

■ Metroline Still To Wait ■
■ Abuja: It Is A Change Not A Distortion ■

Newbreed

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Nigeria's Foremost News Magazine Every Fortnight

LEGAL DEPOSITION



JOHNSON, TAYLOR The Untold Story

How, Where, When And Who
Killed Imodibe And Awotunsin

■ Imodibe, Awotunsin's Killer Executed ■

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Beauty And Brawn

For years the Nigerian Green Eagles, national football team of Africa's most populous and maybe powerful nation has struggled to qualify to represent the continent in the World Cup.

For years, the struggle has been to no avail.

This football loving nation had always sat back during the World Cup fiesta to cheer Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Cameroun on television, hoping that one day the African team on screen would be the Eagles.

Maybe sooner than expected, Nigeria would be in the World Cup. Only this time, the nation would be watching her beauties roll the leather on the green turf.

In the above picture, a pretty Nigerian girl skilfully control the round leather on a day the girls trounced their West African sister 5-1 in the first leg of the FIFA female World Cup elimination match. And rounded it off with a 2-1 away win in Accra Ghana.

Photo: NAN.

Newbreed

TOP OF THE NEWS

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The Cover Stories

Liberia is receiving yet another blow. This time her citizens having capitalized on the state of nature situation in the country have taken her to court and with no counsel to defend the beleaguered nation, judgements entered against it have been outrageous.

In London, the Liberian National Petroleum Company, which has former Finance Minister, Emmanuel Shaw as Chairman earned a judgement by default against the Liberian government, this judgement made the country's Boeing 707 aircraft reportedly bought for US \$21m to be sold for US \$10.5. This story which comes under **Another Blow For Liberia** gives an insight into a looking into loopholes to further milk an almost dead country.

Putu Major was once a henchman for Liberia's rebel leader Charles Taylor. Major who personally executed Nigerian journalists Tayo Awotunsin and Krees Imodibie, grew wings and Taylor saw him as another Johnson. He ordered his execution but before then Putu organised an uprising which nearly killed Taylor's wife. For this drama and the true story of how the Nigerian journalists met their sad end, read our cover story **Awotunsin, Imodible's killers executed**.

Also as part of our cover package, we also bring you a special correspondents report on the true nature of both Johnson and Taylor in our story **Johnson, Taylor: The Untold Story of Two Killers**.

The package also includes an interview with two key personalities who participated in the Liberian ceasefire talks that held in Lome recently, Dr. Edward Kessely is the Defence Minister of the Liberian Interim Government of National Unity while Professor James Tarpeh is the interim's government Resident Representative to the ECOWAS Authority in Banjul Gambia. Our cover packages start on page 5.

Other Highlights:

International:

Gearing up for world's biggest reconstruction job: Rebuilding Kuwait will take at least a decade and will cost billions of dollar. It will be an enormous task and the major internal firms are fighting for a slice of the work.

Politics:

As political reality hits Anambra, the National Republican Convention is burying the hatchet putting its house in order.

Health:

In **Death and the Open Kitchens**, we bring you the dangers of eating in the ever growing open *bukas* and the buck passing by different organs of government on whose duty it is to take care of eating places.

Sports:

Return of Munich: Terrorists may disrupt the All-African games.

Transportation:

Metroline to wait as government shifts responsibility to the public sector.

Recorded
14 MAY 1991
Liberia Dept
Accra Station

FEEDBACK



Re: Bloody Clash in Bauchi

MY attention has been drawn to the above publication in your March 11th, 1991 issue.

I have always attached truthful investigative journalism in this country with your magazine. It beats my imagination how your reporter covered the Kaltungo Billiri uprising last year. Your reporter was biased right from the beginning.

The reporter got it all wrong when he said "It is established that the crisis was a result of a party election of the local council". This has not been a major issue on the crisis.

The truth is that there have been various land cases between individuals and groups in the two districts: Kaltungo and Billiri. The courts have honestly and legally given the lands to Kaltungo against the false claims of Billiri people.

In 1989, Kaltungo people cropped on a piece of land but Billiri people harvested it. Although some arrests were made and the case taken to court, nothing tangible came of it. Because of the way the courts handled the matter, time was ripe in 1990 for Kaltungo people to revenge. When Billiri people came a second time to harvest the crops, the clash occurred and lives and property lost.

The stories about Kaltungo dignitaries like the Chief, Alha. Ibrahim Umar, Mai Lamayi III, and Alha. Uba Ahmed are lies calculated to

discredit the God-fearing and peace loving people of Kaltungo. Other papers fabricated and wrote: stories like yours which never augurs well. The words of the mediocre chairman carried by your reporter is no big deal. We commit his act to God.

The reference to the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is another lie aimed at tarnishing the image of the body. It was CAN that intervened in the matter instead of the law enforcement agency which sided with Bikiri people to burn houses and farm produce.

Those interviewed did not show equal representation of people in the districts. As such, the report contained half-truths and lies. You should send another reporter to Kaltungo to come and collect facts from elders, traditional leaders and courts on the cases, disputes and their verdicts before the incidents and also see its under-development over the years.

I wish you stand by sincerity so as to restore public confidence in your magazine, by publishing this reaction.

Yours faithfully,
NGUNE AYYA.

RE: "KOMA"

YOUR story "No coming down for the koma" was full of blunders in spelling. Could this be a koma way of writing?

As for the reply given by the State Governor on what he would do if he discovered that the money (1 million naira) was directed towards another thing, please inform the governor that his idea of development is a far from what is expected of a corrective regime?

Development goes side by side accountability and not misappropriation of fund in the name of "priority". What is the

big deal in refurbishing the Yola International Hotel?

I don't think he was serious when he claimed that he cannot spend money just because he wants to resettle people who have been settling themselves for long". His idea of settlement is funny.

What a shame, what a pity for the komas.

Yours Sincerely,
OWE ESE GAM.
Sapele,
Bendel State.



RE: Why Oyakhilome Was Removed

ON the 25th March 1991, someone who identified himself as Endy phoned *Newbreed* expressing displeasure with our story, **Why Oyakhilome Was Removed** (*Newbreed*) April 1, 1991 as it concerns Sam Ejigou's identity.

In the conversation that ensued, Endy who said that he is from Nkwere claimed as follows:

Ejigou is from Eziano Mbario, Imo State. As an Nkwere man, he said that Nkwere people are hardworking and in clean business. The mistake of identifying Ejigou as an Nkwere man he said is grievous he said, is grievous since Jennifer's husband is from Nkwere and people he enthused will start thinking of linkages and cast Nkwere in bad light.

Endy's claims that Ejigou is from Eziano were corroborated

by one Paul Onyeyama who also spoke with *Newbreed* on the same connection Paul Onyeyama claimed that he (Onyeyama) attended Aquina's Secondary School, Osu Mbario, with Sam Ejigou whom he said was his junior. Onyeyama said he (Onyeyama) left school in 1978 and Sam must have completed school sometime later. Sam, he claimed, was a normal student but that he was not being categorical on that because Sam was his junior.

Re: I am A Sacred Cow Of God

The above story made interesting reading. From the story, I really can see that Okogie is a man of peace. The truth they say is bitter and Okogie is speaking the truth.

Nigeria is a big country with different tribes and religions. The issue of if Nigeria should join the OIC or not should not arise at all. The best the issue can do is to further strengthen the divide between Christians and Moslems. North and South.

On the issue of both the governor and deputy governor of Lagos being Moslems, I agree with the Archbishop's views. It is a mistake. It can cause disaffection, and it is the duty of government to see that the country is at peace.

I thank the Archbishop for laying bare the facts.

Kate Odhomi.
P.O. Box 6939,
Lagos

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COVER

Johnson, Taylor: The untold story of two killers



Johnson: Accorded journalists respect and help



Taylor: The presidency at all costs

Prince Yormie Johnson's recent denial of allegations that he killed his Nigerian aide, Mr. Emma Obuke, has been challenged by insiders who claim that such an act is just what the mercurial Liberian rebel leader is capable of perpetrating. In fact, they confirmed that Obuke's death has opened the floodgate of new revelations on the atrocities committed by Johnson, leader of the independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), and his former boss, rebel leader Charles Taylor of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), in the

Johnson particularly confirms his reputation as an unpredictable psychopath

who has killed scores of his aides just on a whim. He is said to need no great excuses to indulge himself and his men ever-present loaded rifle when the itch comes to kill. He always found a good reason.

Amongst some of his aides, he is known as "the Madman of Monrovia". Others describe him as a "disciplinarian" killer who believes that insubordination must be punished immediately. No matter his small or big the offence is, he is said to be a strong believer of the biblical saying which states that "the wages of sin is death". The only punishment he trusts, therefore, is to put a bullet through a culprit's head, as long as he finds him or her guilty by his own stan-

dards. It was gathered that his favourite boast, which has become a sing-song amongst his lieutenants is: "I cannot make life, but I can surely take one."

In the 14-month old Liberian civil war, Johnson had taken enough lives. Recent escapees from Liberia who are now resident in Nigeria still recoil at the crudeness of his summary justice, and they tell of instances that they themselves had witnessed at various times.

The tale is told of how a small boy (not yet in his teens) was caught by his aides carrying out a bombing assignment for Charles Taylor's faction, the rival National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). The child, crying and with his nose running, was brought to Johnson for instant trial. They were disappointed. Instead of execution, Johnson ordered that he be bathed, clothed and fed. He called the press and briefed them on what had happened. He was applauded for sparing the child's life. However, Johnson was not finished yet. A few days after the incident, the child was seated amongst the crowd in his Monrovia base. The rebel leader, in his characteristic impulsive and eccentric manner took to look at him and suddenly shot him in the head, decrying him as first class spy.

If he ever finds any of his 'commanders' wandering away from his duty post, the commando is a dead man. It was reported in September 1990 how he almost showed journalists touring with him the practical example of the kind of discipline he normally metes out to any erring member of his INPFL — An instant death sentence. A 'commando' had walked away from his post right into the path of the 'Field Marshall' (as his fighters call him), an unforgivable offence. He was summarily sentenced to death. It took the emotional plea of a newsmen to set him free.

A little down the road, Johnson was said to have stopped a car driven by a white man from the direction of his base, with a German woman at the back. The man reportedly removed his cap and had a discussion with Johnson. The rebel leader

got down from the car with his rifle. He shot the woman in the thigh and turned the rifle to face the man. He sprayed him with bullets. The wounded woman was taken to the hospital, while the man's corpse was dumped in the bush. Johnson was said to have explained that he sentenced the man to death because he was a "spy trying to smuggle his girlfriend from the base."

According to reports, the next victim was a short, dark Liberian woman who was accused with her daughter of stealing rice from the base. While the 'commandos' were urging her to run for her dear life, she stood rooted shivering like a cowered tree. Before she could muster her defence, Johnson kicked her with his boot and then poured bullet into her face.

Much has been written on the Liberian civil war, but the man Johnson who has brought the crisis to a stalemate and opened up for regional intervention has remained mysterious to most people. His antics continue to baffle those who do business with him. First, he was the Field Commander of Taylor's NPFL. Today, Prince Johnson is reputed to be a man who loves comic, eccentric character, he is a man whom Liberians love to hate.

Before he fought his way to Monrovia, Johnson, who left the Liberian Army as a lieutenant in 1977 after 7 years of service was a myth. He was said to be "invincible" although his victories were claimed by Charles Taylor's NPFL. A graduate of the Officers College in Todee, Liberia, he was commissioned in 1974 and later trained in the United States in Military tactics, guerilla warfare and terrain crossing. He also commanded the Liberian Military police.

Johnson, who describes himself as a professional Liberian fighter, was the head of the core-group of the front NPFL, which was trained in Libya. Although he was an obscure fighter before he came into limelight in July, 1990 after a major disagreement with his Commander-in-Chief, Taylor. He is better trained in commando operations, and he possesses the greater military skill and competence compared to Taylor.

There are different tales surrounding Johnson's break-up with NPFL at the peak of the Liberian crisis. One account states that he fell out with Taylor following his (Johnson's) unauthorised execution of some members of his core group, the special elite forces known as the Black Scorpions — usually identified by their red head bands. Taylor was said to have been irked, ordering severe punishment for him. To save his own necks, Johnson who was very popular amongst the Black Scorpions resorted to rebellion.

Another tale was linked to the death of Elmer Johnson, an Americo-Liberian who was commander of the Black Scorpions and military adviser to the NPFL.



Doe: His head was the ticket to the presidential palace

Elmer was killed when the vehicle he was travelling in was attacked in an ambush. Reports in Monrovia allege that his death was organised by Taylor whom they said was beginning to be intimidated by the rapport or camaraderie that existed between him and the fighters. The Black Scorpions went on rampage after Elmer's death. They destroyed lives and looted properties. Prince Johnson who was next in line to Elmer assumed leadership and broke away from NPFL to initiate the INPFL.

People often talk of Johnson as a man with many lives, for he has been targeted for death many times and he has constantly survived the constant ambush that for him by the NPFL. In August last year, Taylor's men were so sure of the success of yet another ambush that Tom Woewiyu, NPFL Minister of Defence went on air and announced the 'demise' of Prince Johnson to the whole world. He was said to have been killed in an ambush on Bushford Island where he had his headquarters.

Although Charles Taylor deliberately fostered this delusion for a long time, always referring to his rival as the Late Prince Johnson and insisting that the man was dead, a United States office in Liberia soon confirmed that Johnson was alive and well. This, however, has continued to fuel rumours in and out of Liberia that the real Johnson is dead, and that the man who now parades himself as Prince Yor-

mie Johnson is an imposter. Taylor was said to have encouraged the rumour, although he gave no facts to corroborate the allegation. Some argue that it was a deliberate military tactic by NPFL to demoralise Johnson, but it did not work. However, the incident is believed to have added to the myth surrounding the man, Johnson.

The INPFL has its own peculiarity, as Johnson stamped his eccentricity on the faction right from the beginning. Abduction was a special tool used to maximum advantage. As observers noted, the history of INPFL is dogged with Johnson's deliberate courting, and subsequent abduction, of forces he wants to subdue. This tactic has not changed, although it has worked variously for him — most times, against him.

When he first landed in Monrovia, he wanted to make international headlines, cause a stalemate and rouse the international community to intervene in the Liberian crisis, a stand Taylor stood firmly against. He succeeded. He abducted foreign citizens who resided in Liberia. The next day, he was front page news.

When he wanted ex-President Samuel Doe of Liberia out of the extra-fortified executive mansion that was his last defence, Johnson, the cunning fox, first courted him and when he had secured Doe's confidence and trust, he lured him to his death.

On September 3, 1990, he sent 1,000 bags of rice and some tons of chicken to the Presidential mansion for Doe to feed the hungry remnants of his Liberian Armed Forces, and his other loyalists. He also assured Doe of "absolute security" if he dared venture out of the mansion. He said to Doe's representatives after a meeting at ECOMOG headquarters in Monrovia, "... Tell Doe that it is a shame for 10 days now, he had not come to say hello (welcome) to ECOMOG forces keeping peace. If he comes, I assure him of absolute security." Armed with false confidence, Doe drove out of the Executive Mansion and met his Waterloo in the hands of Johnson's men.

From time to time, Johnson abducted innocent women, including little girls, into his band of commanders. Kayode Komolafe of *The Guardian* narrated an instance which he witnessed, with some of his colleagues from Nigeria, when he fraternised with the warlord in the course of duty in September last year.

According to him, Johnson had stopped along Caldwell Road, at the junction leading to his base, to spray Liberian dollars on some commandoes and awed civilians who scrambled for the gifts. Suddenly, he noticed two young, nubile half-caste girls going quietly about their business. He ordered them to join him in the car. One of the commanders was said to have chuckled, saying, "My man, those girls are now part of the family in the base." Komolafe stated, "I didn't bother to ask him to explain then but the explanation came a few metres from from that point when a white couple was ordered into the car. The commandoes laughed, and one of them remarked, "The Field Marshall (Johnson) has taste for white women."

Most of his 'bodyguards' and 'advisers' are women. The female 'commandoes' when not on duty spend their time watching war movies, ostensibly for training. However, reports indicate that not all of them are unwilling partners in this business of blood-letting. A remarkably mature woman amongst the commandoes, 35-year-old Beatrice Toule confirmed that he husband was undergoing surgery from wounds sustained in a battle. "I have come to take his place," she said.

Those who know Johnson personally disclose that he is a "damn good tactician with a perfect sense of self preservation." They argue that it was brilliant strategy for him to have openly befriended ECOMOG and prepared the ground for the peace keeping/peace enforcing troops to land in Liberia at the time they did.

"Johnson was smart enough to know that without foreign intervention, he would not be able to fence off Taylor for a long-time. Taylor's weaponry was superior or more sophisticated, and he had on his side the military might of Libya, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire. Johnson had



Interim President Amos Sawyer: Held in contempt by both Johnson and Taylor

little or nothing. He relies largely on the spoils of war to fight his battles," they asserted, adding that "he needed ECOMOG just as ECOMOG needed him". They also argue that is Johnson's friendly INPFL had not been in control of Monrovia, Taylor's gang would have had a bloody welcome party for the troops of the West African Peace-Keeping Troops.

ECOMOG sources acknowledge this, saying that Johnson's prevention of a blood-bath was well appreciated. However, they describe Johnson as a 'devil' with whom they are compelled to dine. "The only thing is that, these days, we dine with him with a very long spoon," it was stated. Initially, because of his open-handed welcome, they explained that he was seen as a necessary friend. However, his mania for abduction was said to have introduced an unparadigmatic strain into this relationship.

Shortly after Doe's death in September last year, he kidnapped a group of ECOMOG soldiers — 64 in all, — and held them hostage, demanding for military assistance from Nigeria as a condition for their release. It was, however, argued that he may not have really ventured to take on the ECOMOG, but for his dire need of arms to counter the sophisticated weaponry mustered by his keen rival and deadly enemy, Charles Taylor. For INPFL, arms are said to come in, in trickles. As a matter of fact, he once gave the arithmetic of his arms thus: "When we kill one person, we get one rifle. We don't waste our bullets."

Johnson treated the Professor Amos Sawyer-led Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), in an even more degrading manner than he treated ECOMOG soldiers. He abducted seven members of the Interim National Assembly (INA) in whose honour he had promised to host a party, and to whom he had prom-

ised to donate six cars for official use. However, instead of the sumptuous meals, expected at the occasion, Johnson reportedly force-fed them with urine, probably their own, while he savoured his beer. For 48 hours, he kept the assemblymen locked up, and it took intense pressure from IGNU and the ECOMOG to get them released.

According to *Newbreed* sources, the tales about Johnson are numerous and fantastic. He is described as a deeply religious man, always attending Christian revival sessions. His favourite songs are said to include, "I love Jesus, I Love Jesus..." and "By The Rivers of Babylon...". However, his religious convictions do not prevent him from being trigger-happy. Sources said he had been known to step straight out of a revival session to put bullets through the heads of perceived enemies or offenders.

Johnson is said not to believe in taking a life for a life. He would rather take many lives for one life of his commandoe lost to the enemy. "When Taylor killed some of our men, we got sixty of his, and slashed their throats," he boasted. "We received training with them in Libya, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire." However, comparing the scorecards of the two warlords, some Liberian refugees claim that Johnson could pass for a saint beside the man Taylor.

The tragedy of Charles Taylor, according to some of his countrymen, is his consummate passion to rule Liberia. "It does not matter: how he achieves it, as long as he achieves it. He must be president by all means," they allege, adding that for a long time, the presidency was well within his reach. However, they contend that events since the intervention of ECOMOG, and after the death of ex-President Samuel

Doe have proven that in this war, morality and the love of his country are contraband to the rebel leader. Today, after witnessing the unpardonable havoc he wreaked in Liberia and the merciless of his compatriots and foreigners who came his way, the same people who heralded him as the Messiah thirteen months ago now describe him as a tyrant, as corrupt as Doe: a man corrupt in peace and war. "We can see through him now," one refugee told *Newbreed*.

Charles Taylor started his campaign against Doe on December 24, 1989 as the bastion of hope for all peace-loving Liberians. Even foreigners who lived or are well informed about the tiny country of about 2.4 million people believed he was God's messenger, a 'Moses', come to redeem the masses from the reign of terror unleashed on them by Doe the 'Pharaoh'.

Although he had a soiled image, (that of a hardened rogue who stole government money and then jumped bail on the U.S.), Liberian citizens stood solidly behind him. At the time, majority of his compatriots were said to have ignored his questionable credentials with some, remarking that, "If he had stolen government money to redeem us, then he's damn right." They now believe that his man of the people posture then, was a brilliant strategy he had effectively proffered to get at Doe, remove him from the Liberian number one position, and make himself president.

Up till now, sources close to his aides assert that he has not forgiven, and may never forgive Prince Johnson for capturing and killing Doe before him. Ostensibly, he had meant to have Doe's head as his prize for months of arduous warfare, as the ultimate ticket to the palatial executive mansion. He believed that the ex-President ought to have been captured and killed by his own men instead of those of his former subordinate. Johnson deprived him, and he is said to have felt thoroughly humiliated by the development.

Some say he is known to boast from time to time that though Punishment awaits Johnson for this and his 'other sins against the NPFL' whenever the opportunity arises. To strengthen his unforgivable stance as far as his arch-rival is concerned, Taylor is said not to have forgotten that Johnson facilitated the entry of ECOMOG troops into Liberia, factor that may have kept his pet dream of becoming president of Liberia out of his reach forever.

Unlike Prince Johnson, not a single death can be traced to Taylor's own hands. He has says his Baptist faith stops him from personally killing people, but he is generally described as an opportunist whose action and pronouncements make him a killer of even greater infancy.

He has been known, to have personally ordered the massacre of helpless people



Monrovia awaits true peace

— including women and children — in order to get at anybody or any group which he believes stands in his way. To him, all laws are silent in times of war. He was said to have personally ordered the sack of the Nigerian embassy and those of some other West African countries participating on ECOWAS peace-keeping efforts in September last year an act considered abominable. Not stopping at this, scores of innocent lives of foreigners were snuffed out by members of his NPFL because he decreed it.

Like Doe before him, he had also been accused of systematically liquidating those who started the 'revolution' with him. Moses Duopu, the General Secretary of NPFL (who visited Nigeria on May 7, last year to ask for support for the cause), Johnson Doe, the man whom Liberians say would have been President if Samuel Doe had not rigged the presidential election of 1985, and Elmer Johnson, ex-commander of the 'Black Scorpions' are numbered amongst his victims.

Duopu, from Nimba Country was Samuel Doe's Minister of Labour and, also the ex-president's senior adviser between 1980 and 1983. He was an original member of the General Thomas Quiwonkpa-led NPFL which was involved in the abortive coup of November 12, 1985. He ran away from Doe's Liberia in June 1986, with a price of \$250,000 hanging on his head. He later joined forces with Charles Taylor — also an exiled for-

mer cabinet Minister under Doe — to lead the NPFL invasion which finally led to the demise of the former President. Today, 43 year-old Duopu, married with seven children is a dead man — killed on the instruction of Charles Taylor. It is not clear what Duopu's offences were, but one of his sons disclosed the murder to BBC shortly after it happened late last year.

His reason for killing Johnson Doe, the much respected leader of the Liberian Action Party (LAP) who also joined forces with him to fight ex-president Samuel Doe is also not known. But Taylor was said to have charged him for treason sentenced him to death and summarily ordered his execution.

The main rebel leader's favourite alias for ECOMOG troops is 'the bandits', and he has a list of unprintable named for Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida, the main actor in the ECOMOG initiative. His hatred for Nigeria and President Babangida in particular is widely known to have stemmed from the Presidents camaraderis with the late President Doe. Even Johns has known to have subtle criticisms of the Nigerian government relationship with Doe.

Deprived of Monrovia by the ECOMOG 'Bandits', and his rival Johnson, Taylor 'refuses to recognise the Sawyer-led Interim government. Instead, he created his own semblance of government at Gbarnga, about 115 miles (185 km) North-East of the capital. Although he

has grudgingly agreed to a ceasefire, his interim government has its own ministers and a National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly 1809 — 2097. To them, he is "His Excellency, the President Charles Taylor" and his wife is, "Her Excellency, the First Lady, Mrs. Agnes Taylor". His armed fighters, many of them boys and girls in the junior commandoes are as young as 10 years old, and they are said to outnumber the civilians.

To the members of his governments, salaries are not paid in cash. Each worker received relief food in place of salaries at the end of the month, and before the recent ceasefire agreement in Lome, there was not much to go round because relief organisations were afraid to travel to Taylor-controlled areas for fear of endangering their lives. Others have threatened to pull out of the area if they could not be assured of ECOMOG protection.

The running of the affairs of his government is in the hand of a few trusted cronies: men whose lives he had saved at one time or the other from his own commandoes. Ernest Eastman, his strong advocate and Foreign Minister reportedly almost lost his life on three different occasions at the hands of NPFL rebels.

Taylor and his family do not live in

Liberia. It was gathered that his hideout is in Ouagadougou Burkina Faso. He only travels to Liberia on lightning visits to conduct his affairs. An eyewitness account claims that, during such tours, he does not step out of sight of his fearful-looking foreign mercenary bodyguards. "He no longer trusts his fellow Liberians," it was stated. "He has only one Liberian bodyguard. He knows how much damage he has done to his own country, and he is afraid that some vengence-seeking people would strike him dead. So, he is taking no chances."

To facilitate his movement and disguise his identity in Ouagadougou, he assumed the name Jean-Pierre Mitchell Zoomle. Also, he and his wife Agnes, (nee Reeves) cultivated the personal friendship of captain Blaise Campaore, and his charming wife. Mrs. Campaore is said to be the widow of Benedict Tolbert, the son of the late President William Tolbert toppled in the April 1980 coup led by the then Master-Sergeant Doe. Mrs. Campaore is also the adoring foster daughter of President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire. Since the Tolbert family had an axe to grind with Doe, Taylor easily founded a comfortable but formidable alliance with the Ivorian and Burkinabe Presidents, respectively.

Taylor also succeeded in wooing the monied business and political class whom Doe had chased into exile. His backers were said to have included powerful Americo-Liberians in exile who needed to gain back the economic power they had lost when Doe's People's Redemption Council (PRC) struck in 1980, killing members of the Americo-Liberian ruling class like common criminals. For them, it was vergesence time.

Taylor was seen as their hope, and they garnered support for him, bringing along strong foreign allies. But before the Ivorian President, Houphouet-Boigny came on Board, he had burnt his bridges in Accra, Ghana. Through the Burkina Faso embassy he was said to have made contact with Libya. By the time he was ordered out of Ghana, and left for Ouagadougou, he had consolidated his Libyan contact and gained direct access to President Muammer N. Gaddafi.

It was also necessary for Taylor to maintain his support in America with the Liberian community, even though he had a handicap — he could not enter the U.S. because, an arrest warrant was pending against him for jumping bail. He, however, did not have much difficulty as he had strong allies, including Mr Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, former Minister of Finance in the Tolbert regime, former President of the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment in Doe's government, organiser of LAP, the political organisation that claimed it swept the 1985 presidential and general elections, which was purportedly rigged in favour of Doe's National Democratic Party of Liberia, (NDPL).

In convincing the natives to embrace his NPFL, Taylor was said to have first sought the support of one Tomie King, an in-law of the Tolberts. Although, Americo-Liberians, the Tolbert family had, in the Doe years, identified with the plight of the people of Nimba County, — the Gios and the Manos, who had suffered considerably in the hands of Doe and his Krahn tribesmen.

Most of the atrocities Taylor's NPFL committed are stomach churning, from the horrible tales that are beginning to emerge. For instance, his troops were said to have entered a mosque in Lofa County and murdered seven Imams, who had come to take refuge. The militants, later, claimed that they mistook the Imams for government informants. In another instance, they reportedly entered the Ganta Leprosy Centre in Nimba County, shot 80 lepers, and later claimed that they mistook the dead lepers for government troops.

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Rawlings ordered Taylor out of Ghana

Doe have proven that in this war, morality and the love of his country are contraband to the rebel leader. Today, after witnessing the unpardonable havoc he wreaked in Liberia and the merriness of his merciless massacre of his compatriots and foreigners who came his way, the same people who heralded him as the Messiah thirteen months ago now describe him as a tyrant, as corrupt as Doe; a man corrupt in peace and war. "We can see through him now," one refugee told *Newbreed*.

Charles Taylor started his campaign against Doe on December 24, 1989 as the bastion of hope for all peace-loving Liberians. Even foreigners who lived or are well informed about the tiny country of about 2.4 million people believed he was God's messenger, a 'Moses', come to redeem the masses from the reign of terror unleashed on them by Doe the 'Pharaoh'.

Although he had a soiled image, (that of a hardened rogue who stole government money and then jumped bail on the U.S.), Liberian citizens stood solidly behind him. At the time, majority of his compatriots were said to have ignored his questionable credentials with some, remarking that, "If he had stolen government money to redeem us, then he's damn right." They now believe that his man of the people' posture then, was a brilliant strategy he had effectively proffered to get at Doe, remove him from the Liberian number one position, and make himself president.

Up till now, sources close to his aides assert that he has not forgiven, and may never forgive Prince Johnson for capturing and killing Doe before him. Ostensibly, he had meant to have Doe's head as his prize for months of arduous warfare, as the ultimate ticket to the palatial executive mansion. He believed that the ex-President ought to have been captured and killed by his own men instead of those of his former subordinate. Johnson deprived him, and he is said to have felt thoroughly humiliated by the development.

Some say he is known to boast from time to time that though Punishment awaits Johnson for this and his 'other sins against the NPFL' whenever the opportunity arises. To strengthen his unforgivable stance as far as his arch-rival is concerned, Taylor is said not to have forgotten that Johnson facilitated the entry of ECOMOG troops into Liberia, factor that may have kept his pet dream of becoming president of Liberia out of his reach forever.

Unlike Prince Johnson, not a single death can be traced to Taylor's own hands. He has says his Baptist faith stops him from personally killing people, but he is generally described as an opportunist whose action and pronouncements make him a killer of even greater infamy.

He has been known, to have personally ordered the massacre of helpless people



Monrovia awaits true peace

— including women and children — in order to get at anybody or any group which he believes stands in his way. To him, all laws are silent in times of war. He was said to have personally ordered the sack of the Nigerian embassy and those of some other West African countries participating on ECOWAS peace-keeping efforts in September last year an act considered abominable. Not stopping at this, scores of innocent lives of foreigners were snuffed out by members of his NPFL because he decreed it.

Like Doe before him, he had also been accused of systematically liquidating those who started the 'revolution' with him. Moses Duopu, the General Secretary of NPFL (who visited Nigeria on May 7, last year to ask for support for the cause), Johnson Doe, the man whom Liberians say would have been President if Samuel Doe had not rigged the presidential election of 1985, and Elmer Johnson, ex-commander of the 'Black Scorpions' are numbered amongst his victims.

Duopu, from Nimba County was Samuel Doe's Minister of Labour and, also the ex-president's senior adviser between 1980 and 1983. He was an original member of the General Thomas Quiwonkpa-led NPFL which was involved in the abortive coup of November 12, 1985. He ran away from Doe's Liberia in June 1986, with a price of \$250,000 hanging on his head. He later joined forces with Charles Taylor — also an exiled for-

mer cabinet Minister under Doe — to lead the NPFL invasion which finally led to the demise of the former President. Today, 43 year-old Duopu, married with seven children is a dead man — killed on the instruction of Charles Taylor. It is not clear what Duopu's offences were, but one of his sons disclosed the murder to BBC shortly after it happened late last year.

His reason for killing Johnson Doe, the much respected leader of the Liberian Action Party (LAP) who also joined forces with him to fight ex-president Samuel Doe is also not known. But Taylor was said to have charged him for treason, sentenced him to death and summarily ordered his execution.

The main rebel leader's favourite alias for ECOMOG troops is 'the bandits', and he has a list of unprintable named for Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida, the main actor in the ECOMOG initiative. His hatred for Nigeria and President Babangida in particular is widely known to have stemmed from the Presidents camaraderis with the late President Doe. Even Johns has known to have subtle criticisms of the Nigerian government relationship with Doe.

Deprived of Monrovia by the ECOMOG 'Bandits', and his rival Johnson, Taylor 'refuses to recognise the Sawyer-led Interim government. Instead, he created his own semblance of government at Gbarnga, about 115 miles (185 km) North-East of the capital. Although he

has grudgingly agreed to a ceasefire, his interim government has its own ministers and a National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly 1809 — 2097. To them, he is "His Excellency, the President Charles Taylor" and his wife is, "Her Excellency, the First Lady, Mrs. Agnes Taylor". His armed fighters, many of them boys and girls in the junior commandos are as young as 10 years old, and they are said to outnumber the civilians.

To the members of his governments, salaries are not paid in cash. Each worker received relief food in place of salaries at the end of the month, and before the recent ceasefire agreement in Lome, there was not much to go round because relief organisations were afraid to travel to Taylor-controlled areas for fear of endangering their lives. Others have threatened to pull out of the area if they could not be assured of ECOMOG protection.

The running of the affairs of his government is in the hand of a few trusted cronies; men whose lives he had saved at one time or the other from his own commandos. Ernest Eastman, his strong advocate and Foreign Minister reportedly almost lost his life on three different occasions at the hands of NPFL rebels.

Taylor and his family do not live in

Liberia. It was gathered that his hideout is in Ouagadougou Burkina Faso. He only travels to Liberia on lightning visits to conduct his affairs. An eyewitness account claims that, during such tours, he does not step out of sight of his fearful-looking foreign mercenary bodyguards. "He no longer trusts his fellow Liberians," it was stated. "He has only one Liberian bodyguard. He knows how much damage he has done to his own country, and he is afraid that some vengeanceseeking people would strike him dead. So, he is taking no chances."

To facilitate his movement and disguise his identity in Ouagadougou, he assumed the name Jean-Pierre Mitchell Zoomle. Also, he and his wife Agnes, (nee Reeves) cultivated the personal friendship of captain Blaise Campaore, and his charming wife. Mrs. Campaore is said to be the widow of Benedict Tolbert, the son of the late President William Tolbert toppled in the April 1980 coup led by the then Master-Sergeant Doe. Mrs. Campaore is also the adoring foster daughter of President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire. Since the Tolbert family had an axe to grind with Doe, Taylor easily founded a comfortable but formidable alliance with the Ivorian and Burkinabe Presidents, respectively.

Taylor also succeeded in wooing the monied business and political class whom Doe had chased into exile. His backers were said to have included powerful Americo-Liberians in exile who needed to gain back the economic power they had lost when Doe's People's Redemption Council (PRC) struck in 1980, killing members of the Americo-Liberian ruling class like common criminals. For them, it was vengeance time.

Taylor was seen as their hope, and they garnered support for him, bringing along strong foreign allies. But before the Ivorian President, Houphouet-Boigny came on Board, he had burnt his bridges in Accra, Ghana. Through the Burkina Faso embassy he was said to have made contact with Libya. By the time he was ordered out of Ghana, and left for Ouagadougou, he had consolidated his Libyan contact and gained direct access to President Muammer N. Gaddafi.

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his men lined up hundreds of Krahn and Mandingos and shot them to death by the roadsides; leaving their bodies to be eaten by dogs and vultures, or to rot away.

Four of his commandos reportedly shot ten men at a temporary base. With the bodies scattered around, they prepared their afternoon meal. When they were set to eat, they started shaking the bodies in jest, asking the dead men to come to lunch. "Well, if you won't eat," one of them was accused of saying, "we're going ahead." After the meal, they tossed the bodies into a nearby river.

Escapees from war-torn Liberia pointed out that when in a sporting mood, NPFL soldiers will behead a victim. The famous slang 'Namba Perfume' was coined by the commandos for the stench of rotten bodies. Refugees passing by were not permitted to hold their noses against the nauseating stench.

There are reports that the Mandingos, an industrious group also favoured by Doe, were executed in their droves and their gold mines and diamond creeks taken over by Taylor's men. Not satisfied with these, they enslaved their widows and children, forcing them to work in the creeks and mines. An eyewitness account indicates, that as a deterrent for the young girls, between the ages of 13 and 18 years, not to escape, they are usually stripped naked. These Mandingo women worked in the mines during the day and kept the beds of the commandos warm by night.

Those reports were believed to have infuriated the Guinean President Lansana Conte, since Guinean Mandingos were living in their thousands in neighbouring Liberia. He had wanted to move troops into the Lofa and Nimba Counties to fight Taylor's men, but he was restrained by the ECOWAS Peace Plan.

Notwithstanding, in Banjul, Gambia, at the meeting of ECOWAS leaders, Conte was still adamant, and he insisted that diplomatic niceties should not be extended to Taylor as he was a mere rebel leader. Sources close to that meeting disclosed that, it was Ghanaian leader, Ft. Lt. Jerry Rawlings, who cooled the heat and persuaded the conference that Liberians should be allowed to choose their own leaders.

Taylor has succeeded in controlling the economic zones of the country and he has never refuted allegations that he has been busy exporting rubber, timber, gold, diamonds, iron-ore, palm oil and other produce, and pocketing the proceeds. He is believed to have been telling his lieutenants that the money is being used to fund the war. Also with the support of his business cronies whom they say are in Europe, the United States and Africa including Nigeria, he is believed to have been able to forge more international business alliances. "To him, this war is strictly business," one of his compatriots allege.



Campeare

However, many have alleged that he is no longer in control of his men, hence, some of the atrocities he is accused of, he probably knows nothing about. Meanwhile, observers believe that his actions and utterances in the cause of this war, has shown him to be a slave of ambition and desperation. They point out that this is where Prince Johnson fares better than him.

According to the history may judge Prince Johnson more fairly despite his eccentricities, callousness and other shortcomings. He may be considered as a man with altruistic motives in the role he had played so far in the Liberian crisis. He eliminated Doe, thereby bringing about the possibility of creating a new political order in the war-ravaged country. He created room for ECOWAS Peace Plan to stop the unnecessary carnage that had become a pass time. And above all, he has not shown himself as a man driven by any blind ambition to rule Liberia. As a matter of fact, he had consistently reiterated that he does not want to be President. "You may not like his methods," said a Liberian refugee, "but you cannot deny the fact that he had shown considerable interest in finding a lasting solution to the crisis." However, Johnson is hell bent on stopping Taylor from ruling Liberia.

For Charles Taylor, the man who wants to be President by all means, the only monument of this war may be the dead, the lame and the forlorn; certainly not the presidency. There are all indications that the man may never receive the mandate of his people. "Oh, so he wants to be president," a Liberian refugee sneered with his bastardized American accent, adding "The dead, the disabled and those

who had been rendered homeless will vote him president."

The refugee reeled off Taylor's "sins" which he said would always be in the archives of history: "He has thwarted all peace efforts, antagonising all those who are willing to help us; he has been killing innocent citizens; he has made our country very unattractive to live in. To me, Taylor is worse than Doe."

A political scientist from the University of Lagos, who prefers anonymity agrees that Taylor's motives in this war appear to have been largely selfish. Quoting Charles Colton, he stated, "For what are the triumphs of war, planned by ambition, executed by violence and consumed by devastation? The means are the sacrifice of many, the end, the bloated aggrandizement of few."

Truly, Taylor hates ECOCOG with a passion; the peace-keeping force thwarted his ambitions. It does not matter to him that most Liberians who have experienced the horrors of war and hunger will forever be grateful for the initiative taken by Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone to find peace in Liberia.

Today, despite the ceasefire agreement, Taylor's duplicity is said to be more pronounced than ever. Among the NPFL rebels are groups known as the 'Batter Gang'. It is believed to be simply, a death squad, with the crude style of battering perceived enemies to death.

The 'Batter Gang' is led by one Isaac Musa. Despite the ceasefire accord recently signed, the group is said to be as formidable as ever, and a law unto itself.

Nevertheless, sources indicate that the AFL (Armed Forces of Liberia) camp has been putting up a spirited fight against the death squad. In a recent move, the present leader of AFL, Major General J. Hezekiel Bowen was said to have ambushed some of them, including one of their leaders named Tilley, and had them executed to stem their menace.

According to recent escapees from Taylor held areas of Liberia, the menace of the death squad is the major headache of thousands of Nigerians and members of other ECOWAS countries who are currently being held hostage by the NPFL in open fields in different parts of the country. There are reports that Nigerians constitute more than 60 per cent of the hostages estimated to be about 5,000 people. "I think you should cry out that your government does something to secure 3 their release before the batter group pounces on them," a Liberian refugee told Newbreed.

Written by Toyin Egunjobi with reports from Special Correspondents ▼

It Is A Change Not A Distortion - Gado Nasko



Newbreed: Honourable Minister, Sir, we're happy you were able to see us at short notice, especially as your press secretary informed us that you have reservations about our story on Abuja. We, therefore, thought we should have an interview with you.

Hon. Minister, FCT (MFCT): You're welcome.

NB: Some of your ministry's activities, last year, come to mind. Specifically, I remember that there was this order from your establishment, to various bodies, stating the intention to revoke the tenancy of all private organisations using your premises. We want to know what has happened to this directive. Have your been able to get the houses back?

MFCT: Well, I'll say that we have, at least, achieved 80 per cent success. And it is not correct when the papers are writing to say that we are massively ejecting people. We are law-abiding citizens. We entered into agreement with various companies. Now, what we did is to say that, once the agreement expires, we are not going to renew the agreement. So, everybody knew that it was an agree-

ment legally entered into, and we were informing people that, once it is time, please, we want to make use of our houses.

So, we are recovering the houses, based on the termination of the agreement. To that end, I would say that we have succeeded in recovering quite a number, and such houses that have been recovered have also been allocated to appropriate authorities.

NB: Sir, we know that it was also meant to help government get its own landed property for use. How many people, so far, sir, in terms of civil servants who really need accommodation have actually been accommodated?

MFCT: Oh, since the last exercise, you remember that we have been able to move the Ministry of External Affairs, fully, and we're again contemplating the movement of the Ministry of Budget and Planning very soon, so, you can see that we must have recovered a substantial number.

NB: Now, to take you up on the Ministry of External Affairs matter. There has been this idea that the ministry received special

treatment, because of the way they were rushed into moving and the fact that they got accommodation, easier than others. So, we want to know why the special treatment was given to this ministry.

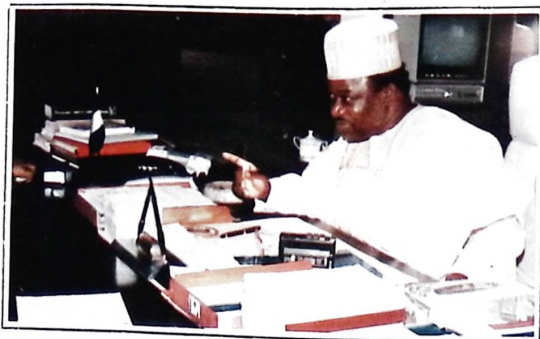
MFCT: Well, you know the External Affairs is a peculiar ministry. They are special in their manner and the way they operate, we have to accept that fact. It is not that others have not been recognised, or that they were not given.

It is something which we have retrieved on our own and which we have built on our own, and the quality is better than what we found before and this is why people are thinking of special treatment. But, thank you for that observation! Because others are saying that we do not provide, now you are saying that we have provided (laughter).

NB: I was even thinking that some staffs have not been accommodated, because some are still living in Lagos. So, have all the ministry staffs been accommodated?

MFCT: Well, from all the list they have given us, we have provided them. But, there are so many houses which they have not occupied and I'm trying to find out why those houses are not occupied. Some people say that some are squatting, with others. Some say there are still people not having houses, they come and they work, and because their families are still in Lagos, they enter the aircraft at weekends and go to Lagos. May be this is why they don't want houses. But I hope that, by the time Mr. President moves in here, then the remnants of the excuses they are having, to leave their families in Lagos will have to disappear. By that time, they will find it more beneficial to move their families to Abuja. Well, if it continues, even after that and nobody occupies them, we will have to re-allocate them, to people who really need them for fear of illegal occupants, or those who may want to vandalise them.

NB: But, sir, don't you think they are going to have problems getting schools for their children?



MFCT: They don't have! Because, before any civil servant moves, he tells us how many children he has, the various classes of those children, and we make sure we tell him, "this is the school, the class, where your child is going to be," before ever he moves here.

NB: Thank you sir. Also, the central government district, referred to as the central district, seems to be the slowest of the areas which are being developed. How soon will this be reviewed, or is this a deliberate plan, sir?

MFCT: No, it's not a deliberate plan. It is the private sector that is there, the centre for business enterprise, and I've addressed this issue during the budget speech where we said we will not give any warning order anymore. We will revoke any certificate of occupancy on failure of the individual or company to begin immediate development of his own property.

NB: How long do you give them to make good their certificate of occupancy (C of O)?

MFCT: It is normally three years and most of them must have exceeded those three years, so, we're looking into all the records to see those ones that must have exceeded the time limit, and we will not hesitate to revoke and give to more serious companies that would want to develop such properties.

NB: Okay, to take you up on that, how do you hope to get the private sector to contribute speedily to the building of this place?

MFCT: You'll help us. People like you should help us to plead with Nigerians. To tell them that this city is for all Nigerians and it's not only for government. We're not building barracks, like

the one you are saying, we're building a city and it is the citizens of a country that build cities. So plead to them that there is every opportunity here. We will provide all the infrastructure, the water, the sewage system, the electricity and all the roads. So, their's to come and put up the buildings.

NB: So, don't you think you need more ...

MFCT: Incentives?

NB: No! stronger tactics, than pleading with them. For instance, if people renege, they can be edged on, i.e. some of these companies that are wasting time. There are ways you can let them know that you're serious about their part in this city, instead of expecting the press to plead with them. Because it might be that they are expecting to take their time, and continue making money in Lagos. There should be a strong way of ensuring they comply.

MFCT: Yeah, well, this is why we say we're revoking. A stronger way? We can't send them to court and we cannot jail them. So, the best we can do is to take our property, and this, we will do. But based on the legal provisions.

NB: What about real estate developers?

MFCT: Oh yes, we have also called up on them. During my budget speech, I said government is not likely to continue to build houses, and this is why we are inviting the private estate developers to come in full force so that they can provide these houses to the totality of Nigerians. Now, everybody, including the junior staffs of the government, want government to provide them with accommodation. It has never been so in the past. Government cannot be able to provide all that much. There's a limit to everything. Er, the development is sup-

posed to be 60/40. 40, the private sector and 60 the government, and government has fulfilled its obligations fully, so it is you and I that have to come and do the rest.

NB: Considering the kind of tasks with which your ministry is saddled, one would have expected a deliberate policy on the part of the ministry to enlighten the public and let them know exactly what you are doing and the real situation on the ground. Is there a programme to that effect, sir, in the ministry?

MFCT: Well, I just brought Mr. Bassey as my information officer, and I decided to ask for him because I found that he had some ideas. He was in the Ministry of Agriculture. I left him there and then he was waiting to me, bringing some kind of ideas which will actually send the message across to the people. If you see him, he'll be able to give you the details of what he intends to do, so that people are very well informed. Both people who are privileged to be here and those that will not like to be here, are only trying to say that the place is a bush and that it can never be habitable by any category of people.

When the truth is told, then it's left for them to see for themselves that we are doing something about that. So this year, actually, we feel that a lot of publicity and sending down the correct information to the totality of Nigerians has to be done so that there will be no dispute.

NB: Now that you have talked about how you brought Mr. Bassey from Agriculture, that is another opportunity for you to talk about your plans for this Ministry. You moved from the Trade and Tourism Ministry to the Agriculture Ministry and you have now moved to the FCT Ministry. Unofficial sources imply that you are here because of your achievements in those places. So we want you to tell us in a little more detail, some of the plans you have, not only to revive the dream of the capital city, but to carry the people along with you.

MFCT: Well, a word you used, revive, means you are implying that the Federal Capital is dead and we're going to revive it.

NB: Not the Federal Capital, the dream; the vision that our past leaders had of the city which has been slowly changing in reality, that is now distorted in people's perception.

MFCT: Is it distorted? You see, it's not true, so this is why we have this programme of enlightenment, to tell the

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NEWBREED APRIL 15 1991

Awotunsin, Imodibie's killer executed

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Charles Taylor's henchman, Putu Major, the man who was said to have murdered the two Nigerian Journalists in Liberia (Tayo Awotunsin and Krees Imodibie) is no more. Information that trickled out of the Taylor camp indicated that Putu Major himself was executed either late in January or very early in February this year, on the orders of his boss Charles Taylor.

As the account from NPFL sources go, Major was getting too powerful, and his evolution was beginning to read like the Charles Taylor/Prince Johnson debacle. Taylor had to stem it.

Charles Taylor reportedly ordered his arrest when Major killed a favoured member of the Special Commando. Putu Major fought back. With his followers, he chose the path of mutiny against Taylor and the NPFL. With his supporters, he laid ambush for all that were against him.

According to sources, his boldest move was the ambush he laid for the car in which Taylor's wife, and two children were travelling. They survived the ambush, but there were reports that they sustained injuries.

Paul Vie, described as Taylor's main hatchman; the man who could kill without reprimand was said to have been given the deadly assignment of fishing Putu Major out. He did, on or about January 30, this year. He later executed him.

This development is the latest twist in the sad tale of how Awotunsin and Imodibie were callously murdered. Following confirmation of the gruesome killings earlier this year, Charles Taylor attempted to sidestep responsibility for the act by claiming ignorance. However, the latest evidence on the circumstances of the killings squarely locate responsibility in his hands.

This new information is gleaned from statements Awotunsin and Imodibie made while in captivity, as well as from evidence given by a defected National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) commando and a lady insider - both of whom spoke with *Newbreed's* special correspondent in Monrovia and Freetown.

Although the sources of the story on the journalists' death cannot be disclosed, authentication came from the lady referred to above. She was told about the execution of Awotunsin and Imodibie moments after it was carried out, and she later saw their bodies lying by the roadside on the LAC (Liberia Agricultural Company)/Buchanan Highway. The LAC is situated about 30 miles from the port city of Buchanan.

Further verification of the story was provided by the former NPFL commando who declared that "the two journalists were just unlucky". Their deaths, the commando asserted, definitely came at the hands of Putu Major - now Charles Taylor's only Liberian bodyguard. He could not confirm whether one Philip Sangai, the supply officer, who took them off their guest house under the pretext of finding them safer accommodation, participated in the killings.

Copies of statements written by the two journalists were shown to *Newbreed* but could not be released.

The story of Awotunsin and Imodibie started from the Liberian Embassy in Lagos where they had gone for clearance to cover the conflict in Liberia. Awotunsin, and Frank Igwebueze of the *African Concord* passed through the embassy where they were given permission, visas and advice. Imodibie however, did not use the services of the embassy in Lagos. As an ECOWAS citizen, he is not obliged to do so.

Following the permission granted the reporters to cover the conflicts, the Liberian Ministry of Information received a telex request from the press counsellor in Lagos and promptly replied that they were welcome.

The story of the reporters as pieced together from their different statements indicate that they both arrived Liberia in June 1990 by different routes. Imodibie



Imodibie and Awotunsin: More light in their killing

entered Liberia by road from Guinea. On his part, Awotunsin also entered by road; but came by way of Cote d'Ivoire, passing through the Taylor NPFL-controlled Maryland County until he finally arrived Monrovia.

Our sources indicate that had the journalists entered Liberia incognito, it would have been difficult to piece a coherent story on their fate together - seeing as they lost their lives in the conflict. As it turned out, the twosome were seen by many local journalists in Monrovia, and soon got to know them by name.

The source further stressed, that the subsequent detention of the two journalists in Buchanan was no secret as they were made to write statements on arrival in the city. Their presence, in Buchanan, the commando continued, was well known to several persons - especially local colleagues who may have put in words for their release and who very nearly succeeded in that venture.

Back in Monrovia, Awotunsin and Imodibie stayed at the Hotel Nevada.

After being accredited by the Ministry of Information, they went about collecting stories for their respective papers at home. But just around this time, fighting in Monrovia between Johnson's forces and the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), intensified and they were locked up in their hotel rooms living on water and canned sardines. When fighting subsided became broke and succeeded in raising a LID3,000 (three thousand Liberian dollars) loan from a Nigerian businessman.

The fighting between the AFL and Johnson's forces broke out again and did not subside until August 3, 1990. On this day, they decided to leave for the sanctuary of the Nigerian Embassy, some five miles away from city centre and as they set out on their journey, their ordeal began. On their way to the embassy they were arrested by some of Johnson's soldiers who placed them against a wall and were about to execute them. Their pleas that they were journalists were heard by a senior among rebels who spared their lives. He took them to Prince Johnson who at that time had pitched camp on Water Street, downtown Monrovia. They wrote that after Johnson had reviewed their press accreditations, he set them free and explained to his men that these were journalists and should not be harmed but given maximum protection. The two journalists then informed Johnson that

they were enroute to their embassy and asked if he could provide them with escorts. Johnson told them it was not safe for them to go to the embassy as his men



• Major General Dogonyaro

were battling Taylor's forces in that area. He advised them to go to Bushrod Island, and as the route to the Sierra Leone border was open, they could follow the crowd of refugees going towards Sierra Leone on foot. They agreed. After travelling on foot for five days, they arrived Tieni (roughly 85 miles from Monrovia) in Cape Mount County. Tieni is about seven miles from Bo, the Liberian town on the Liberia/Sierra Leone border.

Cape Mount areas was under NPFL control and all those crossing into Sierra Leone had to have passes to be endorsed at each check-point. When they presented their passes for endorsement at Tieni, the commander there refused to endorse them. He told the journalists that the endorsement of their passes could only be done by his superior who was then away. They therefore, had to spend the night in Tieni while awaiting the arrival of the commander one Oliver Varney, commander of the NPFL 6th Battalion. When he did arrive, instead of endorsing their passes, he decided to take them back to Robertsport, the capital of Grand Cape Mount County, now turned into headquarters of the 6th Battalion.

Commander Varney was nice though, and he took them to the hotel the battalion was using as its headquarters. They spent the nights of August 9, and 10 there.

On Saturday, August 11, Commander Varney decided to transfer the two journalists with three others to

Buchanan, Grand Bassa County, some 92 miles from Monrovia. As the journey by road will have to take them through Monrovia, it was rather made by boat and they arrived in Buchanan on Sunday.

It was on their arrival in Buchanan that things turned for the worse. A commando, Putu Major, (now part of Charles Taylor's body guards and the only Liberian believed to be among his mercenary bodyguards, and who the covering letter handing the prisoners over from Robertsport was addressed to) after reading the covering letter became hostile and accused the two journalists of being spies of the Nigerian government. He took his pistol and hit Tayo in the face and chest leaving him bleeding from an opening in his face. Major then took them to the Military Police Headquarters in Buchanan where they were briefly interrogated. They were then stripped naked and given some lashes of the cane before being locked up.

The former NPFL commando who spoke with *Newbreed* disclosed that 45 minutes later, the same Putu Major returned and gave them their clothes back and left strict instructions that no one should molest them.

The lady's account corroborated that told by the defected commando about the prison experience of the two journalists, especially, where they said a good samaritan brought them food, toothpaste and brushes and fed them for the 14 days (August 12-26) that they were in jail. However, their prison life was not made easy as the young commandos will come each day and threaten to kill them. On each occasion, they had to talk their way out of the threats.

From the two accounts, when news got to Buchanan that ECOMOG was moving into the civil conflict, two commandos came to the cells and threatened to kill the two journalists and some others with them believed to be former government officials. The prisoners who had been praying throughout their ordeal kept vigil on August 26 and 27, and prayed this ordeal will pass away.

Meantime, another activity was going on in Buchanan as the NPFL commandos went about arresting all Ghanaians in the town in response to Taylor's that for every NPFL soldier killed, two Ghanaians or nationals of ECOMOG member countries will be killed in retaliation.

Thus, on August 28, the commando-

came and separated the two journalists from the Ghanaians and they were later told they had been freed.

It is believed that because of press solidarity, the local NPFL press succeeded in convincing Charles Taylor, to get the two journalists to do a propaganda tape that Taylor was the legitimate ruler of the country to be aired in foreign countries. This was believed to be a ruse to secure their release and Taylor bought the idea.

After the video recording, the Gambian NPFL co-leader gave order to Supply Officer (S4) Philip Sangai to take the two journalists to the former LAMCO Guest House and made comfortable.

On August 29, at 9:00 a.m., according to the defected commando, word came from Monrovia that fighting had broken out between ECOMOG and NPFL forces and a special commando had been killed. Putu Major, who was at the front left and travelled all the way to Buchanan. It is not known whether he stopped over in Harbel, where Taylor was at that time to brief him before continuing to Buchanan. When he got to Buchanan and apparently not knowing that the two journalists had been released, he went straight to the jail house in search of the twosome. He was told they had been released. He then sent Philip Sangai to the guest house to bring them down.

At this stage, the story becomes unclear as to whether Putu Major was accompanied by Philip Sangai to execute the two journalists on the Buchanan/LAC highway. But later, eyewitnesses saw their dead bodies lying by the roadside where they had been shot.

The lady observed that, when Taylor was confronted with their deaths, either out of embarrassment or sheer shock on receiving such bad news, he fell into his seat and exclaimed, "Lord, what is this?"

A recent visitor to Buchanan noted that there is a notice posted July 2, warning that there should be no killings except on the battlefield. And there has been the assumption that Taylor, who is not a military man, might have been afraid of losing Putu Major like he lost Prince Johnson hence instead of trying him for murder, he rather promoted him to be his only Liberian bodyguard.

In the wake of the recent revelation about those responsible for killing Awotunsin and Imodibie, calls have been made on the Federal Government

to seek the entrapment of both Putu Major and Charles Taylor in order to try them for their criminal acts. Observers take the position that hitherto a possible cover could have been that the identity of the killers was not known. The same could not be said now. Both Major and Taylor should be given a chance to prove that they are innocent of the charges against them in a Nigerian court of law. This, the commentators, say is the least the government could do to redeem its vow to hold Taylor and his NPFL responsible for any harm done to Nigerians.

But while the nation grieves over the death of the reporters and countless other Nigerians, *Newbreed* investigations in Liberia have unearthed further facts on the scale and nature of atrocities committed against Nigerians and other West Africans by the Charles Taylor-led NPFL rebels.

At the height of Liberia's fratricidal war, rebel leader Charles Taylor's orders

"Till today, their trade mark 'NPFL Death Squad Lives here', can be seen on buildings these death squads occupied."

to his NPFL forces were "for every NPFL soldier killed by the intervening ECOMOG peace-keeping force two citizens of ECOMOG states must be killed in retaliation."

In carrying out their leader's order, a systematic separation of the thousands of people from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, The Gambia, and Guinea, was effected by the rebels in areas held by the NPFL. Citizens of countries serving in ECOMOG were herded together in the auditorium at the Federal University Campus, for example, and at sports stadia in various towns from where they were selectively picked for ritual killings and executions.

Reports of these Nazi-type killings did not come out until refugees started escaping from Taylor's territory into Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Nigeria.

As painful as the death of the two journalists would be to Nigerians, Ghanaians are yet to mourn their university lecturers teaching at the University

of Liberia before the war broke out. They were among the over 2,000 Ghanaians and Nigerians held hostage by Taylor and later slaughtered or shot to death.

As the NPFL forces advanced on the capital, Monrovia, they killed the Krahn, the Mandingos (a predominantly moslem tribe) and anyone suspected of being a government soldier or an informant of government. In Marshall, Magibi County, a coastal area inhabited by Ghanaian fishermen, they arrested the youngmen in the town, tied their arms behind them with both elbows touching, and either shot them at point blank range or slaughtered them with their bayonets. By October, 1990, only two persons survived the holocaust in this area and when the evacuation exercise began, they managed to join one of the ships to go home and tell their story. The whole village was wiped out by Taylor's men because they claimed the fishermen helped government troops to escape.

The NPFL succeeded in advancing from the bushes to be next door to the Executive Mansion, Doe's fortress. The NPFL men were in the foreign ministry building, which shared walls with the Executive Mansion.

In all the towns from Kakata, some 40 miles from Monrovia, to their foreign ministry base in Monrovia, the NPFL forces drove all civilians into refugee camps. Till today, their trade mark "NPFL Death Squad Lives Here," can be seen on building these death squads occupied.

In the refugee camps at Fendell, ELWA and the forests of Grand Bassa and Nimba, the NPFL death squads roam each morning looking for blood which they call "morning coffee". A refugee who escaped from Fendell University's Science and Agricultural College where more than 50,000 persons were kept, revealed that teenagers holding sharpened scalpels will come searching among the refugees for their unfortunate victims. "I want my morning coffee". And not too long afterwards you will hear the wailing of a victim. These killings continued until the refugees resigned their fate to it and victims were just led like sheep to the slaughter house.

It was at the height of these killings that Krees Imodibie, Tayo Awotunsin and Frank Igwebueze arrived in Liberia in June, 1990.



NIGERIA AIRWAYS

SUMMER TIME TABLE: EFFECTIVE : 31ST MARCH 1991 INTERCONTINENTAL

ALL TIMES LOCAL

NIGERIA TO EUROPE

ABUJA TO LONDON	DAY	FLIGHT NUMBER	FRI	W808*	LONDON TO ABUJA	DAY	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	W809**
		DEPARTS ABUJA	1130				DEPARTS LONDON	2130	
		ARRIVES LONDON	1650				ARRIVES ABUJA	0440	

* EFFECTIVE 5TH JULY 1991

** EFFECTIVE SUN 7TH JULY 1991

LAGOS TO LONDON	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
		DEPARTS LAGOS	WT804	WT800	WT802	WT800	WT804	WT806	
		ARRIVES LONDON	1160	1100	1100	1100	1100	0045	
			1730	1650	1730	1650	1730	0715	

LONDON TO LAGOS	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN**	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI***	SAT
		DEPARTS LONDON	WT809	WT809	WT801	WT805	WT801	WT807	WT805
		ARRIVES LAGOS	2130	2130	2130	2130	2130	2130	2130
			0625	0520	0520	0545	0520	0400	0545

1 *** W805 FRI EFFECTIVE 5TH JULY 1991
2 W809** SUN EFFECTIVE 7TH JULY 1991

KANO TO LONDON	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	MON	WED	FRI	W808*	LONDON TO KANO	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	SUN	MON	WED
		DEPARTS KANO	WT800	WT800	WT808* <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>DEPARTS LONDON</td> <td>WT809</td> <td>WT809**</td> <td>WT801</td> <td>WT801</td>				DEPARTS LONDON	WT809	WT809**	WT801	WT801
		ARRIVES LONDON	1305	1305	1305				ARRIVES KANO	2130	2130	2130	2130
			1850	1650	1850				DEPARTS KANO	0315	0315	0315	0315

* W808 FRI EFFECTIVE 5TH JULY 1991

** W809 SUN EFFECTIVE 7TH JULY 1991

PORT-HARCOURT TO LONDON	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	TUE	THU	WT804	LONDON TO PORT-HARCOURT	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	TUE	FRI***	SAT
		DEPARTS P HARCOURT	WT804	WT802	WT804				DEPARTS LONDON	WT805	WT805**	WT805
		ARRIVES LONDON	0845	0845	0845				ARRIVES P HARCOURT	2130	2130	2130
			1730	1730	1730					0400	0400	0400

*** W805 FRI EFFECTIVE 5TH JULY 1991

LAGOS TO ROME	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	WED	SAT	WT840*	ROME TO LAGOS	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	THU	WT841
		DEPARTS LAGOS	WT840	WT840*				DEPARTS ROME	1000	1000	1000
		ARRIVES ROME	0730	0730	SUN			ARRIVES LAGOS	1730	1730	1730

* WT840 SAT EFFECTIVE 3RD AUGUST 1991

** WT841 EFFECTIVE 4TH AUGUST 1991

KANO TO ROME	DAY	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	THU	WT840*	ROME TO KANO	DAY	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	THU	WT841
		DEPARTS KANO	WT840*	WT840*				DEPARTS ROME	1000	1000	1000
		ARRIVES ROME	0155	0155				ARRIVES KANO	1335	1335	1335

* WT840 SAT EFFECTIVE 3RD AUGUST 1991

NIGERIA TO USA

LAGOS TO NEW YORK	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	MON	WED	SAT	WT852*	WT850	WT850	NEW YORK TO LAGOS	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	MON	WED	SAT
		DEPARTS LAGOS	WT852*	WT850	WT850						DEPARTS NEW YORK	WT853*	WT851	WT851
		ARRIVES NEW YORK	0900	0025	0025						ARRIVES LAGOS	1630	1630	1630

* WT852 MON EFFECTIVE 5TH AUGUST 1991

NIGERIA TO SAUDI ARABIA

LAGOS TO JEDDAH	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	THU	WT982	WT980*	WT980**	JEDDAH TO LAGOS	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	MON	FRI	FRI
		DEPARTS LAGOS	WT982	WT980*	WT980**					DEPARTS JEDDAH	WT983	WT985*	WT981**
		ARRIVES JEDDAH	1530	1200	1530					ARRIVES LAGOS	0250	0950	0250

* WT980* THU/FRI EFFECTIVE 1ST AUGUST 1991

KANO TO JEDDAH	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	THU	FRI	WT982	WT980**	WT984**	JEDDAH TO KANO	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	MON	THU	FRI	FRI
		DEPARTS KANO	WT982	WT980**	WT984**						DEPARTS JEDDAH	WT983	WT981*	WT985**	WT981**
		ARRIVES JEDDAH	1735	1735	0105						ARRIVES KANO	0250	2120	0950	0250

** WT980** THU/FRI EFFECTIVE 1ST AUGUST 1991

KANO TO JEDDAH	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	SUN	THU	FRI	WT982	WT980**	WT984**	JEDDAH TO KANO	DAYS	FLIGHT NUMBER	MON	THU	FRI	FRI
		DEPARTS KANO	WT982	WT980**	WT984**						DEPARTS JEDDAH	WT983	WT981*	WT985**	WT981**
		ARRIVES JEDDAH	1735	1735	0105						ARRIVES KANO	0250	2120	0950	0250

** WT980** THU/FRI EFFECTIVE 1ST AUGUST 1991

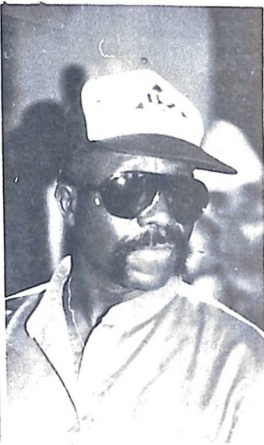
1. * WT852/0 EFFECTIVE MON 5TH AUGUST 1991
2. WT980/1, WT984/5** JEDDAH SHUTTLE TERMINATES 31ST JULY 1991
3. DC10-30 OPERATES ALL FLIGHTS.
4. F, C, Y CLASSES AVAILABLE.



NIGERIA AIRWAYS

Africa's leading airline

Another Blow For Liberia



Emmanuel Shaw and Jenkins Scott: Prominent actors in latest tragedy.

Liberia, already torn asunder by a savage civil war which has destroyed its economy, is now trapped in a macabre drama which threatens to deplete the nation's fast vanishing finances even further. The war-torn West African country is being dragged through the courtrooms of European and American capitals by its own citizens. Already judgement has been entered against the hapless country in some of the suits brought by its rebellious citizens.

The most prominent actors in Liberia's latest tragi-comedy include two of late President Samuel Doe's closest aides - former Finance Minister Emmanuel Shaw II and former Justice Minister Jenkins Scott. Shaw who was reputed to have been especially close to Doe, is also credited with influencing the transformation of Doe's appearance from that of a scrawny, ill-dressed

master-sergeant into that of a modern, afro-haired and sartorially elegant president who became as much noted for his well-cut designer suits as for his intolerance of dissent. Shaw, it seems is set for more achievements in the light of his latest actions against his country.

In London, the Liberia National Petroleum Company (LNPC), of which he is chairman earned a judgement by default against the Liberian government and had the country's Boeing 707 reportedly bought for US\$21m sold for US\$10.5 to satisfy the judgement by default as there was no government then in power and no government official to represent government's interest.

The LNPC was formed in 1989 out of a privatization policy that sold major functions and assets of the Liberia National Petroleum Refining Company to the LNPC owned and operated by Mr. Emmanuel Shaw II (chairman) and Mr.

Mark Wolman, a South African white who transformed his Tiger Petroleum Company into the LNPC. Tiger Petroleum had supplied oil to Liberia for the 10 years that Doe was in power.

Few months into LNPC's operations, Mr. Shaw was appointed Finance Minister by Doe. Mr. Shaw had served as Commerce Minister, deputy Economic Minister for Economic and International Relations, Minister of State for Presidential Affairs, and was one of those who counted the ballots that gave Doe the Presidency in 1985. He, however, relinquished his LNPC chairmanship when appointed Finance Minister.

Liberia's interim President, Dr. Amos Sawyer who disclosed these developments in a recent interview revealed Mr. Shaw and his former cabinet colleague, Justice Minister Jenkins Scott, purportedly as officials of the Liberian government, in July 1990, admitted before the court that Liberia additionally owed LNPC an unspecified amount; that amount, President Sawyer said, could be whatever Mr. Shaw determines it to be at any future date he chooses.

He disclosed "Shaw and Scott filed identically worded confessions of guilt in these cases," and "Mr. Scott did not bother to use official stationery."

Other law suits against Liberia include one brought by Meridien Bank (International) and Meridien Bank (Liberia) and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

In the case filed by Meridien Bank International and Meridien Bank Liberia against the country for US\$8m, judgement was also rendered against Liberia by default.

Dr. Sawyer disclosed that with the interim government now taking charge of affairs, his Finance and Justice Ministers Byron Tarr and Philip Banks, respectively, have filed several motions in New York and New Jersey Courts claiming that the default judgement (in the case of Meridien Banks) ought to be set aside and new trials ordered.

On the 12-year-old debt also filed by Chase Manhattan Bank, Dr. Sawyer revealed this was "routine" to satisfy certain clauses in the loan agreements.

He said Chase as agent for several international banks, sued Liberia in New York last November for US\$130m.

This amount included a US\$60m loan secured from Chase to build the facilities that hosted the 1979 Organisation of African Unity heads of state Summit in Monrovia.

Meantime, he said, his finance and justice ministers are holding "friendly" dialogue with Chase and there are plans to negotiate in the future.

Dr. Sawyer also disclosed that as a result of the judgements, all monies in bank accounts operated by Liberia including some US\$15m of Maritime revenues have been frozen.

He observed that at the time the suits were being filed, Charles Taylor who was claiming to be president of the country was not concerned about them and did nothing to represent the country's interest.

Dr. Sawyer further disclosed that his government is aware of the country's heavy debt burden but that is not of immediate priority as the most important thing to do now is to resettle the people who have been displaced because of the war.

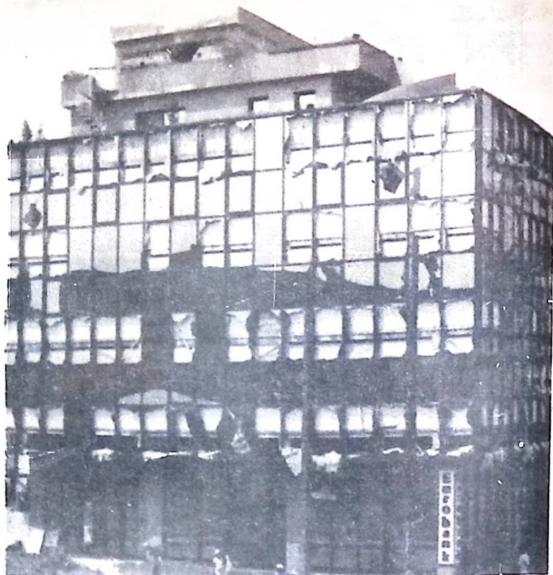
Liberia's outstanding external debt is presently attracting an estimated interest between US\$75m and US\$100m per month as the country remains in default. The country's total external debt obligation stands at US\$3.5 billion.

With such huge outstanding debts, Liberia now a "debt distressed" country has lost its vote at the United Nations. And the country might be expelled from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on February 28, 1991 for failure to meet her obligations.

Liberia's access to World Bank sources were suspended two years ago, while the Brooke Amendment to the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act has been invoked, making American laws to bar the U.S. from aiding Liberia, if she wished, while the overdue obligations remain unpaid.

Dr. Byron Tarr, Finance Minister, also disclosed Liberia's overdue indebtedness to the African Development Bank (ADB) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and others.

Locally, the finance minister revealed, government owed local merchants and



Battered Economy, Battered Banks: Euro- bank in downtown Monrovia

suppliers of goods and services about LID100m (one hundred million Liberian dollars). He, however, described the validity of these debts as "dubious" given the environment which prevailed in the recent past.

Presently, in war-torn Liberia, scarcity of food and other items has brought untold hardship on the country. The severity of the hunger has claimed thousands of lives, and according to UN statistics, more than 50,000 children have died during the past 12 months.

The food and medical situation is being alleviated by relief organisations, but other aspects of life like transportation will have to be revived by Liberians themselves.

Dr. Sawyer is optimistic the international financial world will be lenient and help out with the reconstruction programme for the country and Liberia will recover. However, it is still a long shot from the reality that the international community will be readily on hand to assist when Liberians themselves are plundering the economy and resources further.

Charles Taylor and his NPFL are

known to be exporting gold, diamonds, iron ore, rubber, palm oil and other produce out of the country and pocketing the earnings.

Mr. Emmanuel Shaw who is now suing the country, happened to be the very man who in 1980 negotiated several investment deals with so-called foreign investors that rather impoverished the country and these deals, including that which took the functions from LPRC have been severely criticised by the Liberian public.

He is said to be the same person who imported arms and the "stalin's organs" from Romania that Doe used to kill and maim the people during the civil war.

Mr. Shaw has also remained a key player in the civil war. He was known to be backing Doe and Taylor at the same time. Some reports say he charged Doe three times the cost of the radio telephone he ordered for Doe and used the rest of the money to buy two others for Charles Taylor.

With Doe dead, Shaw and his business associates are now known to be backing Taylor to the hilt.

By A Special Correspondent ■

NRC begins mending fences in Anambra

As the political reality on the ground begins to unfold nationwide, following the recent victory of social democrats over republicans at the December 8, 1990 local government elections, the republicans have now begun a house mending exercise in Anambra State aimed at galvanising a grass root solidarity within the party by harnessing its resources towards the state assembly elections.

Party stalwarts interviewed by *Newbreed* disclosed that intra-party crisis was basically responsible for the poor outing of the National Republican Convention at the poll "and therefore now is the time to bury the hatchets and come to terms with the political reality."

Newbreed gathered that already a political "ECOMOG" from Lagos led by a national delegate of the National Republican Convention has moved into Anambra State and set up a machinery for a peace accord among the two warring factions of the party. Crisis in Anambra State NRC had seriously undermined the leadership of the party in the state and the peace delegates believe that unless the leadership of the party is strengthened the social democrats would surely capitalise on the situation to sweep the polls.

According to analysts, the intra-party crisis in Anambra State NRC was a fall-out of the old cleavages of the deep-seated factionalisation in the defunct Nigerian National Congress (NNC), as the bulk of the membership of the party came from the defunct political association. The NNC in the state was an off-shoot of two social clubs — the Oriental and Charity Clubs — and each of them had their loyalties during the formation of the political association.

With the demise of the old political association, the old cleavages continued their internal fight for dominance in the National Republican Convention, with the result that each faction struggled to plant their candidates as officers of



Onuaguluchi: Influenced the appointment of Nnakife

party in the state. The state chairman of the party, Chief Dim Nnakife is said to have emerged from the faction controlled by Rev. Hyde Onuaguluchi, who was also accused of influencing the election of officers of the state executive council. The other faction controlled by Chief Victor

"It ended up as a group fight for the installation of factional loyalists than party selection process."

Amobi, a gubernatorial aspirant under NRC never gave the state EXCO support needed to run an election as each of them was busy fighting one another.

Before the local government election, *Newbreed* gathered that some big wigs in the state organised peace meetings to unite the party and present a common front, but the moves failed because, as one analyst put it "the people were not psychologically ready for the reconciliation." In fact, two notable personalities in the state, Chief Ikeji from Onowu Nise near Awka and Chief Chike Okagbue from Umunachi in Idemilii Local Government were among those that called for peace meetings without success.

The Chief Amobi-faction complained that they were not going to co-operate with the state executive council because it was imposed on the party. Leadership, they argued was supposed to emanate from the grassroots but in the party it turned out to be a question of those behind the officers. It ended up as a group fight for the installation of factional loyalists than party selection process). This state of affairs, according to *Newbreed* sources, obviously affected the choice of candidates for the local government election with the result that even in areas where NRC had good support, they lost because they did not field the popular candidates.

A good example, according to an NRC source, was the case of Onitsha Municipal



■ Amobi: Realism is important in politics

where the party lost the chairmanship of the council, not because the party was not popular but because a wrong candidate was imposed on the party and electorate. Hence SDP got the protest votes.

Having tested the political barometer of the state, political leaders and analysts in the state went into inter personal and group discussions and came out with the conclusion that "unless we stop imposing candidates on parties and electorate, the consequences will be devastating now that we are facing an "either-or" situation with the two party system."

Newbreed gathered that a reconciliatory move which was initiated in Abuja, led to a peace meeting in Anambra State during the New Year. The peace meeting according to reliable sources, was held at the residence of the state chairman of the party, Chief Dim Nnakife, at Ukpor, in Nnewi Local Government on Sunday, January 6, 1991. Chief Victor Amobi who is a national delegate and, who has been leading the anti-Hyde Onuaguluchi faction, was at the meeting. Among others at the peace meeting were a state delegate,

Mr. Okoye Oyibo, the chairman of the Idemili Local Government Chief Igwe Okolo and the deputy chairman, Mrs. Maria Achebe. Chief Amobi pledged the unflinching support of his followers to the state executives and called on all members of the party to close ranks and fight for victory in the next election. The chairman of the party saluted Chief Amobi's courage and foresight by teaming up with the State Exco and forgetting, the past in the interest of the party.

Although some political observers appreciate the maturity exhibited by Anambra State NRC, at a time other states are calling for the heads of those that imposed wrong candidates on the party and could not deliver their constituency. Others see Chief Amobi's gestures for peace accord as a capitulation. *Newbreed* confronted him at the end of a closed door meeting of party stalwarts in Lagos recently on the peace moves in Anambra State and its cost on his gubernatorial ambition.

Chief Amobi admitted that the crisis in Anambra State NRC is a hangover of a personality clash between him and Hyde Onuaguluchi who was also a gubernatorial aspirant. On how he lost control to the Hyde-faction of the party, he explained: "In political struggle, you have to arrange your permutation. In this case, it worked out for Hyde and consequently it brought disappointment to our camp. However, the reality still remains that, in this process for control, this particular group has become dominant. Realism is important in politics. Everybody must accept the elected officers of the party and then you can influence them to rule effectively. Questioning their right for being where they are is no longer valid."

He further explained that it is his view that it is wiser to allow his opponent in the party to win election strengthening the party rather than carrying on intra party fight that will bring victory to the other party. "This is the new thinking of party members and this is the area I intend to throw my weight behind compromise candidate that can win election irrespec-



National Chairman Tom Ikim

tive of the camp he comes from. I am building bridges across the various camps as a face saving measure and also take the consequences of side talks of those taking it as a capitulation" he stressed.

Now that Chief Victor Amobi and his group have reconciled with the state Exco, rival, Hyde Onuaguluchi? He said "Having reconciled with the party organ in the state, it will send a message that the spirit of reconciliation has begun and it will encourage him to come forward. I am extending same to him and expect his reciprocation. My aim is to close ranks to choose acceptable candidates for the state assembly election and beat the Social Democratic Party (SDP)."

Would he then compromise his governorship aspiration?

"This is why we must water this young tree of reconciliation. The deciding factor in the governorship nomination will be who is the compromise candidate that will win Anambra State for NRC. Such candidate should be put forward, our aim is not for nomination, but, to get Government House, Enugu, which will propel our men to national level. There are even the post of the senate and Vice President, which are higher than the governorship, and are good for party men. After all Anambra has nobody in the national executive council of the National Republican Convention, (NRC). It will still open to us in Anambra NRC. The important thing is for Anambra to do well and cash in on it." he posited

■ Steve Raymond

So Long, Prohibition

Soldiers and Wives flood Nigerian Market with banned Rice



■ *Traders and Goods: It is as if there is no law*



Contrary to the brief of their jobs, security agents in the country whose duty it is to control and check the influx of contraband food items into the country have been aiding smugglers and economic saboteurs to flood the nation's markets with the items. This nefarious activities of these agents is in strict negation of the fact that smuggling and other economic sabotage activities attract life imprisonment as punishment.

In 1989, the Federal Government in order to check smuggling activities along the borders, promulgated Decree 48 of 1989 which prescribed life imprisonment without the option of fine for an offender. Before the decree came into being, then Minister for Budget and Planning, Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, had said that government takes the problem of smuggling in the country seriously. While giving a breakdown of the 1989 budget, the minister warned that the law has the same application for the transportation, storage, display or sale of prohibited items.

A *Newbreed* investigation has shown that apart from the case of Sergeant Amos Akhiede of the Anambra Police Command who was arrested in 1989 for illegal importation of champagne, no

other security agent is known to have fallen victim of this decree. However, a reliable source informed us that the Tinubu office of the Department of Customs and Excise, that smuggling is gradually becoming an exclusive pastime of men and women in uniform, "but because of the Nigerian factor, the long arm of the law cannot reach them." This assertion is given credence by the fact that some members of the armed forces - especially the soldiers and policemen - have been seen at border posts and border towns carrying or helping to carry bags of rice into the Country with brazen disregard to the presence of Customs men.

During a recent tour of Seme and Idiroko borders by a *Newbreed* investigative team, some soldiers were seen filling their military kits with rice and using public transport to bring such into Lagos. This method mostly involve the lower ranks who do not have cars of their own. However, by virtue of their uniforms, they do not have to fear any harassments from customs men at the check points even if other passengers in the same vehicle are faced with a completely different situation.

In his comments on the involvement of some security agents in smuggling rice across the

Country's borders, the Public Relations Officer of the Department of Customs and Excise, Mr. Steve Ajiduah, stated during an interview with *Newbreed* in his office that it was only "the junior people perpetrating this thing." He however pointed out that whenever any of them is caught, he is immediately referred to his superiors to face appropriate disciplinary measures. "The armed forces on the whole are behind the customs," he explained, "after all, they make the law." He stressed that the main problem facing the department was not the armed forces but the vast size of the Country's borders. He told *Newbreed* that up North, the borders are spread out like a broad field "but the law says stay at approved routes." And for this reason, out of the 147 borders in Nigeria, the Customs are only mandated by law to man 571.

Another Custom official who pleaded anonymity deferred almost completely from Mr. Ajiduah's views. He told *Newbreed* that on many occasions, Customs officials had been physically harassed by soldiers in the course of discharging their duties. "Our hands are tied, as it were," he said. He said that receiving instructions from "above" to alter Custom investigations was a common occurrence in the department. "Apart from these handicaps", he boasted, "I can assure you that the Customs are doing their best to fight smuggling in this Country".



■ **Ajidua: The borders are vast**

To drive his point closer home, he alluded to the Chief of Army Staff's recent indictment of soldiers for their unpatriotic activities to undermine the efforts of the Federal Government to curb smuggling in Nigeria. But in the same breath, he accused the government of being inconsistent with its smuggling policies. For instance, he said, in the past Custom men used to visit markets on regular basis to ensure that no market user was dealing in contraband goods "because we are aware that the government also outlawed the sale of these commodities." But what obtains now is that everybody is free to sell or buy whatever he or she likes because the new order from the government stipulates that Custom men should restrict their operations to the borders.

It is against this background that rice markets began to emerge at different locations in Lagos. Mile 2, Oshodi and Bolade are just a few of them. A trader in the Mile 2 market explained to Newbreed that the market had started as a joke sometime early this year. A handful of hardnose traders had capitalized on the strategic position of the place to sell their supplies of rice. gradually, the number began to grow, and before long the pulsating Bus Stop had become too small to contain the teeming crowd of rice dealers. In search of a more spacious place, these traders began to shift their base to the neighbouring Jakande Housing Estate. Today, the market has blossomed so much that people from all over Lagos come there to buy foreign rice - undisturbed, a bag of rice in the market costs between N380.00 and N450.00 (depending on the type) whereas at Seme or Badagry it can go for between N300 and N350.



■ **Goods arrive the market**

Newbreed's investigation further revealed that unless one is a security agent, in which case one may not have to bribe one's way through the check points, it takes between N80 and N100 to bring a bag of rice from Seme or Badagry to Mile 2.

Naturally, the man in uniform who operates with his own vehicle stands to reap enormous gains from this because the only resource he would have spent in transporting the commodity is his fuel. The most intriguing aspect of this whole business is that the security agents in-

volved don't seem to mind being seen in the act. If anything, they seem to be proud of this lucrative venture which in so many ways is different from what they have been used to

Many of them were seen by Newbreed investigators in their uniforms openly selling rice in the market. Some of the people who spoke to our investigative team at Mile 2 alleged that about 80% of the operators of the market were not in uniforms were either wives or relations of soldiers and policemen. Our anonymous source at the Customs Office confirmed this.

It is to be noted that some of the markets for the illegal items operate near military barracks. The Mile 2 market borders the Ojo army barracks. The Bolade market at Ikeja flourishes right at the nose of Ikeja Military Cantonment. This raises doubts about the seriousness of government to fully enforce the harsh penalty of life imprisonment as pronounced by the decree outlawing smuggling.

Speaking to our team on his feelings about this development, Prof. F.O. Fajala of the Dept. of Economics, University of Lagos, accused government of being hypocritical about the whole issue and called for a critical reappraisal. "If you pronounce a ban and cannot enforce your legislation then you have the worst of both worlds: One, the incentive which you have given the (local producers will be ineffective because they will be competing with imported rice. And secondly, we get into clandestine importation and the consumers are not benefiting. So, I think there's need to have critical review of the whole issues," he told.

The idea behind the Federal government's ban on the importation of foreign food items is to encourage the patronage of the locally produced commodities, but with the flooding of the country by the banned "Aroso" and "Agric" rice, the local variety has virtually been chased out of any credible existence especially in our major cities. Prof. Fajala believes that by its failure to effectively enforce the ban, the government has succeeded in throwing itself into a dilemma. "On the one hand," he said, "government wants to ensure that as much as possible Nigeria achieves self-sufficiency in food production in the shortest possible time. And on the other hand government is aware of the need to minimize the pains of SAP. But the problem is that government has not lifted the ban on this commodity and some people are using it to get rich at the expense of the masses."

— Okey Okpa ■



NIGERIA AIRWAYS

DOMESTIC TIME TABLE EFFECTIVE: 31ST MARCH, 1991

ALL TIMES LOCAL

LAGOS TO JOS

DAY	DAILY
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT300
DEPARTS LAGOS	0800
ARRIVES JOS	0910

JOS TO LAGOS

DAY	DAILY
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT301
DEPARTS JOS	0930
ARRIVES LAGOS	1040

*This replaces the 1100 flight to Jos

LAGOS TO ENUGU

DAY	TUE,SAT
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT262
DEPARTS LAGOS	1730
ARRIVES ENUGU	1820

ENUGU TO LAGOS

(Via Port-Harcourt)

DAY	TUE,SAT
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT263
DEPARTS ENUGU	1840
ARRIVES P/H	1910
DEPARTS P/H	1930
ARRIVES LAGOS	2030

** Enugu has been added to the evening flight to Port-Harcourt

LAGOS TO PORT-HARCOURT

DAY	MON,THU
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT104
DEPARTS LAGOS	1730
ARRIVES P/H	1830

PORT-HARCOURT TO LAGOS

(Via Enugu)

DAY	MON,THU
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT105
DEPARTS P/H	1850
ARRIVES ENUGU	1920
DEPARTS ENUGU	1940
ARRIVES LAGOS	2030

*** Enugu has been added to the evening flight to Port-Harcourt.

LAGOS TO KADUNA

DAY	TUE,SAT
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT502
DEPARTS LAGOS	1300
ARRIVES KADUNA	1410

KADUNA TO LAGOS

DAY	TUE,SAT
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT503
DEPARTS KADUNA	1430
ARRIVES LAGOS	1540

*** This is an additional flight to Kaduna.

ABUJA TO KANO

DAY	FRIDAY	(Effective from 5th July 1991)
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT808	
DEPARTS ABUJA	1045	
ARRIVES KANO	1125	

LAGOS TO ABUJA

DAY	FRIDAY	(Effective from 5th July 1991)
FLIGHT NUMBER	WT474	
DEPARTS LAGOS	0830	
ARRIVES ABUJA	0930	

**** This is a direct connection from Abuja via Kano to London.

Please note that the domestic time table is essentially the same as the current schedule except for the above additional flights.

The recently advertised flights to Minna, Sokoto and Benin are still operating.



NIGERIA AIRWAYS

Africa's leading airline



INTRA AFRICA TIME TABLE

LAGOS TO ABIDJAN	DAYS	SUN	MON	MON	TUE	WED	THU	THU	FRI	SAT	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT910	WT912	WT904	WT914	WT902	WT906	WT916	WT918	WT924	WT946
	DEPARTS LAGOS	1700	0745	145J	0745	0830	1430	1845	1615	1400	1545
	ARRIVES ABIDJAN	1720	0910	1555	0805	0925	1620	1905	1740	1420	1655
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	A310	A310	B737	B737	B737	A310	A310	A310	B737
CLASS	F/Y	F/Y	F/Y	Y	Y	Y	F/Y	F/Y	F/Y	Y	
ABIDJAN TO LAGOS	DAYS	SUN	SUN	MON	TUE	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	FRI	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT911	WT947	WT913	WT905	WT915	WT903	WT917	WT907	WT919	WT925
	DEPARTS ABIDJAN	1805	1225	0955	1345	0835	0955	1950	0143	1825	1505
	ARRIVES LAGOS	2130	1615	1215	1715	1145	1150	2210	0455	2150	1935
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737	A310	A310	B737	B737	A310	B737	A310	A310
CLASS	F/Y	Y	F/Y	F/Y	Y	Y	F/Y	Y	F/Y	F/Y	

LAGOS TO ACCRA	DAYS	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT912	WT914	WT920	WT900	WT918	WT924	WT946
	DEPARTS LAGOS	0745	0745	0800	0730	1615	1400	1545
	ARRIVES ACCRA	0735	0925	0750	0720	1915	1555	1535
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737	A310	B737	A310	A310	B737
CLASS	F/Y	Y	F/Y	Y	F/Y	F/Y	Y	
ACCRA TO LAGOS	DAYS	SUN	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	FRI	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT911	WT915	WT921	WT901	WT907	WT919	WT925
	DEPARTS ACCRA	1940	0955	1515	0750	0305	2000	1640
	ARRIVES LAGOS	2130	1145	1705	0940	0455	2150	1935
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737	A310	B737	B737	A310	A310
CLASS	F/Y	Y	F/Y	Y	Y	F/Y	F/Y	

LAGOS TO DOUALA	DAYS	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT904	WT906	WT906	WT904	WT906	WT906	WT946
	DEPARTS LAGOS	1430	1430	1545	2010	2015	2045	1545
	ARRIVES DOUALA	1900	1945	1615	1715	1715	1715	0455
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737	B737	A310	B737	A310	B737
CLASS	F/Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
DOUALA TO LAGOS	DAYS	SUN	TUE	TUE	THU	THU	THU	THU
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT905	WT907	WT907	WT907	WT907	WT907	WT907
	DEPARTS DOUALA	0830	0930	2200	1615	1715	0455	0455
	ARRIVES LAGOS	B737	A310	B737	A310	B737	A310	B737
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	Y	F/Y	F/Y	Y	F/Y	F/Y	Y
CLASS	Y	F/Y	F/Y	Y	F/Y	F/Y	Y	

LAGOS TO BANJUL	DAYS	MON	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT904	WT946
	DEPARTS LAGOS	1430	1545
	ARRIVES BANJUL	1900	1945
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737
CLASS	F/Y	Y	

BANJUL TO LAGOS	DAYS	TUE	THU
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT905	WT907
	DEPARTS BANJUL	1040	2255
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1715	0455
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737
CLASS	F/Y	Y	

LAGOS TO CONAKRY	DAYS	SUN	THU
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT922	WT906
	DEPARTS LAGOS	0730	1430
	ARRIVES CONAKRY	1015	1835
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737
CLASS	F/Y	Y	

CONAKRY TO LAGOS	DAYS	SUN	SUN
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT947	WT923
	DEPARTS CONAKRY	1010	1100
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1615	1605
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	B737	A310
CLASS	Y	F/Y	

LAGOS TO DAKAR	DAYS	MON	THU	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT904	WT906	WT946
	DEPARTS LAGOS	1430	1430	1545
	ARRIVES DAKAR	2010	2015	2045
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737	B737
CLASS	F/Y	Y	Y	

DAKAR TO LAGOS	DAYS	SUN	TUE	THU
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT947	WT905	WT907
	DEPARTS DAKAR	0830	0930	2200
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1615	1715	0455
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	B737	A310	B737
CLASS	Y	F/Y	Y	

LAGOS TO FREETOWN	DAYS	SUN	WED
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT922	WT920
	DEPARTS LAGOS	0730	0800
	ARRIVES FREETOWN	1140	1200
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	A310
CLASS	F/Y	F/Y	

FREETOWN TO LAGOS	DAYS	SUN	WED
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT923	WT921
	DEPARTS FREETOWN	1225	1245
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1605	1705
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	A310
CLASS	F/Y	F/Y	

AIRWAYS

EFFECTIVE: 31ST MARCH, 1991

ALL TIMES LOCAL

LAGOS TO COTONOU	DAYS	WED	THU
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT902	WT906
	DEPARTS LAGOS	0830	1430
	ARRIVES COTONOU	0850	1450
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	B737	B737
CLASS	Y	Y	
COTONOU TO LAGOS	DAYS	WED	SUN
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT903	WT947
	DEPARTS COTONOU	1130	1555
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1150	1615
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	B737	B737
CLASS	Y	Y	

LAGOS TO LIBREVILLE	DAYS	SUN	WED
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT944	WT942
	DEPARTS LAGOS	1815	1500
	ARRIVES LIBREVILLE	2140	1855
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	B737	A310
CLASS	Y	F/Y	
LIBREVILLE TO LAGOS	DAYS	MON	THU
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT945	WT943
	DEPARTS LIBREVILLE	0930	0930
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1255	1325
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	B737	A310
CLASS	Y	F/Y	

LAGOS TO DOUALA	SUN	TUE	WED	SAT
	WT944	WT930	WT942	WT928
	1815	1300	1500	0830
	2025	1500	1725	1030
	B737	B737	A310	B737
CLASS	Y	Y	F/Y	Y
LAGOS TO DOUALA	SUN	TUE	THU	SAT
	WT945	WT931	WT943	WT929
	1045	1530	1100	1100
	1255	1730	1325	1300
	B737	B737	A310	B737
CLASS	Y	Y	F/Y	Y

LAGOS TO LOME	DAYS	MON	THU	FRI	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT904	WT906	WT918	WT924
	DEPARTS LAGOS	1430	1430	1615	1400
	ARRIVES LOME	1410	1450	1555	1710
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	B737	A310	A310
CLASS	F/Y	Y	F/Y	F/Y	

LOME TO LAGOS	DAYS	SUN	TUE	FRI	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT947	WT905	WT919	WT925
	DEPARTS LOME	1355	1530	1640	1755
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1615	1715	2150	1935
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	B737	A310	A310	A310
CLASS	Y	F/Y	F/Y	F/Y	

LAGOS TO NAIROBI	DAY	FRI
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT950
	DEPARTS LAGOS	1000
	ARRIVES NAIROBI	1845
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310
CLASS	F/Y	
NAIROBI TO LAGOS	DAY	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT951
	DEPARTS NAIROBI	0900
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1345
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310
CLASS	F/Y	

LAGOS TO ROBERTSFIELD	DAYS	SUN	WED
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT922	WT920
	DEPARTS LAGOS	0730	0800
	ARRIVES ROBERTSFIELD	0840	1025
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	A310
CLASS	F/Y	F/Y	

ROBERTSFIELD TO LAGOS	DAYS	SUN	WED
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT923	WT921
	DEPARTS ROBERTSFIELD	0925	1110
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1605	1705
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310	A310
CLASS	F/Y	F/Y	

LAGOS TO KINSHASA	DAY	FRI
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT950
	DEPARTS LAGOS	1000
	ARRIVES KINSHASA	1230
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310
CLASS	F/Y	

KINSHASA TO LAGOS	DAY	SAT
	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT951
	DEPARTS KINSHASA	1115
	ARRIVES LAGOS	1345
	AIRCRAFT TYPE	A310
CLASS	F/Y	

* WT920/921 AND WT922/923 WILL OVERFLY ROBERTSFIELD UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.



NIGERIA AIRWAYS

Africa's leading airline

PMAN'S night of missing stars

This year's Nigerian Music Award night has come and gone. Like last year's and its maiden edition, it was a night of grandeur, glitz and glamour. Everything went well until award winners were announced. Ras Kimono, Artiste of the year 1990 and winner of three other awards, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, Chief Stephen Osita Osadebe, Funmi Adams and Mike Okri were not around to receive their awards. That took the shine off the show that was dubbed Africa's greatest entertainment event. "The joy of the show is in seeing winners come out of the audience, radiating happiness and walk onto the stage amidst cheers or jeers to receive their awards" said Clearwater Osigwe, a member of the audience, that night.

The absence of these notable award winners set the mood for speculations. To Fela, winner of the best Afro Artiste, 1990, he does not recognise the Nigerian Music Awards. He believes that the performing Musicians Association of Nigeria, PMAN, is not competent to give awards to outstanding musicians. For this reason, he has continuously snubbed all RMAN organised functions since the organisation came into being. Funmi Adams, winner of the Best Singer of the Year 1990 in the female category, resigned as Vice President of PMAN shortly before the Awards night due to "bad blood" within the PMAN hierarchy. For this reason, she stayed away from the Awards Night.

The story is not any different with Ras Kimono. He believes that he was cheated out of the 1990 awards. Before last year's awards ceremony, he had high expectations. He thought his album, "Under Pressure," would win four awards, but he lost out to Sir Shina Peters whose album, Ace, won for him Artiste of the Year, Album of the Year, Song of the Year and Best Juju Artiste of the Year. Ras Kimono vowed not to attend this year's awards. The best singer of the year, 1990 in the



■ Gen. Sanni Abacha and Mariam Makeba

male category, Mike Okri was at the Award night. But his manager, Pedro Okogie, received his award on his behalf. This drew the wrath of the audience who had watched Mike Okri perform earlier on. Okri's explanation was that he was answering nature's call when his award was announced. He apologised to his fans two days later at Nightshift night club where Ken Caleb Olumense hosted award winners. But, unlike Okri, Ras Kimono and Fela have remained unrepentant.

This non-chalant attitude of musicians towards PMAN has led music lovers to take more than a peep into the affairs of the association. For instance, some people have been casting aspersions on the integrity of the PMAN's Awards committee by questioning the selection process, a

number of entertainment writers had come out with predictions of the winners of the various awards. All of them found out on the Awards night that their predictions were wrong. Mr. Femi Akintunde Johnson, editor of Climax magazine who incidentally served on the publicity committee for the Awards ceremony told *Newbreed* that there was nothing logical in the selection process. He said that "private bias of the Ward Committee members" headed by Mr. Steve Rhodes took precedence over merit.

The case of Ras Kimono and Sir Shina Peters over the Best Song of the Year award readily comes to mind in this regard. According to Mr. Johnson, "both Kimono and Peters are facing allegations of copy right infringement of various dimensions. Hence it is illogical that only Peters should fail nomination"

In the face of all these allegations, Steve Rhodes, Chairman of the Awards Com-

mittee said at the post-award press briefing at Lords Night-Club, Maryland, Lagos, that he had put 40 years into the music industry and has acquired reputation internationally. To safeguard his reputation, he took the pains to go through the processes his committee went through to pick the award winners. He assured that the results were not manipulated to suit any external purpose.

At the same press briefing, PMAN president, Tony Okoroji debunked all claims of foulplay levelled against him. He said that the problems PMAN encountered during the awards arose from inadequacy of funds, insufficiency of time for rehearsals and the activities of "mischievous makers who were bent on bringing shame to PMAN". True, there have been allegations of financial impropriety against the executive of PMAN. Ideas communications, the outfit responsible for generating sponsorship for the awards claimed that proceeds of last year's ceremony and gifts etc. received have not been accounted for by PMAN. All these allegations, Mr. Okoroji said arose as a result of sponsored write-ups in the media alleging fraud and using tribal arguments to cause internal divisions. He said that people even wrote to the government "from all corners" complaining about PMAN.

At the Awards night, on the whole, about 30 awards were won. Other winners were: Kollington Ayinla, best Fuji Artist, Shine Peters, Best Juju Artist, Best Highlife went to Chief Stephen Osta Osadebe, best Gospel Lorine Okotie, Best Pop Artist, Alex O; Best New Artist, Isaac Black; Special Recognition Award, Alhaji Mamman Shatta; Best traditional Musician, Madam Comfort Omege and a lot more.

Some awards really warmed the heart. Three exponents of African Music and Culture were recognised and honoured — Mama Africa, Marian Makeba, Makossa man, Manu Dibango, and Baha Fela Anikulapo-Kuti. They were honoured for their originality and promotion of African Culture. Fela and Dibango were absent. But the lady of songs, Mariam, brought back memories. She is still graceful and strong at 59. Another virtuoso, Sir victor Uwaifo, not only won an award but thrilled the audience with his stage antics. He was the evergreen Award with his old number, Joromi"

However, the awards were not restricted to musicians and the music industry alone. PMAN's Awards Committee recognised the vital role of corporate sponsors. It was therefore decided that an award

would be given to a corporate body (outside the music industry) which gave the highest support to the development of the industry in the year 1990. Makers of Pepsi,



■ Fela: PMAN is not competent to give awards

7-Up Bottling Company won this award. It will be recalled that 7-Up has been winning the Trophy since the inception of PMAN Music Awards three years ago.

Many Music followers believe that 7-Up bottling Company deserved the award. Last May, the company spent thousands of dollars to package one of the best music jamborees that Nigerians have had in recent times. Tagged Pepsi Music Concert, the company signed on the beautiful South African Singer, Yvonne Chaka Chaka and a constellation of Nigerian POP stars. In the group were Charly Boy, Femi Anikulapo-Kuti, Mike Obi, Oris Wiliki and Jambo Express. During the last independence holidays, 7-Up stage another music extravaganza called "Unity Concert", the show not only market Nigerian's 30 years of nationhood but also 7-Up's 30 years of existence on these shores. For two days running the show paraded renowned artistes like King Sunny Ade, Ras Kimono, Mike Okri, Femi Anikulapo-Kuti, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Charly Noy, Dan maraya Jos, Daniel Wilson, Jambo Express and Mike Obi. The large crowd that gathered at the concert venue, Lekki Beach, was thrilled by powerful vibes spewed by the 70,000 watts sound system 7-Up acquired.

Perhaps this year's awards would not have been a success without the generous assistance of sponsors. There were many

of them. but the Nigerian Bottling Company, NBL, stands out as the major sponsor of the event described as the biggest thing in the entertainment industry in Africa. All in all, the company bankrolled the show with over N270,000. It was split into two big chunks — N200,000 sponsorship fund for star beer brands and N20,000 Artist of the year Trophy. In addition, the company donated more than a hundred cartons of star lager and malt drink. Nigerian breweries, Media Relations Manager, Mr. Kalu U. Eme told *Newbreed* that his company took up the sponsorship of the awards because "we want to identify with the society in which we operate. We owe it as a responsibility to the society. We also consider genuine ceremonies or events for sponsorship".

Guinness Nigeria PLC was another generous giver, whose benevolence helped to keep PMAN's Awards Night on course. The company sponsored the Best Reggae Artist Trophy which was clinched by Ras Kimono. Incorporated in Nigeria in 1950 to import and distribute Guinness Stout from Dublin for sale in Nigeria, Guinness Nigeria PLC is now a proud owner of two ultra-modern breweries in Ogba, Ikeja and Benin, Bendel State.

At the end of this year's Awards Night, PMAN was millions of Naira richer. Chief Onwuka Kalu, Chairman of the occasion, warmed the palms of PMAN with N100,000.00. Following on the heels of Chief Kalu was the Chief of Defence Staff, General Sant Abacha. On behalf of the night's special Guest of Honour, General Ibrahim Babangida, General Abacha donated N5 million to PMAN. President Babangida's message to PMAN was clear. He said that the awards, over the years have tilted towards the promotion of western music, "while our music which is rooted in our culture and tradition, and creative in its own right, is either partially ignored or almost forgotten".

For the awards to be more meaningful, the president said, its purveyors have to go back to our roots, study and harness the diverse musical forms of the country. The PMAN, as things stand, appears to be a welfare association that depends solely on donations. To be viable, the president further advised the association to go into partnership with private investors "who may be attracted to the commercial exploitation of the post award materials for national and international communication".

Salif Atojoku, with Jossy Idam, Levi Anyikwa and Tobs Agbaegbu. ■

Metroline Still to Wait

Commuters relief not in sight as Rasaki shifts Metro funding to private sector

URBAN transportation in Lagos may collapse by the close of the century unless the multi million naira metroline project in the state is reviewed. This is in spite of the over N646.35 million already spent in the transport sector in the past seven years. Unfortunately observers says the project has become a child of political circumstance.

Col. Rasaki again gave another indication of shifting the greater part of the project cost estimated at about N7 billion to the private sector. He explained when a delegation of the Nigeria—Brazilian Chamber of Commerce paid him a visit at Ikeja recently that a large percentage of the cost should go to the private sector. Government he said "should construct the corridor for the project while the rail lines would be laid by the private sector".

However, investigations conducted by *Newbreed* revealed that the reviving of the derailed multi billion naira elevated rail project which has been recommended as the panacea for transport problems in Lagos metropolis might be pushed over to the incoming Third Republic civilian administration.

While Rasaki has shown intentions of reviving the project, a top civil servant who pleaded anonymity at the state Works and Transport Ministry told *Newbreed* that "the design of the new Metroline as conceived by the State government is yet to start" barely nine months to the expiration of the tenure of the military administration in the state.

Also, the project base bordering Taylor Drive and Muritala Mohammed Way Yaba, where the project foundation was laid by Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1982, is still overgrown with weeds. Each of the two political parties in the State wants to inherit the "new metroline" from the Military government and as such has brought elements of political gimmickery into the issue.



The Social Democratic Party (SDP), said that the party would revive metroline if voted into office later in the year. The party's publicity secretary, Balogun said that the SDP would complement government effort at reducing transportation problem if elected by reviving the project.

However, a leading gubernatorial candidate of the party in the state Professor Femi Agbalajobi who described the metroline as a "sensitive case" did not say how he intends to carry on with the project if voted into power. He merely boasted, "I have the innermost knowledge about the transportation problem of Lagos State including the Metroline" Transportation, he told *Newbreed* at his 11, George Crescent, Ogba Ikeja, is "a priority in my manifesto; I am in a better position to handle it than all the candidates both in SDP and NRC that have said anything on metroline".

The National Republican Convention (NRC) on the other hand through its state chairperson, Mrs Bosede Oshinowo told Lagosians that the resuscitation of metroline would be "immediate" if elected. According to her, reviving the metroline is one of the cardinal objectives of NRC in Lagos State.

The former civilian governor of Lagos State, Alhaji Lateef Jakande whose administration initiated the programme said that there was no alternative to metroline: "Whether you do it now or you do it tomorrow or in 100 years time the only thing is that it has to be done; it will only cost more, but it has to be done, no matter the cost".

Worried about the delay in executing the project, Alhaji Jakande said, "you see, this is what we could have done with N698 million (initial project cost) but if we do it this year (1991) it will cost about N4 billion; if we delay it further, the cost rises further" He said that the state government must pay 100 million dollars (N900 million naira) to the contractors as damages for suspending the project, stressing, "whether we do it or not we have to pay".

The suspended metroline project was conceived by the Lateef Jakande administration in 1981. It would have featured 30 trains, each of which was programmed to run 28.5 Kilometers on elevated concrete tracks from the Marina on the Island to Agege, crossing over 20 modern stations. The contract was awarded to the French Consortium, Inter Infra, which was said to be handling a similar project in France. The project whose foundation was laid by President Shagari could not progress before the military take over of government in December 1983.

In 1987, the Air Commodore Gbolahan Mudashiru administration, terminated the contract on the grounds that it was over valued. (Then over N100 million had been paid on the project).

There was consideration of options of main transit system before the politicians decided on the metroline and that there that there were no designs and documents which should have been studied before the contract price was negotiated.

The contractors who were understandably piqued by the unilateral action of the military governor, took the State Govern-

ment to the world court. The court awarded a cost of one million dollars about (N9 million) against the State Government of a breach of contract.

According to the terms of agreement between the Lagos State Government and the contractors (1979 — 1983), the proposed Rail Rapid Transit system would have a north — south as well as an east-west corridor. The plan was to build the system in phases. The first phase was to have the north/south corridor which was to consist of two tracks. One track was to run from Ketu beside Maryland Comprehensive School through Ikorodu Road to Idiro.

The second track was planned to run from Agege township on the new Abeokuta Road through Mushin to connect Ikorodu Road track at Idiro — From Idiro the system was to proceed to Obalende either by the Marina or through Adeniji Adele Street. The Ikorodu Road and the Agege Motor Road tracks were also to be linked by a corridor through the Airport Road in Ikeja. About 20 modern metro stations were planned to be built at selected locations along the traffic corridors. Passengers were to be given the option of travelling in first class coaches or in the economy class, the prices of tickets for different classes having appropriate differentials. Electrical energy was to have generated from modern incinerators located in various part of Lagos while the national power grid would have served as a standing source of electrical energy. At peak traffic hours, the proposed project was to have carried over 35,000 passengers per hour.

Newbreed gathered that but for the termination of metroline project, its first phase with a capacity to carry about 1.05 million people a week, could have been completed in 1989. And by 1995, when the entire mass transit programme was slated for completion, its capacity would have risen to 2.3 million people a week.

Observers were of the view that if the contract had been executed, according to its original conception, the present serious transportation problem experienced by commuters in Lagos and its environs could have been drastically reduced.

Transport experts blamed the State Government for channeling its resources in the road transport sector at the detriment of rail and water transport.

Dr. Olayinka Balogun, an Associate Professor of Geography, University of Lagos warns that unless a "Mass transit system" that could guarantee transportations of large number of people is introduced quickly, the problem of transportation would be worse in the nearest future." Dr. Balogun believes that the congestion experienced by commuters on roads is because of lack of a system that would ensure the provision of special



Allison: Emphasis has been laid on land water and rail transport



Jakande: There is no alternative to the metro

routes for mass transit vehicles to play only. According to him government should come out with a master plan allocating special routes to special vehicles at each point in time to avoid congestion.

The transport expert criticised the successive State Government administrations for suspending the metroline project. Said he, "Metroline is the best option we have. I don't know why they (government) have not started the project. A lot of money is involved quite alright, but it will pay off later. Government spends money in non priority areas. If individuals are making a lot of money from transportation business why can't government make money too?", he queried. The associate professor said, "even if you pump N2 billion into transportation without proper planning, it will not work. Even though the eventual resuscitation of metroline would take huge sums of money it would serve a better purpose than the expenses already sunk in solving the transportation problem over the years.

A break down of over N600 million government expenditure on transportation seven years ago shows that N66.97 million was spent in 1983 while in 1985 and 1986 N32.84 million and N34.95 million were spent in the same sector. In 1987, N91.26 million was spent while in 1988, it was N141.51 million. Further, expenditure in the sector for 1989 and 1990 were N219.48 and N110.5 million respectively while N138. million was provided in this years — N2 billion state budget for combating transport problem.

Dr. Balogun believes that the state government has been scratching the surface by combating the problem with less than one billion naira spent already. His views were supported by professor Isaac

Adalemo also of the Geography department, Unilag. He noted that the State Government has not laid much emphasis on mass transportation.

"By Mass transportation I don't mean buses because buses have their limitations; there are interruptions and congestion but if you have rail transport, more rails like the one projected for Lagos, you can move large numbers of people at short interval.

Professor Adalemo who was a member of the Review Committee of Metroline during Navy Captain Mike Akhigbe's administration, advised that the suspended project should be revived immediately to arrest the worsening transportation problem in the metropolis.

He however added that metroline alone will not solve the problem experienced by commuters. The transport expert recalled that "part of the recommendation we made to government is that there must be a coordinated multi-media transport system for metropolitan Lagos. "You have to have the metroline buses feeding into the rail, you have to have the water transport and the road transport, it should be feeding both rail and water" he added.

He regreted that the state government has not addressed the transport problem squarely and wondered why government interest has been mainly on the acquisition of buses "which are hardly enough".

While defending governments programme on transportation, the Lagos state Works and Transport Commissioner, Mr Kayode Allison said that emphasis has been laid on land, water and rail transport.

Peter Umenze ■



We Are Moving With The Nation - Garba Duba

As part of the restructuring exercise currently going on in the armed forces, the Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA) is fine-tuning its training programmes in order to ensure that the Nigerian military officer of today is abreast with the challenges of modern Soldiering. Below, the Commandant of the academy, Major General Garba Duba, explains how the purge in the army has been affecting the institution.

Newbreed: How will the on-going restructuring process of the Armed Forces affect the NDA?

Duba: Essentially, the Nigerian Defence Academy was established to train officers for the Nigerian armed forces. Therefore, whatever affects the entire armed forces will automatically affect the Defence Academy. So the restructuring going on in the army will definitely affect the Defence Academy in the sense that we are producing officers for the Army, Navy and Airforce. So the army is reducing in strength, therefore, the number of Cadets we are to produce for them must be reduced. In other words, we are going to produce based on their own requirements, based on their own wastage rates.

Wastage rate in the army means those who are going out and the new intakes that are coming to take over that place. So the Army, Navy and Airforce chief executives, in other words, the Chief of Army Staff, the Chief of Airstaff and the Chief of Naval Staff are the people who

will tell us in each intake, that "I require X-number of officers for these intakes," knowing that those officers will come to them in four or five years time. So, they also work out their own requirement and they let us know. We recruit based on what they need. Now, if we are reducing or recruiting less number of Cadets as we used to, definitely the strength of both instructors, officers and soldiers will have to reduce. In other words, if you are recruiting 100 Cadets into the Academy, and you need 20 drill instructors to teach them, and now you decided to recruit only 50, you need only ten drill instructors to teach them. So definitely, it is going to affect us in that we only produce what they tell us and if we are going to produce less, definitely our own establishment will have to be restructured to meet that.

Newbreed: How about the content of the course in view of the restructuring process?

Duba: The emphasis is curriculum based on the needs of the armed forces. As I said during the graduation cer-

emony last year, we are not here to train graduates, that's not our purpose. Our purpose is to train military officers with enhanced educational qualification for the needs of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. So, the thesis, the curriculum, is gradually tilted towards military requirement. Now, the Academy is a degree-awarding institute and not a university. I will not call it a university. We have been existing since 1964. When the institution was converted to a degree-awarding one the curriculum was made to be same in contents as it is obtained in our traditional universities. In other words, the curriculum is what is taught in the department of geography in A.B.U. Zaria or Ife or Nsukka. We lifted and recruited staff to teach same here. But now that we are training military officers, we are tilting towards military geography. If we are going to teach history, which of course we are teaching, we initially used the same syllabus as taught in traditional universities. Now we are tilting towards

military history. The same thing in economics: we are going to teach military economics, which is quite different from the conventional economics being taught in our traditional universities. So, our main aim is that in a very short time, most of our teachings are going to be purely on the needs of the armed forces. Now, if we are going to get somebody to come out with a degree in geography, he should be able to make maps, produce sketches for defence, for attacks as the army needs, not town planning. That is it. If we are teaching history, he may not care much about what happened in the old Oyo Empire; he needs to know what happened during the Second World War in East Africa or the Third World War in future, or the last Arab-Israeli war. You know the National University Commission (NUC) regulates the duties, functions, and curriculum of the university. They also have to accredit whatever new curriculum we have. They will look at the content of what we intend to teach, and agree before we can start teaching it. We have been doing that. So, a boy in the very near future who is coming out as a degree holder in history, will be military history-biased.



credited by the National Universities Commission, he will get a job. When he finishes his services in the army, he is going back to the private sector. He is a Nigerian, he is going to our own national economy. He is going to contribute his quota again in other sectors. He leaves the army, and wants to go to ABU to be a lecturer; if that certificate is not accredited, the ABU authority will not employ him. So, you must have a regulating body. For instance, the Army Public Relations Department can have a school to teach their journalists. If the NUJ does not accredit and recognise what they are teaching in the school, he cannot go to the New Nigerian and work as a journalist. So, we are part of the nation; we are not different.

Newbreed: Presently, has the policy of the government on NDA changed or is it still the same?

Duba: What do you mean by policy? I told you initially when the NDA started in 1964, we trained officers and during their four or three years stay here, we trained them up to advanced level. They obtain the GCE Advanced Level by the time they leave here. And it is the University of Ibadan, which we were affiliated to that moderated it. Now the whole country is moving; we also have to move educationally. We say okay, by the time an officer is going to leave the Academy, he has a more enhanced education up to a degree level. You find that a lot of them (officers) have found themselves in positions higher than their age or experiences. If they don't have good education, they will not be able to perform. If you appoint a military officer to be chairman of Mass Transit of Kwara State; if he has no basic knowledge about accounting, transportation, or mechanics, he will not

be able to account to the Kwara State Transport Corporation. Our aim is to train military officers with an enhanced education up to a degree level, and the same degree is accepted by the National Universities Commission.

Newbreed: Now, at the end of the course, they are awarded degrees. Is it all categories or only some; is it everybody that passed through NDA?

Duba: You have to pass the degree to get commissioned. We have got external examiners like any other university who come to moderate the exams.

Newbreed: In comparative terms, what would you say about the standard of teaching when you were in training and what obtains at the NDA now?

Duba: I was here in 1962. So, definitely, from that time till now there is a lot of improvement. Teaching now is far, far better than what we had. We have better facilities, better equipment. Here, we use the latest equipment in teaching. In exercises, we go with our cameras; we film the exercises. In fact, if one of the students is sick, and he couldn't attend the exercise, you just sit and play it on the screen; he will see the exercise or the lecture. But during our time, if you missed, you missed. So, there is a lot of improvement.

Newbreed: What is the state of infrastructural facilities at the institution?

Duba: In fact, this place has been choked up, but a decision by government has been taken to move us to a permanent site. Processes are underway to award the contract, I don't know how soon really. But everything is handled by the Federal Ministry of Works and the Federal Ministry of Defence. So, very soon, we will move to the permanent site. There is no way you can put up any building here. The place is so choked up.

Newbreed: There are fears that the standard of discipline has fallen. What is the situation like?

Duba: I don't know what you call discipline. I am absolutely sure in the primary school, the standard of discipline then is different from what it is now. Because at that time when you went to primary school, if a teacher beat you and you got home, nobody would care. Now, when a teacher beats you, and you get home, there might be problems. There are a lot of developments in the society; a lot of things that tempt Cadets or students in the university. I don't know which year you went to a university, but the students

Newbreed: We can say the same for other courses?

Duba: Yes. Engineering, etc. Yes.

Newbreed: Which means that really, the change of status in the NDA is the fact that it is now awarding military degrees so to say and not.....

Duba: Well, initially we could not start military degree because we didn't have the people to teach those subjects. The lecturers we got were from Ife, Nsukka, and Ibadan; and there, they don't teach military geography or history. But gradually, we are now building these new changes. And they (Cadets), will come out with a degree but biased in military, so that the needs of the armed forces will be taken care of. We have got a Faculty of Engineering which is mostly concerned about explosives, about building bridges, and the rest. Why should the NUC, instead of the military authority decide on the course contents?

Duba: It is because that chap (the cadet) is going to leave the army one day. If his degree is not acceptable by the nation, he cannot get employment in this nation. In other words, we have people going to India, now coming back, and Nigerians don't recognise their degrees. He is educated in another country; he cannot get work in his country. But if that University he went to has been ac-

discipline in the university fifteen years ago is different from the standard of discipline in any university today. We are part of the society. We are a military organisation. When you come here you will be given a booklet which contains rules and regulations. If you break a law, we discipline you accordingly to the regulation. You do a good thing, we praise you. We can praise you too according to regulations. We are all human beings. We are also training these boys in their dangerous formative years. They come here between the ages of sixteen and twenty. By the time they leave here some will be 22, 25; that is a most dangerous time for a child.

Newbreed: *The fear is that certain forms of punishment that were meted out which made soldiers tough persons have been relaxed.*

Duba: That is not true. That is not true!

Newbreed: *There is still this question on discipline. Is it true that the admission at the NDA is now tilted towards the children of senior officers which has affected the standard of discipline because an instructor will find it difficult to penalise the son of a senior officer?*

Duba: That is not true; that is absolutely not true. If you look at the entire intake here, about 10-12% of the Cadets in this institution are from affluent homes and the rest are not. Now, people look at it as an elitist institution because we have a strict admission requirement system. First, if you are the son of General Ibrahim Babangida, you must qualify; you must have five credits. Three of these must be in the relevant subjects. If you are going to study the sciences, three of the subjects must be science and if you are going to study the arts, three of the five subjects must be arts. And you must be between the ages of 16 and 20. You must sit for an NDA entrance exam and you must pass it. We use computers to mark the papers so that nobody will say this man has been given more marks. About three different people handle the questions. There is no way somebody can add somebody's marks or subtract somebody's marks. If you pass the exams, you must also appear before an interview panel. You have to go through a medical board to certify that you are medically fit. The Airforce has a different medical standard because pilots need good eyes. Tell me one elitist son who is in this school. There is none. None. Apart from the son of the Chief of Naval Staff, in the whole AFRC, nobody has a

son here. Nobody. I had a son here, but he is no more here. Not a single minister has a son here, not a single minister. Not a single military governor has a son here. So, what is elitist here? People ... People keep on talking. It is not true...

Newbreed: *What are the problems facing the institution?*

“If you look at the entire intake here, about 10-12% of the Cadets in this institution are from affluent homes and the rest are not. Now, people look at it as an elitist institution because we have a strict admission requirement system. First, if you are the son of General Ibrahim Babangida, you must qualify; you must have five credits.”

Duba: We have one major problem. That is, to get the correct staff. We have been looking for lecturers, qualified and committed lecturers. We have contacted the universities to sponsor or lend us some. But they too have shortage of staff. We have advertised in all papers for people to come and teach biology, physics, chemistry, mathematics, engineering, etc. Most academics prefer to go private and make money to teaching. So, we are looking for them; that is our main problem. We do all we could to entice them to come, but we are looking for more.

Newbreed: *May be you didn't entice them well enough*

Duba: We did. Everything that they are supposed to get as far as the USS is concerned, they were given. They get their allowances and salaries.

Newbreed: *Maybe you don't give other incentives such as car refurbishing loans*

Duba: There is no university that has teachers. Go and find out.

Newbreed: *So what will you do about it now?*

Duba: Last year, we took about ten corper-graduates, who have got second

class upper, and we have now sent them to go and do masters degrees with the hope that they will come and teach for us. So, we are now getting boys who have very good degrees - a month or two after we employ them, we tell them to apply to any university in this country, get admission to do masters degrees and we sponsor them. We will pay their salaries. We will pay for their book allowances, and accommodations for the next two years. We also sponsor officers who are interested, and have the necessary qualifications.

Newbreed: *What do you look for when you want to recruit?*

Duba: Qualifications. If you are a lecturer from ABU in Maths and you want to come to us as a lecturer, you must have the necessary qualifications from the university you are coming from.

Newbreed: *Are you also affected by the brain-drain?*

Duba: You know university people are just like eh... I don't have the word to describe it. To them, the more they move, the more experience they have, the more it will help them in future promotion. To say that I was in ABU for so and so years; I taught in Ife for two years; I lectured at Nsukka, and now, I am in Lagos.

Newbreed: *How about the Cadets you admit, what do you look out for in the individuals?*

Duba: Those are purely technical military tests. There is a psychological test. There is also an IQ test. We will see how fast you can think. Because of that, when they appoint someone as a governor, you will say he is not the kind of person. Later on, when he begins to work, you will say ah..., the man is too intelligent! It is just the way we select people; we give them the training.

Newbreed: *What is the nature of the relationship between the Cadets, civilians and military personnel?*

Duba: Cordial. We are working as a team. The civilians are training the Cadets. The military personnel are training the Cadets. We, and the civilians are sharing the same facilities. If you go to the mess now, they are all there. We live in the same accommodation with them. Their children go to the same school as our children.

Newbreed: *Would you say that you are satisfied with the products of the school?*

Duba: Certainly. I am. They will fit into any military establishment anywhere in the world.

Gen Duba spoke with Rima Shawulu

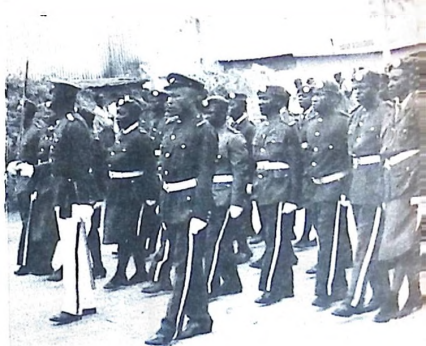
Smiles For Newly Unified Officers

On 21st March, the Apapa Port went gay as friends relations and well wishers of non-unified service officers passed out in a beautiful parade to become unified officers. The graduands decked in customs ceremonial uniform had undergone training since November last year. The officers were subjected to footdrills, physical training, mode of uniform wearing and saluting.

According to Area Comptroller OA Ajao, the customs department had in its wisdom thought that discipline would be better maintained if all the officers of the department were brought under one command. To do so then, it became imperative that the non-unified officers be made to wear uniforms and thus the training.

After a display of slow marches, quick marches, stand at eases and attentions the newly unified officers of the Apapa area thronged the open arena dancing to Shina Peter's music which blared from stereo sets, Rice and Stew was very plenty so were drinks and pasteries, the officers of course had cause to be happy since not all those who started the training completed it, many as comptroller told spectators of the tattoo fell by the wayside.

Mike Nkanga. ■



A platoon march past at the parade

Book launch unites activists



Soyinka with Oloyede and Tai

Apart from pulling off what proved to be a highly successful book — launch, Bayo Oloyede of the Mass Communications Department of the Ogun State Polytechnic, Abeokuta, did something that couldn't escape even the goggled eyes of Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka. Lord knows how he contrived it but Oloyede brought together some antagonists to sit side-by-side as friends at the same table!

The centre-piece of the occasion which took place in the Michael Imoudu Hall at the national secretariat of the Nigeria Labour Congress, Tejuosho, was Oloyede's first published book, "Dismantling the Culture of Silence."

Among the back-slapping, hand-shaking personalities at the high table were Mr. Femi Falana, who also acted as MC, Tai Solarin, Prof. Wole Soyinka, Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti and Dr. G.B. Onalaja. Although Chief Gani Fawehinmi, Mr. Aka-Bashorun and Dr. Olu Anagoruwa were not there in person, they sent representatives, in case...

When it was time to launch "Dismantling the Culture of Silence", Soyinka decided to "mount" a new culture of silence as he refused to disclose the amount of money for which he launched the book. All the other launchers at the high table, with the exemption of Dr. Tai Solarin, followed his footsteps.

Okey Okpa ■

Death and the Open Kitchens

Open Air Feeding raises Epidemic Fears



Feeding on Death: An open akara stand at Orile bus-stop

Except officials of the Lagos State ministries of health, home affairs and the local councils change their lukewarm attitudes in monitoring the large scale open air food sale at bukaks and other open kitchens in the state, public health may be in great danger.

The view of health is that the situation is likely authorities to lead to a rise in communicable diseases in Lagos. A medical practitioner, Dr. Teddy Ako points out that the unhygienic environment under which most open kitchens are allowed to operate in the state could cause public health problems. Cooking in the open he says, could cause "faecal oral infection" manifested in worms, typhoid, hepatitis and diarrhoea. Dr. Ako contends that "the sources of the raw food cooked in the roadside eating places and the water served, which mostly, comes from dug

wells or broken pipes, could constitute serious health hazards." He is however restrained in his attack on the private operators of the system. According to him, "what goes on in the roadside food centres has to do with the environment under which things work in this country. You don't even have to blame the poor women and men who operate the places, for they are satisfying the needs of a large section society. We should blame the government who has not provided adequately a convenient environment for their operations."

The danger posed by the poor sanitary condition under which most open kitchens operate in Lagos becomes clearer when attention is paid to an observation by the head of the disease control centre of the Lagos State Ministry of Health. Dr. A. Adeoye. Adeoye is of the view that poor environmental sanitation porverty and

malnutrition are the major causes of leprosy. In a health lecture last year, Dr. Adeoye opined that local government should prohibit the hawking of food on roadsides because of the health hazard associated with their practices. Incidentally, the Minister of Health, Professor Olikoye Ransome Kuti had included leprosy in the two most deadly diseases which can mar the attainment of Health for all by the year 2,000; the other being tuberculosis.

The minister who says Nigeria has recorded 250,000 tuberculosis and 193,000 leprosy cases, points out that this is "unacceptably high for a country like ours", and that the public health implications and adverse economic impact of these diseases cannot be over-emphasized.

Although the Lagos State government has enacted the Hotel Licencing Regulations edict of 1990, aimed at regulating the activities of food selling outfits in Lagos,



Seni Oduyoye: Regulation is a joint responsibility

implementation of the rules have been most unco-ordinated and bizarre. Buck-passing has taken over from proper scrutiny and attention to politics.

While authorities of the ministry of Home Affairs and Tourism whose responsibility it is to licence and regulate Hotels in Lagos are insisting that open kitchens are handled by the local councils and the ministry of health; ministry of health officials refuse even to discuss the health related aspects of the issue. Amidst speculations that an epidemic may break out in Lagos if attention is not paid to the unhygienic condition under which food is offered for sale to the public, Newbreed sought the views of the Lagos State Commissioner of Health.

Earlier, Mr. Sani Oduyoye, Chairman, Hotel Licencing Authority told *Newbreed* that "only commercial establishments which offer food, drinks and sleeping accommodation constitute what is called a Hotel, which could be licenced and taken care of under the Ministry of Home Affairs and Tourism." Any other outfit dealing with food sale, he continued, "falls within the ministry of health and the local government councils."

The local councils did not help matters. Most of the officials are newly inaugurated and lack of a perfect grasp of what to do with their offices. At the Ikeja Local government council, the Councillor in-charge of health, Mr. J. I. Jimoh told *Newbreed* he is not in a position to discuss the matter as he has just assumed office.

The confirmation has however been made that regulation and monitoring of eating places in the state are most inadequate. The Managing Director of CeeBee restaurant, Bede Opara, who operates a restaurant at Obafemi Awolowo Road, Ikeja revealed to *Newbreed* thus: "To the best of my knowledge, government regulations have not been adequate. Since we started here barely two years ago, they (government) have not come. I don't think they go to other places.

The Manager of Yem-Yem Restaurant at Iponri Shopping Centre, Segun Odulami agrees also that government officials are not serious with what goes on at the restaurants. "It is not all the years they come to check what goes on" he told *Newbreed*.

At Ikeja market square, where Open kitchen operations are much pronounced in the evenings. One of the operators even boasted that "no local government official can stop us from this trade." He told *Newbreed* that "all that is required to pacify the officials of the local government at Ikeja is just a few bottles of beer and about fifty naira.

Mr. Oduyoye of the Hotel Licencing Authority had said that regulation of the activities of Hotels in Lagos is a joint responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Tourism, the Ministry of Health, the Police and the Fire Service. Representatives of the various government organs, called inspectors, are sent at least once every year to ensure conformance with standards and hygiene, he further said.

Beyond the irregular inspections from government agents, *Newbreed* learnt, what goes on represents nothing short of abuse of office and witch-hunting.

is common sight in Lagos to see cooked food items on sale or hawked openly in the streets, under the bridges and on every available open space.

Efforts at uncovering reasons for this upsurge revealed amazing results. According to Benjamin Odigie — a Marketing Officer with ZUAC Nigeria Ltd. "there is this variety and cost factor to be considered. You have the choice of what to eat, act your terms".

Pressed to expartiate on his arguments for patronage, the marketing officer who was found enjoying a breakfast meal under the flyover bridge at Marina, Lagos, said "most of my colleagues and indeed senior officers of the government ministries and establishments around relax and eat here. With as little as five naira, you can ask for a mixture of nice, beans, dodo fried plantain and Yam with or without meat. Of course, you know you can not do that at say Ritalori Restaurant at Tinubu Square.

The activities of the open Kitchen have contrasted sharply with what goes on in most cosy, restaurant in the state, created by low-income earners of the society because of the price range of the menu. While a road-side restaurant could offer a plate of food for sale at three naira, the



Dinner with the Devil: An open air restaurant

According to a source, "once you have your money and enough food and drinks to offer the inspectors, you can sell human parts as beef or adulterated drinks as gin, without anybody bothering."

The health-hazards associated with the activities of open kitchens notwithstanding, investigations have shown that food selling outlets have been on the increase in recent times. Quite surprisingly, a number of high-ranking Nigerians patronise the food which the open kitchens display under conditions exposing the items to germs, flies, dust and automobile fume. It

situation is different at a place like Cee Bee where the chief executive of the outfit said, "a combination of Iba (garrri) and Egusi soup grouped, as 'ancillary menu' sells for between ten and fifteen naira".

However, the Chief Executive who holds a Bachelors degree in Health Science defended the price gap, saying "Cee Bee and other standard restaurants around offer disease free, service. We don't want a situation where somebody goes out after eating to complain about stomach problems".

Tobias Agbaegbu ■

Gearing up for world's biggest re-construction job

Rebuilding Kuwait will take at least decade and will cost billions of dollars.

It will be an enormous task — and the major international firms get a slice of the work.

Rebuilding Kuwait will be one of the biggest reconstruction jobs in history — and the most carefully planned. "We will need to rebuild the whole country from scratch — demolish everything and start again," said Kuwait's Ambassador to Britain, Ghazi Al-Rayes.

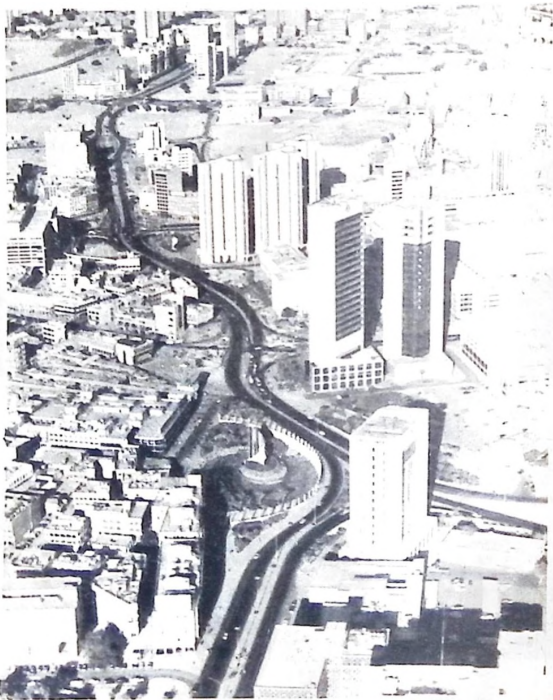
Estimates of the damage vary from \$25 billion to more than \$100 billion, and reconstruction is expected to take more than 10 years. At present, attention is focussed on an estimated \$1 billion 90-day programme to restore power, water and sewage, some road and air facilities, and explore ways of saving the burning oilfields.

The second phase, lasting two years, will restore basic structures of state, including government ministries, hospitals and transport systems. Complete rebuilding will take up to 10 years, the government estimates. Within days of Iraq's August 2 invasion — and well before the start of hostilities in mid-January — a Kuwaiti task force in Washington started planning the reconstruction of the Kuwaiti phoenix in minute detail, right down to the 30,000 different sorts of medical supplies that would be needed.

After disagreement over the conduct of contract negotiations, the task force was replaced by the Kuwait Economic Reconstruction Project, based in Damman, Saudi Arabia and headed by the Minister of Housing, Ibrahim Al-Shahin. All but a handful of the task force's 60 planners were relocated to Damman.

Major international companies and their governments were quick to prepare for the rebuilding that would follow the Iraqi invasion.

Britain's Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the Foreign Office, for example, set up a joint initiative to ensure



Kuwait City before the war

people the correct story in various languages. Right, Bassey. And since it's a distortion it is not the truth, the truth will prevail eventually and that is the beginning of it. As far as the development of the dream is concerned, the dream has become a reality. By the end of this year, is the movement of the seat of government, isn't it, the Federal Government will move. So the dream is already realised, distortion or no distortion.

NB: *The issue of distortion of the masterplan has been in the news recently. What is the ministry doing about this as the information seems to be disturbing to people. Is it false, is it true or is it a deliberate policy to change some part of the plan? Or was there really room for that kind of change, as a matter of fact, in the masterplan?*

MFC: Well, the masterplan is a guide. It has been planned over the last 10 years or thereabout. And any good plan must give room for flexibility. You cannot be dogmatic or rigid, and, therefore, for anybody to say that there are distortions is not true. There is an improvement. I'll agree that there has been an improvement to the masterplan, to make it better. If that's what they are saying, I agree. But if they are saying distortion, it means somebody, under, below, somewhere, is doing something which we don't know, but, the minister has authority to effect little changes here and there. So when the minister approves it, then it's no longer a distortion. It's legal and authorised. But to the best of our ability, we have tried not to make any major changes in the masterplan.

NB: *There was also the issue of the ministry being accused of making ad hoc amendments without reference to the planning and survey department of the ministry. For instance, the military barracks was supposed to have been on the outskirts of Abuja, but it is now relocated somewhere nearer the national park. It is supposed to have replaced the national park, in fact, and now stands directly behind the presidential lounge.*

MFC: The buildings which we have put up there, are not within the planned areas so we couldn't have distorted the masterplan. It cannot happen, you know, because we went outside the masterplan where the planned area ends. So we did not tamper with any masterplan or building or military barracks, or police barracks or any other thing. The land which was earlier on allocated to the Ministry of Defence and so on is still there. The military may still build their

own place and whatsoever we have the building there, we could accommodate any other person, not only the military.

NB: *You mean the barracks, now?*

MFC: Do you call them barracks?

NB: *Well, that's what they call them.*

MFC: *Where soldiers are officially quartered.*

MFC: Okay (laughs)

NB: *Could you give us some more detail about this change, which you said is outside the planned area? Why was the barracks moved? And why is it standing directly behind the presidential lounge now?*

MFC: Because the area where we are expected to build the military barracks, there are no infrastructure there. For the next ten years, there will never be infrastructure there. Unless you are ready to spend another billions of Naira to develop those places, or to move the seat of government without the military at all. This is the consideration, so we moved them to where we can easily get the infrastructure extended.



NB: *Sir, we were fortunate to have been here yesterday when Mr. Ken Saro-Wiwa was talking on culture, so we would like to know if there's such a deliberate effort on the cultural development of the city as we expect that everybody should belong.*

MFC: We have still carried the same culture here. You have to speak in English, Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo because, after all, the nation has not accepted any common language. The official language of course, is English. So until such a time when government decides as to which language is to be adopted, we'll continue to use the three main languages. If you go along Festival Road, you will see the cultural centre, coming up, and by April, I assured you the place will be commissioned. So culture is very important

like you mentioned. Oh ... the D-G was saying that the agency for arts and culture is already in place, so they will look into all areas of culture and make appropriate recommendations.

NB: *In the area of your budget, sir, we noticed that the education sector, under your personnel costs, is quite high. It seems to be taking priority. Is this because you're building new schools, or paying more staffs? We would like to know the reason for this.*

MFC: But is there any other better legacy that we can leave for our children, more than education? This is why education has to be given priority. So everything we are doing is to build up our own children so that they can be greater. The younger ones should have the best facilities so that they can grow up to be better and greater than what we are, this is why we give education priority, in addition to all that you have said. That we have many more people coming in, we also feel that we must give the children the best that we can and this is the reason for this priority attention.

NB: *Sorry to take you back a little sir, but you still have not given us the figures for the number of accommodations retrieved and those re-allocated to people.*

MFC: Well, er, the Director of Legal Services is the one that is retrieving the houses. He is also the one who makes recommendation on allocations. The D-G can give you the figures so that I don't give you just vague ones. But if you want me to give you just vague ones, it pleases me, I can give it to you.

NB: *No we don't want vague ones (general laughter).*

NB: *Is there anything else the Honourable Minister would like us to note or some other information you think we should know?*

MFC: Well, since you just gate-crashed (general laughter) I'll appreciate your co-operation, you know, in informing the people, you know, the correct version and urge them to please come and join hands so that everybody can contribute his quota towards the development of this new city.

NB: *It's our pleasure, sir. Thank you, very much, sir.*

Honourable Minister, FCT - Thank you, too.

■ Major-General Gado Nasko
spoke with Yemi Ogunmodede
and Hakeem Abdulrazaq.

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British access to reconstruction contracts.

Ben Woods of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, which already has a \$45 million contract to survey Kuwait and carry out emergency repairs to basic services, said it was "the biggest recovery effort which followed the San Francisco earthquake, Hurricane Hugo and the U.S. invasion of Panama. Calculations about the cost are largely spurious so far as the Corps has not yet started its provisional damage assessment.

Large long-term contracts probably will not be awarded until next year, according to Alan Cockshaw, chairman of the giant British construction company, Amec.

During the Gulf crisis, most Kuwaitis said they only wanted the land beneath their feet. And, to a large degree, that is just what they will be getting because of the extent of the damage.

Kuwait City will be rebuilt to about half its original size to cater for a smaller population, most of it Kuwaiti, rather than foreign. Before the invasion, the emirat's total population stood at 1.9 million, with 44,500 people living in Kuwait City itself and more than 400,000 in the suburbs of Hawalli, As-Salimiya and Jahra.

Support during the war is clearly a barometer for deciding who will get the cream of the reconstruction contracts. The ultimate decisions will be made by the Emir, Sheikh Jabir al-Abdullah al-Sabah, and the Prime Minister, Crown Prince Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah.

Leaders of the pro-democracy movement sought to work with the government, but collectively walked out of Kuwait's joint reconstruction committee.

According to Ahmad Al-Mohri, a prominent Kuwaiti businessman who spent 12 years in exile because of his political activities, "the nation will launch its own movement to rebuild Kuwait." At present, however, the new class of entrepreneurs is still talking rather than acting, while the government was making important decisions even before the fires were extinguished in the ruins of Kuwait City. The United States, in the forefront of the liberation of Kuwait, is clearly in the forefront of the reconstruction.

"The Kuwaiti government did ask for United States Government assistance," said a U.S. Embassy spokesman in London. The Corps of Engineers is inviting contractors and consultants to submit "expressions of interest" and a statement of qualifications.

Jim Parker, a spokesman for the Corps, said that of the 36 firms asked to submit bids, 12 are American, 10 are British, 10 Saudi Arabian, two French, one Kuwaiti and one Cyprus.

There had been fears that British companies would be at a disadvantage compared with U.S. firms because of

Washington's leading role, and the Department of Trade and Industry in London made an official complaint that British companies were only given 48 hours to register for the first phase of the selection process.



Bush: Forefront in war and in reconstruction

Former Cabinet minister Lord Prior, now head of the General Electric Company, is heading a British task force at Damman and by the February 21 registration deadline, around 150 British companies — more than from any other country, including the United States — had applied to be considered for emergency work. Most major U.K. construction companies submitted applications; many have worked in the Middle East longer than their U.S. rivals. Saudi merchants and contractors also are keen to secure a share of the reconstruction business. One Saudi businessman said his company was among four chosen to participate in a \$50m clean-up operation.

"Most of the building materials will be provided by the Saudi market," he said. "For the reconstruction programme, Saudi Arabia will play a major role, not based on politics, but because of pricing..."

There are signs that Kuwait is also seeking to spread business among other Arab members of the anti-Iraq coalition. Cairo newspapers report that Egyptian companies are being awarded contracts for clean-up efforts in the first 90-day recovery phase and for the supply of medicines. The first private commercial contract, for \$5.7 million, was awarded at the beginning of February to the U.S. Patriot missile-maker, Raytheon, to rebuild an airfield.

In addition, provisional agreements on urgent infrastructure repairs have been set up directly by the Kuwaiti government with up to 100 companies.

Betchel, the U.S. construction giant, is poised to win a contract to oversee repairs to oilfields and pipelines. It says it already has signed a letter of intent with the

Kuwait petroleum Company to act as a project management contractor in rebuilding the emirate's oil industry. Ericsson, the Swedish telecommunications company which installed most of the Kuwaiti telephone system, has been asked to report on repairing communication links.

The Kuwaitis were largely responsible for financing the war and dismiss doubts about their ability to "finance the peace."

Mohammed Al-Hussein, a senior reconstruction strategist at the United Bank of Kuwait, which recently reported a 1990 pre-tax profit of \$10.5 million, told *Construction* that the bank was looking into ways of borrowing money to help finance reconstruction.

He is confident it will be able to do so on prime commercial terms, and emphasizes that borrowing was preferable to liquidating foreign investments.

His views are echoed by the head of the Kuwait Investment Authority, Abdullah Al-Gabandi, who would not be drawn on which assets might be sold to pay for Kuwait's commitments.

"One thing I should stress — and this is a message to the markets and to everybody else — is that we have a number of good assets we have accumulated over the years and we're not going to let them go," he said. In addition to their own plans, the Kuwaitis are willing to consider suggestions for reconstruction from their "friends" — especially if those friends are willing to include funds with their good ideas.

The European Community is advocating a multilateral fund for the entire Arab, Middle Eastern and Gulf area — stretching as far as Pakistan — in a similar way to the international aid for Eastern Europe being undertaken by the group of 24 industrialised nations.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is urging the creation of a Middle East Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Recalling the enormous success scored by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in the post-World War II era, Baker suggested developing for the Middle East "an institution not unlike the African Development Bank." And there is also the Kuwait-based Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. Its chairman, Abdullah Al-Hamid, a former Kuwaiti Minister of Finance, said, "We are all in the same boat. Some of us might be in the deck chair cabin, others below deck."

"If the boat sinks we shall all go down, although the people below deck may be submerged a little sooner."

Karen I. Jabrowski

THERE ARE NO WINNERS... WE ARE ALL LOSERS.

Conventional wisdom expects the All Liberia Conference which convened in Monrovia on March 15, to formally close the chapter on Liberia's bloody civil war. But the failure of Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) to show up on opening day, once again underlined the degree of distrust which still exists between the conflicting contending factions in the conflict.

Skeptical observers have pointed out that any agreement cobble together by the conference may not ultimately bring peace to Liberia given the flagrant manner in which the factions have violated, and reneged on, previous accords.

In the run-up to the March 15 gathering, wide ranging consultation took place in several West African capitals. In Lome, Togo a cease fire agreement was initiated. Two key personalities who participated in those talks — Defence Minister of the Liberian Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), Dr. Edward B. Kesselly and the IGNU Resident Representative to the ECOWAS in the city in Banjul, The Gambia, and Adviser to the President of the IGNU, Professor James T. Tarpeh — spoke exclusively to *Newbreed* on a recent visit to Lagos.

The interview addresses the Taylor factor in the crisis, independent warlords, prospects for the March 15 conference, and efforts to bring life to normal in Liberia, amongst other issues.

BY FESTUS ERIYE AND TOYIN OGUNJOBI

Newbreed: What are the prospects for the March 15, 1991, all Liberia conference?

Kesselly: The Interim President, Professor

Sawyer was in Lome on the initiative of President Eyadema and we have been to Lome. As a matter of fact the Lome Meeting was in connection with the March 15 meeting. So far as security is concerned, Ecomog is there involving countries like Nigeria, Guinea, Ghana, Sierra-Leone, the Gambia. The thing is to have a meeting of minds to work out ground rules so that we can have this conference.

Newbreed: Does the present disposition of Taylor and Johnson bid well for the success of the March 15 conference?

Kesselly: Johnson's position does. I'm sure you must have read Johnson's remark when he met representatives from Mr. Taylor's group, when they met in Freetown. The ECOWAS Executive director, Dr. Bundu, had a consultative meeting with them and Prince Johnson made it clear at that meeting in Freetown that no head of a faction, should head the interim government. He stated that position very strongly. That was in fact on focus. He even went on to say that Dr. Sawyer was the Interim President. Prince Johnson said this. When it comes to Mr. Taylor, we know he signed the Lome and the Bamako agreements. But the signature of these documents and his pronouncements, will lead one to wonder, what his intentions are. But I would say that to the extent that he signed the document, am sure that he is man enough to live by the document that he signed.

Newbreed: You say that he signed the documents.

Kesselly: He signed

Newbreed: But Taylor's pronouncements as of today indicate he is not ready to cooperate in anyway. What are you doing to.... on your own side to make him see reason?

Kesselly: We've encouraged and we've attended a number of meetings not just with Mr. Taylor, but with his representatives. The Bamako meeting he attended. As you know, he went to Lome. We take it



TARPEH



KESSelly

that whether or not he attends a meeting, once he sends a delegation and that delegation speaks for his group, we accept it that as a serious man, he should be responsible for what his group says. Other than that, we are not quite sure where his group is going or heading to. People might read it another way. But there's only one way you can read it. You sign. Your group accepts, whether in your presence or your absence, your signature must be consistent with your action. If it is not, people will start asking whether you are genuinely interested in talking about peace or just in causing confusion.

Newbreed: People have said that Taylor has one driving ambition: he wants to be president by all means. He says he does not

respect the interim government. What if he refuses to cooperate with the interim government even after this conference?

TARPEH: I think that Taylor is increasingly becoming isolated and like a friend once said, he increasingly sounds like the last kick of a dying horse. He's been protesting his right to be interim president because he started this incursion and so forth. Evidently, the result of the incursion is such that, if one were to ask again, if one were to pay the same price for the same result you have to weigh the whole thing because the whole country is totally devastated and there are no winners. There are all losers.

The interim government is basically one that is saying, we start altogether as losers and pick up the pieces together, rather than a winner, in which case you will lord over everybody. Taylor has been told recently in Lome that part of the ECOWAS peace plan provides that no leader of a warriars faction, can become head. Within this framework, and having signed the cease fire agreement and the modalities of this phase, ECOMOG has been empowered to impose a ceasefire. It seems to me that increasingly he will back down. We are confident that even if he were able to run for leadership of the interim government, he will lose very glaringly. But for us, his not being leader is important for stability because were he to sit there by force of arms, others will have to unseat him by force of arms. And so we have a repetition of course, from force to force. He is saying something now and doing another thing. We prefer at this point, to pay attention to what he is doing. That is his commitment to these international agreements. If he cannot adhere to them then nobody will seriously like to do business with him. We are optimistic that he will be obliged to live up to his obligations he's really signing them.

Newbreed: Will the interim government be willing to dissolve itself if that becomes a factor for guaranteeing the co-operation of Mr. Taylor?

Kesselly: In addition to that, he had six political parties, all six political parties represented at the Banjul meeting and we had Prince Johnsons fighting faction, the INPFL, the independent national patriotic Front of Liberia, represented. The only organisation, the only movement that was not represented was Mr. Taylor's. So, you can see that you had an overwhelming consensus or an overwhelming cross section of Liberian institutions and organisation represented at the Banjul meeting. President Jawara as chairman of ECOWAS care, welcomed us and withdrew. Dr. Bundu, President Jawara's foreign minister, all of them went though and they left. And we did our own thing. We set our own ground rules and we selected the leadership based on those grounds that



KESSELY

had been agreed upon by the conference without ECOWAS or the mediating committee participating. We decided.

TARPEH: At the end of five day of that meeting we prepared our reports of what we had achieved we prepared a final communique, invited president Jawara and disclosed what we had done from that point on He took it down to his colleagues in the community

KESSELY: But unfortunately we see in the press people saying the ECOWAS sponsored One gets the impression the ECOWAS imposed." The English language is foreign to very many of us, there is something that is simple fundamental. An enabling atmosphere was created which could not have been created by Liberians themselves for the fact that they were slaughtering each other it would have been most inhumane and only some one who doesn't have a sense of humanity in him who would have said, "don't intervene, let them settle their own problems". Unfortunately, some people said that we found ourselves, very grateful that the ECOWAS countries could have created that enabling atmosphere in which we met and on our own decided on the ground rules and selected the leader ship, so when I read the news papers in "the ECOWAS, imposed" I wonder what meaning are they attaching to the word, "imposed."

Newbreed: Is it possible that a situation might arise when the interim government would raise an army against Taylor?

Kesselly: That is something we are not prepared to tell you here. We will cross that bridge when we get there.

Tarpeh: But one thing you can be sure of is that Mr. Taylor is not in a position to be accepted as leader of the interrim. We have given him the option there six months more to go. If he honestly wants to lead Liberia, let him do it through the ballot box not through the bullet, so that others will repeat the good example of the ballot raltor then the bullet. And he can form a party or join a party or do any of those things, if he's so confident about his popularity and the great for this country

good that he's done, let him, try his luck, let the people express that we have even made him the offer to become speaker of the interrim. The present president of the interrim, the vice president of the interrim cannot not run after the six months of the one year of the interrim period, but the speaker and other positions can rain. So, to me, Dr Sawyer, Bishop Diggs, are making great sacrifices, personal and public. **Newbreed:** Some people have said that part of Taylor's game plan is the question of seceding. Do you see that as a possibility? Do you think he has kind of ability to create that situation?

Kesselly: I can assure you, Taylor is not in a position to do that. And I can further assure you that if he did it, he will regret it there is no way Taylor can impose his will on the entire country. Mr. Taylor and his movement invaded the country from Numba. There was a parting of ways then Prince Johnson found at that Taylor not only wanted to overthrow Mr. Doe but wanted to replace him. Prince Johnson disagreed with him and said that the guns that liberate you should not be the guns that rule. And if anyone wants to rule, that should be a decision taken by the Liberian people. So Prince Johnson parted company with him and want his own way you come back to the reality as it is. The thing is that I cannot fully answer this quest without giving away certain things. But I assure that there is no way Mr. Taylor can talk about secession. What kind of political sway does he control other than the gun to talk about secession? Even with the gun, that gun is most uncertain. There are areas in the country where his name is simple mentioned but where he does not have control. You have war — Lords who are as independent as the war — Lords of the Middle Ages in Europe. **Newbreed:** Independent of Taylor himself?

Kesselly: Independent. But the fact is that they started together, but you break away, and you go to a particular country and you do your own thing as it were. But you have started under the movement and because you started, under the movement, you come under it in the sense that you have a meeting of minds. But I Mr. Taylor can not impose a position on you. Why do you think Taylor will sign a document and then say something else? It is precisely because he's not in a position to impose the kind of thing you are talking about, that he does that it is a contradiction in what is done and what is said because that contradiction reflects impotence and inability to impose your will in a certain way that you want.

Tarpeh: I think one can conceive of a situation in which he would like to have the country divided because it is profitable for him.

He has the portion of the country, or is

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credited with having the portion of the country that has the economic sectors. So, he's busy selling logs and diamond and gold enriching himself at the expense of the country. for the simple reason that the rest of the country cannot function without that portion will motivate the rest of us to ensure that this state of affairs discontinues. Whatever it takes to redress the situation will have to be done. He likes this no peace no war' situation in which he can do his business while the rest of the country is held hostage. But in the long run, efforts have to be made to address the reality on the ground.

Kesselly: In addition to that, he had six political parties, all six political parties represented at the Banjul meeting and we had Prince Johnsons fighting faction, the INPFL, the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, represented. The only organisation, the only movement that was not represented was Mr. Taylor's. So, you can see that you had an overwhelming consensus or an overwhelming cross section of Liberian institutions and organisation represented at the Banjul meeting President Jawara as chairman of ECOWAS came, welcomed us and withdrew. Dr. Bundu, President Jawara's Foreign Minister, all of them went through and they left. And we did our own thing. We set our own ground rules and we selected the leadership based on those grounds that had been agreed upon by the conference without ECOWAS or the mediating committee participating. We decided.

Tarpeh: At the end of five day of that meeting, we prepared our reports of what we had achieved we prepared a final communique, invited president Jawara and disclosed what we had done. From that point on, he took it down to his colleagues in the community

Kesselly: But unfortunately we see in the press people saying the ECOWAS sponsored." One gets the impression "the ECOWAS imposed." The English language is foreign to very many of us, there is something that is simple. Fundamental. An enabling atmosphere was created which could not have been created by Liberians themselves for the fact that they were slaughtering each other it would have been most inhuman and only some one who doesn't have a sense of humanity in him who would have said, 'don't intervene, let them settle their own problems' Unfortunately, some people said that. We found ourselves, very grateful that the ECOWAS countries could have created that enabling atmosphere in which we met and on our own decided on the ground rules and selected the leadership. So, when I read the newspapers in "the ECOWAS, imposed" I wonder what meaning are they attaching to the word, "imposed."

Newbreed: Is it possible that a situation



might arise when the interim government would raise an army against Taylor?

Kesselly: That is something we are not prepared to tell you here. We will cross that bridge when we get there.

Tarpeh: But one thing you can be sure of is that Mr. Taylor is not in a position to be accepted as leader of the interim. We have given him the option there are six months more to go. If he honestly wants to lead Liberia, let him do it through the ballot box not through the bullet, so that others will repeat the good example of the ballot then the bullet. And he can form a party or join a party or do any of those things. If he's so confident about his popularity and the great good he has done for this country for this country, let him, try his luck, let the people express that we have even made him the offer to become speaker of the interim. The present president of the interim, the Vice President of the interim cannot not run after the six months of the one year of the interim period. but the speaker and other positions can run. So, to me. Dr sawyer, Bishop Diggs, are making great sacrifices, personal and public.

Newbreed: *Some people have said that part of Taylor's game plains the question of seceding. Do you see that as a possibility? Do you think he has kind of ability to create that situation?*

Kesselly: I can assure you, Taylor is not in a position to do that. And I can further assure you that if he did it, he will regret it there is no way Taylor can impose his will on the entire country. Mr. Taylor and his movement invaded the country from Nimba. There was a parting of ways then Prince Johnson found out that Taylor not only wanted to overthrow Mr. Doe, but wanted to replace him. Prince Johnson disagreed with him and said that the guns that liberate you should not be the guns that rule. And if anyone wants to rule, that should be a decision taken by the Liberian people. So Prince Johnson parted company with him and want his own way. You come back to the reality as it is. The thing is that I cannot fully answer this quest without giving away certain things. But I

assure that there is no way Mr. Taylor can talk about secession. What kind of political way does he control other than the gun to talk about secession? Even with the gun, that gun is most uncertain. There are areas in the country where his name is simple mentioned but where he does not have control. You have war — Lords who are as independent as the war — lords of the middle Ages in Europe

Newbreed: *Independent of Taylor himself?*

Kesselly: Independent. But the fact is that they started together, but you break away, and you go to a particular country and you do your own thing as it were. But you have started under the movement and because you started. under the movement, you come under it in the sense that you have a meeting of minds. But I Mr. Taylor can not impose a position on you. Why do you think Taylor will sign a document and then say something else? It is precisely because he's not in a position to impose the kind of thing you are talking about, that he does that. It is said a contradiction in what is done and what is said because that contradiction reflects impotence and inability to impose your will in a certain way that you want.

Tarpeh: I think one can conceive of a situation in which he would like to have the country divided because it is profitable for him.

He has the portion of the country, or is credited with having the portion of the country that has the economic sectors. So, he's busy selling logs and diamond and gold enriching himself at the expense of the country. for the simple reason that the rest of the country can not function without that portion will motivate the rest of us to ensure that this state of affairs discontinues. Whatever it takes to redress the situation will have to be done. He likes this no peace no war' situation in which he can do his business, while the rest of the country is held hostage. But in the long run, efforts have to be made to address the reality on the ground.

Newbreed: *If Liberia find itself on its feet again, do you foresee a situation where Mr. Taylor can be tried for war crimes? Do you foresee any kind of punishment for somebody like him who has plundered the country?*

Kesselly: The fact that you raised this question is in itself important. Liberians are very sensitive about their future. They are sensitive about the kind of sufferings they are undergoing. Because of the generosity of your country, for example you have Liberian refugees here, who are benefitting from the generosity of the Nigerian government. You have them in Sierra Leone, they are enjoying the generosity of president Momoh, the Sierra Leonean people Guinea, President Contes in the Ivory Coast, they are in Ghana and the other

part of Africa. They see these things and they ask themselves why are they in these neighbouring countries? Especially in the manner that they find themselves. And they know that in the final analysis, what has to be done will be done when the time comes

Newbreed: *Is the agenda of the war-lords separate from what Taylor is pursuing*

Kesselly: I was in Switzerland when the announcement was made that Taylor and his group had invaded the country I called the United States to ask Liberians there I called Monrovia to ask what was Mr. Taylor's agenda? He said he wanted a free and fair election, he wanted to overthrow Mr. Doe and what have you. I went to the United States. I pursued the issue: what is Mr. Taylor's agenda? Tom Weowiyo who I understood later was named Defence Minister said repeated: 'holding free fair elections. But then, we raised the question or an article that had appeared in the Financial Times in which this question of free and fair elections became so muddled that one did not distinguish it from the free and fair election and Mr. Doe coming to power in 1980 and staying until 1985. And from 1985, continuing until 1990 so he himself said that he was going to consult with Mr. Taylor and I said, consult with him and find out what is what because we wanted to know what the agenda was up to now. I haven't really gotten what the agenda is. Quite a number of us have been asking what the agenda is and each time a document is signed, you have a pronouncement that seems to contradict the signature that is under the document. So question we ask is what is the agenda? Among themselves, I don't think they have a clear cut agenda. I think it's Mr. Taylor's agenda and the others find it convenient to adopt that agenda since with that agenda, you can sell as many trees as you want to sell you can mine as much diamond or gold. What the agenda is, that is where the confusion still comes.

Taggah: I don't put too much premium on the warlord concept to the extent that it is defined as dividing the spoils from repping and looting the country so that heads of commando units are expected to have obtain income because of their performance. Certainly they tend to hold Mr. Taylor hostage to the extent that he can pay their salaries, and provide for them their share of the loot. It is an open season for everybody to pillage the country and loot. But I will prefer to hold Mr. Taylor responsible for what is going on. The problem as I see it is that Mr. Taylor lacks any genuine vision as to where the country should be going: what the country is about.

He desires one blind ambitious thing: to be president and to live the life of a president in a grand style of enriching himself, and being powerful. My fear is that given that kind of opportunity he



TARPEH

could be worse than Doe. This for me is the concern. There is no vision that Taylor has shown as to what the country should be about. He came out with seeking revenge. It appears there was a convergence of interests. The Gios and Manos whom Mr. Doe had antagonized and brutalized wanted to seek revenge for what had been done to them in 83 and 85. Taylor wanted his own revenge perhaps, because, he was charged with embezzlement of public funds; put in jail, and escaped from jail. He wanted to redeem his name, perhaps. Perhaps, he was seeking revenge. Some people believe he belongs to the America-Liberian group who lost power in 1981 when Doe staged a coup; we wanted a come back of this group. So you see it's a series of confusion. In all of this, one doesn't see a vision. The only consistent thing is the looting and pillage of the country. You've come to Liberate the people. But you are even stealing from the common man. You take his this in the village and sell them to Danale in open market. You go to Danale in Ivory Coast, you will see cars, videos, private possession all on sale; is this the Liberator? You go to Monrovia. From Monrovia all the way to the Ivory coast border every house is open, looted, ripped — off. To me, it is a self-motivated situation. And you hear people saying, Taylor started this thing; Taylor is entitled to lead. To lead what? what example has he shown even within his own group other than to put himself as number one at the expense of everybody? We've been through this for the past ten-years, that's what the entire Doe faction was about. We've been through this for 133 years when the minority rule obtained in Liberia. That's what the 1980 coup was about. What is Taylor about? is he very different from these. The answer is no!

Newbreed: *Considering what Mr. Johnson has been doing, do you think he is somebody you can do business with? is it not possible, that, at the all parties conference he can re-align himself with Mr. Taylor?*

Kesselly: I think that at the conference

there will be decisions that will be made as to who will be the participating groups and what quotas will be assigned in terms of votes say one group two votes or another three or whatever.

So that the decisions will be along the quantitative context. We were in Lome about four weeks ago. We went to Lome talking with Taylor. When we got to Lome, Taylor decided he wanted to be president and Johnson changed and said I am the one who killed Doe I am the actual person to be president we also know that Taylor had once told the world that he had killed Johnson. Fortunately for Johnson, He, he is still alive. One sees them as playing games with each other, as not trusting each other. I can't see Johnson and Taylor sleeping in the same house. But the reality of what you said is well taken that he chages moodle and he is temperamental. All I can say this time, is that as part of the effort at building national cohesion and accommodative approach to the extent that he sees the value of what we are trying to do he now recognizes and says, the arms that liberate you should not be the arms to rule you that for us is a fundamental statement we hope we can work or deal with him. Once the issue of the inter government has been resolved and the side comments and contests are resolved we shall give people assignments consistent with their experience and move already to push ahead and bud the nation's wounds. We are not in a position now to totally exclude anybody who wants to be included, even Charles Taylor. But if he insists on being excluded then we have to move along these lines.

Tarpeh: The other thing I want to say though is that, we feel at this time there are a number of things we have learnt as a people. Liberians before our crisis were outward looking mostly to the West, to America where we have originalities and so forth. Many good things have come from our tragedy. One is that we have now begun to learn about our sub-region and our continent and to develop deeper appreciation for these varying cultures and peoples. And the solidarity we have gained and continued to gain and enjoy is a lesson in itself. We hope it will manifest itself after our crises. At the end of our crisis, we want to be an active part of our sub-region in terms of trade, in terms of culture. Whereas we traditionally depended upon the Lebanese for business transaction and so forth, the last time I was in Nigeria was in 1972, so this is a brand new thing for me here. I have seen a dynamic society that has all kinds of economic opportunities. It seems to me that within the context of that this will be a new direction for substantial interaction — economic, cultural and social.

Return of Munich

Terrorists May Disrupt All-African Games:

The biggest sports event in Africa, the All-African Games billed for Cairo, Egypt, in September, may be stormed by terrorists.

Analysts think Iraq and its Arab allies may sponsor terrorists to hit the games venue as punishment for Egypt's role in the Gulf crisis. Even in Cairo, there is fear that pro-Saddam sympathisers may choose the occasion to show solidarity with their "hero".

At the height of the Gulf hostilities, some North African countries close to Egypt condemned its pact with the US-led coalition forces. Thousands of Pro-Saddam demonstrators filed out on the streets of Constantine, Algeria, shouting obscenities and anti-US slogans. Similar protests also took place in Tunisia. And deep in the Middle East, Jordanians angrily criticised Egypt and almost joined forces with Iraq.

The fear that terrorist action could make the whole of North Africa and the Middle East unsafe for international sports events has forced concerned authorities to alter plans. Two international meets scheduled this month have been put

off for obvious reasons. Tel-Aviv International Marathon which hoped to attract over 1,500 runners in the world may now hold in a date yet to be announced. Israeli authorities have also asked that its First Round world Group Davis Tennis tourna-



Amu: The games would be hitch free

ment against France to be moved from Marseille, for fear that the city's large Arab and Moslem population could pose a threat to its players. The President of the Israeli Tennis Federation, David Haunikyn wants the match moved to a new date and safer place in France.

Fear of terrorists attack bring back memories of the 1972 Munich Olympics. The date coincidentally, was September 5 and Israeli-Arab relationship was as bad as sour grapes. Arab terrorists sneaked into the Olympic village in the early hours of the morning, shot and killed two Israelis on the spot, and took nine hostages. When the desperadoes were ambushed at the airport as they tried leaving with the hostages, they killed them. Three of the terrorists were, however, taken prisoner by security agents. Other members of the gang died in a shootout.

But despite growing anxiety over terrorist threat to the games, the secretary-general of the Nigerian Olympic Committee, Mr. Saheed Lawal who recently submitted Nigeria's entry for the Cairo, feels the games will not be a tragedy. He is quoted as saying that the



Athletes: Would danger be lurking in Cairo



Abass: No threat to Kenya

Egyptian government has beefed up security to forestall any ugly incident. "Security is tight. The games venue is ready. Everything points to the games holding. There is nothing we saw that suggests any possible postponement. It will go on as planned. We are assured by the games officials."

Nigeria's preparation for the games bent a shaky note. The country did not meet the registration deadline for the games and almost incurred the wrath of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA). Nigeria registered for the games 21 days after deadline. The last entry date was January 31. Secretary to the Nigerian Olympic Committee, Saheed Lawal met it on the Sports Ministry. A sourd in the sports ministry told *Newbreed* that the ministry was stalling because of the Gulf War. "We need to be sure where the wind of the war was blowing. For instance, the games can't hold if Egypt is embroiled in a war", the source said.

Out of the 20 countries expected to participate in the games, Nigeria is highly rated. In the last All-Africa Games held in Nairobi, Kenya, Nigeria dominated the sprints. And in last year's 7th Mobil African Athletic championship held in Cairo, Egypt, Nigeria topped the medals table.

The country's medal haul was 29 (10 gold, 10 silver and 9 bronze). Kenya and Morocco followed with 24 and 14 medals. The host country, Egypt took the 5th position. Mauritius came last. It has only 5 medals: 1 silver and 4 bronze.

While Nigeria prides itself as Africa's champion in sprints, relays hurdles, long jump and javelin, Kenya stands out in long distance, endurance races. That country's Douglas Wahkiri and Ibrahim Hussein in (twice winners of the prestigious Boston marathon) would be there. Abbas Mohammed and Yohana Waziri of Nigeria do not pose any threat to the Kenya dynamos. To be watched also are Kenya's 3,000 steeple-chase champs, William Mutwoi and Julius Kori. At a recent Hungry Fiesta, William returned in 8:15:17 and his compatriot made it in 8:22:52.

Nigeria's athletes appear to be in top form. Auckland games medalists, Yusuf Ali, Fatima Yusuf, Ayo Oladefa and Abdullahi Tetengi still prove their worth in every tournament. But commonwealth and Africa's long jump champion, Yusuf Ali had a disappointing jump of 8.02m at a recent world indoors meet in England. Yet he is full of hopes. He boasts that he is still the best: "I'm not unnecessarily worried. The best jump so far is 8:20 and even great jumpers like Soviet Union's Rober Emiyani are below 8 metres".

Old names like Mary Onyali and Chidi Imoh who is recently reported to have beaten Ben Johnson, Carl Lewis and Lindford Christie in Seville, Spain, will adorn Nigeria's camp. Hot sensations — Olapade Adeniken and the Ezinwa brothers, Davidson and Osmond are Nigeria's medal hopes. Olapade is said to be the only man in the world to beat America's Lerroy Burrell in the 100 metres.

Now the distressing news: Nigeria's team captain, Auckland, Paul Emordi will be absent in the games. *Newbreed* learnt that the former African Champion is off athletics because of an injury he sustained three years ago while competing for his school team, Texas Southern University.

All in all, the games will not be a walkover for Nigeria. Barring mishaps, the host country, Kenya and Morocco would want to reverse Nigeria's dominance.

In Africa's sport arena, a victory for Nigeria would raise morals and expectations for the 1992 Barcelona Olympics.

Jossy Idam ■

Newbreed

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