



CLARION

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

WANTED URGENTLY

SAVE EDUCATION FROM COLLAPSE COMMITTEE (SECOM) to comprise representatives of ASUU, NASU SSAUTHRIAI, NANS, POSSAN, ATCs, NUT, NUC, CVC and PTAs.

DESTROYING EDUCATION

THE 1987 budgets have further confirmed the determination of the military government to destroy education. It would be recalled that the parlous state of education, among other problems, was the excuse, first for the overthrow of the civilian governments in 1983, and later for the sacking of the Buhari-Idiagbon administration in 1985. Now in the fourth year of the military's "salvage Nigeria" mission, education and other welfare programmes are worse than ever before.

Of the Federal Budget estimate of N17.861 billion about 8% (N1.3 billion) is allocated for the non-essential areas of defence and internal affairs. By contrast less than 4% is allocated to Education. All the 16 Federal Universities are to spend only N316 million for the year. The comparative figures for 1985 and 1986 were N429 million and N395.5 millions respectively. The decline this year is more than 20% of the previous two years. When calculated on the basis of massive devaluation due to SFEM, the real value of the 1987 vote for the Universities is about one fifth! This means in effect that all the Universities will only be able to perform one fifth of their regular services in the 1986/87 session.

This underfunding assumes more frightening proportion when

examined against the background of Nigeria's expanding needs in education. Less than 1% of those qualified are offered admissions annually. There are thousands of classrooms to rehabilitate. In Cross River State alone over 1000 schools are overdue for repairs. In Bauchi, Borno, and Gongola States thousands of classes are held under trees for lack of classroom space. There are over 60,000 vacancies for graduate teachers in secondary and teachers colleges. The 6-3-3-4 education policy needs about 102,000 technical instructors. Only 5,593 are available; that is, a shortage of 96,490! In Kaduna State there is a ratio of 1 doctor to 80,000 persons.

The Fifth National Development Plan envisages elimination of the present 65% illiteracy rate in 13 years' time. This will remain a drunkard's tale as long as education funding declines from year to year. The staff-student ratio in the higher institutions is 1:20 instead of the 1:10 recommended by UNESCO and 1:12 by our own National Universities Commission (NUC).

In most Universities, Polytechnics and Colleges of Education, accommodation and instructional facilities are virtually non-existent. The situation has reached emergency proportions.

As ASUU has pointed out repeatedly the deliberate destruction

of education and social welfare programmes is a consequence of the government's slavish capitulation to the I.M.F. and World Bank. The programmes of these two bodies are part of the political and economic "star wars" against Nigeria and other underdeveloped countries. These sinister designs of imperialism have been unambiguously rejected by the Nigerian people. The CLARION would like Babangida administration to honour its pledge on coming to power that it would rekindle hope in the poor and oppressed masses of the citizenry. The only way to remain faithful to this pledge is to abandon the "road of death" the government has chosen through SAP and SFEM. It bears repeating that even the unabashedly repressive and exploitative colonial regime could not dare to attempt the massive destruction being witnessed in Nigeria today twenty six years after independence.

A CALL FOR SALVATION:

To halt the decay now in progress

CLARION calls for adoption of these minimum remedial measures. The Federal and State Governments must make available supplementary budgets to education at all levels. The NUC vote of N316 million must be doubled at least to sustain average performance in teaching and research. All multinational companies must pay a 3% after-tax education levy. All forms of levies on parents should be abolished country-wide. The Federal Government should assume full financial responsibility for facilities and staff salaries at the primary school level nationwide. Government - guaranteed bank loans should be introduced for needy students in all tertiary institutions. Books and instructional equipment should be placed on First Tier Foreign Exchange Market (FIFEM).

Besides abolishing the over 300 per cent increase in cost of paper from the Oku-Iboku Mill, all governments should establish publishing houses to produce cheap books and equipment for all levels of education. A "Save Education from Collapse Committee" (SECOM) should be initiated by ASUU to include the NASU, SSAUTHRIAI, NUC, POSSAN, ATCs, NANS, NUC, CVC, to work out a comprehensive agenda for the liberation of Nigerian education from collapse. Unless this is done, Nigeria will not be able to survive the onslaughts against it by imperialists and their local collaborators.

U.I. ASUU WARN ON WAGES

THE University of Ibadan Branch of corporate existence marginalized". The ASUU has vehemently rejected the Branch urged the VC to rescind the threat of delayed payment of "starvation order" within two weeks because February salaries. This was the members "shall make sure that neither contained in an unambiguously worded letter time nor benign neglect is allowed to smother of February 16 to the Vice-Chancellor. The letter was sequel to a memo Ref. No. UI/FIN/1080 of 12/2/87 from the Acting Bursar that the payment of the month's salaries would be delayed due to "unforeseen circumstances".

In a swift response signed by the Branch Secretary, Dr. Sola Olunkule, the Branch rejected the Acting Bursar's memo and its connotations because the wages of the staff are "not an item for debate, fixed deposit account, procrastination, or speculation".

The letter wondered why a government that has found "it expedient to start two new Universities of Agriculture, convert two institutions to full fledged Universities and even re-open the moribund Open University when it cannot conveniently pay the salaries of staff in the existing Universities". The U.I. dons vowed that they would not fold their arms and "watch our individual and the ASUU Branches.

The incumbent Education Minister, Professor Jubril Aminu, is an alumnus of Ibadan. The CLARION salutes the valiant and prompt step taken by the Branch. It is hoped that the VC who attended the Harare confab of African Vice-Chancellors that flatly rejected the "kill-education" recipe of the World Bank will not delay the solution to the U.I. problem long enough to warrant the full weight of the trade union powers of all the ASUU Branches.

UNN DONS STRUGGLED AND WON

LECTURERS in the University of Nigeria took a bold and determined step on February 9. They embarked on a strike to back up their rejection of government neglect and delayed payment of wages. And within a few days of the industrial action the delayed January salaries were paid.

CHRONIC UNDERFUNDING:

The strike was sequel to numerous unsuccessful attempts by the Branch to restore contractual rights violated by long years of fiscal and administrative strangulation. In late January the University Bursary wrote to say the month's salaries would be delayed. The Branch reacted promptly by calling an emergency which unanimously resolved that an industrial action be embarked upon because "there is no financial, political and ethical justification for irregular payments of salaries" to members. When no positive action came from the University, a lecture boycott started on February 9 at both the Nsukka and Enugu Campuses.

Confronted by the force of over 1,000 determined academics, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Chimere Ikoku, went post haste to Lagos for negotiation with the National Universities Commission (NUC). At a meeting with the NUC Executive Secretary, Dr. A. Abdulkadir, it was agreed that money be made available for the delayed salaries. Payment started on January 10; and so the strike was called off later that week.

DETERMINATION:

In his explanatory statements to the media, the Branch Chairman (Dr. O. Ogban-Iyam)

emphasised the crisis of short-funding in the University. The strike, he added, was an advance notice to government that the staff would no longer "tolerate this lopsidedness" in allocation of funds and facilities in higher institutions.

He affirmed the determination of the Branch "to continue the struggle to solve the problems of the University once and for all". Another Executive member, Dr. Ugochukwu Uba, revealed that UNN was short-funded by about N14 million in 1986; and yet it had to settle an N8 million debt incurred by the previous administration. In the 1986/87 fiscal year only N31 million is allocated to UNN. Informed sources confirmed that an additional N33 million would be needed to sustain services for the academic year.

The University of Nigeria was the first to be established in independent Nigeria in 1960. Its problems which are legion started since the Civil War years (1967-70). Post-war rehabilitation resources were not properly utilized; thus today there is chronic shortage of virtually everything that makes a University function properly. During the Silver Jubilee Celebrations last year, the chair person of the Governing Council, Mrs. T. Alakija, made a plea to government for a special subvention to prevent collapse of services. The Justice Okara visitation panel that investigated Professor Ndili's crisis-ridden Vice-Chancellorship recommended a 20 million naira grant. Government has ignored these remedial measures by its own appointees. The UNN struggle is likely to continue.

For the Records

Akanbi Commission: Inquiry or Inquisition?

The five-member Justice Mustapha Akanbi Commission of Inquiry was a follow-up to the controversial General Abisoye administrative panel on the crisis at Ahmadu Bello University in May, 1986. The Abisoye panel was set up on May 26, three days after the police murdered unarmed students and citizens at A.B.U. on Friday May 23. The Abisoye report did not recommend another enquiry body. But the Government "White Paper" managed to smuggle in, under Addendum I, the setting up of a new panel to afford government the opportunity to learn as much as possible and as speedily as possible, all the details of the events that took place in higher institutions after the bloody Friday at Zaria.

Prelude to Witch-Hunt

Predictably the Federal Education Minister, Professor Jubril Aminu, was determined to take advantage of the events to settle scores with the Academic Staff Union of University (ASUU) and the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS). Note that the ASUU, for instance, had in its National Delegates Conference in mid May, demanded the redeployment of Jubril Aminu on the basis of his consistent negative policies on education in Nigeria for a decade! Thus a week before the Abisoye report was submitted, Professor Aminu held a meeting with Vice-Chancellors, Rectors of Polytechnics and Provosts of Colleges of Education to intimate them with punitive measures to be taken against students' and staff organisations. Aminu called this *A Programme For Meaningful Co-existence*. As the evidence before the Akanbi Commission bore out, the Aminu Programme was a clever screen to witch-hunt radical, patriotic students and staff. Attack, you may say, is the best form of defence.

The Federal Government and its agents did all in their power to turn the Akanbi Commission into a *political inquisition* of ASUU, NANS, NLC and other democratic force in the country. It is not yet clear how far the panel will disabuse the minds of the public of this inquisitorial stigma. While we await the publication of the report, we present below a summary account of the major political and moral issues brought out during the sittings.

Coverage of Investigation. The instrument setting up the panel empowered it to visit the following institutions where, according to government, "there was violence and rampage": Universities of Ibadan, Ife, Lagos, Nigeria (Nsukka), Benin, Jos, Kaduna Polytechnic, and Yaba College of Technology. In the course of its work the panel also visited the University of Sokoto while voluntary presentations came from Plateau State Polytechnic, Federal College of Education (Technical) Akoka (Lagos), Lagos State University, Lagos State College of Education, and Lagos State Polytechnic. The panel also took evidence from the Nigeria Labour Congress, the ASUU (National), NANS the Police, the State Security Service (SSS in camera) National Universities Commission, Ministry of Education, Committee of Vice-Chancellors, Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board and several individuals.

Internal Kangaroo Panels: On the instructions of Professor Jubril Aminu, heads of targeted institutions conducted internal "investigations" prior to the arrival of the Akanbi panel. Except in one or two places the internal panels were conducted in secret, thus allowing for sweeping generalisations and wild allegations. This kangaroo approach provided a shield for conservative and subservient heads and groups to indict ASUU, NANS, and radical staff and students in general. Many of those indicted in these internal reports were not invited to defend themselves. Thus at the open Akanbi, sittings most people denied statements credited to them by the authors of the reports. For example, the VC of Ife said one of his staff informed him that the students at Ife were incited by a "Northern Politician". When the staff came to give evidence, he denied ever telling the VC so.

Heads of Institutions and Officers

In some places chief executives made desperate attempt to present the image of antagonistically divided campus communities — between the administration on one hand and the Unions (notably ASUU) on the other. This was most evident at Ife and Benin. In places such as Lagos State University, the chief executive was not sufficiently knowledgeable about the goings-on in the institution.

An equally frightening revelation emerged from the testimonies of chief executives and principal officers. Many showed total lack of confidence in students, ability to think and act rationally. Chief executives showed, even in their testimonies, intolerance of plural ideas and views and disregard for dialogue, especially in crisis situations. This aloofness made some to avoid contact with students in the heat of the disturbances. Registrars and Student Affairs Officers were even more prone to this anti-student phobia. Contrary to their grand titles many of these officers lacked elementary understanding of students' outlook, needs, and corporate behaviour. Two notable exceptions to this trend were the Administrative Officers in University of Lagos and the Lagos State College of Education, Ijanikin.

Silver Lining

In spite of the above pictures, it is important to record the efforts of heads of institutions who courageously defended the cherished, universal ideals of university education. Examples are those of the Universities of Nigeria (Nsukka), Jos, and the Kaduna Polytechnic. Equally, reassuring was the fact that the Senate in most institutions was involved in the decision to shut down and deliberated on the reports of internal panels.

Students and Students Organisations

Contrary to what the panel wanted to hear, it was confronted with the salutary revelation that it was the spontaneous reaction of students that goaded leaderships to organise solidarity rallies and demonstrations. Even in places like Benin, Jos and Kaduna Polytechnic where the authorities had intervened in students' unionism, absence of viable students' unions could not stop huge assemblies which took decisions on how to react to the murders at A.B.U. Campus authorities were too fastened to orthodox views of "students as children" to appreciate the potential of mass self-mobilisation by the students.

Generally, most students and student leaders who testified bravely and confidently defended the involvement of their union executives and NANS in the crisis. A notable exception was at Ife where the Vice-President (Miss Joke Akinlade) offered herself as a prosecution witness for the Police and campus authorities. Among other defamatory allegations, she said the ASUU Chairman "incited" students. But pressed on to substantiate this, she turned jelly and failed to provide evidence of the incitement. Also in Nsukka and Sokoto, some students under the cloak of religion attacked their

union leaders and some ubiquitous "radical students and lecturers" for instigating the demonstrations. Again none of them could present evidence to prove this!

The recurring theme of students' evidence was that the remote causes of crisis on campuses are: the unjust socio-economic system; undemocratic nature of campus administrations which find expression in expulsions and suspensions, as well neglect of students welfare. The immediate causes of the 1986 crisis were, in the students' view, the deaths in A.B.U., the callousness and arrogance of Ango Abdullahi (A.B.U. VC) and Nuhu Aliyu (Kaduna State Police Boss), the indifference of the Education Minister, Jubril Aminu ("I cannot comment because I am fasting"), and the slowness and tiredness of the Government to take remedial measures.

The NANS: In presenting its case the NANS underlined the history of students' patriotism since colonial times. With copious testimonial evidence the NANS attempted to erase the wrong stereotyped view of students as a bunch of "rebels" and "trouble-makers". It traced the origin of this stereotyping fetish to the colonial times when frontline nationalists like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Herbert Macaulay, H.O. Davis, Obafemi Awolowo, Sa'ad Zungur, Mokuugo Okoye, Michael Imoudu, Anthony Enahoro and others were branded "trouble-makers". The NANS also affirmed that without this legacy of stubborn rascality, the anti-colonial struggle would not have yielded political independence in 1960.

Although unlike 1971 and 1978 the NANS did not organise the nation-wide demonstrations, it nonetheless supported the actions as legitimate and patriotic. The NANS leadership also made it clear that the organisation does not derive its legitimacy from the government in power but from the unanimous support it gets from students and the poor masses whose aspirations for free education and social justice are consistently articulated by the NANS.

In spite of the pervading air of intimidation and threat to their academic careers, the majority of students proclaimed their unshakable faith and confidence in the NANS as an organisation with the greatest potential to transcend the narrow, nation-destroying ethnic and religious interests in Nigeria.

ASUU Testimony: ASUU officials testified at both local and national levels. In Ife the ASUU's appearance was followed by NASU and SSAUTHRIAL (Senior Staff Association). The situation at Ife was peculiar because (a) the Akanbi sittings took off here and therefore the initial determination to "hang" ASUU was less disguised (b) the Vice-Chancellor and his cohorts were bent on cracking the enviable spirit of solidarity existing between the three workers' unions (c) the stage governor and the security forces panicked beyond what the situation warranted.

In spite of grave doubts about the panel's ability to be fair ASUU made a strong enough defence for academic freedom, University autonomy, and government-funded education for all citizens at all levels. The National Secretariat produced a 69-page Memorandum. (The publication of it is already in press). The cardinal points of the memo concerned: the right of University communities to elect Vice-Chancellors; the right of Senate to determine academic programmes; of Councils to decide conditions of service; and of students to be represented in all committees and bodies that preside over their welfare.

The memo called for abrogation of crises-generating policies such as Decree 16 of 1985; retrenchment (alias rationalisation); deboarding and withdrawal of catering services; delay in establishing Government Councils which concentrates power in the hands of VCs; interference of Education

Minister in affairs of institutions, e.g. Jubril Aminu's dictat that "the Vice-Chancellors have powers to close down their Universities in emergencies and to report to Senate and the Honourable Minister of Education later" (emphasis added).

ASUU also renewed its call for strengthening of committee system and involvement of students and staff unions in decision-making processes; increased funding and judicious husbandry of monies and resources; and the removal of secret police and security operatives from campuses.

Security Agents: The Police, SSS and Campus Internal Security

All these organisations made allegations of incitement and subversion against ASUU, NANS, NLC, and patriotic groups. To the utter dismay of the panel no substantive proof could be provided; not even by the State Security Service (SSS) when it testified in camera. The allegations were found to be based on rumour and CIA-manufactured stereotypes of purveyors of radical change and anti-imperialism.

The police fared the worst in this game of fiction-making. More important, it was established that police escalated the crisis in Kaduna, Lagos University and Yaba College of Technology and Sokoto. In Uailaa police panicky response caused the shooting of two students in the leg. At Yabatech, police fired tear gas canisters over 6-metre fence into the campus to disrupt on-going examinations. Police use of live ammunition caused the death of several people. A similar misuse of "fire power" led to the burning of a hostel in the University of Sokoto.

Police ill-equipped apparatus and poor training were exposed. In Kaduna many police personnel drafted to Tudun Wada to quell the disturbances in the barracks had never heard of the riot drill which guides the conduct of police in such operations. A reckless display of vandalism marked police operations in Kaduna, Zaria, and Sokoto where students and innocent citizens were tear-gassed, chased, locked up in rooms, beaten maimed, robbed, raped in the name of law and order!

Where police operations were led by enlightened officers there was little or no violence. The inspiring example was Mr. Odu who commanded the Anambra Police. Students' demonstrations there were peaceful. A similar display was recorded in some occasions in Lagos when the controversial Police P.R.O., Alozie Ogugbuaja, led operations. His testimony and its immortal "pepper soup" metaphor became the only evidence of vestigial humanism in the police force.

Evidence was provided of police sponsorship of student organisations in campuses as agents provocateur; e.g. the so-called Peace Movement in Ife and Ibadan. The performance of most campus-based security apparatuses was woeful. Whereas they compiled volumes of exaggerated "security reports" on "ringleaders", "instigators", and "radical lecturers", none of these "omnipotent" forces could be identified as being responsible for the May-June revolts. Worse still, the campus security divisions proved too ill-equipped to secure even the safety of immovable property.

The NLC: The NLC presentation explained why it withdrew its Secretary, Dr. Lasisi Osunde, from the membership of the Abisoye panel. It also persuasively justified its decision to hold the solidarity rallies on June 4, 1986. The Congress memo reiterated views already expressed that the crisis was escalated by the arrogance and intransigence of Ango Abdullahi, the sadistic, chest-beating statements by Nuhu Aliyu, the insufferable aristocratic aloofness of Jubril Aminu, and government's incredible slowness in diffusing the charged atmosphere. Above all, NLC emphasized the crises-prone policy of government on education and welfare of the masses

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Conferences, Books, Events

11th Ife Bokfair was held from February 2-5, 1987. The Fair postponed last November for logistical reasons, attracted publishers and booksellers from Nigeria and overseas countries. Business was low due to chronic shortage of books and cash flow. The Distinguished Authors Award prizes went to Dr. Zulu Sofola - playwright and drama teacher from the University of Ilorin, Mr. Benjamin Nwabueze - a Senior Advocate of Nigeria and author of numerous law books, and Chief Obafemi Awolowo for his contribution to the promotion of education, political theory and stubborn dedication to a self-reliance philosophy.

On the night of February 4 the newly inaugurated Ife Branch of the Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA) held a well-attended performance of poetry reading, short stories, jokes, and drama sketches. Memorial performances were made for late Alex La Guma and Bessie Head of South Africa. Among the participants were Amos Tutuola, Femi Osofisan, Odi Ofeimun, Biodun Jeyifo, Abiola Irele, Femi Fatoba, Folabo Ajayi, Funso Aiyejina, Akin Isola, Kole Omotoso, G.G. Darah, and Femi Olugbile (winner of the 1986 ANA prize for prose).

6th RADICAL BOOKFAIR will hold in London and Bradford from March 26 - April 5. The major theme is "Movement for Social Change" and the cultural vision which underpins the search through literature and art for a profound re-ordering and humanising of existence." The Fair will also serve as a tribute to victorious revolutions, historic struggles and movements in Russia, China, India, Vietnam, Ghana, Algeria, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. Previous fairs focused on epochal events such as the Resurgence of Barbarism; 1984 and After; India the Crisis to Come; Southern Africa; Nkrumah: 20 Years After; New Technology, the Working Day and Cultural Creativity. The Bookfair proper will be preceded by a Festival by writers, artists and scholars from all continents of the world. Further information may be obtained from John La Rose (Director) 76 Stroud Green Road, Finsbury Park, London N4 3EN, England; Telephones: 01-272 4889; 737 2268 579 4920.

6TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF NIGERIAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY is scheduled for the College of Education, Sokoto, from March 23 - 26. The theme is **FOLKLORE AND SOCIAL CHANGE**. Areas for paper presentation include theoretical perspectives on social change; impact of changes on customs and traditions; social change and Nigerian languages/literatures; folklore of games/sports; ecological/geographical factors on social change; social change and political systems. Published proceedings of 1984 and 1985 conferences will be available for sale. Further information may be sought from Dr. E.O. Kofoworola (Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies, A.B.U. Zaria) or Dr. A.U. Binanci, Hausa Dept., College of Education, Sokoto.

6TH CONFERENCE OF LITERARY SOCIETY OF NIGERIA from April 26 - 30 1987. The venue is Ahmadu Bello University and theme is "Literature in the Nigerian Education System". Papers are invited on these areas: "Literature at Primary Level", Literature at Secondary Level", Literature at Tertiary Level" and "Oral Literature and Traditional Ethics". Participants will pay N25.00 for registration and N10.00 for membership. All correspondence to Dr. Aderemi Bamikunle, Dept of English, A.B.U.

6TH INTERNATIONAL HUMOUR CONFERENCE, April 1 - 5 1987, Arizona State University, USA. The theme is "Humour - The World's Common Language". Intending participants in Nigeria can contact Dr. Niyi Oladeji (English Department) or Professor Akin Isola (African Languages and Literatures) both at the University of Ife.

4TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF SONTA comes up on April 23 - 26 at the University of Ife. Its theme is "Evolution of Nigerian Theatre and Drama: Retrospects and Prospects" a deadline of March 15 has been announced for papers to reach Tejumola Olaniyan, Secretary of the Organising Committee. Members are advised to propitiate the god of SFEM to allow savings of N10.00 (membership fee); N10.00 (registration); N15.00 (set of papers) and about N50.00 for survival per day. Society of Nigerian Theatre Artists members may contact Dr. Olu Akomolafe, Dramatic Arts Department, University of Ife, for details.

PUBLISHED

***Essays In Popular Struggle** Dr. Iyorchia Ayu, Chairman, ASUU Unijos. With chapters on Fela, Students Patriotism, and Nicaraguan Revolution, the book is published by Zim Pan African Publishers, Box 32, Oguta, Imo State, Nigeria.

***Nzeogwu** by General Olusegun Obasanjo. Subtitled "An Intimate Portrait of Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu" the 164-page book is published by Spectrum Books Limited, Sunshine House, Oluyole Estate, Ibadan. The shelf price is N12.50.

***Before Our Very Eyes**: Dapo Adelugba (ed) Contains cherished memories and reminiscences by friends and contemporaries of Wole Soyinka the 1986 Nobel Prize Winner for Literature. The book is published by Spectrum Books and sells for N15.00.

***Nigeria: A Republic In Ruins** - Siddique Mohammed & Tony Edo (eds). Published by the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; has 16 chapters by 16 contributors and 36 tables. Distributed by Ahmadu Bello University Bookshop.

***All This Must Be Seen**, a travelogue by Kole Omotoso on the natural and geographical diversity of the Soviet Union, the emergence of a new socialist personality, and the development of theatre and its role in contemporary Soviet society. The Book is published by Progress Publishers, Moscow.

***Towards A Sociology of African Literature** by Chidi Amuta, former Chairman, ASUU Unipoint Branch. Published and distributed by Zim Pan African Publishers.

***A Handle For The Flutist And Other Poems** by Odi Ofeimun of The Guardian. Published and distributed by Update Communications Ltd.; 45 Coker Road, Ilupeju, Lagos.

***The Killings At A.B.U.** by the Ahmadu Bello University, Branch of ASUU. Contains

hitherto "unpublishable" information on police misbehaviour, casualties of bullets, tear gas and rape, as well as court verdicts on why Ango Abdullahi should not have been allowed to preside over the affairs of West Africa's largest and most radical University.

***Nights of Mystical Beast and The New Dawn** by Olu Obafemi, Immediate Past Chairman of ASUU, University of Ilorin. Published by Adena Publisher, P.O. Box 3643, Benin City. Shelf price is N5.00

***Oga Na Tlef Man**, a play in pidgin English by Tunde Fatunde, editor of *Clarion*. It is published by Adena Publishers, Benin City.

***Introduction to Legal Practice** by Akin Aparo; published by New Horn Press Ltd. Box 4138, U.I. Post Office, Ibadan.

***Nigerbiblios** by the National Library of Nigeria. This is a house journal devoted to development and services in the field of librarianship and information science in Nigeria. Subscription enquiries should go to The Editor, Nigerbiblios, National Library of Nigeria, P.M.B. 12626, Lagos.

DELIVERED a lecture on "Yoruba Literature: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow" by Professor Afolabi Olabimtan, University of Lagos.

ARTICLES WANTED by the Research and Extension Services Division of the Bendel Arts Council for publication in its journal -IVIE. Articles on all disciplines are welcome from universities, polytechnics, colleges of education etc.

EXPECTED: Nigerian edition of *Marxism and African Literature* Georg Gugelberger (ed). Contributors include Professor Omofume Onoge, Biodun Jeyifo, Peter Nazareth, Geoffrey Hunt, Grant Kamenju, G.G. Darah, Tunde Fatunde. Enquiries to Progressive Books Limited, P.O. Box 4056, U.I. Post Office, Ibadan.

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IS RESERVED FOR BOOKS, NEWS, EVENTS, CONFERENCES ETC. READERS ARE REQUESTED TO SEND INFORMATION TO DIVERSIFY THE COVERAGE TO INCLUDE ALL AREAS OF INTELLECTUAL WORK.

Akanbi Commission: Inquiry or Inquisition?

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of the people. Congress called on government to identify with the labouring majority by abandoning measures such as retrenchment, neglect of education, health water etc and to promote a culture of *democratic freedom and social justice*.

Education Ministry, NUC and CVC

The burden of the presentations by these three bodies was a rehash of Jubril Aminu's pet allegation that NANS and ASUU were the brains behind the crisis, including the shootings at A.B.U. During cross examination by ASUU counsels the panel was shocked about the degree of ignorance shown by these bodies concerning vital issues of policy, especially the harmful implications of Decree 16 on University culture. It must be remarked, however, that Professor Gomwalk who spoke for the CVC agreed essentially with ASUU's positions on education matters. For him the CVC's area of difference is in the way ASUU makes its points.

Of the handful of individuals presentations before the panel the most lucid and comprehensive were by Michael Angutu (former Registrar of JAMB) and Mr. A. Iyere Wilson, former Secretary to the Bendel

Government. Mr. Wilson, attributed the regular explosions on campuses to four factors: (a) obsolete policies of hostel management which place emphasis on punishment rather than on character building (b) devaluation of education which regards higher institutions as factories of glorified trade centres (c) politicisation of appointment of VCs now plagued by the influenza of "Federal Character" (d) substandard infrastructure which inhibits full expression of academic potentials of students and staff.

Losses: Human and Material

Neither the Abisoye Panel nor the Akanbi Commission was able to establish the exact figure of casualties. However, it is known that 4 people (3 students) died from police bullets in Zaria on May 23; 10 others were injured and admitted in hospital. In Kaduna 4 were killed and 14 injured and admitted in hospital. One student in Benin died after falling from a moving vehicle. Two students were hospitalised for gunshot wounds caused by the police in the University of Lagos.

According to records of campus administrators and Police, damages to property amounted to:

University of Ife	—	N52,678.00
University of Ibadan	—	N52,751.00
University of Benin	—	N43,496.00
University of Nigeria		
Nsukka Campus	—	N15,400.00
Enugu Campus	—	N211,700.00
Kaduna Polytechnic	—	N2,256,267.95-
		N2,490,708.95
University of Jos	—	N1,445.00
Yaba College of Tech.	—	N817.00
Lagos State University	—	26,700.00
University of Sokoto	—	N121,823.00
Total		N3,017,518.95

But the total cost of the crisis to Nigeria may not be known until the following question are answered: How much did government spend on the Akanbi Panel?

How much did Universities, institutions and the police spend on hiring lawyers? How many man hours were lost during the police sieges, closure of institutions etc?

Broad Areas of Agreement

On the whole the majority of witnesses agreed on about 13 cardinal issues including autonomy and freedom for academic institutions, more civilized governance by chief executives restoration of student unionism at institution and national levels, increased funding for education, abrogation of laws and decrees which abridge citizens' fundamental rights and liberties, determined effort to create a more democratic, just and humane society, and the necessity for government to come to the side of the labouring people by abandoning I.M.F despite its initial hostility to ASUU and students, showed exemplary patience and understanding. It is hoped that this patriotic spirit will guide its report so that truth and justice can prevail, at least for once.

Report prepared by Principal Officers for National Secretariat.

Campus Update

APPOINTMENT/ELECTIONS

1. Dr. Munzali, Jibril a former Chairman of ASUU - Bayero University Kano Branch, has been appointed Deputy Vice-Chancellor in the same University. Dr. Munzali once championed a popular move whereby headship of departments became rotatory in B.U.K. His democratic cause has been accepted by the University authorities.
2. Dr. Mahmud Tukur, Immediate Past National President of ASUU has been appointed head of department of History at the University of Ahmadu Bello, Zaria. Under Tukur's presidency, ASUU fought for and won from both the states and federal governments, better conditions of service for members and the entire university system as a whole.
3. Dr. A. Assobie, the Financial Secretary of ASUU (National Secretariat) has been elected Congregation representative of the Governing Council of University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
4. Dr. Olusola Olukunle - Secretary of ASUU - University of Ibadan Branch has also been elected by Congregation as one of its representatives into the Governing Council of University of Ibadan.
5. Professor Toye Olorode, current

ASUU Chairman and Dr. Adeagbo Adewuyi former ASUU Chairman both of University of Ife have been elected as congregation representatives in the Governing Council of University of Ife-Ife.

6. Dr. S.S. Atuma, former Chairman ASUU of University of Benin has been RE-ELECTED as congregation representative into the Governing Council of University of Benin. Dr. Atuma was not allowed to complete his first term because of an on-going 'controversial' interpretation of both composition and tenureship of council by the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Grace Alele-Williams.
7. Dr. (Mrs.) Bene Madunagu, the wife of Dr. Edwin Madunagu of Political Bureau, has been elected as the first woman chairperson of ASUU, University of Calabar Branch. She had served as Branch Secretary in the early 80's.
8. Dr. Festus Iyayi, ASUU National President has been appointed as a member of the Management Board of NACAP (National Committee Against Apartheid).

A well known poet, social critic, essayist and fiction writer Dr. Ada Ugah was elected as the Secretary for a term of two years (i.e. 1987-1989).

Dr. Festus Iyayi, ASUU National President has been appointed as a member of the Management Board of NACAP (National Committee Against Apartheid).

Campus Confidential

ONE of the most controversial Vice-Chancellors in Nigeria whose name gets mentioned regularly in the media for committing illegal and unlawful acts, is naturally in the news again. Listen to this: The Vice-Chancellor *single-handedly* and *without reference* to relevant University committees spent about two million naira in awarding contracts.

The V.C. rushed to the Chairman of the Governing Council (a retired Public Servant), to 'approve' this illegal spending on behalf of the Governing Council. Of course, the Chairman approved. Members of the Council according to sources, were very, very angry at the unlawful acts of both the Vice-Chancellor and the Chairman of Council. Council therefore warned that such an act must not be repeated.

The Vice-Chancellor knows that the V.C. has right to spend only **thirty thousand naira**. Even this sum must be approved by relevant University Committees.

But the same V.C. awarded, *single-handedly* again, another contract to construct a water bore-hole in a Campus of the same University. The Tenders Board and the DPPC (Development and Physical Committee) did not have any input in the award of the contract. The contract is worth about two hundred thousand naira. The bore-hole project was not published for tendering

as the rules demand.

The National University Commission recently approved five million to rehabilitate existing University facilities. So far NUC has released N1.5 million. Guess what the VC did with the money? The money so far released was spent on extending the administrative building. The relevant statutory committees did not meet on how the money should be disbursed. The VC, it seems, believes in ad-hoc committees that can be easily manipulated.

Meanwhile a complex currently housing some faculties which can in fact collapse any moment has not been rehabilitated the student hostels are in the state of disrepair. Contrary to the guidelines for approval of funds for projects, the VC has without the authority of council gone ahead and commenced the expenditure of funds allocated to the University.

Initially, the construction of the administrative annex cost three hundred thousand naira. But at the end of the completion of the project the building now costs N1.2 million naira i.e. over four hundred per cent upward review.

Informed sources say that if this kind of financial and legal recklessness is not checked then non-payment of salaries of staff and other crisis may soon add to that University's basket of embarrassment.

Bendel market women lead struggle for free education

MARKET women in Bendel State demonstrated several times in January 1987 against high fees in both Primary and Secondary Schools. Their protests started after the publication of 1987 budget of the State. The women are demanding, among other things, the abolition of exam fees which are five naira in the Primary Schools and ten naira in the Secondary Schools. The women also want abolition of the compulsory 'development' levy of twenty naira imposed by decree upon all Nigerians resident in Bendel State. One of the arguments put up by the patriotic market women against these fees and levies is that their husbands are either retrenched or unemployed. Those who have been pensioned don't receive their pension as and when due. Consequently it is the market women who are the bread winners for both their children and husbands. Moreover, women are not able to sell enough to cater for their families.

In the heat of the demonstration both Governor John Mark Inienger and Oba of Benin, Oba Erediauwu II accused the women of being unpatriotic and being used by subversive elements to destabilise the state. The market women were very angry with the provocative statements of both Governor and Oba of Benin Erediauwu II. On Monday 26th January 87, the market women converged at the Uruokpeti Hall at the centre of Benin to discuss further actions to the realization of their list of demands. As they were converging, a contingent of armed police used tear-gas to disperse the peaceful market women. The struggle continues but deserves the support of other patriotic groups.

Unimaid Rigmorole

THE University of Maiduguri Branch of ASUU has always endeavoured to be an exemplar of solid support for the Union. This was in spite of the odd fact that Professor Jubril Aminu was for many years the Vice-Chancellor of the place. To reciprocate the support of the branch ASUU held one of its National Executive Council (NEC) meetings there in February 1984, shortly after the Buhari-Idiagbon ascended the hot throne of Nigerian politics. At that meeting the VC, Professor Jubril Aminu presented an *a luta* continua welcome address and pledged unalloyed loyalty of the Branch to the Union.

Once upon 1986 the Federal Government enacted Decree 17 requiring all academics to swear a new oath of allegiance, *in writing*, to ASUU. The Maiduguri Branch members responded enthusiastically. The signed check-off forms were promptly submitted to the Bursar to effect the check-off dues. But the Bursar failed to carry out the order as stipulated by Decree 17. His reason? The VC, Dr. Nuhu Alkali, did not authorize the Bursar to do so. Why? Because, according to the VC, *some* members alleged that they were intimidated to sign the forms. How many were the "some members"? We were

not told.

So when Dr. Bature, the Branch Chairman, reported this to the Zaria NEC of December, 1986, a delegation led by the National President was despatched to Unimaid. A General Meeting with the Branch members was arranged for January 29. But when the high-powered delegation arrived, it was prevented from holding the scheduled meeting. Haba! what was wrong? The VC and Registrar said they had *security instruction* not to allow the meeting because the Head of State was expected at the Unimaid Convocation *three weeks* later. At the Convocation President Diouf of Senegal was honoured with a degree. But the Head of State was away in Paris at the time for an urgent surgery. So the Borno State Governor and a *surprisingly* quiet Professor Bolaji Akinyemi were in attendance. Now in the name of state (in)security the ASUU delegation returned without a meeting with the Branch members. What of the check-off palaver? The VC promised the delegation that the impasse would be resolved. Does the apparition of Jubril Aminu still hover over Unimaid? If so, we urged the dedicated majority of the Branch members to lay that ghost to needed rest by ensuring that the VC authorizes the Bursar to respect the spirit and letter of Decree 17.

NUC ILLEGAL ASSAULT AGAINST UNILORIN LAW COURSES

THE National Universities Commission (NUC) was set up to promote the development of University education. It is expected, among other functions, to ensure adequate funding and enhanced standards of academic work. But it seems the NUC has not quite awakened to its enormous responsibilities in this regard. Or how does one explain its recent "liquidationist" move against the Law Programmes at the University of Ilorin? Almost by fiat the NUC ordered the closure of the Law programmes because they were not authorized to be started in the first instance. The affected students are in the final year.

But a delegation of ASUU National Secretariat to Unilorin revealed contrary evidence. The law degree courses started in the 1983/84 session. The University asked for a law Faculty. The NUC gave provisional

approval for this. The Faculty of Law is reflected in NUC records. But the Aguda Visitation Panel recommended that the law degree programme be run as part of the Business and Social Studies Department. The Faculty courses were advertised in the JAMB brochure. And 5,000 people applied for 75 places. The cut off for admission was 280.

Now with a few months to graduation, The NUC has ordered that the 184 students duly

matriculated four years ago are "illegal" at Ilorin. The students and staff of the Faculty have been ordered for "redeployment". This move has been stoutly resisted as an act of illegality and unwarranted interference by the NUC. And students, the University and ASUU are joined in the resistance.

Meanwhile, the Uniport Branch of ASUU has extended solidarity to the "besieged" Unilorin students and staffers. The Uniport statement signed by Dr. Princwill Alozie (Chairman) and Stephen Orupabo (secretary) urged NUC to concentrate its gladiatorial energies on securing increased funding to save declining facilities and moral in educational institutions.