franchises, loans, and other public benefits; outright expropriation of private property for the benefit of persons beholden to or fronting for the defendant Marcos, the said expropriation being at times effected by violence or the threat of violence or incarceration; arrangement of loans by the Philippine Government to private parties beholden to and fronting for the defendant Marcos; direct raiding of the public treasury; diversion of loans, credits and advances from other governments intended for use by the Philippine Government; creating public monopolies placed in the hands of persons beholden to and fronting for the defendant Marcos. The said

actions of the defendants were not only in violation of the laws of the Philippines, but also caused a massive drain upon the funds of the Philippine Government. The level of poverty at the end of Marcos rule is extremely high and, on information and belief, amounts purloined by Marcos are of such significance as to affect the general economic conditions of the Philippine Government and people, and may even equal or exceed the national debt of the Government of the Philippines, which is approximately 30 billion dollars. An essential part of the plan of the defendant Marcos was that after looting the government and people of the Philippines in the manner aforesaid he would cause assets derived from such looting to be placed in foreign countries, including the United States, where he would make investments in the name of nominees who would hold such investments for him. The defendant Marcos engaged in the foregoing foreign investment activities in conspiracy with other persons, including but not limited to the defendants Imelda Marcos, Ralph and Joseph Bernstein, Gliceria Tantoco, Vilma Bautista, Antonio Floirendo and numerous other persons. Pursuant to the said conspiracy, many of the assets and properties acquired by or for the benefit of Marcos were placed with individuals or corporations throughout the world, including the United States. Pursuant to the foregoing conspiracy, a number of valuable pieces of real property located in the state of New York have, on information and belief, been purchased for the benefit of the defendant Marcos, from the proceeds of monies and assets purloined from the Philippine Government."

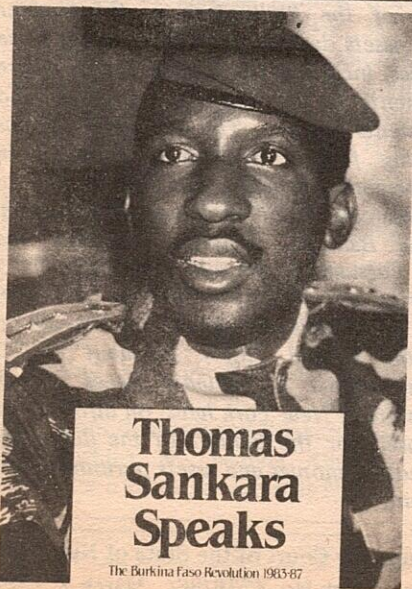
Supreme Court of the State of New York,
County of New York; Index No. 4776/86; March 2, 1986.

COMPAORE EXPOSED

A Review Of 'SANKARA SPEAKS',

Published by PATHFINDERS

This 260-page volume, a collection of some of Thomas Sankara's most important speeches and interviews, published in 1988, can hardly have come at a better time than now. For one, there is the fact that in concerned and progressive circles all over the world there has been — since Sankara's murder a year ago — growing hunger for more concrete information than the sentimental and sensational half-truths being peddled by the media about this young man, who, in the four years that he led his poor, land-locked country, made waves around the world and became one of the most articulate spokesmen of this generation of African youths. For another — and more importantly — there are the lies, slander and distortions by the new regime in Burkina Faso about Sankara's ideas, commitment, and his actual role in, and contributions to, the struggles to transform Burkina. Since it took over power in a most bloody counter-revolutionary coup on October 15, 1987, the Blaise Compaore regime in Burkina has spared no effort to belittle, or even deny, Sankara's immense contributions to the revolutionary process in Burkina — and Africa as a whole. The



Campaore regime clearly seems obsessed to paint Sankara as an opportunist lacking in ideological clarity who, once in power, not only abandoned the first principles of the August 4 Revolution but also turned it into a one-man show run purely on his whims and caprices.

With this collection of speeches, the world can now see through all the lies about Sankara being dished out from Ouagadougou and echoed around the world by reactionary media organs. For, from the pages of this collection, Sankara comes forth to us not as someone confused, unclear and incoherent, but as a revolutionary with a clear grasp of issues, originality of thought and depth. In fact, it is impossible to read through the speeches and interviews contained in this collection and fail to be struck by the remarkable degree of consistency, clarity of thought, and understanding of issues that run through them — such depth of understanding that is surprising from someone of Sankara's profession even in a country like Burkina where there is a fairly high level of political awareness and a tradition of radical politics even within the military.

But it is to this that the collection, for the most part, owes its appeal and significance. The originality of Sankara's thoughts and the frankness with which he expresses them, which shows in every page, passage and sentence, make the collection a most valuable study of Burkina's attempt at national democratic revolution (1983-1987) and his place and role in it. Now readers around the world can get to read about and understand better the August 4 Revolution in Burkina — its history, the conditions that gave rise to it, the ideas and struggle that shaped it and gave it its particular character, the goals it set itself, the problems encountered, the achievements and failures recorded and, of course, its limitations. Such a task is greatly facilitated by the arrangement of the speeches and interviews

contained in the collection in a chronological order — giving the events a historical sequence — and by the wide range of subjects covered by the speeches and interviews — which puts the events in a clearer perspective and places them within the wider context of struggles on the African continent.

The August 4 Revolution, we are told, is one with a dual character: it is a democratic and popular revolution. Its democratic character flows from the tasks it set itself to "liquidate imperialist domination and exploitation and cleanse the countryside of all social, economic and cultural obstacles that keep it in a backward state". It derives its popular character from "the full participation of all the (Burkina) masses in the revolution and their consistent mobilization around democratic and revolutionary slogans that express in concrete terms their own interests. . . .", as well as from the fact that one of the revolution's tasks is to replace the old state machinery with a new one that "will guarantee the democratic exercise of power by the people and for the people". Such exercise of power is to be done through the structures created by the revolution: the Committees for



the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs). The CDRs form the core or basic structures of the revolution which — the abuses to which they have been subjected notwithstanding — have been most useful as a way of giving practical expression to the concept of peoples power.

'The People'. 'Peoples Power'. 'Political Organization'. These are the most recurrent themes that crop up in every speech and interview of Sankara in this collection. They form the core of his concerns, whatever the subject of his speech, and there is nothing

organized such that they can consciously seize power from their exploiters and use it to shape their own destiny, to build a new society, and a new future. This was why, for him, no amount of energy devoted to, or attention given to, the question of political organization would be considered too much. And the CDRs were at the top of the list of government priorities under his leadership. As he said during his closing speech at the First National Conference of the CDRs at Ouagadougou in March/April 1986: "No! We could never agree to

as the basic structures for such a task, that led to the rift between him and some of his colleagues in the National Council of the Revolution (CNR) — and ultimately to the bloody counter-revolutionary coup in which he was assassinated.

But this collection does not owe its significance just to being an account of the August 4 Revolution in Burkina and Sankara's place in it. There is much more to it than this. In its own right, the collection deserves to be seen and treated as a major statement on the African condition, and an invaluable addition to the growing stock of radical literature in Africa. For Sankara was himself an internationalist, and especially so where internationalism has a bearing on the Burkinabe situation; and he had a lot to say, even in this collection, on other revolutions and struggles for freedom and democracy around the world — e.g. the Nicaraguan Revolution, the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, and the struggle for a Palestinian state.

It is not so much the novelty of his ideas that give this collection its significance as the fervour, sincerity, forthrightness and freshness of his style, as well as his unwavering commitment to these ideas.

But ideas alone do not make a revolution — even a national democratic revolution. As the bloody coup by Campaore and his gang has demonstrated, for those ideas to be translated into revolutionary action, the oppressed classes must be organized and armed to conquer power and defend it. There was no doubt that in Burkina Faso on October 15, 1987, the people wanted to fight to defend even the limited gains of the August 4 Revolution. But the Burkinabe army, which remained essentially an unreconstructed neo-colonial army, remained at the centre of the state and the entire political system. The life and death of Sankara brings out clearly the possibilities and limitations of even the most sincere military-led attempt at a national democratic revolution.

Thomas Sankara Speaks is a must for all sincere progressives and forward looking Africans who have the future of Africa at heart.

By: Rufa'i Ibrahim.



Sankara: Speaking in Managua, Nicaragua, November 8, 1986.

icada

whatsoever in this collection, whose contents cover such a wide range of subjects — from the question of who are the enemies of the people, to the issues of political orientation and organization, non-alignment, African unity, and the women question — that casts any doubts on his sincerity in this regard. For him, after all, August 4 "is simply the logical outcome — the concretization — of the popular will. . . ." An act of the people, so to say. It was his belief that to give August 4 concrete meaning, the people must be educated, conscientized and

put aside the CDRs. There are not two Burkina Fasos. There is one single Burkina Faso — the Burkina Faso of the CDRs. Our country begins and ends with the CDRs. This is why CDRs must rapidly be formed wherever they do not yet exist."

But more than any other thing, it is Sankara's belief in the Burkinabe people, his overriding concern to see that they are politically educated, mobilized and organized enough to have confidence in their own ability to change their conditions, plus his unwavering commitment to the CDRs

THE BATTLE OF CUITO CUANAVALÉ

In *THE ANALYST*, Vol.3, No.4, of July-August 1988, we brought to you the first part of this assessment of the historic battle of Cuito Cuanavale, whose outcome earlier this year decisively changed the balance of forces on the Angola-Namibia battle front of the frontline in Southern Africa. This edition carries the second, and concluding, part of the article, which, due to pressure on our space, we could not carry in the last issue. This second part was written, and even typeset,

together with the first part, as one article, in June 1988. And, in spite of the apparently dramatic developments at the diplomatic level in that region, so loudly touted by the BBC, VOA, Radio France Internationale, and other Western media organs, we find no reason for changing any part of it, including the conclusion.

We think that it is a dangerous illusion, deliberately generated by these sophisticated propaganda organs of the West, to believe that with the signing of agreements

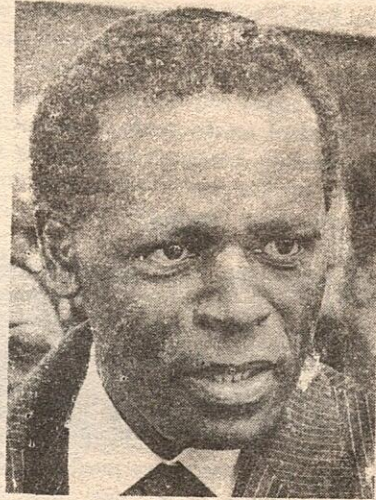
between Angola, South Africa and Cuba over Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops peace will soon prevail in Angola and Namibia. We shall soon bring to you a factual, in-depth, and comprehensive analysis of the current situation in Angola and Namibia and the whole of Southern Africa. We shall expose the lies, half-truths and massive doses of dis-information fed to Africans daily from the West, about what is taking place in that region of our continent so crucial to our future. Meanwhile, read on:

FAPLA'S OFFENSIVE

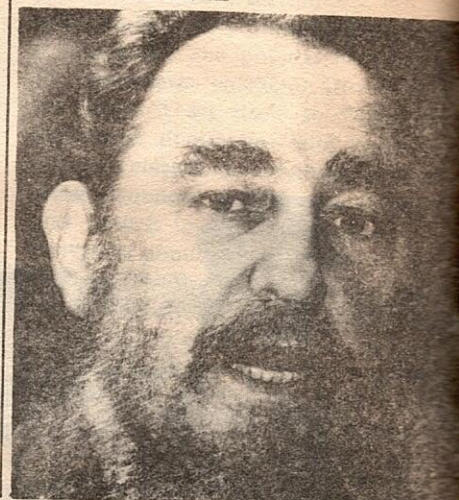
By mid-1985 FAPLA was ready to launch a major offensive to deal with the Unita bandits. In August the offensive was launched, and it took back Mavinga, in Cuanda Cubango Province, which the South Africans had conquered and made into a Unita base in September 1980. FAPLA succeeded so well that SADF was faced with the prospect of all Unita bases in Moxico and Cuanda Cubango provinces being wiped out. So elite South African units were sent in, backed by massive air, artillery and armour. These met effective Angolan resistance with skilled use of helicopter gunships, anti-aircraft defences, tanks, and other advanced weapons. Mig-23 combat aircraft, flown by Angolan pilots, for the first time, made their mark in the Battle of Mavinga, and during the rest of the 1985 FAPLA offensive. South Africa was so surprised by the effectiveness of the Angolans in using advanced weapons that they started screaming about the presence of a whole Soviet infantry battalion and Soviet pilots in Angola.

However, the South African counter attacks were so massive that FAPLA had to retreat, saving the Unita bases.

Reagan raised the level of U.S. aid to Unita and by 1986 was giving them Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and advanced anti-tank weapons. Mercenaries from all over Southern Africa, America and Europe, and units of the South West African Territorial Force were given Unita emblems and sent out to wreak



Dos Santos, Fidel Castro: Dealing death blows on the racists



havoc all over southern and central Angola. The Angolans in the Unita bands increasingly became conscripts. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, under William Casey, actively pursuing the key element of the Reagan Doctrine — Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) against "Communist" governments — poured tens of millions of dollars into the war against Angola. Some of this was raised from the Saudi Arabian government and other Arab reactionary regimes, who since the 1970s have funded American surrogate forces in Angola and Mozambique.

FAPLA CONSOLIDATES

The Angolan government responded to this by further intensifying the training and equipping of its armed forces. It particularly concentrated on building up its air defence capability and its armour

and artillery. It even bought trucks, weapons, communications and other equipment from Brazil, France, Britain and Switzerland. FAPLA also intensified its coordination with PLAN and the ANC forces of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, whose main bases are in Angola and were increasingly coming under South African attack.

An effective air defence system of radar, combat aircraft, surface-to-air missiles, and anti-aircraft guns, was built from the port of Namibe on the coast, through Lubango to Memongue and south-eastwards to the town of Cuito Cuanavale. This was made an important communications base for FAPLA, located as it was 150 kilometres from the Unita base at Mavinga, on the other side of the Lomba River.

In August, 1987, FAPLA launched a major offensive against

Mavinga. It severely defeated the Unita bandits, in spite of the mercenaries and the Stingers of the CIA. It appeared by October 1987 as if FAPLA would easily take Mavinga and move to take Jamba in the far south-eastern corner of Angola, where Savimbi claims to have his headquarters.

South Africa reacted by massing up to 30,000 troops, 435 tanks, and 400 pieces of artillery and hundreds of Mirage, Cheetah, Impala and other combat aircraft, in its bases near the Angolan border.

By November, 3,000 South African troops, backed by armoured vehicles and heavy artillery, were fighting FAPLA, which, before crossing the Lomba River, retreated back towards Cuito Cuanavale. But before retreating, FAPLA used its newly improved combat capability to inflict heavy casualties on the South African troops. The 101 Battalion of the South West African Territorial Force even mutinied because of the high casualty rate. The number of white conscript soldiers killed rose so high and morale fell so low that many white South African parents became frightened about what may happen to their sons in Angola. In November 1987, President P.W. Botha himself had to personally travel to address some of the troops inside Angola.

PLAN, the army of SWAPO, was active inside Namibia, and on 2 November, 1987 SADF had to admit to losing ten of its soldiers in battles with PLAN in Ovamboland, northern Namibia.

As FAPLA continued in its organised retreat back to Cuito Cuanavale, a stronghold in the line of defence already prepared, the South Africans thought they could move in and rout FAPLA, seize Cuito Cuanavale, and establish Unita there and win a major psychological victory, given the importance of the town in the whole of the Angolan line of communication and defence.

This is where the racists fell into the Angolan trap. The South Africans brought up their long-range G-5 and G-6 artillery, large numbers of Scorpion tanks and AML-90 armoured cars. They rapidly expanded their air bases in Namibia and a large part of the 30,000 troops they had put on alert

there moved to support their front-line units fighting to take Cuito Cuanavale.

The South Africans also brought in their Mirages, Cheetahs, and Impalas to pound the Angolan defences. They reached up to about 12 kilometres to Cuito Cuanavale. And then FAPLA, with Cuban reinforcements brought in from mid-January 1988, started pounding them hard. Angolan MIG-23s knocked out the older and slower South African Mirage, Impala and Cheetah aircraft. Angolan armour and artillery and anti-tank weapons also smashed up the much more exposed South African units. The effective air defence system completely denied the South Africans the air superiority they were used to.

On January 23rd, 1988, the South Africans announced that they had captured Cuito Cuanavale. But they had not. They had only got themselves further trapped — politically and psychologically — in a battle they could not win, but which they could not easily terminate.

As their casualties rose to 320, with about 40 of their aircraft shot down, and many of their artillery and armour damaged, the South Africans realised that they had been brought to fight a battle at a place and time, in a terrain, and with weapons chosen by FAPLA, whose air defences were not only more effective, but who were able to maintain their supply lines to Menongue. The G-5 and G-6 artillery which has a shelling range of 25 miles, and all the bombs, could not smash the heavy system of bunkers already built by the Angolans.

Having tied down large SADF forces at Cuito Cuanavale, powerful FAPLA and Cuban units started from mid-March to move south and south-eastwards to attack SADF units near the Namibian border and reinforce Menongue. By mid-April 1987, the SADF units at Cuito Cuanavale were clearly defeated and began withdrawing, carrying back with them their devastated vehicles, armour, and artillery, and a shattered morale. Part of this devastation was tied up with their racism and contempt for the Angolans and Cubans, many of whom are black

or mulatto. As the equally racist British newspaper, the *Sunday Telegraph*, pointed out: "For the first time Black African pilots have been taking their South African counterparts in the air, pitting advanced Mig-23s against the older and slower Mirages which form the backbone of the South African air-force."

In fact, the Chief of Staff of the South African Air Force insisted in an interview with the BBC on 27th April, 1988, that the pilots were "Russian" and that they were faced with the best missile air defence system set up by the Soviet Union outside the Warsaw Pact countries. The South African white racists cannot accept the fact that an African army of blacks and mulattoes, supported by dark-skinned Cubans, could defeat them so decisively, using such brilliant manoeuvring, and with such high resilience to massive bombardment.

As Angolan and Cuban combat units moved down to the River Cunene, which forms the border between Angola and Namibia, Botha realised that his troops were in no condition to stand up to fight again. His main fear was that FAPLA would move across into northern Namibia, where already the South West African Territorial Forces were highly demoralised and mutinous, and where PLAN is active, and SWAPO strong.

The racists realised by March 1988 that they needed time to recoup and rebuild their whole position on the Angolan-Namibian battlefield. Thus they readily agreed to the standing Angolan offer for negotiations, which involves the crucial issue of the independence of Namibia.

This round of hectic talks are not intended by Botha and his NATO backers to bring about independence for Namibia and an end to South African aggression and American intervention in Angola. They are intended to buy time after the South African defeat in the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale marks a strategic shift in the balance of forces in southern Africa, and has taken us some more kilometres forward on the long and hard road towards the total liberation of our continent.

The Passing Away Of A Comrade

On Tuesday, November 15, 1988, between the hours of 10 and 12.00 p.m., Nigeria lost one of its most exemplary sons: a teacher, a scholar, and a patriot. Dr. Mahmud Modibbo Tukur, in the prime of his life, at the age of 44, tragically passed away.

To us in THE ANALYST, the death of this friend, compatriot and comrade has been particularly painful. Not only was Dr. Tukur, as a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of THE ANALYST and FITLA and the Board of Directors of Dansa Publications Limited, part of the collective conscience which inspired and sustained the tasks we set for ourselves, but his stubborn commitment to the principles that he believed in was a priceless asset.

Unlike many of his age and privileged position, the late Dr. Tukur was a very simple man indeed — always at home in his bare living room, contented with local and ordinary food, and always wearing his simple safari dress. Indeed, so simple was he that many a visitor to his house, on seeing him among his sheep and goats, mistook him for a houseboy. This simplicity and humility is what earned him the name 'Mallam Mahmud' from his friends and associates.

But this humility, this remarkable simplicity, only hid a rare intellect. As a scholar, a teacher, and a student of society, he was widely read. He brought this rich knowledge, this expansive grasp of issues, events and phenomena to his teaching at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He would always illustrate events that happened, say, in Stalingrad, some 50 years ago, with events happening today in Lagos, Kano, Calabar or Port Harcourt. Apart from the many young minds whom he has helped to mould, giving them a direction for positive contributions to social progress, Dr. Mahmud Modibbo Tukur has left behind some of the most incisive intellectual productions of his generation. For instance, his 1977 seminal paper, "The Historian, the Jurist and the Sokoto Jihad" will for many years be a reference point for historians and other social scientists. But the quintessential Mahmud Modibbo Tukur remains his Ph.D. dissertation



Mahmud Modibbo Tukur.

on the British conquest of Northern Nigeria, titled *The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States, 1897-1914: A Reinterpretation of the Colonial Sources.*

But not for Mahmud scholarship for scholarship's sake. Like the true patriot that he was, he believed that when all has been said and done, the goal of scholarship should be to change society. To make this world, this society, this life, a better one than we met it. In life, as in death, Mahmud lived his belief to the end.

At a time when it was the vogue among many campus radicals and arm-chair socialists to shun engaging in class struggle outside the safe cocoons of their lecture theatres and offices, on the infantile excuse of not wanting to engage in petty-bourgeois politics, Mahmud did the contrary. Amidst belicose and cowardly cries of 'reactionary, reactionary', Dr. Tukur, along with a number of other comrades from A.B.U. in 1979, took the correct decision of joining the People's Redemption Party (PRP). A decision which enabled him to participate actively in shaping the political direction of that party and the governments it controlled. For instance, in 1981 he was called upon by the Kano State Government to study and write an in depth analysis of the Maitatsine disturbances, in reaction to Justice Anthony Aniagolu's cover-up.

However, Mahmud was not just a political activist in his later life. Even

as a young school boy, his leadership qualities could not but be noticed. Between 1958-59, he was the Headboy at the Senior Primary School, Yola. And when Nigeria became independent in 1960, the late Mahmud, then just a form one student at Adamawa Provincial Secondary School, Yola, was nominated to represent the school at the ceremonies in Kaduna. He later became a House Captain and the school's Headboy for three years.

But it was as President of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), between 1981 and 1986 that his leadership qualities came to full bloom. He led that union with such deftness, sophistication, commitment and selflessness as had never before been witnessed. Not only did ASUU, under Mahmud's leadership, become well established and respected in every corner of Nigeria and outside, but the Union came to be identified with the struggle for democracy and social justice.

He was able to carry along with him ASUU membership at all times, and knew what the Union could do and what it could not do within the Nigerian environment. He was guided by two basic principles: (i) ensuring ASUU's survival and (ii) its relevance to the needs of academics and the rest of the Nigerian people.

For instance, in a letter he wrote to members of the National Executive Council (NEC) of the Union, dated April 10, 1985, in response to moves to arrest him, he instructed thus:

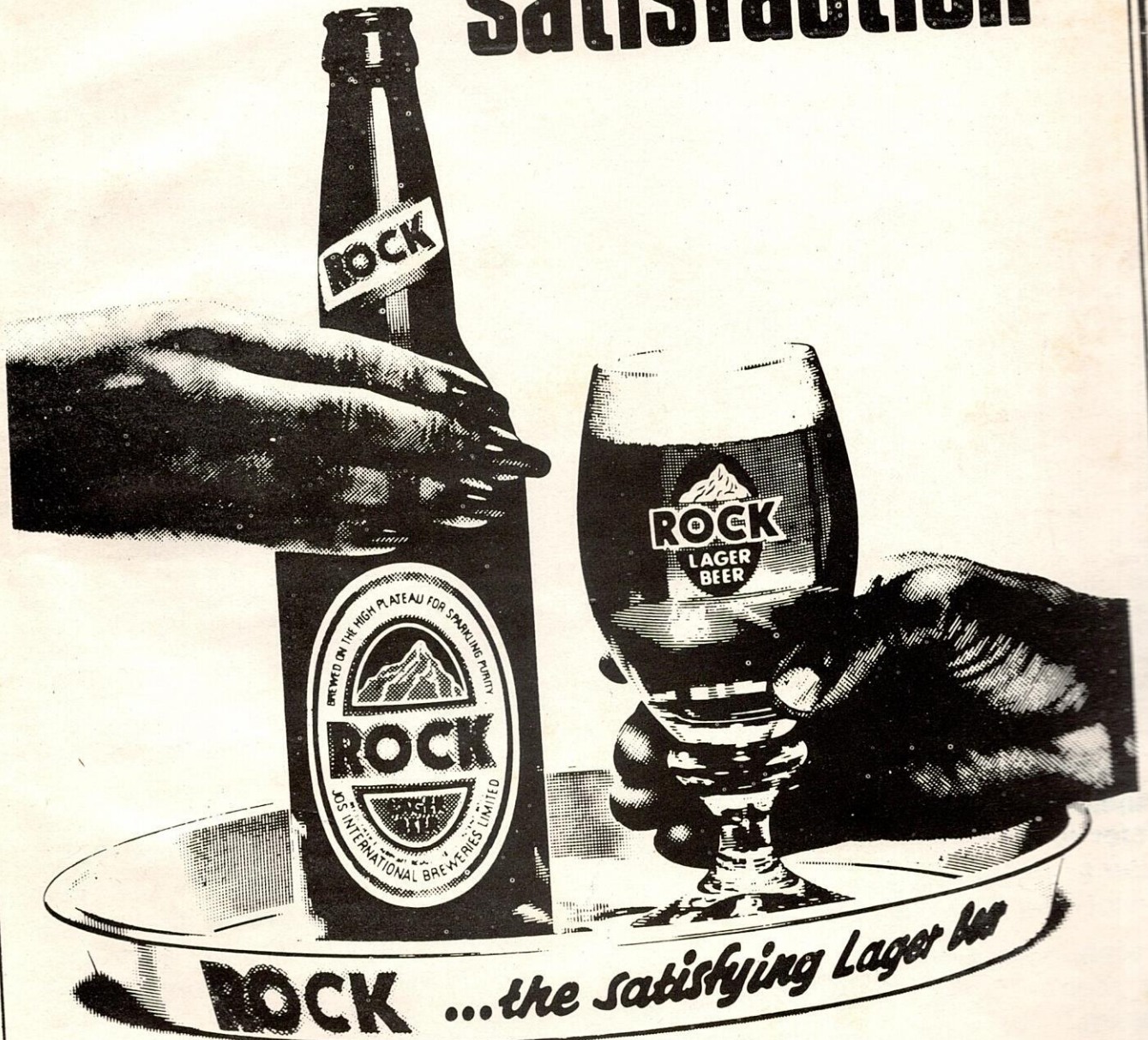
"If that happens [arrest], I would like the Union to be active over the issue but to remain calm and to avoid taking steps that will put the survival of the Union as such in jeopardy."

It was under such principled and tactful leadership that Mahmud was able to steer the affairs of the Union successfully for about five years.

Mallam Mahmud is no longer with us, but the struggle he has so much contributed to is continuing, and his example will always be a source of inspiration.

May his soul rest in perfect peace.

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ONE COUNTRY, TWO NATIONS



THE CALL OF NATURE

Nigerians — great lovers of euphemisms that they are — like to refer to it as “the call of nature”. In plainer, even if cruder, language it is simply called ‘shitting.’

Well, everyone — big or small, rich or poor — must answer this “call of nature,” at one time or another. After all, what goes into the mouth must come out through the anus.

For the majority of Nigerians, like the young man in the picture above, answering this “call of nature” is a

daily nightmare. In order to secure a spot on which they can squat to discharge the unwanted rubbish begging to be let out of their rumbling bowels, they must daily wade through pools of putrefying excreta and maggots.

On the other side of the social divide are the rich and powerful, who have olympic — size toilets, fully equipped with gold chandeliers, snow-white marble tiles and heated baths.

But then, this is Nigeria: one land, two nations!