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DAVID-WEST

MORE SCANDALS

“The Pan Ocean case, according to security sources, inflicted more colossal loss in comparison with Stinnes oil affair in which Professor Tam David-West was found to have corruptly enriched the company to the tune of N420 million. In the Pan Ocean scandal, the amount in question was said to be over N1.6 billion. This figure was computed in 1987, which of course would be much higher now when accrued interest is added.”

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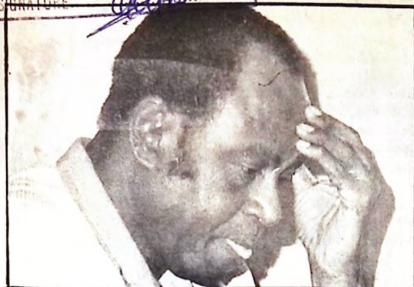
04 JUN 1991

Newbreed

LEGAL DEPOSIT SECTION

SIGNATURE

TOP OF THE NEWS



DAVID-WEST: MORE SCANDALS

December 1990, *Newbreed* was the only medium that cared to labour through the over 2,000 pages of the Daily Proceedings, Judgements and Exhibits of the celebrated trial of Prof. Tam David-West, renowned virologist and former Minister of Petroleum Resources.

The David-West trial ran for several weeks and ended in a bad note because one of Nigeria's loudest social critics was hushed into jail where he will spend the next ten years unless he can persuade the Special Appeal Tribunal to quash the 10 years confinement in Bama prisons, far away in Maiduguri. *Newbreed* reached the conclusion then and now that David-West was guilty as declared by Justice Bello Gusua. But this is now subject to appeal based on briefs which is yet to be argued and adjudicated upon. Furthermore, the story unmasked the fact that some prominent Nigerians including Lt. General Alani Akinrinade, Olu Adegbite, and Chief Festus Marinho featured in a Security briefing sent to the State Security Service, The Presidency and NNPC. Yet only Festus Marinho admitted vaguely then to have been put on notice by the justice ministry officials when he was rehearsing the trial and undergoing the usual witness interrogation and briefing. Others were not asked by the authorities to account to the nation about the sordid revelation contained in the Codec security briefing. Lt. General Akinriade and Chief Adegbite however denied the linkage in an interview published in *Newbreed* Jan 7, 1990.

Newbreed reported that the David-West affair presented a sordid and alarming revelation of how the country's resources were being managed. Against the backdrop of petroleum being the mainstay of the Nigeria economy, it was revealed that very careless attention was paid to NNPC operations, at least, before and during David-West's time, so much that a minister was able to manipulate the system and single handedly wrote off N.5 billion without being immediately queried by the President and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces. We promised to continue the report in the next issue but circumstances made its publication impossible before now.

Well, if you are shocked by the Stinnes/David-West affair, you will quiver in bewilderment in the case of Pan Ocean. It is worse than Stinnes. The size of the fraud in Pan Ocean is an amazingly colossal and well engineered fraud that will make you cry and revolt because accord-

ing to security sources, the Pan Ocean inflicted a more colossal loss in comparison to the Stinnes Oil affair in which Professor Tam David-West was found to have corruptly enriched the company to the tune of N420 million. In the Pan Ocean scandal, the amount in question was said to be over N1.6 billion. This figure was computed in 1987, which of course would have been higher now when the accrued interest is added. In other words, while the enrichment of Stinnes was N.5 billion, the Pan Ocean racket at 1987 estimates without adding accumulated interests was over N1.6 billion, out of which only \$1 million (about N10 million) was paid in 1990, investigation has revealed. But hopes are not dashed, for a ministerial committee has been set up by the Federal Military Government comprising representatives of the SSS, NNPC, Central Bank of Nigeria Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Finance and Nigerian Lawyers to work out strategies to recover the Pan Ocean debt. NNPC has also introduced new control measures and buying conditions which is working to the extent that Group Managing Director, Dr. Thomas John assures the nation that NNPC cannot collapse and that Stinnes/Pan Ocean Scandals cannot visit NNPC during the present regime's tenure and even beyond.

Meanwhile, further enquiries show that only senior jurists will now sit over David-West's appeal, and Ministry of Justice officials are currently rehearsing on the pending court actions against Stinnes, Pan Ocean and their collaborators and conspirators.

The investigative report was put together by the Editor-In-Chief, Chief Chris Okolie and Steve Raymond-Ohakwe, Assistant Editor. If you claim to be number one, beat this. A reader wrote to the Editor thus: 'The slogan of one of the newest magazines is "Others watch the News, we Tell It". *Newbreed*, breeds the news, others watch the news and some tell the news. Those who do the watching are trying, and so, those who have come to tell the news should strive to tell what *Newbreed* breeds'.

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Newbreed Magazine, New Breed Organisation Limited, Plot 14, Western Avenue, Alaka Estate, Surulere, P.O.Box 5414, Lagos, Nigeria. Telephone 831443, 802690 - 9.

Newbreed Volume 4, Number 1, 1990 ISSN 0331 - 1414.

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Letters must include writer's full name, address and telephone numbers, and may be edited for clarity or space.

Re: I am a Sacred Cow of God



I read your recent publication, *Newbreed* April 1991. One of the articles included on the Feedback page was from Kate Odhomi which was supposed to be her reaction to an original article on "I am a Sacred Cow of God." Although, I did not read the original article, what prompted me to write this rejoinder is Kate Odhomi's view on Nigeria joining the OIC and the issue of both the Governor and Deputy Governor of Lagos State being Muslims.

I will be very glad if you can publish these few lines in your weekly.

Firstly, according to Kate Odhomi, Okogie said that the best OIC can do is to further strengthen the divide between Muslims and Christians, North and South. This is a fanatic view which Nigerians are eschewed to avoid. No doubt, OIC is an Islamic organisation and Nigeria being a country with diverse religions should belong to it as long as there are Muslims in Nigeria. Disqualifying Nigerians membership of OIC on the ground of diversity in religion is a negative idea which will not bring progress to this nation. I wish to point out that Nigeria can be free to join similar organizations of other religions that will bring similar benefits as that of OIC

which promised to give our poor nation money without interest at a time when this nation was thinking of getting loan from the IMF. We should not deny this nation what she is qualified to benefit for having diverse religions because that such a benefit is identified with a particular religion. Nations that do not have diverse religions can only benefit from one religion but Nigeria having many should benefit from more than one. This nation has been able to live in diversity all along and no doubt tremendous growth and development have been achieved. Dismembering her of this diverse attribute which is, in the present circumstance, bringing positive development is a very negative retrogression.

Secondly, Kate Odhomi agreed with the Archbishop's view that it was a mistake by the Federal Government to have both the Governor and Deputy Governor of Lagos as Muslims. This again is a parochial and fanatical idea which fans disunity. What should be the Archbishop's view if both servants are Christians? What is important is the personal qualities of the individuals appointed to the positions. No Nigerian should be denied leadership of his/her people on grounds of religion. The Archbishop is a man of peace. If his statement as claimed by Kate Odhomi is true, it is equal in effect to religious bigotry.

Humphrey Emonu
Benin City.

Re - Smuggling

Your story "Soldiers and wives flood Nigerian market with banned rice" in *Newbreed*, April, 15, 1991 deserves a more serious investigation to unearth the whole truth. I know your magazine is the only one that can tell Nigerians more about these "killers" of the economy.

The statement of Mr. Steve

Ajduah (Customs PRO) concerning the nefarious activities of these uniform men reminds me of the biblical saying, that, "from the very beginning.....has never seen on the side of truth, because there is no truth in him: When he tells a lie, He is only doing what is natural to him, because he is a liar and the father of all lies".

Fortunate enough, your magazine was able to establish that it takes between N80 - N100 to bring a bag of rice from Seme to Mile 2. Who do you think, Mr PRO are the bribe collectors?

Be informed that it is only in Nigeria and some African countries with similar tendencies that Civil Servants still in active service become millionaires. Many Nigerians are quite aware that this is one of the charnels from which they make their money. The unfortunate thing is that the so called junior people have been used all along to "perpetuate this thing". What is happening now is the manifestation of the after thought of the junior people to benefit likewise in line with the popular slogan that, "where man dey work, na there he dey chop".

To conclude this matter, I beg to suggest that your heading should have read: "Customs, Army, Police and their wives flood Nigerian market with banned rice".

Okiemute Okorodu
Kaduna.

Re: Drug Scandal: Oyakhilome fights Jennifer Madike

I must first of all commend your team of journalists for the excellent manner they investigate issues properly before publishing it. It was after reading your own version of the Madike affair that I really understood the issues. Keep it up and be courageous.

It is clear that Jennifer was a girlfriend of Oyakhilome. The bone of contention between

them which necessitated Oyakhilome to catalyze the arrest of Jennifer was the insincerity of Jennifer to him. Had it been Jennifer told his lover the truth when he (Oyakhilome) asked her if she had received the N800,000.00, Oyakhilome could have suppressed the matter. Or going to your story, NDLEA Chairman was annoyed because he did not receive the fabulous amount

To this effect, NDLEA



Chairman felt slighted on the cleverness and intelligence of her lover, as it appeared that Jennifer playing on 'Kilome's intelligence. Then, he considering the implication and sensitivity of the matter should it blow open ordered her arrest.

Oyakhilome on the other side of the coin is proving that he does not receive bribes to free drug barons. Nevertheless, I still blame Oyakhilome for not limiting or restricting his intimacy with Jennifer while he was the chairman of such a sensitive post.

If I were him, I could have taken the same action he took.

The federal government should not treat this case as that of Bashir Mohammed case, otherwise, we the masses will believe by that the hand of some government echelons are involved as claimed by Jennifer.

Cajetan Ejiaku
Owerri.

Stopping Arms Flow to the Third World

In the aftermath of Gulf war and with the thaw in the Cold War, the West is emphasizing on existing arrangements to limit arms proliferation in the third world.

One of the most urgent tasks facing the developed world after the Gulf War is to find a way of preventing the proliferation of chemical, nuclear and other advanced weapons into unstable developing countries.

"There is now a strong feeling abroad," says one US official, "that we cannot allow more or less unfettered trade to continue." Yet finding a way of stopping the trade, which gave Iraq chemical and missile capability and brought it close to nuclear capability, will take a lot longer than it did to oust President Saddam Hussein's forces from Kuwait.

Western officials say that only now, as they begin to grapple seriously with the issue, have they discovered quite how complex it is. And they are reluctant to be panicked prematurely into any grandiose bureaucratic solutions that might create more problems than they solve.

One possibility, which has been aired by strategic trade experts in the US though not so far espoused by the Bush administration, might be to strengthen the export control regime managed by the 17-nation Co-ordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom). CoCom groups all of NATO minus Iceland but plus Japan and Australia.

It is widely seen as having been successful in delaying the development of high technology weapons by the Soviet Union and China and is looking for a new role in the post-Cold War era.

The idea may be considered, at least in the corridors, at the high-level meeting planned by CoCom in Paris soon, but officials say the whole debate remains, for the time being, ad hoc.

In the short run, the emphasis seems likely to be on strengthening and upgrading the west's existing range of institutional arrangements including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Missile Technology Control Regime and the Australia Group which is concerned with chemical weapon development.

These specialist bodies seek to limit nuclear, missile and chemical weapons proliferation respectively on a world scale. The focus of CoCom has always been exclusively directed towards preventing weapons and sensitive technology reaching the Soviet Union and China.

One of its most sensitive tasks, at which it has been relatively successful, has been to limit exports of so-called dual-use equipment - high technology goods which can have both civilian or military uses. The three specialist arrangements also involve restrictions on dual-use items. For example, the Australia Group imposes restrictions on the export of precursor chemicals which are needed to produce weapons but may also have civilian use.

CoCom has much broader experience in the dual-use field, but it is still directed against the Soviet Union and China. Now that the Cold War is over the list is being radically

scaled back and may no longer be an appropriate basis for controlling trade to developing countries.

More important still, the Soviet Union and China need to be involved in any effort to stop weapons proliferation in the developing world as they are themselves important suppliers.

Officials say there are also a number of other serious obstacles to a consensus on curbing arms proliferation in the developing world. Among them is the question of deciding which countries should be targeted by export controls. Up till now the question of how far material restricted by CoCom should be made available to countries outside its immediate target list has been a matter of national discretion. Some CoCom countries are likely to resist the creation of a new regime which limits their rights to trade.

Some "friendly" developing countries such as Brazil are themselves large arms exporters. Their involvement is also crucial, but it is not clear whether they could form part of the core group of countries applying controls. And the need for security has to be balanced with the need to avoid giving grounds to developing countries complaining that they are being denied basic technology needed for economic development.

In a recent report the US National Academy of Science warned that there were no easy answers to the problem of export controls.

It added, however, that there was insufficient co-ordination between CoCom and the other multilateral arrangements established to address nuclear, missile or chemical exports. This should be improved with a long-term goal of eventually consolidating the arrangements.

"The most effective and politically realistic approach involves close co-operation among a relatively small number of countries, combined with a broad mechanism to strengthen and co-ordinate interna-

tional regimes to which all interested states can be parties," it said. The major players should at least include the US, UK, Soviet Union, France, Germany, Japan and China.

Governments should seek enforcement measures that can successfully focus on those few destinations that pose the greatest proliferation risk. They should develop a new regime, or expand an existing one, to cover proliferation of advanced conventional weapons and related systems. Export controls should focus narrowly on the proliferation risks and activities of greatest concern in order to minimise negative, commercial, developmental and foreign policy impacts, it said.

Despite the glow created by the unprecedented international co-operation in resolving the Gulf crisis, it will be a gargantuan task to fulfil even these pragmatic policy objectives.

■ Peter Montagnon



Saddam: There is a new feeling abroad.

Awo Died of Frustration

- SOLARIN

Two to three weeks before his death on May 9, 1987, the late elder statesman, and leader of the defunct Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Chief Obafemi Awolowo, shut out people in his inner circle. He would not comment on any issue or answer any question on any topic whatsoever. This fact was disclosed to *Newbreed* in an exclusive interview with his one-time close associate and chairman of the People's Bank of Nigeria (PBN), Dr. Tai Solarin.

The revelation further strengthens the widely held notion that Chief Awolowo died a frustrated man - denied of the prize he desired most: the presidency of Nigeria.

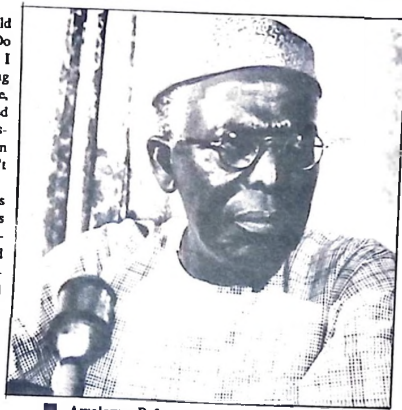
Supporting this belief, Solarin told us, "many people have asked me: Do you think Awo died of frustration? I think frustration more than anything else. For the very fact, for example, that two or three weeks before he died whenever anybody asked him a question... he wouldn't even comment on anything. He drew a line and didn't want to see anybody".

Pressed to explain whether this withdrawal was occasioned by Awo's disappointment at his inability to secure the presidency, Solarin remarked that the former UPN leader simply refused to comment on anything. Said he: "It didn't matter what you asked. Awo didn't talk anymore". Concerned about this development, Solarin stated that the thought of discussing the matter with Mrs. H.I.D. Awolowo but dropped the idea because of the sensitive nature of the subject at that point in time.

Awo is not the only prominent Nigerian whom Solarin believes died from frustration in the last few years. Another prime example is Ayodele Awojobi, the brilliant University of Lagos, Professor of Mechanical Engineering. In Awojobi's case, the People's Bank Chairman stressed that death from frustration was inevitable because "he (Awojobi) was much more intelligent than I ever was, so that

he could see the face of Nigeria. But I am lucky that I am much less intelligent and I can take a lot of bashing".

Solarin's reminiscences on how frustration may have felled Awo and Awojobi sprang from his reaction to the spate of criticism relating to his acceptance of the PBN job, the crisis that enveloped the bank recently, and his much reported movement from the Gbagada suburb of Lagos to the high brow haven of the rich and powerful - Ikoyi. But the PBN Chairman in a combative mood told us that he was not going to be frustrated, and that he was going to continue serving the country until he "dropped dead."



■ Awolowo: Before his death, the sage won't comment on anything.

At his new and much criticised 33, Kingsway Road, Ikoyi, abode, Solarin conducted *Newbreed* round. His is just one apartment in an old fashioned block of six flats. The apartment has three bedrooms and all the three rooms are serviced by just one toilet. The room in which the PBN Chairman sleeps has two beds not much bigger than the

standard six-spring beds. The two other rooms have beds which from their appearance had not been slept on for sometime. And the mattresses - the vintage version with springs - looked like they had been in service before independence.

The only part of the flat which can be said to exude comfort is the sitting room. It is modestly furnished with a vibrant-garde chair in light brown wall-to-wall carpeting. The setting is completed by a colour television set.

But by far, the most striking aspects of the house are Solarin's wardrobes. They are bare save for some shelves on which piles of his famed khaki shirts and shorts rest. Other items in the wardrobes include one or two ankara wrappers and a few canvas shoes.

One of the first things that hit a visitor at Solarin's new Ikoyi home is the fact that it is not as palatial as has been made out in the media. A visibly irritated Solarin in response to the volley of charges that he now lives in opulence responds that: "People have laughed at me because I am living in Ikoyi. They said (I had) television. I could live here for two or three years and I won't put this one on once. I don't need it. I only have this one for the exigency of it. Then somebody said aircondition. If it is very hot, that is when I use it. Is this the super existence?"

Such explanations have not stopped the criticism of Solarin for his move to Ikoyi. Observers note that it is not so much the content or nature of his new house that matters, but the symbolism of the move. They see his move as signifying the abandonment of the masses whose cause he had championed for years. Solarin on his part continues to maintain that he is still committed to the masses. He moved to Ikoyi, he claims, after government concerned about his safety at Gbagada, requested him to do so.

■ Festus Eriye

To Jubril Aminu, An Invitation

The northern caucus of the National Republican Convention lobbies a man they believe to be the natural successor to Ahmadu Bello to enter the race to rule Nigeria.

Indications are that current speculations notwithstanding, Petroleum Resources Minister, Prof. Jubril Aminu is unlikely to resign from the Babangida government to run for president. Authoritative sources disclosed that of recent, Professor Aminu has come under intense pressure from the Northern caucus, considered the power house of the party, that he should don the cap of the NRC in the presidential race.

It was learnt that the affection and support which most members of the Northern caucus have for Professor Aminu's candidature if he finally yields to their request, is based on the assumption that he has contributed to the advancement of the entire north more than any of the people who are currently seeking the presidential ticket of the party.

Among the record of success being vaunted in support of Professor Aminu's candidature is that he introduced the nomadic education scheme which enables the Fulanis to "read and rear" at the same time. His reversal of what they described as the lopsided staffing" at the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the life-wire of the nation's economy, in order to ensure that the north is adequately represented in the management and staffing of the vital sector has also been hailed by Northerners.

Consequently, Professor Aminu's contribution is now being compared to that of the legendary Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, who as the leader of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) did Northerners proud with his one-north policy. The benefits of which is the eminent position occupied by the north in the political scheme of things in Nigeria today.

Moreover, the honesty and compo-



■ Jubril Aminu: A comparison with Sardauna

tence exhibited by Professor Aminu while at the helm of affairs at the Ministry of Education and now at the Ministry of Petroleum Resources, are regarded as additional beautiful feathers in his cap which would place him in good stead against his potential opponents in the presidential race. It is said that these attributes are capable of endearing him to, and win for him the support of a broad spectrum of Nigerians.

In this regard, a national newspaper in an editorial said of Professor Aminu: "We are compelled to express our unreserved commendation for the brilliant manner in which the Minister of Petroleum Resources has been conducting affairs in the nation's oil sector since his reassignment to that ministry. Even Aminu's worst critics will admit that he is one Minister whose ad-

mittedly long tenure in the Babangida administration has not been tainted by even the faintest and shady deals for which a few high level government officials have of late incurred public distaste".

Proponents of Aminu's presidential candidature therefore, reckon that he should be given the mandate if the north genuinely wants to regain its unity which was badly threatened by the Orkar coup of April 22, 1990, and also for it to present a widely-acknowledged, tested, and capable candidate. It is also believed that Professor Aminu's origin from Gongola State would satisfy the yearnings of those who want to see the transfer of the nation's political base from

Sokoto State which produced Sir Ahmadu Bello and Alhaji Shehu Shagari who, respectively, were the most prominent politicians of the first and second republics.

For this reason, sources disclosed that the presidential aspiration of Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi may be scuttled. In addition, Shinkafi, because of the support he gave to Alhaji Maccido against Alhaji Dasuki, during the contest for the Sultanate, has not been able to win back the confidence and support of Alhaji Dasuki. On the other hand, Aminu from the Middle Belt, but who enjoys the support of the Sultan of Sokoto and other northern emirs would wedge the entire north together if given the mandate. A manifestation of Aminu's acceptability in the north is said to have been demonstrated when he was chosen

for the conferment of the title of Sarkin Fulani of Adamawa by the powerful Sokoto Sultanate.

Sources disclosed that pressure is being put on Professor Aminu because the northern elders do not trust the capability of each of the men who had earlier on indicated their interest in the presidency. Among them is Alhaji Lema Jubrilu an NRC presidential aspirant from Katsina who is believed to have lost whatever support he was getting from a segment of the Northern caucus because he is said to have failed to pump enough money that would have assured the victory of the party in Katsina State in the last local government election. The consequence was that the Social Democratic Party (SDP) which had access to the limitless financial resources and goodwill of Major General Shehu Musa Yar 'Adua, won more seats than the NRC in the State.

Sources also disclosed that it was this unimpressive showing of the NRC in his state that cost him (Jubrilu) the chairmanship of the party's national finance committee which was given to Alhaji Sumaila Mamman who last year resigned as Minister of Agriculture.

Alhaji Jubrilu and Mallam Saleh Jambo (from Plateau) who is another presidential candidate are said to have substantial followers in the West, the zone which each of them has promised the vice-presidential slot if any of them emerges as the party's flagbearer. Sources close to the two of them also spoke about the likelihood of one of them stepping down for the other whenever presidential primaries draw near.

Alhaji Aminu Dantata, a multi-millionaire from Kano is another candidate which the northern caucus had earlier on considered for the NRC presidential ticket. A meeting held on February 21, 1991 which was allegedly hosted by Alhaji Lawal Kaita former governor of Kaduna State in the Second republic at a house in Festival Road, Victoria Island, Lagos, where Dantata's candidature was considered was boycotted by most members of the Western Caucus because of their commitment to either Lema Jubrilu Saleh Jambor Shinkafi. Others, are Liman



■ Umaru Shinkafi: Not in the good books of the Sultan



■ Yar 'Adua: the General's money pushed Jubrilu to the background

Ciroma, Alhaji Hassan Adamu, Alhaji Aliko Mohammed. *Newbreed* gathered that it was because of his experience in

government and his ability to maintain equanimity in the face of strict criticism of his official policies and programmes, that make Professor Aminu stand above each of these people.

Apart from the pressure from members of the Northern Caucus, Professor Aminu, the University of Ibadan and a United Kingdom trained cardiologist, also said to have been encouraged by his own people from Gongola State to run for politics. Recently, Alhaji Muhammad Yola, patron of the Gongola State Youth Council, in a press release, pleaded with him (Aminu) to quit his ministerial job and party politics. If he does, Professor Aminu would be toying the line of Chief Othman Falae, Alhaji Sumaila Mamman and Alhaji Eyoma Ita Eyoma, who were former ministers who resigned from the Babangida administration and are now actively involved in party politics.

However, political analysts say that the selection of Professor Aminu as the NRC presidential flagbearer could be the potent resistance from the Southern zone, many of whom, have fostered the impression that some of the policies which the minister has executed have been against the South. Among their grievances is the attempted cancellation of the General Certificate of Education (GCE) for private candidates, majority of who are Southerners. The controversy generated by Professor Aminu's "gifted children" scheme which were allegedly selected to favour the north is still simmering. In addition, the change of the primary/secondary school calendar which some people believe caused most problems than it had set out to solve and which has just been reversed by his successor, Professor Aliu Babatude Fafunwa may detract from the level of political support he is likely to enjoy.

Sources close to the Presidency disclosed that Professor Jubrilu Aminu was only 17 days in office when the President announced the New School year in the budget speech. According to the sources, the decision to return to the Nigerian traditional school calendar year was based out of a recommendation by a Presidential Task Force that looked into the matter. He said "Indeed the policy was to have started

in 1986 but was delayed by Professor Aminu for one year."

He explained that what Professor Aminu implemented as the new school calendar year was actually a policy decision of government when he was not yet the minister of education.

Giving background to the decision, the source recalled that Nigerian traditional school calendar year has always been from January to December. But in Government Colleges, the expatriates had to adjust the School to July - October to accommodate their annual leave which they prefer to coincide with summer in Europe. In

those days, he said, missionaries never went on summer holidays but later when government took over schools, the school year was harmonised to accommodate the government time-table and hence the semester system.

He stressed that in confronting Professor Aminu on the issue of new school year, people should endeavour to differentiate a government policy from personal policy. What Prof. Aminu implemented as minister of education, he said, was a government policy debated at cabinet level.

On the issue that Professor Aminu northernised NNPC, sources at the Corporation claimed that the allegation was unfounded. A run down of most of the top management positions in NNPC, according to the source, are currently occupied by Southerners. "For instance among the top management staff, there 14 Southerners to 6 Northerners. Of the Board mem-

bers of NNPC and Chairman of subsidiaries, there are 8 Southerners to 6 Northerners". "Where then do you base your assertion that the Minister was using rationalisation as a ploy for "sponsoring and championing his group or sectional interest" he asked.

Reacting to the issue of nomadic education, the source asked: "Have the Fulanis right to education in Nigeria just as the Hausas, Yorubas and Igbos etc? It will pay Nigeria more if the Fulanis receive education and improve scientifically in their cattle rearing. He argued that the question of the multiplier effect of his policies as it affects the

North does not prove any favouritism but mainly redressing or doing what a responsible minister or administrator ought to do. And the issue of gifted children favouring the North, the source describes it as a trash since the programme from inception and implementation had no geopolitical bias. Rather it was said to have been attacked because it exacerbated divisions along class lines.

However, *Newbreed* gathered at press time that the publicity given to the purported pressure from Northern elders to field Prof. Aminu was the handiwork of politicians who feel threatened by the political credentials of Aminu who has built a strong clout around himself through his unprecedented success in harnessing Northern resources. A close source to the Oil Minister disclosed that the so called Northern elders have been orchestrating this campaign to kill the spirit of advocates who really want Aminu to run for

Sources close to the Presidency disclosed that Professor Jubril Aminu was only 17 days in office when the President announced the New School year in the budget speech. According to the source, the decision to return to the Nigerian traditional school calendar year was borne out of a recommendation by a Presidential Task Force that looked into the matter.



■ Fafunwa reversed Aminu's policies

presidency.

Newbreed gathered from authoritative sources that confirmed that Professor Aminu has been under pressure by some Northern caucus to run for Presidency but he has not considered it. According to close associates of the oil minister "He cannot disappoint President Babangida by leaving midstream for politics when the President has not shown any sign of dropping him from his cabinet. He cannot disappoint the President, if he wants him to stay, he will. But meanwhile, Professor Aminu has not considered leaving government".

When asked why Professor Aminu should not consider the pressure said to be from the Northern elders, the source retorted "who are the Northern elders? Are they not the same people who want to run for Presidency like Lukeman, Yar'ardua and Wakili Adamawa?"

Knowing Professor Aminu, he cannot leave IBB mid-stream when he had not told him to retire. Any speculation of resigning was an orchestration of the northern elders to generate controversy, or pre-empt issue and generate reaction from Aminu".

■ Ayowole Falodun

The Asian Experience in East Africa

The Asian experience in East Africa is captured with honesty, vitality and wit in an award-winning novel by Kenyan-born writer M. G. Vassanji

The *Gunny Sack* has won the African Best First Book award of the 1990 Commonwealth writers' prize.

It follows the fortunes of four generations of an East African Indian family from migration to Zanzibar in the 1880s through settlement in Kenya and Tanzania, to their final flight to Canada in the 1970s.

The novel takes its name from a jute sack crammed with ancestral bric-a-brac, bequeathed to the narrator, Salim Juma, by his great-aunt. As Salim delves into his inheritance from the exile of Toronto, he unearths a thousand-and-one family memories which tell the unwritten history of East Africa and of his people.

Yet the tale-spinning gunny sack is no Shehrzade. The author, en route to Australia to collect his prize, explained in an interview: "My inspiration is not romance or rich princesses like Shehrzade, but the very ordinary people who grew up in the slums of East Africa."

Born in Nairobi in 1950, Moyez Vassanji grew up in Tanzania, but left at the age of 20 on a scholarship to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He now lives in Toronto where he writes, teaches and edits the *Toronto South Asian Review*.

The *Gunny Sack* revolves around his own community, the Ismailis (thinly veiled in the novel as a fictitious sect called the Shamsis). Converts from Hinduism to Islam in medieval India, Ismail's were among those who migrated to the East African coast from poor villages in Gujarat and the south, in search of a better life.

An admirer of exiled Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o, for his "creation of a mythology from the *Mau Mau* experience," Vassanji describes his own attempt to transform his community's way of life, and its creative fusion of cultures, into fiction.

"I have tried to define a year zero for a certain kind of East African Asian, to create a mythology which applies not to a nation, as in

Title	: The Gunny Sack
Author	: M. G. Vassanji
Publisher	: Heinemann International
Price	: Not Stated
Reviewer	: Maya Jaggi

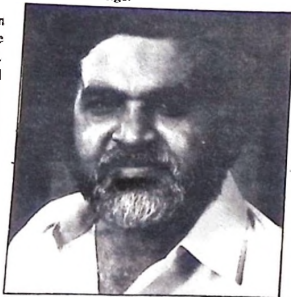
Ngugi's case, but to a minority which doesn't know where it belongs: even if Asians feel they belong in Africa, many have now left."

Vassanji gave his narrator African ancestry (his great-grandmother is an African slave) to symbolise, he says, the deep African roots of the Asians of that region. Yet the novel is also shot through with instances of Asian racism and clannishness.

It speaks well for the author's artistic skill and integrity that he succeeds in laying bare the darker side of the Indian presence in Africa without intrusive moralising.

The plot, where Salim's African ancestor is sexually used and discarded by her Indian master, or where a faithful family servant is betrayed during the *Mau Mau* rebellion against British colonialism, is simply allowed to tell its own story.

Tracing the region's history through the rigours of German colonialism in Tanzania, the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-6, British rule, Tanzanian independence and the policy of African socialism known as Ujamaa, that story speaks of change.



■ Moyez Vassanji

While the narrator's father was made to suffer the "stigma" of African ancestry, Salim falls deeply in love with a Swahili woman.

For Vassanji, national service was a decisive force for integration, "making my generation of Asians completely at home with being Africans."

That process was tragically interrupted, however, by the exodus of the 1970s, precipitated by President Idi Amin's forced expulsion of Ugandan Asians, which "cracked our world open like an egg."

Tanzanian Asians, in Vassanji's view, felt President Julius Nyerere's subsequent pronouncements against them to be "a tremendous betrayal," since Asians supported Nyerere's socialism.

"The majority of Asians weren't rich businessmen or landowners; they just had a shop and a building above it, and they had achieved this after 50 years of work," said Vassanji.

"There were those who owned supermarkets and hotels and had investments abroad, but the government failed to distinguish between their many allies among the Asians, and those few who had their hearts elsewhere."

Vassanji, who had hoped to return from the United States to teach at Dar-es-Salaam University, laments that his own community was frightened into flight.

"I believe very strongly that you have to have faith in a place; you can't just keep leaving, which is what Asians have tended to do."

This commitment is borne out at the end of the novel, where Salim vows to return to Tanzania.

The final message, according to its author, is one of "faith and hope in Africa."

Still feeling himself to be a Tanzanian in exile in Toronto, Vassanji is publishing a new novel in February, *No New Land*, which takes a wry yet compassionate look at the city's East African Asian immigrant community.

But he is already working on another novel which reverts to the setting of East Africa. "When you're away from a place, you miss it," he said, wistfully. "And a book is a celebration and recreation of that missed way of life."

DAVID-WEST: MORE SCANDALS



panel are Mr. P. O. Bialonwu, Senior Advocate of Nigeria; Mrs. Ibidapo-Obe, Senior Advocate of Nigeria; Justice D. O. Coker (rtd) of the Supreme Court; Justice J. A. P. Oki, former chief judge of Bendel State; Mr. Justice Agbaje Williams, former chief judge of Oyo State; and Justice Odulano, former chief judge of Ogun State.

Last week Wednesday, at the Prince Bola Ajibola's office, Federal Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, senior officials were said to be busy in making frantic telephone efforts to reach members of the tribunal. Many of them were said to have been reached and summoned to the Ministry of Justice for a meeting which in fact, held on Thursday, May 2, 1991. Another meeting to discuss the modalities of the trial is scheduled to hold on Friday, May 10, 1991.

On good authority, it was gathered that the Ministry of Justice has completed the study on the appeal filed by Professor Tam David-West about his conviction on the Stinnes' affair. The ministry is said to be ready to fight the appeal and Mr. Tunde Olojo, solicitor to Professor Tam David-West has filed the briefs and the ministry has completed work on the briefs. In fact, the two parties are said to be eager to commence proceedings in the appeal that promises to become a landmark trial in the application of law and jurisprudence.

Newbreed also gathered that the team of lawyers from the Ministry of Justice would be led by Mr. Kolapo Adebale, who was the prosecuting counsel at the Miscellaneous Offences Special Military Tribunal that sentenced Professor Tam

A Special Appeal Tribunal reconstituted to try the appeal filed by Prof. Tam David-West against the 10-year jail term clamped on him by the Special Military Tribunal on Recovery of Public Property for corrupt enrichment of a foreign company, would commence sitting before the end of May, 1991.

Authoritative sources close to the federal law office disclosed that members of the panel are eminent jurists, and the appeal trial promises to be thrilling and interesting against the background of the criticism of the lower tribunal by some advocates that members of the tribunal were not experienced enough to handle a serious political trial of such magnitude. Members of the reconstituted

David-West in Lagos.

Information gathered about Adebaale showed that he is a brilliant lawyer who studied at the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, and has spent 16 years at the bar. He joined the civil service straight from the university and has never been in private practice. He was on secondment to the Federal Environmental Protection Agency when he was recalled to the Ministry of Justice to prosecute David-West.

In the course of snooping in the corridors of power in Lagos, *Newbreed* gathered that President Ibrahim Babangida took the decision to waive the immunity granted him by the constitution to testify during Professor David-West's trial at the Miscellaneous Offences Special Military Tribunal. According to the sources, had President Babangida testified, that would have been the end of the matter. And ex-Head of State, Major General Buhari who had no immunity at the time of the trial also could have testified.

According to competent sources, Mr. Tunde Olojo, solicitor to the ex-minister was not stupid by not subpoenaing Mr. President or Major General Buhari on the issue of mandate on which the crux of the David-West defence was anchored.

Mr. Olojo, they said, knew his onions and was aware that the President would waive the immunity. Hence he shied away from subpoenaing President Babangida and ex-Head of State, Buhari.

It was also confirmed that Lt. Gen. Akinnrade was the "Military gentleman of respectable military and social standing who kindly offered his services in resolving the impasse (dispute between NNPC and Stinnes)" referred to in the letter Professor David-West gave to the tribunal during his trial.

It will be recalled that when Professor David-West was asked by the Prosecutor, Mr. Adebaale to give more information on this letter, David-West declined to reveal the identity of the military gentleman in open court saying, "I would not want to embarrass the military gentleman I mentioned in that letter who is a mutual friend of Festus Marinho and myself. But if the tribunal wants his name, I can write

"We May Lose"

On Thursday May 2, 1991, the Editor-in-Chief of *Newbreed*, Chief Chris Okolie and Assistant Editor, Steve Raymond Okakwe, interviewed the Group Managing Director of Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Dr. Thomas John in Lagos on the Pan Ocean N1.6 billion oil sales scandal and why NNPC is still in business with the oil company in spite of its colossal debt to the corporation. Below are the excerpts:

Interview with group managing director of NNPC, Dr. Thomas John

Newbreed: We were astonished to read that Pan Ocean is still doing business with NNPC and here is a company that owes NNPC a colossal sum of money over \$1.6 billion and defaulted, yet NNPC is still doing business with it. That is why we have said we should find out how much has been paid, whether there is a reconciliation and why we are still doing business with them?

Dr. John: Thank you very much for giving us opportunity to make a statement on this very important issue.

You probably don't know this, there is a committee set up by government to follow this whole issue of debts, Pan Ocean debts with NNPC and have been working for more than a year now. They are making progress and unfortunately we are not in a position to disclose strategies and details of their day to day progress.

I think you have to be satisfied with the fact that we have a committee made up of representatives from Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Petroleum Resources, the State Security and some private lawyers engaged by government to look into the whole matter.

On the question of why we are still doing business with Pan Ocean, I want to state that we have nothing to gain by asking Pan Ocean to leave and revoking their licence by asking them to discontinue their operating in Nigeria. If anything we may lose.

It's a fact that they owe us money but we don't solve that problem by revoking their licence. If we do, we break the link and may be losing whatever chance we have in recovering this money.

Presently, we have reached an agreement with the company to operate on a sole risk basis, that means they are not in joint venture with NNPC any longer. They invest all the money that is required to improve their reserve position as well as increase producibility.

At the same time, we believe by keeping them here, at least we know what they are doing, we hope that if their investment should increase in the country and their assets and reserve grow, it improves our chances of recovering the



amount owed at a future date.

Newbreed: What has been the attitude of Pan Ocean since the unfortunate incident, and how come you allow the debt to accumulate?

Dr. John: One thing this management tries to avoid is unnecessary controversy and you realise that we have different actors in the corporation from time to time now. We wouldn't want to start asking question about how things happened five or six years ago, because it can be misunderstood. We want to just limit ourselves to the obvious fact that, yes we are owed, we are doing something about it and know that nothing similar is going on in NNPC today. So NNPC is not going to collapse because of any continuing debt crisis. We don't believe that anyone would accumulate such debts here again. I think that Nigerian public should be rest assured that they don't have any such case in NNPC today nor are they likely to have any in future.

You could read books about how this happened, but it will not solve the problem except to learn how to avoid similar occurrences.

On what has been the attitude of the present management of Pan Ocean, well, we don't talk to them.

The discussion with the committee is going on right now or the investigation is going on and all the terms to recover this money is not with the present management of Pan Ocean. That's all I have to tell you. You see you have to make a distinction between shareholders, directors and the management. And the committee knows where to go and look for their money.

Newbreed: What are the trading terms with the present management since you have now assured the nation that it will never happen; what, in concrete terms is different from what you were doing before and what you are doing now as to irrevocably guarantee non occurrence of this and event?

Dr. John: You establish irrevocable letter of credit before you touch our oil. You establish a confirmed irrevocable letter of credit with a first class bank before our oil leaves Nigerian waters.

Newbreed: What is the exception?

Dr. John: No exception. That is the point, there is no exception to the rule.

Newbreed: So you have closed all loopholes?

Dr. John: Absolutely! Without this letter of credit from a first class bank, there is no business.

Newbreed: There was a disclosure form during David-West tenure which all buyers must fill about their Nigerian agents, which we consider crucial. How does it work now? Do you still operate the disclosure form?

Dr. John: There are several forms that have to be completed. We deal directly with all these foreign companies.

Newbreed: Yes, we know but as an additional conditionally, there is this disclosure form which must be completed with by all potential dealers with NNPC, which was one of David-West's reforms to check on companies.

Dr. John: Maybe not at our level. But at our level at NNPC and Marketing department we deal directly with the dealer. We have our consultants who tell us the standing of the company internationally, financially, and operationally. We are not dealing with agents.

Newbreed: You are now saying that you go beyond the letter of credit and note the standing of the company?

Dr. John: Oh yes. That has been the requirement. Before we go into contract we make sure that the company can pay for the Cargo it lifts. And that the assets of the company is substantial.

it on the piece of paper and give it to you." It was this failure to disclose the name openly that cost him public sympathy.

Propagandists are now speculating that the recent outcry by Professor Tam David-West from the desert prison cell that he was being maltreated was timed to play up public sympathy, divert attention and subvert the second trial. Although the allegation against the prison officials may be true, they argued that the publicity seemed to aim at forestalling the prosecution by portraying a picture of a man government had convicted, maltreated in prison and now awaiting the second trial.

In the meantime, hopes that former petroleum minister, professor Tam David-West, now serving a jail term in Bama prison, for abuse of office and corrupt enrichment of a foreign oil company, may be prosecuted for similar offence, in which an oil company, Pan Ocean, allegedly defrauded the Federal Government of Nigeria of the colossal sum of over N1.6 billion from crude oil sales have been dashed.

Information from the federal law office in Lagos two weeks ago firmly indicated that Professor David-West will not be put on trial over the Pan Ocean fraud. At the Ministry of Justice, a senior official disclosed that the files of both the Stinnes and Pan Ocean Oil Companies deals with which Professor Tam David-West has been linked were studied together in March, 1989, and the Minister of Justice opted to drop the Pan Ocean case for lack of tangential evidence. "It was in the same minutes the minister dealt with Stinnes and the Pan Ocean matter". The file, according to the source was "thoroughly read and no case could be made out. As there was not enough direct evidence to hold Prof. Tam David-West, the minister opted to drop Pan Ocean and go for Stinnes".

The Pan Ocean case, according to security sources, inflicted a more colossal loss in comparison with Stinnes Oil affair in which Professor Tam David-West was found to have corruptly enriched the company to the tune of N420 million. In the Pan Ocean scandal, the amount in

question was said to be over N163,549,635.42 i.e N1.6 billion. This figure was computed in 1987, which of course would be much higher now when accrued interest is added.

Investigations further reveal that the Pan Ocean - Stinnes affairs, for which the ex-minister was jailed was executed in a fashion similar to the Stinnes oil deal in 1984/85. The crux of the allegation against the ex-minister was that the general conditions for the sale of crude oil, the mainstay of Nigeria's economy, which was applicable to all contracts for the sale of the commodity were not complied with in lifting of crude oil by Pan Ocean during his tenure as minister.

According to Security sources, David-West was said to have allowed Pan Ocean to lift crude oil to the tune of over \$350 million over (N3.5 billion) without payment because of the apparent cordiality and relationship that existed between the ex-minister and the Italian owner of Pan Ocean, Mr. Vittorio Fabbri, in violation of the conditions for crude oil sales.

Under the NNPC general conditions, the buyer of crude oil shall pay for all crude oil lifted in addition to damages provided for by a letter of credit. However, an exception to this rule of general condition provides that after the buyer's performance of the contract for a period of 24 consecutive calendar months to the complete satisfaction of NNPC, payment by letter of credit may be waived by NNPC in writing at its absolute discretion.

The discretion to be exercised by NNPC in the circumstance, is such that the buyer shall pay directly for oil lifting and other claims under the contract upon receipt of NNPC invoice and shipping documents. Furthermore, the waiver of payment by letter of credit notwithstanding, the buyer shall nevertheless open and maintain a standby letter of credit with a first class bank which NNPC shall have recourse to upon a buyer's failure to settle an invoice.

The stand-by letter of credit, as a guarantee of faithful payment shall be irrevocable, revolving and for value calculated in the general conditions and shall be maintained valid throughout the remaining life of the contract as the seller may

We don't want to deal with companies that are not well established or quacks. It's very important that we deal with reputable organisation.

Newsbreak: When did we decide to go into sole risk transaction with Pan Ocean?

Dr. John: When Pan Ocean was operating earlier it was on joint venture with NNPC, that is if the company is going to spend \$100, NNPC has to put its equity ratio 60:40. But these days NNPC does not contribute a kobo to the operation of the company.

Newsbreak: What we are saying is, at what stage did NNPC decide to lift suspension on lifting oil against Pan Ocean and go into sole risk transaction?

Dr. John: As far as I know they never stopped operating. They were doing business with us at joint venture till June/July 1990 when we informed them that we would want to change the mode of operation and go to a sole risk mode of participation.

Newsbreak: Why?

Dr. John: Their cost of production is high because their production is low.

In production, the amount of money you put in, divided by your production gives us the unit cost. When the amount put in is so high to what you produce per unit, cost is high.

We watch that and know what the average in industry should be, when we think it is getting too high, we opt out because we have to pay for substantial part of that cost. Where it is not profitable, we withdraw and ask them to go on sole risk basis. They accept in principle and the final agreement would be signed in near future. Meanwhile we are not contributing to their operation. They are producing on sole risk basis and paying tax since June 1990 for whatever they produce and export.

Newsbreak: What is the debt so far?

Dr. John: I will tell you the truth, you have to calculate it on daily basis since there is interest.

Newsbreak: From the data available to us at the time the whole thing burst open, Pan Ocean was owing \$340 million about N3.4 billion which is about our total foreign exchange budget in a year.

Dr. John: Don't say that because that would be wrong and you would be misinforming the public.

Newsbreak: We just want to have an idea whether they have paid anything since the suspension was lifted on Pan Ocean.

Dr. John: I think the last payment they made was \$1 million and pledged to pay the rest gradually before the committee took over.

Newsbreak: What have you done to their Nigerian partners?

Dr. John: As long as the matter is being handled by the committee, I have no direct role. I can't be seen to be working outside the terms of reference of the committee.

Newsbreak: We want to know whether they are saying sorry.

Dr. John: Sorry is not what we want. We want the money and they made payment of \$1 million which is very symbolic with a promise to make further payment.

require. NNPC may also call for a guarantee of performance in such other form as it may deem fit as an alternative to the standby letter of credit.

NNPC officials disclosed that to ensure that a company lifting crude oil can pay, the letter of credit ought to be opened in a recognised international bank and the bank through Central Bank advises NNPC of any monetary lodgement. Accordingly, the officials said, "it is the duty of the minister to ensure that a letter of credit is opened so that we can be guaranteed payment."

However, security sources disclosed that in clean breach of the mandatory procedure, Pan Ocean was right from the onset allowed to pay for oil by direct invoicing and was specifically exempted from opening and maintaining the required mandatory standby letter of credit. Similarly, no other form of performance guarantee was demanded by NNPC of which Prof. Tam David-West was the executive chairman, nor had Pan Ocean's lifting taken up to 24 consecutive months to enable the minister watch its performance before the concessions were made.

According to NNPC sources, the initial contract for lifting of 15,000 barrels of crude oil between Pan Ocean and NNPC was signed on October 9, 1984. Barely three weeks after the signing of the contract, Pan Ocean, on November 13, 1984 requested for additional crude oil following which additional 35,000 barrels was approved by the minister. And on December 13, 1984, he amended the agreement to 50,000 barrels of crude oil.

Soon after, Pan Ocean again requested for additional 160,000 barrels on February 5, 1985, which was again approved by the minister and he allowed them to lift 100,000 barrels of crude oil per day under the same contractual terms of payment as earlier provided. The minister again effected amendment to the agreement on March 15, 1985.

Oil industry analysts dismissed the argument that the minister was new at his job at the time of the agreement and must have based his actions on the advice of technocrats. They opine that Prof. Tam David-West was knowledgeable in bureaucracy, having been a commissioner for three years in Rivers State, and in any case, he had the veto power as an execu-

tive minister at all material times to refuse approving any recommendation made by the technocrats with regards to the lifting of crude oil by Pan Ocean.

It has since been disclosed that following the signing of the initial contract on October 9, 1984 Pan Ocean commenced lifting of crude oil on October 27, 1984, and had made 38 liftings before an embargo was placed on the company stopping further liftings. This followed the discovery that some of the invoices were not settled by the company.

outstanding crude purchases as at 29/7/85. This computation is based on the former managing director's memo Ref: No MD/CP.1.1/228 of July 29, 1985 which he ended thus: "At the time the whole problem burst open, Pan Ocean had some \$340 million (one month expectation from crude sales) firmly in its possession"

However, while efforts were made to get Pan Ocean embargoed, the company quietly but with lightning speed made additional liftings leading to four additional invoices for a total of



Pan Ocean

Initially, Pan Ocean was said to be promptly settling all invoices, but subsequently, the company resorted to late settlement as a result of which the company was charged interests, which it was readily paying. However, on August 5, 1985, a State Security Service (SSS) official monitoring foreign remittances at the Central Bank, Lagos discovered the non-settlement of four outstanding invoices by Pan Ocean which were due for payment between July 24-28, 1985. The invoices were Nos. COS/6/0247, COS/6/0248, COS/6/0251, COS/6/0253 for a total value of \$61,070,56.55 (Sixty-one million, seventy thousand six hundred and sixty-four U. S. dollars, fifty-five cents) The accompanying table shows Pan Ocean

\$78,686,677.62 (Seventy-eight million, six hundred and eighty-six thousand, six hundred and seventy-seven U.S. dollars, sixty-two cents) thereby bringing the total value of eight outstanding invoices to the sum of \$139,757, 341.97.

Newbreed gathered that as at July 13, 1987, when the security agencies computed the amount, the total indebtedness of Pan Ocean to the Federal Republic of Nigeria plus accrued interests stood at \$163,549,635.42 which of course, would have gone higher now.

It was disclosed that at one of the meetings with Pan Ocean and NNPC officials, on August 30, 1985, the former Managing Director of NNPC, Chief Festus Marinho observed: "There was no



Ajibola: Set for another trial

adequate collateral on the part of Pan Ocean in the form of local assets holdings worth the amount involved."

Marinho regretted that "Pan Ocean did not reciprocate the kind gesture of NNPC in allowing them to lift without having sufficient assets that stood as collateral to back up the privilege of direct invoicing".

But surprisingly at another meeting held by the minister with Pan Ocean and NNPC officials on September 23, 1985, the minister allegedly declared, against the huge debt of \$140 million yet unsettled that "although Pan Ocean is one of our small joint venture partners, it is on record that they have pursued aggressive activities which are commendable and those activities weighed on us in most of the discussions. Because of this, NNPC believes it can give some concession not too legalistic... the crude oil quantity which increased from 15,000 barrels to 150,000 is not part of Pan Ocean's equity crude oil and so Pan Ocean should not be seen as other customers. However, NNPC did not insist on certain conditions because of the existing relationship and cordiality." Petroleum experts see this cordiality extended to Pan Ocean at the expense of the

nation's economy as detrimental.

Newbreed gathered that in 1986, a review of Pan Ocean's operations conducted by the Joint Venture Division (JVD) of NNPC revealed that the fair market value of the total assets of Pan Ocean existing in the oil mining lease was \$3,194,889 (Three million, one hundred and ninety-four thousand, eight hundred

NOW DUE BUT NOT YET CLEARED:

Cos	Lifting Date	Due Date	Amount
COS/6/0247	24/6/85	24/7/85	\$14,248,191.35
COS/6/0248	24/6/85	24/7/85	\$11,413,120.27
COS/6/0251	27/6/85	27/7/85	\$24,460,939.98
COS/6/0253	28/6/85	28/7/85	\$10,948,412.95
			<u>\$61,070,664.55</u>

INVOICED BUT NOT YET DUE

COS/7/0255	11/7/85	1/8/85	\$8,156,025.62
COS/7/0256	2/7/85	1/8/85	\$16,938,938.12
COS/7/0257	4/7/85	3/8/85	\$38,210,337.41
COS/7/0258	5/7/85	4/8/85	\$15,381,376.27
			<u>\$78,686,677.42</u>

The Pan Ocean case, according to security sources, inflicted a more colossal loss in comparison with Stinnes Oil affair in which Professor Tam David-West was found to have corruptly enriched the company to the tune of N420 million. In the Pan Ocean scandal, the amount in question was said to be over N163,549,635.42 i.e N1.6 billion. This figure was computed in 1987, which of course would be much higher now when accrued interest is added.

and eighty-nine U.S. dollars), while the company's stock were valued at N2,999,908.02 (Two million, nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand, nine hundred and eight naira and two kobo, out of which NNPC owns 60 per cent as joint owner.

It is against this background that petroleum consultants posited that for Pan

Ocean which produced an average of 5,000 barrels of oil per day in 1984 to be awarded contract to lift 150,000 barrels of crude per day "is most irregular and unprecedented in the history of oil exploration and marketing in the country", since the company with a total estimated asset of N10 million in Nigeria did not even have

ment of any amount due and unpaid
(c) Any other accepted guarantee of payment.

But in this case the contract agreement had all the three modes of guarantee deleted". The source disclosed that the provision was deleted with a pen running across it and he cannot say whether it was

Newbreed gathered that in 1986, a review of Pan Ocean's operations conducted by the Joint Venture Division (JVD) of NNPC revealed that the fair market value of the total assets of Pan Ocean existing in the oil mining lease was \$3,194,889 (Three million, one hundred and ninety-four thousand, eight hundred and eighty-nine U.S. dollars, while the company's stock were valued at N2,999,908.02 (Two million, nine hundred ninety-nine thousand, nine hundred and eight naira and two kobo, out of which NNPC owns 60 per cent as joint owner.

the operational capacity to handle such a huge contract.

The consultants disclosed that the value of the assets owned by a company is one of the collaterals recognised by NNPC, but in the case of Pan Ocean the minister even waived the collateral which has made it most difficult to recover the debt.

An authoritative source told *Newbreed* "normally for every contract, there are three kinds of guarantees:

- (a) Direct letter of credit for total monthly lifting of oil
- (b) Guarantee of pay-

ment before or after signing of the contract.

Meanwhile, Chief Festus Marinho, has denied any form of blame in the Pan Ocean affair. Pan Ocean was recommended by him for instance, in volume vide his letter dated 5th March, 1985, reference No. MD/CP. 1.1 030, but he did not recommend the deletion of the letter of credit provision in the contract. Thus, in his letter dated 24th December, 1986, to Alhaji Rilwanu Lukman, the former Minister of Petroleum Resources, Chief Marinho said it all: "...From the last sentence of the said paragraph you will see clearly the conditions of the proposed sale: briefly, Pan Ocean had an existing contract which stipulated the establishment of a Letter of Credit as a sure guarantee of payment.

"Needless to say that when a contract was eventually entered, deleting the provision for the establishment of a Letter of Credit, I was not involved. The rest of the story is well known."

Newbreed is in possession of documents which show that Marinho instructed the suspension of further liftings by Pan Ocean. In an internal memorandum reference No. MP/MK/701/219 dated 19th July, 1985, he ordered as follows: "Further to my instructions to suspend lifting by Pan Ocean; this is to instruct you to lift the



Buhari: First made David-West a Minister



Festus Marinho: I was not involved

suspension as soon as you receive clearance from FAD/CBN that payments of all outstanding claimed to have been resulted have in fact been cleared. In addition, please keep me posted on their monthly payments performance making sure to alert me if payment is more than seven days overdue." It was this memo that gave birth to the publication in Financial Times of 7th August, 1985, that Nigeria has halted sales to Swiss Oil Company.

According to the report, "The Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC), has stopped selling 150,000 barrels a day (b/d) of crude oil to Pan Ocean Oil company since July 17, because the Swiss-owned company is suspected of selling to "non-recognized countries," a term applied to South Africa and Israel.

"Mr. Vittori Fabbri, chairman of Pan Ocean, said in Geneva that the charge was completely unfounded as the 150,000 b/d lifted by his company was being sold under contract to Shell International Trading Company (SITCO).

"Mr. Fabbri said he believes the reason for the action taken against his company was personal friction between Mr. Festus Marinho, the head of the NNPC, and Mr. Taim David-West, Nigeria's Oil Minister".

However, Marinho last week confirmed that the Financial Times Report was false. "The only reason and I take responsibility, is the default in payment to NNPC by Pan Ocean. At the time of the suspension, Pan Ocean debt accrued to NNPC was \$320 million dollars about N3.2 billion. Within 7 days we received \$170 million dollars about 1.7 billion Naira, this payment reduced it to about \$150 million i.e. N1.5 billion. It should be pointed out however, that there is a time lag for Central Bank to notify NNPC on crude oil sales when payment is made," Marinho told *Newbreed*. *Newbreed* asked Marinho to say who recommended Pan Ocean to NNPC. He said that Pan Ocean was already doing business before he was appointed Managing Director of NNPC. "I met Pan Ocean at NNPC, I do not know the real owners or their Nigerian Partners."

Investigations reveal that Pan Ocean

got into the Nigerian crude oil business when they bought over Marathon Oils. "All this you are saying happened when I was not there," he quipped.

An astounded observer of the nation's naira value and oil situation could only quantify Nigeria's loss in the Pan Ocean Oil scandal in 1985 against the background of the fallen value of the naira. He observed, "Had Pan Ocean paid when the naira was still stronger, the value could have been more. Now, what will be paid will be a far cry from the original value - that is if the company pays at all."

The question the State Security Service has been asking is how the contract for



Aminu: Pan Ocean has new Reservoir management

sale of crude oil to Pan Ocean was signed, sealed and delivered without the letter of credit provision? Why should NNPC go into joint venture with a company like Pan Ocean?

Officials of the Ministry of Justice are said to be dragging their feet in framing the charges because of the technical loopholes which were exploited in the irregular transactions with Pan Ocean Company. Some of these loopholes, according to the attorneys, were in the execution of contract agreements and the clever manipulation of NNPC officials in the deal. Worse still, the fact that the evidence gathered was tangential as Pan Ocean exploited the weaknesses inherent in NNPC

when it created an open house buyer's market. NNPC then was looking for buyers and anybody who came bought oil on trust.

And unless these technicalities are resolved, they may hinder the prosecution.

The Federal Government is also said to be frustrated by the fact that it is even difficult to sue Pan Ocean to court and recover the money because of the clandestine system of operation of the company and the powerful Nigerian lobby and Foreigners behind the fraud, at the time it happened.

Yet, another problem with Pan Ocean, is that it is said to be an impecunious company. Said a source: "You cannot get anything from it. Pan Ocean is a straw and not substantial".

Information available at press time shows that Pan Ocean does not only retain its building in Victoria Island, Lagos and is paying its rent to date, it is still doing business with Nigeria and NNPC. As one of several options open to it, government had thought of closing, but it refrained from doing so given the dicey nature of the transaction. The only option open to government is to go to court to recover the debt.

The Minister of Petroleum Resources, Professor Jubril Aminu astonished *Newbreed* when he disclosed that Pan Ocean described as an impecunious company by officials of Ministry of Justice, is still doing business with government.

According to the minister "NNPC/NAOC/Pan Ocean Oil company made 31.75 million barrels new discoveries in oil exploration and 3.5 million reservoir management in 1990". This revelation by the oil minister implies that the business ties between Pan Ocean and NNPC since the fraud perpetuated by Pan Ocean, causing the nation billions of naira losses has not been broken. However, the group Managing Director of NNPC, Dr. Thomas John, has since classified this unholy relationship. Dr. John told *Newbreed* editors in our exclusive interview that Pan Ocean was still doing business with NNPC in spite of huge indebtedness because breaking the link would not be in the interest of the nation.

He said: "We have nothing to gain by asking Pan Ocean to leave and revoking their chance by asking them to discontinue their operations in Nigeria, if anything, we may lose.

It is a fact that they owe us money but we don't solve that problem by revoking their licence. If we do, we break the link and may be losing whatever chance we have in receiving this money".

Dr. John explained further that a committee has been set up by government since last year to follow up the whole issue of Pan Ocean debts with NNPC, but unfortunately, he said he was not in a position to disclose strategies and details of the committee's day to day progress. He however, disclosed that the committee comprised officials of Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Petroleum Resources, the State Security (SSS) and some private lawyers engaged by government to assist in looking into the whole matter.

Dr. John also disclosed that NNPC has reached an agreement with Pan Ocean to be operating on a sole risk basis since June 1990, while they are no more in joint venture with NNPC. Pan Ocean, he said, now invests all the money that is required to improve their reserve position as well as increase productivity. "At the same time," he continued, "we believe by keeping them here, at least knowing what they are doing, we hope that if their investment should increase in the country and their assets and reserve grow, it improves our chances of recovering the amount owed at a future date."

The decision to go into a sole risk operational transaction with Pan Ocean according to Dr. John, was because the production cost of the company is high. He explained that in production, the amount of money you put in, divided by the production gives the unit cost; and therefore, when the amount put in is so high, to what is produced per unit, cost is high. He insisted, "we watched that and knew what the average in the industry should be. When we thought it was getting too high, we opted out because we have to pay for substantial part of that cost. We withdrew and asked them to go

on sole risk basis. They accepted in principles and formal agreement will be signed in the near future. Meanwhile, we are not contributing to their operation."

One thorny question NNPC officials shy away from has been why the corporation allowed such a debt to accumulate in spite of the specified guidelines and conditionality outlined by the corporation in crude oil sales. When *Newbreed* put the question to Dr. John, he argued: "One thing this management tries to avoid is unnecessary controversy and you realise that we have different actions in the corporation from time to time now. We wouldn't want to start asking questions about how



Lukman: A Battle over Tuma

things happened five years ago, because it can be misunderstood. We want to just limit ourselves to the obvious fact that yes we owed, yes we are doing something about it".

Dr. John assured the nation that nothing similar to the previous Pan Ocean scandal is going on in NNPC today. "NNPC is not going to collapse because of any contrary debt crisis. And we don't believe any one would accumulate such debts here again. I think the Nigerian public should be rest assured that they don't have any such case in NNPC today and we are not likely to have any in future". In fact, he told *Newbreed* that managers are not likely to take orders

from their superiors to do the wrong thing. As a result of the indoctrination the managers now receive, they are not likely to take orders if a boss asks them to do the wrong thing".

He also told *Newbreed* that one of the measures he adopted to guarantee non occurrence of the sad Pan Ocean episode was that the company has to establish a confirmed, irrevocable letter of credit with a first class bank and without this letter of credit, there is no business. The corporation, he disclosed, has gone beyond that to ask NNPC consultants to investigate the international, financial and operational standing of the company. These measures, he disclosed are applicable to all companies doing business with NNPC as a safety valve against fraud.

We however, gathered at press time that Pan Ocean has paid the sum of one million U.S. dollars as part of debt last year with a pledge to continue paying the balance monthly before the government committee took over the matter.

However, notwithstanding the no criminal prosecution verdict in favour of David-West, civil litigation sources at the Ministry of Justice, Lagos, disclosed that the federal government may go to court to recover whatever money it can get from not just Pan Ocean alone but also Stinnes. According to the same source, Justice officials are yet to receive instruction to commence civil action.

He is very optimistic that the greenlight would be flashed shortly. "I will not be surprised if there is a move to recover the money from Stinnes and Pan Ocean. I hope somebody, someday will take the decision in the interest of the nation. Nigeria needs all the money she can lay claim to deal with its serious cash flow difficulties".

The hope in pursuing civil remedy hinges on the belief by Ministry officials that David-West cannot establish any claim to have acted on the orders or concurrence of the President and Commander-in-Chief which has the prerogative and power to authorise matters like the Pan Ocean transactions. "David-West cannot claim to be the agent of the Federal Military Government as a minister because an

agent can only do what the principal asks him to do or do what the principal can do or contemplates to do. In the case of Stinnes, David-West acted as a frolic of his own and he cannot therefore bind the principal. The agreement discharging Stinnes from all forms of liabilities present and future cannot avail, when brought within the purview of the law of Agency", they argued.

In the case of Pan Ocean, civil litigation is contemplated in the expectation that when the veil of incorporation is lifted, those multi-millionaires behind the company can be made to pay as much as the law provides and whatever can be got from Pan Ocean as a person, will be got.

Political observers have wondered why Professor Tam David-West's tenure in public office has always been marred by controversy, strong charges of corruption and wrongdoings. Right from his indictment by the Fibresima Commission of Inquiry in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, in 1978 to his appointment as federal minister in 1984 and his conviction in 1990, one central theme has been observed in his career in public service: Controversy. He had courage and acted with shrewdness, foresight, and was never afraid to use his official power to close any loopholes in any transaction. His peers also observed that he was adept, erudite and shrewd in memo writing. Like Jennifer Madike, David-West had an excellent relationship with the press.

It is against this background that government watchers expressed surprise that Professor Tam David-West was appointed a public officer after the scandal that rocked his tenure as commissioner in Rivers State in 1978. The deductive response proffered by analysts was that if not for his "connections", a man like him would never have been appointed to public office again. Even after he was appointed a federal minister of petroleum, and the M. T. Tuma controversy, Stinnes scandals rocked his tenure, he was still re-deployed to the Ministry of Mines, Power and Steel.

Military sources disclosed that Professor Tam David-West has been very

close to General Sani Abacha and that was why he lasted that long in Babangida's government. However, Professor David-West was forsaken when his self appointed role as a social critic became a nuisance and constituted a security risk to the very government that put him in political office. Sources informed that Professor David-West was commissioner in Rivers State when Major-General Abacha was Commander in Port Harcourt, and when Professor David-



West moved to the University of Ibadan, General Abacha was also at the Ibadan garrison. In fact Mr. Tonye Graham-Douglas and Professor Tam David-West were known to have played, danced, ate and jollied together with Abacha while he was serving in Port Harcourt.

Efforts to reach the Chief of Joint Staff and Minister of Defence, General Abacha, for direct comments proved abortive. However, the team succeeded last Wednesday night in speaking to an insider within the Abacha caucus.

According to the insider, he cannot deny or confirm that General Abacha personally brought Professor Tam David-West into Babangida's cabinet. In any case, the decision to appoint or not to appoint a minister is the prerogative of the President and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces.

Notwithstanding the above, the in-

sider confirmed that it is not impossible for General Abacha to have thrown his weight in support of David-West candidature if such matters were brought before Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) since it is normal for one to support a candidate he knows of, than an unknown quantity.

General Abacha could have met David-West when he was commanding a military brigade in Port Harcourt. It was the arrangement that the brigade commander stood in as acting governor when the Governor goes on leave. It is possible that

during this period, Professor David-West who was already a commissioner in the Rivers State cabinet, would have interacted with Abacha during his stint as acting governor. Perhaps, that was the beginning of their relationship.

Abacha family sources however down-played the personal ties between David-West and Abacha. He maintained that "I can say that Chief Douglas is closer to Abacha. Their relationship transcends cabinet business because I know that they are close friends for a long time. He frequents the residence of chief, unlike David-West whom I have never been fortunate to meet in Abacha's house. Please bear in mind also that General Abacha is a gentleman, willing to help anybody, if and when occasion demands. Many people have benefited from this disposition. If this friendly disposition is abused, it will be unfortunate and grossly unfair to hold General Abacha or make a scape-goat of him and doing so will be blocking the good fortunes of future beneficiaries.

It should not be ruled out that Professor David-West might have been made a minister on his personal merit and perceived friendly disposition towards the government since government normally carries out checks and security screening of candidates before making any appointment, the insider said. Nevertheless, "Although you can put a man you trust and cannot betray you, there is no way you can control his behaviours or check-mate or pre-empt his motives as a human being. There is no way you can control his behaviour completely", he added.

"General Abacha has nothing to do

with David-West's wrongdoings during his tenure as Minister of Petroleum neither is he connected in any way in Stinnes, Pan Ocean or M. T. Tuma. If Abacha does anything, he does it with people he knows, that is why he relies more on old boy network or people he schooled with or trained together."

It therefore follows that any act of support by General Abacha will be to deliberately ask him (David-West) to do things that will make government succeed and not to make it fail or harm it.

However, the insider argued that even if Professor David-West became Minister through General Abacha's patronage, it is inconceivable and absurd to suggest that David-West's action will be totally controlled by the dictations of General Abacha. "Even if he puts him there, it does not necessarily mean that David-West is told what to do or worse still, to do things wrong against the interest of the nation. If David-West does wrong to government by supposedly alleged dictation of Abacha such harm will also affect General Abacha because he is a key figure in the present administration. This is why any reference to the proposition of any cover up or undue protection by him in favour of David-West will be nonsensical and preposterous. There can be no such thing of offering undue protection against interest of Nigeria or government by General Abacha, since doing harm to government will affect him. Such a situation is not possible".

Newbreed investigations revealed that Professor Tam David-West was scandalously appointed a federal minister of petroleum by the military in 1984 at a time he was still under indictment by the Rivers State government for abuse of office. And this revelation, according to political observers, is a sad commentary in government business under a corrective military regime.

The investigation had revealed that following several complaints and petitions against the management of schools in Rivers State under the commissionership of Professor Tam David-West, the Military Administrator of Rivers State, Commander

It is against this background that petroleum consultants posited that for Pan Ocean which produced an average of 5,000 barrels of oil per day in 1984 to be awarded contract to lift 150,000 barrels of crude per day "is most irregular and unprecedented in the history of oil exploration and marketing in the country".

Suleiman Sa'idu appointed a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice J. A. Fibresima on September 18, 1978, to inquire "generally into the financial and administrative management and running of the affairs of all schools which come under the Schools Management Board and the Divisional Management Committees established under the Schools Management Board Edict 1973 (Edict No. 10 of 1973) as amended from their inception to September 18, 1978". Other members of the commission with "full powers and authority" were Mr. R. S. Orubo, Ag Permanent Secretary in the

office of the Military Administrator and Mr. S. H. Nweneke, Deputy Auditor-General, while Mr. E. A. Amadi was the Secretary.

According to the legal notice R.S.L.N No 14 of 1978, which was the instrument constituting the commission, the terms of reference of the commission among others included that "the commissioners shall ascertain in particular.

(a) Whether the financial management, policies and techniques adopted by the Schools Management Board and/or the divisional Management committees are in keeping with normal, accepted accounting principles and practices;

(b) Whether the Schools Management Board and/or the Divisional Management Committees or any public officer or functionary have in any way mismanaged the funds of the Board and if so, to what extent and apportion blame accordingly.

The Fibresima Commission held an inquiry and took evidence from various quarters as per the terms of reference and submitted its report to the government. The commission's report, according to our sources, indicate Professor Tam David-West as a result of the gross administrative and financial scandals said to have engulfed the Schools Management Board.

Efforts to obtain documents of these scandals proved Herculean, however, two cases of financial irregularities were glaring from the Government Yellow Paper which was issued when Professor David-West was in the Cabinet.

There was a complaint that books worth N2.3 million were bought by the Schools Management Board without the knowledge and consent of the government for any approved subjects. Schools and Colleges did not take delivery of the items; and that the N2.3 million were used surreptitiously.

According to the commissioner's report, the Principal Inspector of Education, Chief Sampson Oji Agbaru left all known and authorised procedures. He bye-passed Mr. Eli, - the officer responsible for purchase of books, Captain Amadi - the



Abacha: Brought David-West to Babangida

permanent secretary in the ministry and Dr. Berepiki - who was also in charge of schools.

Chief Agbaru maintained in his evidence before the commission that he had discussions with the commissioner, Professor David-West and the chairman of the Schools Management Board during the transactions, which Prof. David-West denied in his evidence.

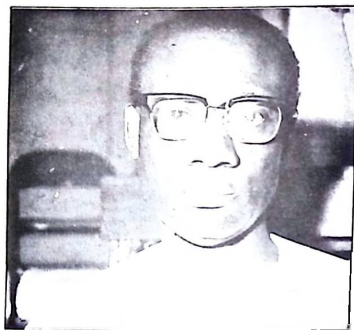
The Commission, in its report, stated: "The Hon. Commissioner for Education swore before us that he knew Agbaru and that if he had absolute power, he could make him the head of his ministry. He is the most responsible officer and a professional. He is somebody that you can get a very reliable information from anytime. We are surprised, however, that the Hon. Commissioner did not think it fit to appear before us to accept responsibility for the ordering of the N2 million worth of books now in dispute. He wittingly abandoned his pet child". Commenting on the denial of Prof. Tam David-West on the purchase of the unwanted books with the resultant theft of N2 million and the gross loss to the government, the commission deposed that "though we do not say that he was involved in

the criminal exercise, yet we cannot but remove quite convincingly that we were not impressed by his sworn lack of knowledge". The commission stated that it took such a stand on the strength of the evidence by Dr. Berepiki who told the Commission that when he visited Rumuokuta and saw the dumped books, he reported to the Commissioner for Education who directed him to write to the Deputy Chief Inspector to write the Schools Management Board to investigate who prescribed them.

The commission observed that Professor Tam David-West was like the biblical Pilate, - a stranger to truth; because he told the commission on September 26, 1978 that he was hearing of the books for the first time that day - an event which happened in 1976 and properly brought to his notice by a senior officer of his ministry whom he gave the mandate to investigate the matter "which goes further to confirm that the Professor was a total

misfit as a Commissioner for Education". To buttress this point, the commission noted the evidence of the chairman of the Parents/Teachers Association of Government Comprehensive Secondary School, Port Harcourt, Chief Iboroma Lime Juice Bobmanuel who described Prof. David-West as a "square peg in a round hole".

Another financial scandal uncovered by the Commission was in the supply of micro-teaching apparatus for the schools in the state. The Commission received information from officers of the Ministry



Melford Okillo: Directed that appropriate action be taken against David-West.

of Education that they were suspicious about the circumstances surrounding the payment of over N63,000 for Schools equipment such as Audio Visual recording equipment. Mr. Justice Fiberesima, in his report stated that when the Commission got the information, they felt that pursuant to the terms of reference of the Commission, particularly (b) above, it was justifiable to her evidence on the precise purpose for the expenditure.

The report, our inquiry revealed, that there was no planning before the money was spent; the cautious words of mature men in the ministry of education were wind dispersed and Chief S. O Agbaru was, as usual, adamant for a drift. It is significant to note that in all unwanted purchases made on the advice of Chief S. O. Agbaru, which had taint of financial mismanagement, the Hon. Commissioner for Education, Prof. Tam David-West had sonorous melodies for him".

The Commission held that the pur-

chase of the equipment were ill-timed, premature and wasteful and were purchased without consultation with the proper officers concerned. They were purchased without planning and the equipment "even today are not required and cannot be utilised".

The inference, according to the Commission, is that the equipment were purchased with the motive for unjust self-enrichment. They observed that no one could restrain Chief Agbaru from wasting funds because his actions were always covered by the Commissioner. The Commission also wondered why Prof. David-West had not tried to ascertain what has happened to the equipment purchased with over N63,000 and whether the purpose for their purchases had been achieved (even during the hearing of the evidence from November 8 - 14, 1978). It appeared, according to the commission, Prof. Tam David-West regarded the UPE funds as another Israelites "Manna".

The Justice Fiberesima Commission declared: "We hold the expenditure of N63,900 on the purchase of the Micro teaching equipment that lying follow since four years after its purchase is wasteful, scandalous and purposeless: We also hold that this expenditure was irresponsible and illegally authorised by the Hon. Commissioner for Education, Prof Tam David-West, having no authority to exceed an expenditure of N50,000. We therefore strongly reprimand him for this wasteful expenditure".

Yet another phoney deal involving Professor Tam David-West was in the handling of Rivers State Book Development Project, which was designed with an agreement with Heineman publication to produce books for use in Rivers State.

Although the project was considered laudable, the commissioner observed that Professor Tam David-West, in pursuing his creative objective, deliberately gave coverage to a transaction that involved payment of endless bills by the government.

For instance, between February 2, 1978 and October 1978, the government had paid out N912,900.

"Bills HEB/024603 and HEB/024609

of July 31, 1978 was for N380,300 was paid on voucher No. MOE/488/78-79 of October 2, 1978 and N532,600 on Voucher No. MOE/1345/D/77-78. That means Heineman will continue to send bills to the government for payment, a recurring decimal form of payment - uncertain amount and unending payment.

According to the Commission's report, Heineman wrote the Permanent Secretary on November 8, 1978 saying: "Our records show that the sum of N771,634.50 is due as at October 31, 1978". But further inquiries revealed that the liability had increased to N919,734.50 after October 31, 1978. The Commission deposed that this showed government liability and confirmed that the project was a calculated ruse to bamboozle the government to waste the funds intended for the Schools Management Board. "One can now appreciate the stout resistance by the Commissioner against all efforts by the Nigeria Publishers Association to allow the Military Governor and Military Administrator have knowledge of the transaction he made with Heineman of "IBADAN".

Legal experts, in analysing the terms of agreement between Heineman and Rivers State Ministry of Education observed that the agreement was couched in a manner that concealed the government's financial involvement. The agreement was for an unstated period and for an unstated amount with a continuing influence. Full maturity was lacking in the agreement because the contract amount was not defined. In the agreement, the government was entitled to a discount of 27½ per cent, but the unanswered question is: 27½ per cent on what amount or calculated on what basis? The school population on which the production of books was based could not be spelt out. The Commission therefore, noted that the whole thing seems vague and only financial benefit to the publishers: the Heineman Educational Books Nigeria Limited and its confidants.

The agreement, according to the Commission is unacceptable, adding that this unsavoury commitment is one of the ways the funds meant for the training and improvement of teachers within the Schools

Management Board are fizzled away. It declared: "In our judgement, the conduct of Professor Tam David-West, Commissioner for Education, was far from being honest. He carefully pulled himself out of the transaction and made his officers sign the agreement on behalf of the government. But we could see his full image in it".

The commission therefore, recommended that the agreement made between the Government of Rivers State and Messrs Heineman Educational Books (Nig.) Limited dated February 2, 1978 for the printing and publishing of text books under

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the Rivers State Books Development Project should be reviewed because of the uncertainty of the legal principle upon which the fiscal commitment of Government rests, if it cannot be abrogated.

Further inquiries revealed that Professor Tam David-West was still in the Rivers State Executive Council when Mr. Justice J.A. Fiferesima submitted his report to the Military Administrator and it was gathered that he was in the Exco that sat in council to review the commission's report. As a result, the council expunged sections of the report that indicted him.

In fact, contrary to the spirit and terms

of reference in the legal notice established by the military administration in constituting the commission of inquiry, the government in its white paper of June, 1979 rejected the Commission's recommendation that Professor Tam David-West should be reprimanded.

Section 1 (e) of the terms of reference (R.S.L.N. No. 14 of 1978) empowered the Commission to ascertain whether any public officer or functionary has in any way mismanaged the funds of the Board and if so, to what extent and apportion blame accordingly. The Fiferesima Commission recommended that Professor David-West should be strongly reprimanded for "irresponsibly and illegally" authorising the expenditure of N63,900, having no authority to exceed an expenditure of N50,000. The white paper declared: "Government rejects recommendation and states that this was ultra vires the terms of reference of the commission".

Professor Tam David-West later left the State Public Service and took up appointment with the university when the civilians came to power. However, the civilian administration which inherited the report under the governorship of Chief Melford Okilo for whatever good reason, felt that it was wrong for David-West to have been a party to an Exco that sat in judgement over his own case.

The Okilo civilian administration therefore, set up a committee that reviewed the recommendations of the commission and government subsequently issued another white paper in August, 1982. The Government accepted the recommendations of the Commission and directed that the Ministry of Justice should take appropriate action against him.

No sooner the white paper was published than Prof. Tam David-West went to court in Ibadan (1982) praying for an injunction restraining the Rivers State Government from further publication of the report as well as claiming the sum of N20 million as damages for libel.

He averred that during the military administration of Commander Suleiman Saidu, the Rivers State Government set up a Judicial Commission of Inquiry to

look into the activities of the State Schools Management Board and Schools Management Committee which reported back to Government.

The Military Government of Rivers State, according to Professor Tam David-West, accepted the report in parts and rejected other parts. The language of the report, he said, was so scurrilous in parts that the government took exception and ordered its secretary to write a severe letter of reprimand to the Chairman of the Commission, and the Secretary to the Government duly issued the letter.

Professor Tam David-West revealed that the military government in 1979, (while he was still in cabinet) thereupon issued its Yellow Paper after deliberations in cabinet. It also set up administrative inquiry "to clear up the whole affair". In fact, Prof. Tam David-West cited the minutes of the Executive Council Meeting (RSG/EC(79) 2nd meeting) of February 5, 1979 to buttress the point that the military government cleared him.

He argued that it is from the Government Yellow Paper, that is the result of cabinet deliberations, that Government White Paper is prepared. He deposed that since the civilian government of Rivers State did not set the Fibresima Commission of Inquiry, it is therefore, illegitimate for it to issue a government paper that is different from the Yellow paper, having been aware of the Executive Council verdict in 1979.

An Ibadan-based lawyer, Mr. T.A.B. Adenipekun, solicitor to Professor Tam David-West, deposed that Professor David-West was the Director of the Virus Research Laboratory, College of Medicine, University of Ibadan and was the Commissioner for Education in Rivers State between November, 1975 and March, 1979 during the military administration, and he was therefore, claiming the sum of N20 million as damages because the publication has imputed that he was one of those who improperly stole public funds and by reason of this imputation he has suffered grievous damages.

However, Barrister R.A. Ogunwole,

also Ibadan-based, who was the solicitor to the Attorney-General of Rivers State, filed a defence on July 18, 1983. He admitted that the Fibresima Commission submitted its report to the Government which revealed serious indictments of financial and ministerial mismanagement of affairs against Professor Tam David-West in his capacity as the Commissioner for Education at the material time, but the military administration did not issue white paper even though the enquiry revealed a colossal loss of millions of naira to the government.

He stated that Governor Melford Okilo and his State Executive Council on com-



Ogunwole: government should have allowed case to go into power in 1979, studied and considered the report of the Fibresima Commission of Inquiry and came out with the government conclusions based on the report and recommendations of the Commission. It was therefore, in the performance of his duty, he said, that the governor in consultation with members of his State Executive issued a Government White Paper dated August, 1982, in Port Harcourt. He deposed that the governor of Rivers State and his State executive were under legal, social and moral duty to publish the report to the people of Rivers State, who have a like duty and interest to receive them.

He argued that Professor Tam David-West was a Commissioner for Education in Rivers State during the military administration (1975-1979) and the com-

ments and conclusions by government in the white paper were based upon his conduct in his public capacity with regards to (i) purchase of N2.3 million worth of unwanted books, (ii) Purchase of Apparatus for Micro teaching which cost the government N63,000 (iii) Rivers State Book Development Project which cost the government over One million naira, and since the military government did not issue a white paper before the civilian came to power, it was legitimate for the civilian governor and members of his State executive to consider the report and come to their own conclusions based on the findings of the commission.

It was further revealed that the Ibadan High Court was yet to give its ruling on the matter when the military junta overthrew the civilian government on December 31, 1983, and in January, 1984, Prof. Tam David-West was appointed a federal minister of Petroleum by the Buhari regime.

Findings show that no sooner was Prof. Tam David-West appointed a federal minister than the case withdrawn from court and the military government issued another white paper nullifying the previous one that indicted him.

Reliable sources in Port Harcourt told *Newbreed* that the military government had to issue the white paper in order to give Prof.

Tam David-West a clean bill in the federal executive council. In fact, *Newbreed* gathered that the matter was settled out of court by fiat from Lagos as sources at the State Ministry of Justice, Port Harcourt confirmed that the ministry was sidelined in the deal. As *Newbreed* spoke to Rivers State Attorney, Mr. R.A. Ogunwole in Ibadan on this:

Newbreed: I have just come back from Port Harcourt where I was informed at the Ministry of Justice that you handled the Prof. Tam David-West case with Rivers State Government. How was the matter resolved? I learnt it was settled out of court.

Mr. Ogunwole: Yes, I handled the matter for Rivers State Government. Although the Government agreed to settle out of court, I still feel, if you ask my

opinion, that government had a good case and should have allowed the case to go. what happened was this: In 1978, a Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate into certain matters when Prof. Tam David-West was a Commissioner. The Commission submitted its report to government. The Commission made some unfavourable remarks about him and Prof. Tam David-West was among the people who sat in council to review the report. As a result, the council nullified sections of the report that indicted him as a Commissioner.

The white paper was not released until the civilian administration of Okilo came into power in 1979. For whatever good reason, Governor Okilo felt that it was wrong for David-West to sit in judgement over his case as a member of the council that reviewed a commission's report that indicted him.

Governor Okilo therefore, set up a committee that reviewed the report and recommendations of the Fiberesima Commission and subsequently issued a White Paper in August 1982. Professor Tam David-West went to court claiming that the government cannot indict him on a matter he has been cleared by previous administration. But the matter was still in court when the military took over power and Prof. Tam David-West was made a federal minister.

And I was still pursuing the case when Governor Oyakhilome, under Buhari regime, called me to say that he would like to settle the matter with Prof. Tam David-West out of court.

Well, I am not interested in the morality or politics of the matter. I just felt that the case should have been allowed to go on, to see if the court would say that Prof. Tam David-West can sit in council to review his indictment by a Commission and if Chief Okilo was wrong to issue the White Paper. I am interested in the legal aspect.

Newbreed: In this respect, can one say that Prof. Tam David-West was appointed a federal minister when a white paper indicting him had not been nullified?

Mr. Ogunwole: That's right. at the time of his appointment, the Government White Paper had indicted him of some wrongdoings as Commissioner.

Newbreed: How was the case settled out of court?

Mr. Ogunwole: Well, I told the Governor that he had the right to decide what he liked. I think we agreed on settling the lawyer's fee and he withdraws the case. In any case, I pulled out at this stage and I don't know how they settled eventually.

Newbreed: Oyakhilome issued another White Paper in May, 1985, absolving David-West of wrongdoings contained in the Okilo white paper. Was that part of the settlement?

Mr. Ogunwole: I am not aware of another white paper by Oyakhilome. And like I said, I was not party to the final settlement.

Newbreed: Can we say David-West and his mentors influenced the out of court settlement?

Mr. Ogunwole: I cannot say, but since he was in the federal cabinet, you can deduce what could have happened.

Newbreed: How did you come into this case, because I searched all the records in Ministry of Justice and High Court and could not trace it?

Mr. Ogunwole: I think David-West filed the case here in Ibadan because the white paper was published in a newspaper that circulated in Ibadan. Remember he was lecturing at the University of Ibadan. So, I was briefed by ex-Governor Okilo to handle the case for Rivers State Government.

However, Newbreed gathered from authoritative sources in Port Harcourt that the out of court settlement with David-West and Rivers State Government was influenced by his god-father in then Supreme Military Council (SMC), and that the deal was negotiated and sealed in Government House, Port Harcourt, after which a new Government White Paper was issued.

The terms of settlement with David-West in the Suit No. 1/460/82 signed in Port Harcourt on November 30, 1984, were:-

- That the Government of Rivers State noted that the White Paper published by the previous administrations is not the proper white paper.

- That the Government of Rivers State had undertaken to publish a proper white paper based on the conclusions of Government that set up the Justice Fiberesima

Commission of Inquiry.

- That the Government had been advised that the contents of the white paper were libelous of Professor Tam David-West.

- That the Government had accepted to pay counsel's fees and costs actually incurred in the publications.

When contacted in Lagos, ex-Governor Fidelis Oyakhilome denied the allegation that he was influenced by some AFRC members to settle David-West's case out of court and issue another white paper to give him a clean bill. He snapped: "The issue was a political matter and since we came in as a corrective regime, I acted on legal advice because it was a political issue. Lagos never influenced my action".

But in apparent agreement with the terms of out of court settlement, **Newbreed** discovered that another white paper was issued by the Oyakhilome regime in Rivers State in May 1985, which not only nullified the two white papers of previous administrations, it went further to castigate the chairman and members of the commission that found him guilty.

On the recommendation of the commission that Professor Tam David-West should be strongly reprimanded for wasteful, scandalous, irresponsible and illegal authorisation of N63,000 expenditure, the white paper stated on page 5 20 (6) "government rejects the recommendation in that it was ultra vires the terms of reference of the commission and that the views of the commission were not accepted and directs that letters be written to the chairman and members of the commission deprecating the language used in this section of the report".

Efforts to get the chairman of the commission, Mr. Justice J. A. Fiberesima in Port Harcourt was unsuccessful. He was said to be seriously sick, and when **Newbreed** called at his official residence, the wife said he was under medical instructions not to receive visitors. The former Rivers State Attorney-General, Mr. B.M. Wifa, declined to be drawn in the David-West saga because he is now in private practice.

■ Chief Chris Okolie and Steve Raymond Okakwe



A Goldmine For The Talented

Disadvantaged and Talented Children get financial assistance from philanthropists impressed by the first lady's concert for them.

As a fallout of the children's concert which took place in Lagos recently, several opportunities have now been created for many disadvantaged children to progress, all over the federation. At the occasion, tagged "First Lady's concert for the Nigerian Children's Trust Fund," individuals and corporate entities pledged their support for government programmes aimed at poor under-16 children in both cash and kind.

Setting the ball rolling was Mrs. Maryam Babangida who, as special guest of honour, promised first of all to pay for the medical care of a young boy who had needed corrective surgery for several years.

The boy, Master Festus Ighaghara, reportedly had an accident when he was little, but his parents could not afford to pay the medical

bill necessary for him to improve his steps. "I wish to make this boy the first recipient of financial assistance from my donation today by pledging to pay for medical expenses for the corrective surgery," Mrs. Babangida announced.

The young boy, at last year's concert had enchanted the audience with his beautiful voice. He also thrilled the 1991 crowd with two songs rendered in his rich clear voice. Mrs. Babangida was spurred on by his talents to find out details of his ailment in order to see what could be done to remedy the situation.

Added to this, Minister of Culture and Social Welfare, retired Commodore Lamba Gwom announced that the First Lady was donating N25,000.00 from the proceeds of her work, "The Home Front" to the Trust Fund. He also announced a Federal Military govern-

ment donation of N2 million, which, according to him was realised through the efforts of the First Lady.

Ighaghara was not the only lucky young one on that day. Two others emerged from the opening song by a choral group, the Action Club, and the "Ekem-ini Dance" from Akwa Ibom State. These two colourful performances psyched up the audience for other activities and highlighted the qualities of two other boys who were later awarded scholarships by a philanthropist.

One of them is Felix Okon, a little drummer of about 4 years old. He led his dancing troupe, the "Ekem-ini Dancers" from Akwa Ibom and dazzled the audience with his drum call just before the real dance started. Everyone stared at this seeming tot and burst into wild applause. There he was, drumming vigorously, as he whirled effortlessly to confront several drums placed around him in a well-choreographed dance. The "Ekem-ini Dance" itself won the prize for the best overall performance.

So accomplished was the little drummer that Chief Shola Rhodes, one of the co-launchers diverted himself from his primary assignment of launching the new children's magazine and donated to the Trust Fund. He said, "the performances of these children have been so good. In fact, I find it overwhelming, especially, Felix Okon from Akwa Ibom State,

and little Bode from the SOS Children's Village. I want to show my appreciation of these efforts by undertaking to train these two children up to University level." The whole hall applauded. Chief Rhodes then announced his own donation of N10,000 to the fund, in addition.

Dr. Doyin Abiola, managing director, Concord Press, representing the whole Abiola clan, announced a donation of N100,000. A similar sum was donated by Alhaji Toro Abdullahi. The Managing Director, Leisureland Mr. Ben Ikeakor, announced a N50,000.00 donation to the fund. The company had earlier donated N20,000 to the publishers of the *Child Trust* magazine to offset the publication expenses.

Others who donated towards a better life for Nigerian children include Alhaji Yerima Abdullahi, Chairman, Board of Trustees of the fund who gave N50,000 on behalf of the Afribank group and N1,000.00 on behalf of his family. He said he came with the mistaken impression that it was "his duty to collect all the money to be donated, and take it away, instead of having to donate." But he was so impressed by the children that he had to give something.

Earlier, in his welcome address, the Minister, retired Commodore Gwom said the fund was established in 1989, based on recommendations from the National Committee on the

International Year of the Child in 1979. To create more awareness a concert was organised to raise funds for programmes and projects designed for the survival, growth and development of Nigerian children and also to promote the talents of children in music, poetry, drama, dance and the arts in general, to improve the total personality of children. He said as Nigeria is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, "we are justified in doing our utmost towards the fulfillment of these rights."

One of the ways in which the Ministry provides for the well-being of children is the area of training personnel for child-care. "We organise training programmes for day-care personnel, to ensure that those who take care of our children in these institutions are well trained to cater for those entrusted to them," Gwom said.

He added that arts and crafts workshops, literary contests and holiday camps for children also form part of the ministry's efforts at child welfare.

Announcing that the provision of adequate and modern facilities would now be the priority of government for children, the minister revealed plans to establish a multi-purpose child welfare complex at Abuja. "This," he said, "would serve as a focal point where children from all parts of the country could meet periodically to learn, discuss issues that are of importance to them, and also fraternise. In this way, national unity will be forged." The complex is expected to incorporate a library and recreational centre.

In her address, the First Lady, Mrs. Babangida, noted that this is the third time people were gathered to lend support to the worthy cause of Nigerian children. She warned that the country cannot march to a greater tomorrow without her children and said the values and norms which we impart into the children would decide the tomorrow being hoped for.

"The attention and care we provide for our children, and the priority we place on their welfare will determine what the

future holds for this country," Mrs. Babangida emphasised.

She advised parents and the society in general to show their love for their children by placing them at the top of the list of their priorities while also thinking of them as successors who will carry on the mantle of leadership, progress and stability of the nation.

The First Lady also made a special appeal for disabled children. She noted that modern medicine and technological advancement had made it possible for children to develop to their maximum potentials despite their disabilities. "Such children should not be hidden away or seen as a source of embarrassment to parents. Rather, disabled children should be a source of challenge to parents, governments and society." She urged and enjoined everyone to render all necessary assistance to enable the children to enjoy whatever benefits life holds in store for them. She suggested that financial assistance could be made available to such children from the Nigerian Children's Trust Fund.

Prizes were given out by Mrs. Babangida to children who excelled in the various competitions. Some of those who went home proud include Adeoti Abolaji of Kwara State, who came first for poetry in the Senior category. Tony Omodu (Kwara State) and Mary Essien (Cross River State) came second and third respectively. For essay, Muyinwa Owobari from Ondo State came first in the senior category while Emuna Ekanem and Nkem Emesi, both of Cross River State, were the runners up. In the junior category, Atinuke Omotunwa from Kwara State came first while Moyo Olubayi (Ondo State) and Tope Oloka (Kwara State) came second and third.

For Crafts, Ulioma Abuba won 1st place in the senior category, representing Imo State while Kamda Usman of Federal Capital Territory, Abuja came first in the junior category. For painting, Remi Famulusi (Ondo State) came first, followed by Sola Aremu of Kwara State (2nd) and Edo Omowo from Ondo State third.

In all, over N2,500,000.00 was collected at the occasion to which the 21 states and Abuja sent a donation of N2,500 each. The Board of Directors of the People's Bank sent a cheque for N25,000.00. Others who donated include Chief Mrs. Abiola Fernandez, (Erelu of Lagos) Chief Abel Ubeku, and Chief (Dr.) M.I. Mbu. The National Commission for Women (NCW) Lobi Bank of Nigeria, Limited, IKB Industries Limited, the Central Working Committee of the Better Life Programme (BCP) also contributed their own quota.

■ Yemi Ogunmodede & Okey Okpa



■ Maryam Babangida: arrives the concert with Lamba Gwom

No to Rehabilitation

Government faces problems as more and more beggars fill the streets refusing to move into dilapidated Rehabilitation centres

The growing band of destitutes and migrant beggars besieging the state capitals in Nigeria springs from the failure of the numerous rehabilitation centres to cater for them. Investigations reveal that nearly every state in the Federation has a rehabilitation centre. But nearly all of them are under-utilised or inadequately run. Kaduna State Rehabilitation centres, Kakuri, has 12 hostels but only three of them are in use. There are 42 inmates in the place. They are of three categories - the dumb, the deaf and the blind. Cast in the outskirts of the town, the centre looks desolate and taken over by weeds and reptiles.

Inmates interviewed say their biggest headache is feeding. "We eat three times but the quality and quantity of what we are served is very poor", one of them said. Another of the inmates told *Newbreed* that garri and okro soup is their staple food. "Sometimes, we eat it morning, afternoon and night - we don't have a choice", he said. A staff of the centre who at first misconstrued reporters visit as affront, later simmered down and attempted to explain why things were on the wane in the centre.

"You see, the economy is bad now. We don't get our allocations in good time. And people who used to work here as instructors have gone too. So we need more hands and money to keep this place moving," the official said. The irony of the situation is that the 42 inmates at the centre have no significance when compared to the number of destitutes in Kaduna metropolis. Public places like the General Post Office, central market, fronts of departmental shops and traffic intersections in the city have been annexed by hordes of destitutes. The state Rehabilitation centre is under utilized. *Newbreed* found out that the place is capable of accommodating up to 200 people. But there is no official policy to that effect.

The problem of destitution is more compounded in Kaduna because of religious reasons. The dominant religion in the state, Islam advocates the giving of alms to the needy and less privileged. Hence, premises of mosques in the area are havens or shelter for the dregs of the society. The resident pharmacist of Bettica Pharmaceutical Chemist on Ilorin Road



■ Destitutes on Nigerian Street: An aiding factor could be religion

Kaduna, Cornelius Ojuzor says it would be impossible to "house and take care of the alarming numbers of beggars besieging the city. "Where does one begin? Their number is alarming. If there is any special budget allocation for beggars, the bulk of it will be spent here", he said.

Mallam Mohammed Garba, a Mulla and Islamic scholar at Kaduna central mosque, Ali Akilu way, told *Newbreed* begging by the poor is not frowned upon by Islam. Said he: "Kindness, generosity to those who are hungry and weary is a great pillar in Islam. Out right laziness is condemned by Islam but for disabled people who have no visible means of livelihood, a true muslim will always give them succour"

Investigations also reveal that rehabilitation of destitutes have never been a major concern to policy makers in the country. The welfare of the needy among us have over the years been left in the hands of missionaries, Red Cross Society and Philantropists. The government is only stirring up because its

economic adjustment policy has washed away the traditional social security system of the society. And the government's current efforts have not succeeded to cushion the effects of such policy on the masses. A media practitioner in Kaduna, Steve Adikwu is pessimistic about government efforts to resettle the poorest of poor masses who have resorted to begging to keep body and soul together. "Without adequate funding and vocational training to keep them on their feet outside the rehabilitation centres, the programme will fail and the situation will be worse", he said.

Ever before any visible, concrete step is taken to cater for the destitutes, state governments are already yelling and groaning under the weight of such burdens. The Lagos State government whose double yoke is in being a state capital and seat of the Federal Government, is saddled with a large army of beggars. It is currently catering for 1,000 physically deformed people at Majidun, Ikorodu, Lagos.

Continued on Page 3J

Tar of Africa

It's no secret that Tar Ukor, known musician, dramatist and poet, is a Nigerian.

However, the closest look at him would convince anyone that his roots extend from somewhere in South Africa.

Ukor, himself, fosters this impression by saying that, "before and above all other things, I am an African". The costumes and body ornaments cement this belief.

Another dimension to the Benue State born minstrel is his careful study of traditional African in-

stitutions and values, resulting in Mambissa, a collection of very richly - composed oral African poetry, dance, drama and opera. To do this, Tar had to leave his NTA 10 producer job.

Though some know him as a journalist and others describe him as a rebel, all are in agreement that Tar Ukor is a full-grown, red blooded, multi-talented person.



■ Tar Ukor Crooning

Night of Surprises

For Jim Lanford, former Managing Director of Costain (W.A.) Limited,

Nigeria will always remain a land of surprises. And for Chief and Mrs. Newton Jibunoh, Jim "ain't seen nothing yet." To drive this point home, the Jibunohs treated Mr. Lanford to a

dinner party in the exotic gardens of Didi Museum, Victoria Island, Lagos.

Somewhere in between food and drinks, the British guest was shown a real traditional African performance

on stage, featuring Tar Ukor and his Mambissa group. This was something Mr. Lanford never saw in his six-year sojourn in Nigeria.

After about one hour of watching Mambissa's dra-

matic enactments of traditional poetry and folklore, Jim simply couldn't hold back his emotion. "I lived in Nigeria for years and in this time I learnt a great deal about the country and people, but I never saw anything quite like this. It is a wonderful experience to have come back to see this," he explained.



■ Chief Newton Jibunoh Chats with pretty Mrs. MacRae while her husband (right) who is the British High Commissioner chats with Mr. Jim Lanford





■ Many Happy Returns: Fawehinmi, Wole Soyinka, Onaguruwa and Lilian

A Happy Silver

Mrs. Lilian Titilola Onaguruwa isn't exactly what you know as a society woman, but her recent 50th birthday anniversary almost painted her in that light. Forget that the occasion took place at Odogbolu, a tiny, back-water town in Ogun State, it drew a large crowd of very important personalities from all parts of the country.

Mrs. Onaguruwa, looking a lot younger than her age, showed guests that she hasn't run out of steam yet as she displayed her skills in singing and dancing. At the church service, her solo rendition of a hymn left many people wondering if she wouldn't be better off making her living on stage. And when she stepped out at her Ikosa Quarters residence during

the reception that followed, mouths opened in sheer fascination. The scene became even more fascinating when Mrs. Sheila Solarin came out to add her own steps. And what steps!

The Classical Bore

If you don't give them a chance to prove it, you may never know just how averse Nigerians are to classical music. A chance came recently at a concert organised by the European Community in Nigeria in collaboration with the Musical Society of Nigeria and the Centre for Cultural Studies, University of Lagos, to celebrate the bicentenary of the death of the great German musical icon, W.A. Mozart.

The audience, needless to say, was a sea of white faces composed largely of members of the diplomatic corps and their families.

After about two hours of "boring" the audience (from a Nigerian point of view, that is) with some of Mozart's best compositions, the quartet which was composed of three men and a woman was presented with gifts by a representative of the Musical Society of Nigeria.

Stories by Okey Okpa



■ Mozart Memories: The quartet on stage

Excellence... that's what we stand for



Rex reigns supreme!



STAR
the ideal Brew!



Gulder
...the ultimate in beer



MALTINA
...so lively, so refreshing!

The governor of the state, Colonel Raji Rasaki recently disclosed that the state government disburses seven naira feeding allowance to each of the destitutes everyday. In a year, it means that the state spends over two million naira on the upkeep of destitutes. But this chunk does not include medicare and the running of the Resettlement centre.

But this singular effort is like a little drop in the ocean. Lagos metropolis is yet teeming with destitutes. Like Kaduna, Public places and major streets are littered with the "rejects" of the society. Irked by this awful menace, Col. Rasaki has openly stated he would expel and repatriate migrant destitutes to their states of origin in January 1991. Said he: "Lagos State government cannot be burdened alone. It is costing the state a fortune".

Referring to the Psychological willpower of some of the destitutes in the state Resettlement centre, to take complete charge of their lives, and the endless stream of new ones from the hinterland, Col. Rasaki said that many of them are physically strong to work and earn a living. "Many of them are strong enough to be truck pushers or can go to the market and sell something, or carry load. We kept them for rehabilitation, yet they continue to troop in", he said.

Reacting to Col. Rasaki's outburst, the former minister of culture and social welfare, Major - General Yohanna Y. Kure who paid him a courtesy call in November 1990 revealed that his ministry was working out a comprehensive package for the evolution of social welfare that would make contributions at State and Local Government levels mandatory. He promised the idea would soon be presented to the council of ministers for consideration.

Concerted as government's efforts are to give the destitutes a new lease of life, the people in and out of rehabilitation centres scattered in the country have a litany of complaints. Their grouse range from partial imprisonment, poor feeding, lack of official motivation to cruelty by welfare officers in the centres. Mama Jenny, a middle-aged beggar who hangs around CMS bus-stop, Marina, Lagos, with her five-year-old daughter, say she ran out of Plateau State Rehabilitation Centre, Jos, because welfare officers there were cruel to her. In pidgin English, she told *Newbreed*. "Them (welfare officers) begin vex for me and my pikin. Small time, them go complain say my pikin spoil something and them go beat am and curse me".

Sunny Buraimoh, a 34 year-old man with an amputated right hand and veteran dodger of rehabilitation centres who had temporarily annexed stadium bus stop shelter as his abode, apparently hates to be institutionalized. He

says he is aware that he has no house, clothes, food and money but that these are not enough reasons for him to be "caged like a bird" at any rehabilitation center. He plans to beg, save enough money and become a provision traders. Sunny says he came down to Lagos last year from Ilorin. Asked about his family and background, he declined to talk.

A blind old man, Duro Ajai who begs at Ikeja Bus stop with his 12-year-old son, Bamidele recalled how he escaped the defunct Beggars Camp at Gbagada village, Lagos in the early 80s. According to him, a relation of his took him there. Thing were good for a while there, but feeding he said, later became rare and irregular. And this was the major cause of his desertion.



■ Rasaki: Lagos State will send beggars packing

Another beggar at the Oshodi Pedestrian bridge, Mrs. Ladipo Arogundade, who claims to hail from Ijebu-Ode says she would rather die than go into any rehabilitation center. She has twins (a boy and a girl) who may be upto two years old. Her quarrel with rehabilitation centres is that there are not enough activities to occupy one's mind. Out here, she claims to be taking good care of her kids and alternates begging with selling vegetables.

The negative response of the beggars notwithstanding, they perhaps know that their options are limited. And rehabilitation is possible. There is a glaring case which proves that physical disability and destitution can be overcome. While on familiarisation tour of establishments under his ministry in Oyo state, on December 1, the former Minister of Culture and Social Welfare, Major-General Kure (rtd) encountered a disabled clothes designer and printer. He swiftly reacted by ordering that the disabled designer, Miss Tunrayo Adedire be employed immediately in the education unit of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments, Ife-Ife branch. Investigation reveals that many of the destitutes are plagued

with contagious diseases. Dr. A. Adeoye, the head of diseases control centre, Lagos State Ministry of Health, recently disclosed that Nigeria is following Asia as a place with the greatest percentage of leprosy patients in the world. He said that Asia has about four hundred thousand leprosy patients, while Nigeria has 200,000.

Though the disease is not hereditary, Dr. Adeoye stated that it is airborne, and could be contacted through sweat and sharing of clothing. He further revealed that poor environmental sanitation, poverty and malnutrition were the major causes of the disease. Complicating issues further, is health authorities' inability to curb the hawking of food and drinks on the roadsides, where the destitutes loiter



■ Ayuba: Kaduna could have the most number of destitutes and beg for alms.

and beg for alms.

Last year's Human Development Report of the United Nation's development Programme for Africa (UNDP) paints a gloomy picture of the future in Africa. The report made a forecast that with the downward trend of events in the continent, by 1995, about 400 million people will be living in extreme poverty. Looking for solution to avert the trend, Nigeria's former head of state, General Yakubu Gowon, in a lecture he gave this in *Oxbridge*, London said that the cure for poverty and destitution is good government, the wise use of public funds, avoidance of waste and extravagance and personal aggrandizement on the part of leadership. Evasions and posnoring by the policy makers does not and cannot whitewash the problem of poverty and destitution in this country. Our social and economic development can only be measured by the way destitutes and less privileged are taken care of. There is need for the government to evolve a solid programme that would rehabilitate disabled and other brands of destitutes physically and vocationally.

Josy Idam and Ngozi Ukadike ■

To the Tiv, Unity

Orchivirigh Alfred Akawe Torkula's ascension promises to bring the polarised Tiv together

As gaily dressed sons and daughters of Tiv (in *Anger* and *Ivavryo* Tiv Traditional attires) thronged the J.S. Tarka Stadium, Gboko on Saturday, March 20, 1991, to enthroned Tor Tiv the Fourth, Orchivirigh Alfred Akawe Torkula, an attempt was made to quell deep-seated sentiments that have remained a source of tribulation for the Tiv people.

Until the installation of the fourth Tor Tiv, the Tiv had been polarised along the Ipusu and Ichongo lines. The Tiv are descendants of Ipusu and Ichongo who are believed to be the original sons of the first Tiv family. Over the years, two lineages developed in Tiv land; the Ipusu Ruling house and the Ichongo Ruling house. However, the Ipusu Ruling house has remained more influential in the affairs of the Tiv people in particular and Benue State in general. For instance, the first Tor Tiv, Orchivirigh Makir Zakpe came from the Ipusu lineage. Late Akperan Orshu whom Alfred Torkula succeeds was also an Ipusu. Torkula being an Ichongo equalises the records of the Ipusu Ruling house as he is the second Ichongo Tor Tiv after Orchivirigh Gondo Aluo, the second Tor Tiv. This Chieftaincy tussle between the Ipusu and the Ichongo has resulted into a serious division among the Tiv people.

The division is however, not restricted to chieftaincy alone, it is deeply reflected in politics. The Tiv caucuses of both the Social Democratic Party, (SDP), and the National Republican Convention, (NRC) are torn asunder due to this division. The Ipusu claim as a right to produce the next governor of Benue State, while the Ichongo have sworn to produce their first governor of Benue State this time.

This cleavage informed the concern of elders like the chairman of the Central Working Committee for the installation, Dr. Jerome Tilley-Gyado. He called on all sons and daughters of Tiv to bury their political sentiments for the success of the installation ceremony. Lt. Colonel Fidelis Makka, the governor of Benue State, before presenting the mantle of leadership to the new Tor Tiv cautioned him that



■ Tor Tiv: Rally point of Tiv unity

ruling a populous ethnic group such as the Tiv, with a sizeable proportion of its population spread over a number of States, cannot be regarded an easy task. "...from the success of those who have occupied the throne before you, lies the challenge to your era as Tor Tiv. It is now your responsibility to solve some of the recurring problems in your domain that seem to have defied previous solutions. You therefore owe your subjects and posterity the duty to rule without fear or favour, instil unity into them and lift the institution to enviable heights", the governor said.

However, the unity of the Tiv people is something that is very close to the new Tor Tiv's heart. At his coronation, he enjoined the Tiv people to bury their sentiments and cooperate to ensure peace and progress during his reign.

As the new Tor Tiv was presented with his

staff of office by Lt. Col. Makka memories of November, 1990 came flooding back to the minds of thousands of Tiv sons and daughters. On November 3, last year, they gathered at the same J.S. Tarka Stadium venue to bid farewell to Dr. James Akperan Orshu, Tor Tiv the Third, who had died earlier on.

Alfred Torkula became the Fourth Tor Tiv through a secret ballot conducted by the elders of Tiv at the Tiv Traditional Council (TTC) Chambers on January 14, 1991. Orchivirigh Alfred Akawe Torkula scored nine votes; Nom Whangwe polled four; and Jonathan Apedzan had three. To this victory, the new Tor Tiv had this to say: "My selection as Tor Tiv is not a surprise to me. My selection is not a coincidence. I am a prince. I come from a royal family. My grand father and my immediate father were all chiefs. The same on my mother's side. In a society where chieftaincy is heredi-

tary, for a prince to achieve this is not a surprise, except this is not the practice among the Tiv".

Orchivirigh Alfred Torkula was born in 1944 into a royal family in Ugondo, Mbadwen district in Utyonda/Thaver group of Guma Local Government Area of Benue State. He attended Mount St. Michael's Secondary School, Aliade and got his Higher School Certificate (HSC) from King's College, Lagos before proceeding to Ahmadu Bello University, (ABU) Zaria where he bagged a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree in 1971. On graduating from ABU, he travelled to France and specialised in French at the University of Besancon. Until his appointment as Tor Tiv, he was Commissioner for Special Duties in Benue State.

The Tor Tiv's Coronation attracted so many important personalities from across the country. The roll-call included, Secretary to the Federal Military Government, Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, Governor Idris Garba of Kano State, Brigadier Chris Garba and Brigadier John Inenger of the 82 Division and 2 Division of the Nigerian Army, respectively, Major General Shehu Yar' Adua, Minister of Industries, Air Vice Marshal Mahmud Yahaya, Communications Minister, Mr. Olawale Ige, among others. Lt Colonel Makka said the turn-out is a proof of goodwill to the new Tor Tiv as a person as well as respect for traditional institutions.

The presence of the two political parties was greatly felt at the coronation. Huge party banners congratulating the new Tor Tiv were displayed in strategic locations. The banners bore inscriptions like: "Tiv Land is SDP Land", "NRC will break the chain of poverty". The national chairmen of both parties donned *Anger* (The Tiv traditional attire) in order to identify fully with the occasion. That was not all; the NRC and SDP donated N12,000 and N10,000, respectively to the Tiv Coronation Committee.

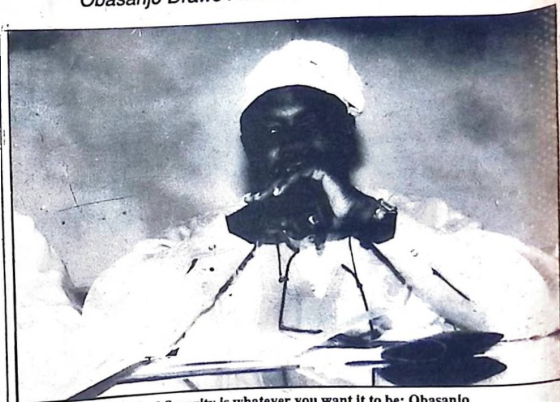
The coronation would not have been a success but for the efforts of the Tiv Traditional Installation Committee which set up several sub-committees under the umbrella of a central working committee chaired by Dr. Jerome Tilley-Gyado. The sub-committees included among others, publicity, venue, protocol and reception sub-committees. Members of these sub-committees, all Tiv sons and daughters worked round the clock. The result was a hitch-free installation ceremony. Tiv sons and daughters from far and near also made a collective donation of one million naira for the importation of a specially built Mercedes Benz 600 car for the Tor Tiv.

■ Salif Atojoko

MEDIA

A Stalinist Temperament

Obasanjo Draws Flak from Media Executives



■ National Security is whatever you want it to be: Obasanjo

Recent comments by former Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo in a public forum, in Lagos, that the press in Nigeria has exhibited a high level of irresponsibility, is drawing flak from senior members of the profession.

At a gathering organised as part of the anniversary of *The Sunday Magazine*, (TSM), General Obasanjo as lecturer in the magazine's 'Diamond Lecture Series', had charged that the press constitutes a national security threat. In the views of the former head of state, the image of the media in Nigeria has become tainted and their concern for the nation is disregarded in favour of sectional interest, tribal nationalism and regional promotion.

The role of the press, the general said, "has more often than not, remained largely a function of their mood, their orientation, the intention of their employer, or of the writer, the editor and the producer, and at times the level of intimidation and or the size of the envelope."

General Obasanjo further remarked that he could not speak of remarkable improvements in the quality and content of the items

selected as newsworthy. He thus insisted that "It is undeniably a sad commentary on our media practitioners." The idea that only government policies receive the attention of the local press, the general said, "is indicative of a lack of creative initiative" by the press.

These unsavoury remarks drew blood from media executives in the country. The first person to challenge the former general's views was Dr. Stanley Macebuh. Dr. Macebuh who was called upon to respond to Gen. Obasanjo's lecture at the gathering said that "If General Obasanjo... is kind enough, he will recognise the fact that at least the mass media is responsible for our national independence."

Macebuh, a former Managing Director of *The Guardian* newspapers, further suggested that if any group of Nigerians outside the Country exhibit any sense of patriotism, it is because of the efforts of the press. Said the most respected journalist: "I am surprised that 12 years after leaving office, Gen. Obasanjo has not changed his attitude towards the Nigerian media. Every time when most Nigerians leave this country... there are times when they confess they are proud of these country and wish

A Netful of Naira for RSUST

The lord of the fountain was very generous to the Rivers State University of Science and Technology, Port Harcourt, recently, when the institution paddled its canoe up to Lagos shores to fish for money.

Naira flowed irresistibly from the pockets of guests who attended the N100m Endowment and Development Fund launch, and about N35 million was realised. The Federal Military Government and Rivers State Government donated N10m each and described the amount as "the first instalment." The State Oil Palm Company (Risonapalm) donated one million Naira and pledged to build a lecture hall to be named after the company.

Chairman of the occasion, Chief Godfrey J.K. Amachree and All States Trust Bank donated N500,000 each, Lagos State Government, Prince Arthur Eze and Tobago Limited donated N250,000 each. Ogun State Government, African Petroleum Limited, Kapital Mer-

chant Bank and DFRRRI all donated N100,000 each.

Vice-President Aikhomu, standing in for IBB, proclaimed himself the "messenger of peace" and initiated the culture of "first instalment" which was broken by Lagos (Aktion)

Governor, Colonel Raji Rasaki who announced, "my donations is not first instalment".

Earlier accompanied by Navy Captain Oladeinde Joseph of Ogun state, Rivers state governor, Colonel Godwin Abbe had welcomed Governor John Yeri of Bendel State to the launching on his way to receive the Vice-President, Col. Abbe noticed the ageing Commander Alfred Diets-Spiff sitting lonely at a corner where nobody could miss him.

"Ah, your Royal Highness, are you there?" said Governor Abbe in surprise. The first military governor of Rivers State, now a traditional ruler, responded with smiles and stood up for a brief exchange of pleasantries.



■ RSUST's Chancellor, the Akran of Badagry Re wheno Aholu - Menu Toye II reads the welcome address

Levi Anyikwa

SHOW BUSINESS

Michael Jackson Comes Back in N12 billion Deal

Jackson on is said to be getting around \$60million, with \$5million up-front for his next album and more than 20 per cent royalties.

For an entertainer who has not cut a record in five years, Michael Jackson's \$60 million deal with Sony of Japan represents the greatest comeback ever in the industry.

Michael Jackson has not released a new record in nearly five years and his latest promotion for LA Gear sports shoes was, by most accounts, a disaster. Yet Sony recently signed a deal with the moon-walking entertainer that has been touted as the richest deal of its kind.

The agreement, called the Jackson Entertainment Complex, is a multi-media extravaganza revolving around the 32-year-old singer. The brainchild of Sony, the Japanese entertainment and electronics conglomerate, it will allow Jackson to cull new talent for his own label, Nation Records, and to produce and act in films for Sony's Columbia Pictures.

The first full-length film project, already

on the drafting table, is described as "a musical action-adventure motion picture based on original Jackson idea". It is being written by Caroline Thompson, who wrote the recent released film *Edward Scissorhands*, and Larry Wilson, co-author of the ghoulish film *Bee-ilejuice*, with sets by Anton Furst, the set designer for *Batman*. Jackson is also aiming to work with Sir Richard Attenborough, director of *Gandhi*, and David Lynch, director of *Twin Peaks*, the television series, and the cult film *Eraserhead*.

In addition, Jackson is expected to record his next six albums for Sony's music division. The terms of the contract were not released, but Jackson is said to be getting around \$60m, with \$5m up-front for his next album and more than 20 per cent in royalties.

Sony says the agreement is worth \$1bn in sales over an unspecified period. Pundits in

the entertainment industry say the move is either a stroke of genius or an act of desperation by Sony.

Michael Jackson is, potentially, the most valuable asset of Sony Music (formerly CBS Records). According to Sony, his *Thriller* album, released in 1983, is the biggest selling album in history, with worldwide sales of more than 40million. Sales of his 1986 album, *Bad*, were also respectable, at nearly 25million. And Sony claims that Jackson's 1987-89 tour was the most successful of the decade, seen by 4.4million people and grossing more than \$125million.

Jackson, who has recorded on the Epic label (which Sony took over as part of CBS records in 1988) since 1975, is described by the company in glowing terms. "Michael's successes with Epic have been unparalleled. He has been the most important of the Epic

Olusanya's Unfinished Task

As Gabriel Olusanya, Professor of History, assumes office in Francois Mitterrand's Paris as Nigeria's new Ambassador to France, he has to contend with the controversy his new book, "The Unfinished Task" will surely generate.

The former Director-General of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (N.I.A.), Lagos, took a swipe at various quarters and interests. He was merciless with pre-independent Nigerian nationalists blaming them for the present woes of the country. In the book, he said the nationalists lacked the vision of a post-independent Nigeria.

He also goofed by saying in the book that Nigeria has no Information policy. But Dan Agbese, Newswatch's Deputy Editor-In-Chief, in his "brutally frank" review during the launching, invoked Prince Tony Momoh, former Information Minister, to come and witness the Professor's gaffe. Agbese also stated that Professor Olusanya's anger coloured his perception of events, issues and people in the book, described as "an indispensable tool for journalists, current affairs analysts and all those who wish to know the Nigerian mind."

Chief Ayo Sasanya launched the book with N50,000. A long applause from the audience greeted the donation. But the tempo changed immediately when the master of ceremony, Ikenna Ndaguba, announced after a tete-a-tete with the publisher, Chief Tayo Akpata, that all cheques should be addressed to the publisher. Money then

started coming in trickles. Chief P.C. Asiodu, the chairman, launched two copies with N5,000; Chief G.K. Animashaun - N2,500; Justice Lambo N2,000; Professor Biobaku - N1,000. Many preferred not to disclose their own. Seems it was not a day for money bags.

■ Levi Anyikwa



■ Prof Olusanya welcomes former Lagos State governor Brlg. Mobalaj Johnson to the launch

family and we look forward to a continued successful relationship," says David Glew, Epic's president.

But, in an industry noted for its unpredictability, the new arrangement with Jackson is riskier than most. Although a new Michael Jackson album is planned for this summer, five years is a long time to be out of the limelight and no one knows whether Jackson will be able to produce another hit.

The sign thus far are favourable. At a music convention in San Diego, cuts from Jackson's new album were greeted with clapping and cheering. "I heard some of the music and it was sensational," says Russ Solomon, president and founder of Tower Records.

There are few who question Jackson's talent, but image is as important as ability in the industry and Sony will still have to market the man. In the US, Jackson cuts a contentious figure. At best, he is seen as a quirky recluse who likes animals and Liz Taylor. At worst, Jackson, who once tried to buy the skull of the Elephant Man, is seen as a perverse collector of human remains who has obliterated his Afro-American heritage through plastic surgery, turning himself into a colourless, androgynous cartoon character.

"There is no question that his popularity has lapsed," says Bill Katz, an executive vice president at BBDO, the advertising agency which created Jackson's ads for Pepsi. "It's very difficult to have transcendent stardom

like Elvis or the Beatles. He's very talented and I think people will buy his albums, but I don't think his name alone is strong enough to get people to see him in movies."

But industry insiders say the movie clause was central to the agreement. Jackson has had a measure of film success in the form of

Captain E.O., a 12-minute movie in 3-D, produced by George Lucas and directed by Francis Ford Coppola, which is on permanent show at Disney's US theme parks. "But it's a remarkable piece of film-making, not just Michael Jackson," says Larry Kopald, an executive vice president at the Foote, Con & Belding advertising agency. Furthermore, *Captain E.O.* gives no indication of Jackson's capabilities as an actor.

Jackson's career in advertising has been less than illustrious. Although the Pepsi endorsements were extremely successful, the 1989 *LA Gear* deal, at a reported \$20 million, was considered a total failure from both a creative and a commercial standpoint.

Part of the problem, according to Kopald, was that there was no relevant tie-in between Michael Jackson and *LA Gear*. In addition, *LA Gear* gave Jackson creative carte blanche, allowing him to direct and write the ads, and many said the results were amateurish.

Sony may be looking to Japan as the logical market for Jackson. On his last concert tour, Pepsi was able to track increased sales linked to the show. And Jackson's acceptance in Japan is still considered phenomenal. The greatest challenge for Jackson and Sony will be the US where a new generation now needs to be persuaded that Michael Jackson is bad, not mad.

■ Karen Zagor



Jackson in concert.

to come back home. That has never been because of an act of good governance but rather the achievement of the media".

Dr. Macebuh's statements were made against the backdrop, according to him, that the media and the military are responsible for whatever the country is today. He thus concluded that the time is yet to come when someone would stand up and 'say real nice things about the Nigerian media'. Such a time, according to him, would be when a former journalist would become a former head of state.

On the question of national security which Obasanjo accused the press of undermining, the publisher of *TSM*, Mrs. Chris Anyanwu had queried the rationale behind the classification of certain mundane matters as classified. The publisher of the now defunct *Thisweek* Magazine, Nduka Obaigbena had challenged Gen. Obasanjo to differentiate between national security and personal security of members of a particular administration.

Reacting to the statements credited to Obasanjo, Lewis Obi, Editor-In-Chief of the *African Concord* said in his column of March 11, 1991, that weighty judgments are given in the type of lecture Obasanjo gave. In his view, such conclusions are backed by facts and figures. On the contrary, he said, the general did not supply facts or figures. As he said: "there was no demonstration to support his accusations and no iota of information to back his judgment." He thus concluded: "Obasanjo's lecture represents not merely his personal views but the stalinist temperament and world view which have been the dominant philosophy of Nigerian leadership during the past 30 years."

Few months back, some media executives in the Country had challenged government claims that the press constitutes security risk in the country. In a press forum organised by the Lagos chapter of the Nigerian Union of Journalists (*NUJ*), last year, the Press veterans insisted that if there are risks to the nation's security, it is government which should respond to such charges rather than the Press.

While insisting that some foreigners in the Country have greater access to information about the Country than Nigerians, Godwin Daboh, publisher of the *Broom* newspapers said that government constitutes the greatest threat to national security. "Government constitutes absolute security risk", he said. Daboh illustrated his argument by citing an example of how a proposed government action was leaked to him by an Indian living in the Country.

Daboh said that although he had sought after the piece of information without success, an Indian friend of his got the facts of the matter from a member of the Armed Forces



■ Macebuh: The military and the media are responsible for what Nigeria is today

Ruling Council (AFRC). This was before government made public statements about the issue. One week later. On the basis of this, Daboh said that it is the government official who leaks information to a foreigner rather than a media man that is a security risk.

At another occasion, Chief Daboh said that one is labelled a security risk in the country when he "threatens falsehood." He also challenged the opinion that there is any form of security in the country. He further insisted that the media have the greatest role to play in the realisation of national objectives because of their interaction with the people.

Chief Daboh who contended that national interest differs from security said that the media has the responsibility to ensure the security and survival of the nation. But the same media cannot protect corrupt leadership. He said that the corrupt leader who confuses his personal security with national interest operates on a wrong premise. Example of this was made with the Liberian situation whereby Doe equated his security with the nation's security. Under that atmosphere all anti-government opinion holders were considered as constituting security risk.

The constant harassment of members of the press by government on the grounds of security matters is seen by the President of the *NUJ*, Mallam Sanni Zorro, as the problem of government's bad information system. He was of the view that the main causes of skirmishes in government-media relationship results from the government's inability to appreciate the universal function of the media. He strongly argued that the blame about sour press-government relationship should fall solely on the door-steps of intolerant governments.

Zorro further said that the question about



■ Zorro: Intolerant governments are responsible for sour relationships

what culminates national interest can only be determined by an independent judiciary committed to the preservation of the rule of law. He frowned at the position whereby government would want to impose its definition of national interest on everyone. He then said that no one should "mistake the functions of the media with that of government." Such a confusion, according to him, "is unacceptable."

The president of the *NUJ* thus suggested that one way to ensure better information management is to allow unrestricted access to information flow. He said this way, the accountability of public officers can be ensured.

While media men scratch their heads about what should or should not be interpreted as national interest or security, Chief Sam Mbakwe, Second Republican Governor of Imo State, has wondered why the issue of national security is a recurring feature in military regimes. He said that what ordinarily should have passed un-noticed in civil democratic regimes are viewed from the security point of view in military administrations. The former governor also revealed that some people are picked up for the mere use of vocabulary items which they never created.

He thus used his personal experience after the last military coup attempt in the country, to buttress his point.

But Gen. Obasanjo has given an answer to Mbakwe's question by arguing that individual and personal freedom is better guaranteed in a civil democratic era. He further revealed that national security is a flexible tag which could be given any meaning by whoever is in control. According to the general, "National Security is whatever you want it to be.

Chukwudi Ekezie and Tobs Agbaegbu ■

A Knockout for NBB of C

Boxers pass a vote of no confidence on the control body

Professional boxers in Nigeria have passed a vote of no confidence on the Nigeria Boxing Board of Control (NBB of C).

In a protest letter signed by the president of the National Association of Professional Boxers (NAPROB), Prince Collins Omuzaga pummeled the board. Among other things, he accused it of not caring and inability to advance the course of boxing in the country. He strongly believes the board cannot lead Nigerian boxers to the promised land. "If we take time to analyse objectively the problems facing boxing in this country, we must admit that the board cannot steer the course of the profession", he submitted.

Reeling out a catalogue of woes, he added that "the situation does not need further test in a place where boxers cannot collect their meagre purses many days after a fight but have to contend with threats". Citing the case of his colleague, Ganiyu Giwa who reportedly attempted suicide recently. He said "if his boxing career had flourished with good administration, the financial returns that would have accrued to him as a national champion would have been enough to take care of him and his family".

Though elusive, the president of the NBB of C, Chief Ralph Ogunbunfunmi shifts the blame on the boxers. He has ceaselessly told curious reporters that the boxers are responsible for the poor state of affairs in the profession. For instance, he is reported as saying that our professional boxers were not listed in the commonwealth rating because they refused to send in their records. The board's representative in the Commonwealth meeting, Mr. H.O. Oduleye says Nigeria had no supporters at the meeting "because we did not present our boxers records".

Yet boxing is the first sport that placed Nigeria on the world map. Even the presi-

dent of the NBB of C, Chief Ogunbunfunmi in an interview with *Newbreed* admitted that boxing in the country was sick. And now the malady is worse than ever. Boxing fans only console themselves with memories of our glorious past and the big fights abroad.

According to record, Hogan Bassey won the Commonwealth championship in 1957 and the following year clinched the World featherweight crown. His compatriot, Dick Tiger moved up his weight category from middleweight to light heavyweight in the 60s. A lull set in for a decade until Bash Ali came along to win WBC junior cruiserweight. Joe Orewa last year June won the super featherweight of the new International Boxing Organisation (IBO). Boxing tourneys are rare now. The only notable boxing events last year here was when Godwin Anyaemene dethroned Argentina's Miguel Mosna in November and Femi Jacob's knockout of Beninoise, Allen Gougou. Jacob still has the West African Welterweight title.

Two other titled fights involving Nigerians were hosted in the U.S. In February last year, Bash Ali successfully defended his WBC cruiserweight title. He out-pointed Kenya's Patrick Lumumba. Next is Akeem Anifowoshe's outing. He is making waves in North America. April last year, he captured the North American Boxing Federation (NABA) super flyweight belt.

The inertia in our boxing ring have given way to an exodus of Nigerian boxers now transversing the world in search of greener pastures. At a time forty-two-year-old meatloves

like George Foreman take home N100m in a fight, their Nigerian counterparts still wallow in poverty and obscurity. A host of them are waiting in the wings as amateurs. Here is a short list of them: Isaac Ikhuria, Peter Konyegwachic, Nojeem Maiyegun, Davidson Andeh, Fatai Ayinla and Eddie Ndukwu. Meanwhile, 27 boxers who were camped in readiness for the IBB World Boxing tourney have been sent home.

Sources in the Nigeria Amateur Boxing Association (NABA) office told *Newbreed* the championship was postponed to July. The boxers, we learnt would be called back to camp on May 2. The slugfest was formerly scheduled for May.

But what exactly is responsible for the rot in Nigerian boxing? Boxing fans blame it on the downturn in the nation's economy. Mr. Sylva Okpara, an enthusi-



■ Ogunbunfunmi: Boxers are responsible for the poor state of the game

ast of the noble profession says: "The economic crunch has denied people leisure. Everyone is now chasing the elusive naira". Another buff of the old sport in Lagos, Ayo Oyeyemi is of the opinion

Kola Balogun came up with a strategy that was hailed by many people. The committee recommended the merger of the professional and amateur bodies. And the name would be called Nigerian Boxing

Commission or Nigerian Boxing Authority. Sources close to the committee say its recommendation was based on the advice of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa. The Council met in 1987 in Kenya and mandated the merger. Nigeria is yet to comply with the order.

The committee also recommended grassroot hunt for talents, adequate government funding, and corporate sponsorship. Observers are optimistic the arrangement would bring in a new era in Nigeria boxing you never can tell, we may have our own Mike Tyson wasting away at Idumota or Kiri-kiri prison.

The seeming directionlessness of the NBB of C led to its dissolution in January by the former Sports Minister, Air Commodore Tony Ikhazobo. But just before he could do anything to fill the vacuum, he was removed. The new panjandrum in the saddle, Major General Yohanna Kure overturned the order with fiat. He has promised that the Ministry would look into the problems affecting the sport. This may drag on forever.

Major General Kure is the 6th Sports Minister since Babangida's coup. The frequency of the change appears to be one minister every year. The confusion, uncertainty and endless changes of leadership retards the growth of boxing and other sports in this country.



■ Kure: A promise to look into the problems of boxing

that lack of security and time of day when fights are held put off high-paying, law-abiding fans. "Lagos is a high risk area, pickpockets and car snatchers and hired assassins abound. In boxing, it is even worse because the fights last into the night", he said.

Boxing promoters also pass the buck. They blame the situation on high cost of hall rents to boxers' demand for higher purses. LAGOS PROBABLY, Prince Collins defends boxers' demand for higher pay. "Boxers spend a lot of money in training and general upkeep, we are not ready to fight for peanuts", he fumed. Is it just another exercise in futility? Last year, the NBB of C set up a 14-man committee to study and recommend ways to revive boxing in Nigeria. After about a month sitting, the committee led by Chief

■ Jossy Idam

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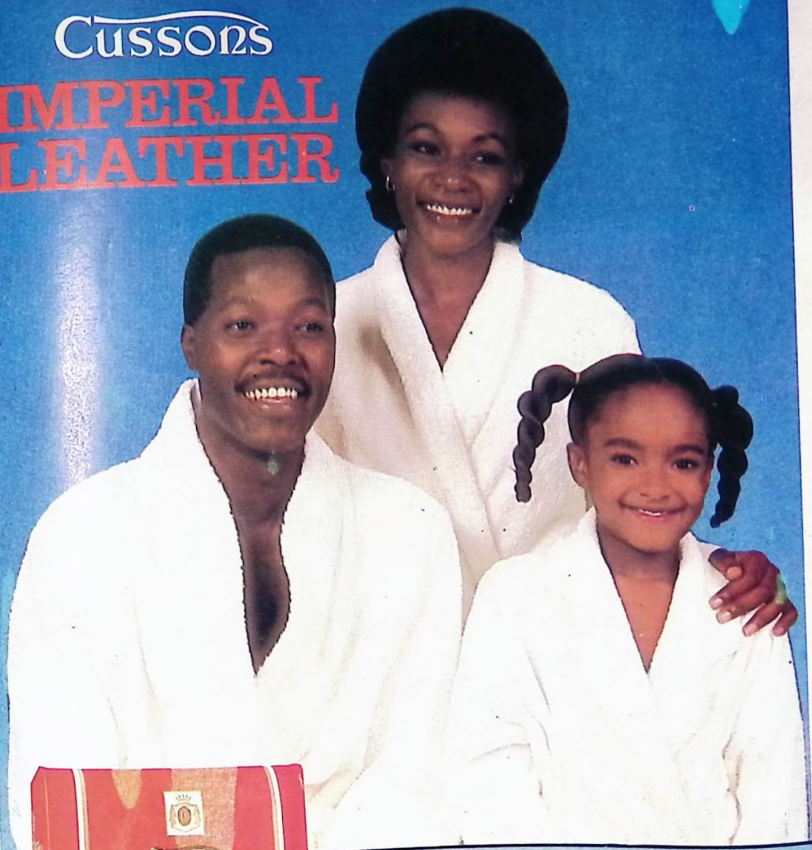
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